

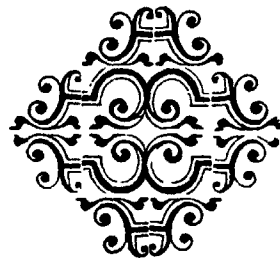
THE DIARY OF  
JOHN  
EVELYN

Now first printed in full from the  
manuscripts belonging to Mr. John Evelyn  
and edited by  
E. S. DE BEER

*In six volumes*

Volume II

*KALENDARIUM, 1620-1649*



OXFORD  
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS



Probably John Evelyn about 1641. The portrait by  
H. van der Borcht (?)



*This book has been printed digitally and produced in a standard specification  
in order to ensure its continuing availability*

**OXFORD**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.  
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,  
and education by publishing worldwide in

Oxford New York

Auckland Bangkok Buenos Aires Cape Town Chennai  
Dar es Salaam Delhi Hong Kong Istanbul Karachi Kolkata  
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Mumbai Nairobi  
São Paulo Shanghai Taipei Tokyo Toronto

Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press  
in the UK and in certain other countries

Published in the United States  
by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

© Oxford University Press 2000

The moral rights of the author have been asserted

Database right Oxford University Press (maker)

Reprinted 2003

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,  
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,  
without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press,  
or as expressly permitted by law, or under terms agreed with the appropriate  
reprographics rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction  
outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department,  
Oxford University Press, at the address above

You must not circulate this book in any other binding or cover  
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

ISBN 0-19-818749-1 (Vol.2 )

Oxford Scholarly Classics

This series brings together a number of great academic works from the archives of Oxford  
University Press. Reissued in Spring 2000 in a uniform series design, Oxford Scholarly Classics  
will enable libraries, scholars and students to gain fresh access to some of the finest  
scholarship of the last century.

Printed and bound in Great Britain by  
CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham and Eastbourne

Copyright © 1955. Oxford University Press. All rights reserved.

# PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF THIS VOLUME

1620-37	<i>Parentage and early life</i>	1-16
1637-40	<i>E at Oxford</i>	16-23
1640	<i>Death of E's father</i>	26
1641	<i>E visits the Netherlands</i>	29-76
1641-3	<i>E at Wotton, &amp;c.</i>	77-82
1642	<i>The Civil War begins</i>	79
1643-7	<i>E's travels in France and Italy</i>	82-537
1643-4	<i>Residence at Paris, &amp;c.</i>	90-135
	<i>Visits to Fontainebleau and Normandy</i>	116-27
1644	<i>Residence at Tours</i>	144-51
	<i>Journey by Lyons, Marseilles, and Genoa</i>	
	<i>to Florence</i>	151-84
	<i>First visit to Florence</i>	184-200
1644-5	<i>First residence at Rome</i>	212-315
	<i>23 Nov. 1644. Innocent X's procession</i>	279-82
1645	<i>Excursion to Naples</i>	315-55
	<i>Visit to the Phlegraeian Fields</i>	336-52
	<i>Second residence at Rome</i>	355-405
	<i>Excursions to Frascati and Tivoli</i>	392-7
	<i>Second visit to Florence</i>	410-17
	<i>Journey by Bologna to Venice</i>	418-29
	<i>Visit to Venice</i>	429-62
1645-6	<i>Residence and study at Padua, &amp;c.</i>	462-80
	<i>Lord Arundel and his family at Padua,</i>	
	<i>&amp;c.</i>	466, &c.
1646	<i>Journey by Milan and the Simplon Pass</i>	
	<i>to Geneva</i>	480-520
	<i>E has smallpox at Geneva</i>	519-32
	<i>Regimen for E</i>	530-2
	<i>Journey to Paris</i>	532-4

vi *Principal Contents of this Volume*

1647	<i>E marries Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Browne</i>	536
	<i>E returns to London</i>	536-7
1647-9	<i>E resident in England</i>	537-59
1647	<i>E visits Charles I</i>	537
1649	<i>Publication of E's first book</i>	547
	<i>Execution of Charles I</i>	547
1649	<i>E returns to Paris and resides there</i>	559-68

At end of volume, pp. 569-79: General bibliographical notes on Evelyn's sources for his accounts of his travels, &c.

The text as far as p. 357, apart from pp. 195-201 and pp. 313-17, was transcribed by Evelyn from his original notes probably about 1660; from p. 377 to the end of the volume, probably about 1682. The passage from p. 195 to p. 201 is taken from Evelyn's later recension (*De Vita Propria*), which he made about 1700; the passage from p. 313 to p. 317, from Sir John Evelyn's transcript of the *Kalendarium*. There are throughout the volume many interpolations made by Evelyn in the course of transcription or earlier.

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Probably John Evelyn about 1641. The portrait by H. van der  
Borch (?). By kind permission of John Evelyn, Esquire, of  
Wotton *Frontispiece*

Evelyn's letter-hand about 1660 *facing page 211*

Mrs. Mary Evelyn. Drawing by Robert Nanteuil, 1650. By  
kind permission of John Evelyn, Esquire, of Wotton  
*facing page 536*

Copyright © 1955. Oxford University Press. All rights reserved.

---

---

# KALENDARIUM

## *My Journal &c:*

[1620–1649]

---

I WAS borne about 20 minuts past two in the morning,<sup>1</sup> [on Tuesday]<sup>a</sup> being the xxxi, and last of October Anno 1620, after my Father had been married about 7 yeares, and that my Mother had borne him 3 Children viz. Two Daughters and one sonn, about the 33d Yeare of his age, and the 23d of my Mothers.<sup>2</sup>

[My Father was married 27 Jan. 1613 on Thursday, at St. Tho: Southwark.<sup>3</sup> My sist: Eliz: was borne at 9 at night 28 Nov. 1614. Jane: at 4 in the mor: Feb: 16– 1615.<sup>4</sup> My Bro: Geo: at 9 at Night, Wednesday 18 June 1617.<sup>5</sup> My Bro: Richard 7th November 1622.]<sup>b</sup>

My Father, named Richard,<sup>6</sup> was of a sanguine complexion, mix'd with a dash of Choler; his haire inclining to light, which (though exceeding thick) became hoary by that time he had attain'd to 30 yeares of age; it was somewhat curled towards the extremes; his beard, (which he ware a little picked,<sup>7</sup> as the

<sup>a</sup> Marginal note. <sup>b</sup> Marginal note. The words *My Bro: Richard . . . 1622* added later; the date has been altered.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn inserted in the Wotton parish register a note, 'Borne 31 October at 1 a clock in the morning at Wotton': *Parish registers of Abinger, Wotton, and Oakwood Chapel* (Surrey Record Soc., vol. xxv, 1927), p. 138; C. G. S. Foljambe (afterwards Lord Liverpool), *Evelyn pedigrees and memoranda*, 1893, p. 34. John Aubrey also gives 1 a.m., but this must come from Evelyn also: *Brief lives*, ed. A. Clarke, 1898, i. 250.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn's figures are unreliable. Mrs. Evelyn was born on 17 Nov. 1598 and was therefore only in her twenty-second year when he was born. Richard Evelyn is described as 'quinquagenarius' at the time of

his death, 24 (or 20) Dec. 1640; the date of his birth is unknown.

<sup>3</sup> The marriage is entered in the register of St. Saviour's, Southwark, 27 Jan. 1613/14: *Genealogist*, new ser., vii (c. 1891), 95.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. 1615/16; she was baptized on 1 March: *Parish registers . . . Wotton*, p. 137.

<sup>5</sup> According to Foljambe he was baptized on 8 July: p. 34. The parish register omits the month; June, July, and August are possible: *Parish registers, &c.*, p. 137.

<sup>6</sup> A portrait of him is reproduced by H. Evelyn, *History of the Evelyn family*, 1915, p. 30.

<sup>7</sup> i.e. peaked or pointed.

mode was,) of a brownish colour and so continu'd to the last, save that it was somewhat mingled with grey haire about his cheekes; which with his countenance was cleare, & fresh colour'd, his eyes extraordinary quick & piercing, an ample fore head, in summ, a very well composed visage and manly aspect: For the rest, he was but low of stature, but very strong: He was for his life so exact and temperat, that I have heard he had never in all his life been surpriz'd by excesse, being ascetic and sparing: His Wisdome was greate, and judgment most acute; of solid discourse, affable, humble and in nothing affected; of a thriving, neate, silent and methodical genius; discreetly severe, yet liberall upon all just occasions both to his Children, strangers, and servants; a lover of hospitality; and in briefe, of a singular & Christian moderation in all his actions; not illiterate, nor obscure; as having continu'd Justice of Peace, and of the Quorum; and served his Country in the Charge of high-Sheriff; being (as I take it) the last dignified with that office for Sussex and Surrey together the same Yeare, before their separation:<sup>1</sup> He was yet a studious decliner of Honors and Titles; being already in that esteeme with his Country, that they could have added little to him, besids their burthen:<sup>2</sup> In fine, a person of that rare conversation, that upon frequent recollection, and calling to memory some Passages of his life, and discourse, I could never charge him with the least passion, or inadvertancy: [His estate esteem'd to be about £4000 per an:<sup>3</sup> well wodded & full of Timber:]<sup>a</sup>

My Mother's name was Elianor,<sup>4</sup> sole daughter, & heyresse

---

<sup>a</sup> Added later.

---

<sup>1</sup> He was sheriff of the two counties from 10 Nov. 1633 to 5 Nov. 1634; they were united from 1242 to 1567 and again from 1571 to 1636: *List of sheriffs of England and Wales* (P.R.O., Lists and Indexes, no. ix, 1898), pp. 138, 135-41.

<sup>2</sup> In 1630 he refused to be knighted and paid a fine of £50 for not appearing at the time and

place appointed for his receiving the order. Bray prints the receipt for the fine as a note to this passage.

<sup>3</sup> The income may be correct, but is perhaps that derived from the estate by Evelyn about 1700.

<sup>4</sup> Her name is given as Ellen on her tombstone, but was probably some form of Eleanor.

of John Standsfield<sup>1</sup> Esquire of an antient, and honorable Family (though now extinct) in Shropshire;<sup>a</sup> and Elianor Comber, of a good and well knowne house in Sussex. [She was borne 17. Nov: 1598 in Cliff Sussex, neere Lewes.]<sup>b</sup> She was of proper personage, well timber'd, of a browne complexion; her eyes and haire of a lovely black; of constitution more inclyn'd to a religious Melancholy, or pious sadnesse; of a rare memory, and most exemplary life: for Oeconomique prudence esteem'd one of the most conspicuous in her Country, which render'd her losse universaly deplor'd, both by those who knew, and such as onely heard of her. Thus much in briefe touching my Parents: nor was it reasonable I should speake lesse of them, to whom I owe so much. [oblig'd.]<sup>c</sup>

The Place of my birth was Wotton, in the Parish of Wotton or Black-Heath<sup>2</sup> in the County of Surrey, the then Mansion house of my Father,<sup>3</sup> left him [as above]<sup>d</sup> by my Grand-

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *Cheshire*. <sup>b</sup> Marginal note; the word *Cliff* inserted later. <sup>c</sup> Added later. <sup>d</sup> Added later; refers to the additional passage in V about Richard Evelyn's succession to Wotton.

<sup>1</sup> John Stansfield, of the Cliffe, near Lewes, was born at Lewes: abstract of will in J. Stansfeld, *Hist. of the family of Stansfeld of Stansfield*, 1885, p. 388. A note made in 1628 accepts him as a descendant of the Yorkshire Stansfields: *ibid.*, p. 308. The descent is not proved, but the church of Halifax, of which parish the township of Stansfield was part, had belonged to Lewes Priory: J. Watson, *Halifax*, 1775, pp. 330-44. John Stansfield of the Cliffe married (1) on 24 March 1597/8 Eleanor, d. 1613, daughter of Thomas Comber of West Allington; (2) in 1614 Jane, 1575-1650, daughter of Thomas Michell of Rudgwick. He completed his will on 14 and died on 23 Feb. 1626/7. His widow married secondly William Newton (below, p. 9), and died on 10 Dec. 1650: *Genealogists' magazine*, vi (1932), 130-1, where, however, the deaths of Mr. and Mrs.

Newton are confused; J. Comber, *Sussex genealogies*, 1931-3, *Lewes centre*, pp. 66-7; *ibid.*, *Horsham*, p. 241; Mrs. Newton's epitaph in H. R. Mosse, *Monumental effigies of Sussex*, 2nd ed., 1933, pp. 126-7; see also below, 27 Jan. 1651.

<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence that Wotton was ever called Blackheath. The parish gives its name to the hundred of Wotton; the adjoining hundred to the west is called Blackheath.

<sup>3</sup> The oldest visible part of the house as it now exists dates from the late sixteenth century. The house has been considerably altered since Evelyn's time. Short account in *V.C.H., Surrey*, iii. 156-7; the two drawings made by Evelyn in 1640 are better reproduced in *Surrey archaeological collections*, xvii (1902), 70-1; on one of them Evelyn marks, 'Chamber window to ye room whr I was borne'.



father, and now [afterwards]<sup>a</sup> my Eldest Brothers. [In the red-Chamber having 2 windows directly towards the N and South respecting the Gardens.]<sup>b</sup> It is situated in the most Sothern part of the Shire, and though in a Vally; yet realy upon a very greate rising,<sup>1</sup> being on part of one of the most eminent hills in England for the prodigious prospect to be seen from its summit, though by few observed. [Lyth-hill, where one may discerne 12 or 13 shires, with part of the sea, in a serene day.]<sup>b</sup> The house is large and antient, suitable to those hospitable times, and so sweetely environ'd with those delicious streames and venerable Woods, as in the judgment of strangers, as well as English-men, it may be compared to one of the most tempting and pleasant seates in<sup>c</sup> the Nation [for a great person & a wanton purse to render it Conspicuous:]<sup>b</sup> for it has risings, meadows, Woods & Water in abundance; not destitute of the most noble and advantageous accommodations; being but [within little more than]<sup>d</sup> 20 miles from Lond: and yet so<sup>e</sup> securely placed, as if it were an hundred: from Darking<sup>2</sup> 3 miles, [6 from Gilford 12 from Kingston]<sup>d</sup> which serves it abundantly with provisions as well of Land as Sea: I will say nothing of the ayre because the præeminence is universaly given to Surrey; the soile being dry and sandy; but I should speake much of the Gardens, Fountaines and Groves that adorne it were they not as generally knowne to be [amongst]<sup>d</sup> the most natural & [most]<sup>d</sup> magnificent that England afforded [til this later & universal luxury of the whole nation since abounding in such expenses]<sup>b</sup>,

---

<sup>a</sup> Interlined later; *now* not deleted.    <sup>b</sup> Marginal note.    <sup>c</sup> Substituted for *of*.    <sup>d</sup> Interlined.    <sup>e</sup> Followed by *neere* deleted.

---

<sup>1</sup> The house stands 400 feet above sea-level; Leith Hill, nearly three miles south, rises to 965 feet. On Wotton and Leith Hill see Evelyn's additions to W. Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gibson, 1695, p. 163, and his letter to Aubrey in J. Aubrey, *Natural history of Surrey*, 1718-19, vol. i (reprinted in Evelyn, *Miscel-*

*laneous writings*, pp. 687-8).

<sup>2</sup> Dorking; 'Darking' was probably the more usual form at this time. Evelyn's distances are inaccurate: Wotton is about three miles from Dorking, eight from Guildford, fourteen from Kingston, and twenty-six from London.

and which indeede gave one of the first examples to that elegancy since so much in vogue and followd, for the managing of their Waters and other elegancies of that nature: Let me add the contiguity of 5 or 6 Mannors, the Patronage of the Livings about it;<sup>1</sup> and (what Themistocles<sup>2</sup> pronounc'd for none of the least advantages) the good Neighborhod,<sup>3</sup> all which conspire here to render it an honorable and handsom royalty, fit for the present Possessor my worthy Brother, and noble Lady,<sup>3</sup> whose constant Liberality give them title both to the place, and the affections of all that know them: Thus with the Poet:

Nescio qua Natale solum dulcedine cunctos  
Ducit, et immemores <non><sup>b</sup> sinit esse sui.<sup>4</sup>

I had given me the name of my Grandfather, my Mothers Father, who together with a sister of Sir Tho: Evelyns of Long Ditton, and Mr. Comber, a neere relation of my mothers, were my susceptors.<sup>5</sup> [I had given me two handsom pieces of very curiously wrought, & gilt plate.]<sup>c</sup> The sollemnity yet (upon what accident I know not, unlesse some indisposition in me) was perform'd in the Dining rome<sup>6</sup> by Parson Higham<sup>7</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *Neighbours*; followed by *about it* deleted.

<sup>b</sup> MS. *not*.

<sup>c</sup> Marginal note.

<sup>1</sup> For the six manors see below, 29 Sept. 1701; for the Evelyns' acquisition of them see *V.C.H., Surrey*, iii. 131-3, 147-8, 156. The three advowsons are those of Wotton, Abinger, and Oakwood Chapel (St. John the Baptist).

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Vitae parallelae*, Themistocles, xviii. 8.

<sup>3</sup> This passage was written *c.* 1660; Evelyn refers to George Evelyn's second wife: see below, p. 537.

<sup>4</sup> Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, i. iii. 35-6.

<sup>5</sup> John Stansfield; Rose, 1596-1682 (or 1683), daughter of Thomas Evelyn of Long Ditton and half-sister of Sir Thomas, married, 1616, to Thomas Keightley (1580-'1662'): Foljambe, p. 21; R. Clutterbuck,

*Hist. . . . of the county of Hertford*, 1815-27, ii. 205; *Visitation of London, 1633-5*, ii. 30 (Harleian Soc., vol. xvii, 1883); *D.N.B.*, art. Keightley, Thomas, 1650?-1719; and William Comber of Wotton, Mrs. Richard Evelyn's great-uncle: *Genealogists' magazine*, vi (1932), 133 (abstract of his wife's will).

<sup>6</sup> For Evelyn's disapproval of private baptism see below, 12 April 1689 and 31 Dec. 1699.

<sup>7</sup> George Higham, rector of Wotton 1612-58 in succession to his father, Robert, rector 1583-1612, and succeeded by his son John, rector *c.* 1660-84; O. Manning and W. Bray, *Hist. . . . of Surrey*, 1804-14, ii. 158. His sister Elizabeth married Richard Comber, a nephew

the present incumbent of the Parish, according to the forme prescribed by the then glorious CHURCH of ENGLAND.<sup>1</sup>

1621. I was now (in regard of my Mothers weaknesse, or rather costome of persons of quality) put to Nurse to one Peter,<sup>2</sup> a neighbours wife, and tennant; of a good comely, brown, & wholsome-complexion, and in a most sweete place towards the hills, flanked with wood, and refreshed with streames, the affection to which kind of solitude, I sucked in with my very milke.<sup>3</sup> It appears by a note of my Fathers that I sucked till 17: Jan: 1622, or at least I came not home before.

1623. The very first thing that I can call to memory, and from which time forward, I began to observe, was, this yeare my Youngest Brother, being in his Nurses armes, who being then two Yeares and 9 dayes younger then my selfe, was the last child of my deare Parents: [My Bro: Richard was borne at 10 at Night: 9: Nov: Saturday: 1622.]<sup>a</sup>

1624. I was not initiated into any rudiments till neere 4 yeares of age; and then one Frier<sup>4</sup> taught us at the Church-porch of Wotton; and I do perfectly remember the greate talke and stirr about il Conde Gundamar, now Ambassador from Spaine;<sup>5</sup> for neere about this time was the match of our

<sup>a</sup> Marginal note.

of William Comber of Wotton at the same place and on the same day as Richard Evelyn married his wife: *Genealogists' magazine*, vi (1932), 134; *Visitations of Surrey, 1530, 1572, and 1623* (Harleian Soc., vol. xliii, 1899), p. 159.

<sup>1</sup> This refers to the Church's general prosperity and to its freedom from open opposition before the Civil War. When it was written the Church was still probably in process of restoration. Cf. a similar passage below, pp. 19–20.

<sup>2</sup> The Peters or Peter family is prominent in the Wotton parish registers; John, son of Daniel Peter, was baptized on 23 January of this year.

<sup>3</sup> So Evelyn describes himself as 'Wood-born': *Sylva*, 1664, To the Reader (2nd ed., 1670, p. 244); compare his letter to Lady Sunderland, 4 Aug. 1690 (Bohn, iii. 318).

<sup>4</sup> He is not traceable in the parish register.

<sup>5</sup> Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, c. 1570–1626; created count of Gondomar 1617: F. H. Lyon, *Diego de Sarmiento, &c.*, 1910. He was ambassador to England from 1613 to 1622, with short intervals. Negotiations for a Spanish marriage began at least as early as 1611, and were carried on more or less continuously from 1614 to 1623; the visit of Prince Charles and Buckingham to Spain in the latter year, the

Prince with the Infanta propos'd, and the Effects of that Comet 1618<sup>1</sup> still working in the prodigious revolutions now beginning in Europ, especially in Germany, whose sad commotions sprung from the Bohemians defection from the Emperor Mathias, upon which quarell the Sweds brake in, giving umbrage to the rest of the Princes, and the whole Christian world, cause to deplore it [as never since Injoying any perfect tranquility.]<sup>a</sup>

1625. I was this yeare (being the first of the reigne of King Charles) sent by my Father to Lewes in Sussex, to be with my Grandfather,<sup>2</sup> with whom I pass'd my Child-hood: This was that yeare in which the Pestilence was so Epidemical, that there dy'd in Lond. 5000 a Weeke;<sup>3</sup> & I well remember the strict Watches, and examinations upon the Ways as we pass'd: and I was shortly after so dangerously sick of a Feavor, that (as I have heard), the Physitians despair'd of me.

1626. My Picture was drawne in Oyle by one Chanterell,<sup>4</sup> no ill Painter.

1627. My Grandfather Standsfield dyed this Yeare on the 5. of Feb:<sup>5</sup> and I remember perfectly the solemnity at his funerall; he was buried in the Parish [Church]<sup>b</sup> of All-Soules,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Added later.      <sup>b</sup> Interlined later.

most notorious episode, brought them to an end. Evelyn perhaps alludes to Gondomar's proposed return to England about October 1624: S. R. Gardiner, *Hist. of England, 1603-1642*, new ed., 1893, v. 269.

<sup>1</sup> See J. Kepler, *De cometis libellus*, 1619; it was apparently one of the finest comets on record. For Evelyn's later views on comets see below, 12 Dec. 1680. The political allusion is perhaps to the Defenestration, 1618, when the Bohemian Protestant nobles attacked the regents appointed by Matthias, Holy Roman Emperor 1612-19. This was the first blow in the Thirty Years War. Swedish intervention began in 1630. The Thirty Years War ended in 1648, but war continued between France

and Spain until 1659, and in the north of Europe until 1660.

<sup>2</sup> John Stansfield: above, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The plague deaths in the worst week, 11-18 August, amounted to 4,463; there were 5,205 deaths from all causes in that week. The total number of plague deaths for the year was 35,417, higher than any recorded until then: F. P. Wilson, *The plague in Shakespeare's London, 1927*, pp. 136-7, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Otherwise unknown.

<sup>5</sup> This date is wrong; he did not complete his will until 14 February: above, p. 3 n.

<sup>6</sup> The church is dedicated to All Saints: cf. V. The monument has been broken up, but parts still exist: Mosse, *Monumental effigies*, 2nd ed., pp. 125-7.

where my Grandmother (his second Wife) erected him a pious Monument.

About this time was the Consecration of the Church of South Malling<sup>1</sup> neere Lewes; [Consecrated by Bp: Field<sup>2</sup> Bp: of Oxon: One Mr. Coxhall<sup>3</sup> preached on . . . who was afterward minister:]\* the building whereof was chiefly procur'd by my Grandfather, to which he left a rent Charge of £20 per annum: which likewise I pay'd, til I sold the Impropriation,<sup>4</sup> and that onely because it was so: I lay'd one of the first stones at the building of that Church: [I have often wish'd, I had kept it: til I had ben able to restore it all to the Church:]<sup>b</sup>

It was not till the yeare 1628 that I was put to learne my Latine Rudiments, and to Write, of one Citolin,<sup>5</sup> a Frenchman in Lewes.

1629. I very well remember that generall Muster, prævious to the Ile of Rès expedition; and that I was one day awaken'd in the Morning with the newes of the Duke of Buckingham

---

\* Marginal note.

b Added later.

---

<sup>1</sup> Stansfield bought the rectory of South Malling in 1623. At this time there was no church. The new church, dedicated to St. Michael, was completed in 1628, but was not dedicated until 24 May 1632: *Sussex archaeological collections*, xxvi (1875), 82-3; lxiv (1923), 78-9.

<sup>2</sup> Theophilus Field, 1574-1636; D.D., Cambridge, 1611; bishop of Llandaff 1619; of St. David's 1627; of Hereford 1635: *D.N.B.* At the date of the consecration the newly elected bishop of Oxford (John Bancroft; below, p. 23) was waiting for the royal assent to his election: J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, ed. T. D. Hardy, 1854, ii. 506.

<sup>3</sup> Esdras Coxall; matriculated at Cambridge 1611; M.A. 1618; apparently later an intruded minister at Worth, Sussex: J. Walker, *Sufferings of the clergy*, 1714, ii. 312.

<sup>4</sup> See below, 16 May 1648. The

impropriation here means the proprietorship of the revenues of the benefice. The Long Parliament apparently did not interfere with impropriations belonging to laymen, unless they were delinquents; by an ordinance of 3 Oct. 1648 those formerly belonging to the bishops were to be disposed of for the benefit of the clergy: W. A. Shaw, *Hist. of the English Church, 1640-1660*, 1900, ii. 199-202; Sir C. H. Firth and Sir R. S. Rait, eds., *Acts and ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, 1911, i. 1219-20.

<sup>5</sup> Martyr Citolin of Lewes, 'scholmaster in the arte of writinge and in the principle of the English tounge', signed the Chichester Subscription Book (diocesan) on 19 Sept. 1611. He was living in Lewes about this time: W. H. Godfrey, *Some Lewes townsfolk of the past*, 1926, p. 8.

being slaine by that wretch Felton, after our disgrace before La Rochelle.<sup>1</sup>

And I now tooke so extraordinary a fansy to drawing, and designing, that I could never after weane my inclinations from it, to the expense of much precious tyme which might have been more advantagiously employd:<sup>2</sup> [1630] For I was now put to schoole to one Mr. Potts<sup>3</sup> in the Cliff;<sup>4</sup> from whom on the 7th of Jan: (being the day after Epiphany) I went to the Free-schole at Southover<sup>5</sup> neere the Towne, of which one Agnes Morley had been the Foundresse, and now Edw: Snatt<sup>6</sup> the Master, under whom I remain'd till I was sent to the University. [This yeare my Grandmother (with whom I sojourn'd) being married to one Mr. Newton a learned and most religious Gent: We went from the Cliff, to dwell at his house in Southover.]<sup>7</sup><sup>a</sup> I do most perfectly remember the

<sup>a</sup> Marginal note.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn refers to the disastrous expedition to the Isle of Ré, July–October 1627, to relieve La Rochelle. George Villiers, 1592–1628; Viscount Villiers 1616; earl of Buckingham 1617; marquis 1618; duke 1623; assassinated by Lieut. John Felton, c. 1595–1628, at Portsmouth 23 Aug. 1628: for both men see *D.N.B.* There was a second expedition to La Rochelle in September 1628. By the general muster Evelyn presumably means the levy ordered on 11 May; Sussex was to provide one hundred men and Surrey two hundred: *Acts of the Privy Council*, Jan.–Aug. 1627, p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn writes rather differently on this subject in *Sculptura*, pp. 131–2.

<sup>3</sup> Otherwise unknown. The marginal year-date is evidently wrongly placed in the manuscript.

<sup>4</sup> The Cliffe lies across the Ouse from Lewes, and was not part of the borough.

<sup>5</sup> For the school and Agnes Morley (d. 1512) see *V.C.H., Sussex*, ii. 411–15; but the statements there regard-

ing the school's prestige in Evelyn's time are not to be taken seriously.

<sup>6</sup> Edward Snatt, presumably the sizar admitted at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1615; B.A. 1619; M.A. 1622: Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*. In 1642 Edward Snatt of Southover, clerk, was licensed to marry Alice Page of Keymer: *Cal. of Sussex marriage licences, Lewes, 1586–1643* (Sussex Record Soc., vol. i, 1901), p. 286. He was still at Lewes in 1657: letter to Evelyn, in *Diary*, ed. Bohn, iii. 95–6.

<sup>7</sup> William Newton, c. 1564–1648. His father, also William, originally of a Cheshire family, was steward of the manor of Southover for the earl of Dorset and built the house now called Southover Grange c. 1572. The younger William's first wife was Jane, daughter of John Apsley of Thakeham, a connexion of the second Mrs. Stansfield, his own second wife. He died on 21 May 1648: *Sussex arch. coll.* ix (1857), 324–5, 335; Comber, *Sussex genealogies, Lewes*, pp. 199–200; *ibid.*, *Horsham*, pp. 232–3, 238–41;

jubilie which was universaly express'd for the happy birth of the Prince of Wales 29: May: now CHARLES THE 2D, our most gracious Sovraigne.<sup>1</sup>

1631. There happen'd now an extraordinary dirth in Engl:<sup>2</sup> corne bearing an excessive price: and in imitation of what I had seene my Father do, I began to observe matters more punctually, which I did use to set downe in a blanke Almanac.<sup>3</sup>

The Lord of Castelhavens arraignment<sup>4</sup> for many shamefull exorbitances<sup>5</sup> was now all the talke; and the birth of the Princesse Mary, afterward Princess of Orange.<sup>6</sup>

1632. October 21 my Eldest sister was married to Edw: Darcy Esquire:<sup>7</sup> who little deserved so excellent a person, a

Godfrey, *Some Lewes townsfolk*, pp. 10, 13; *V.C.H., Sussex*, vii. 45.

Richard Evelyn was paying Newton for his sons' keep in 1636: 'I have also sent £5 for my sonn's board, and xxs. for their schole master for this Christmas quarter, and desyre you to speake to there master to take what paynes he cann with them to make them schollers': Richard Evelyn 'to his very lovinge Father', William Newton, 15 Dec. 1636: *Sussex arch. coll.* iv (1851), 229-30.

<sup>1</sup> Charles II succeeded nominally in 1649; was restored to the throne in 1660; and died in 1685.

<sup>2</sup> The bad famine year was apparently 1630: Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, vii. 162. <sup>3</sup> See introduction.

<sup>4</sup> Mervyn Tuchet, c. 1593-1631; second earl of Castlehaven (Ireland) 1617; tried by the Lord Steward for unnatural crime, &c., and convicted 25 April: G.E.C.; Howell, *State trials*, iii. 401-18; Sir W. Sanderson, *A compleat history of the life and reigne of King Charles*, 1658, pp. 154-60.

<sup>5</sup> Evelyn uses the word in the same sense in *Tyrannus* (*Memoirs*, 2nd ed., ii. 316) and in his 'Account of architects', &c., prefixed to Fréart's *Parallel*, 1707, p. 46 (*Misc. writings*, p. 410), and also below;

cf. exorbitancy, p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Born on 4 November; married William II, prince of Orange, 1641; died 1660: *D.N.B.* Further notices below.

<sup>7</sup> Edward Darcy, c. 1610-c. 1674; a descendant of Thomas Darcy, Lord Darcy (*D.N.B.*). He is described in the marriage licence as of St. Anne's, Blackfriars. He inherited Dartford Place in Dartford, Kent, and the manors of Sutton, &c., in Surrey, and Newhall, &c., in Stapenhill, Derbyshire. He married secondly, c. 1640, Elizabeth Stanhope, daughter of the first, and aunt of the second, earl of Chesterfield, and left four daughters by this marriage: E. Hasted, *Hist. . . of Kent*, 1797-1801, i. 217; *Misc. genealogica et heraldica*, 2nd ser., i (1886), 176; J. Dunkin, *Hist. of Dartford*, 1884, pp. 186-7; *Allegations for marriage licences . . . Faculty Office* (Harleian Soc., vol. xxiv, 1886), p. 47; *Hist. MSS. Comm., 9th Rep.*, app. ii, p. 45; *V.C.H., Surrey*, iii. 274; iv. 200, 244; J. Charles Cox, *Notes on the churches of Derbyshire*, 1875-9, iii. 379-80; *Cal. Committee for advance of money*, i. 324. The marriage licence was issued on 24 October and the ceremony took place on 25 October at St. Anne's, Blackfriars.

woman of so rare vertue: I was not present at the Nuptials; but I was soone after sent for into Surrey, and my Father would very willingly have weaned me from my fondnesse of my too indulgent Grand-mother, intending to have sent me to Eaton; but being neither so provident for my owne benefit, unreasonably terrified with the report of the severe discipline there;<sup>1</sup> I was sent back againe to Lewes, which perversenesse of mine, I have since a thousand times deplor'd.

This was the first time, that ever my Parents had seene all their Children together in prosperity.

Whiles I was now trifling at home I saw London, where I lay one night onely, the next day dined at Bedington<sup>2</sup> much delighted with the Gardens & curiosities there, as they then appear'd to me: Thenc we return'd to the Lady Darcys<sup>3</sup> at Sutton, thence to Wotton, and the 16 of Aug: following 1633 back to Lewes.

1633. Nov: 3: this yeare was my Father made sherif<sup>4</sup> the last (as I thinke) who served in that honorable office for Surry & Sussex befor they were disjoyned: he had 116 Servants in Liverys, every one liveryd in greene sattin doublets; divers Gentlemen and persons of quality besides waited on him in the same garbe & habit, which at that time (when 30 or 40 was the usual retinue of the High-Sherif) was esteem'd a greate matter; nor was this out of the least vanity, that my Father exceeded (who was one of the greatest

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn refers perhaps rather to the curriculum than to the order maintained among the pupils: see *O.E.D.*, s.v. Discipline. At this time some Eton pupils at any rate were well treated; from 1636 there was greater severity: *V.C.H.*, *Bucks.* ii. 194-5.

<sup>2</sup> Beddington. See the note to the fuller notice in the corresponding passage in V.

<sup>3</sup> Grace, d. 1641, daughter of Alexander Reddish of Reddish, Lancs., and widow of Sir Robert Darcy, d. 1618: Evelyn, *Early life*, ed. H. Maynard Smith, p. 49, where some further information is col-

lected; J. and G. F. Matthews, eds., *Year-books of probates*, year 1641; J. Booker, *Hist. of . . . Didsbury, &c.* (Chetham Soc., vol. xlii, 1857), pp. 210, 212. The manor of Sutton descended to the Darcy family from the Carews: note on Beddington in V; *V.C.H.*, *Surrey*, iv. 244. The house appears to have been unimportant.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 2 n. Holding the office is said to have cost Evelyn £802. 7s. 8d., apart from extraordinary entertainments at Christmas: *Archaeologia*, xviii (1817), 334. Evelyn's instructions for his Lord of Misrule (Christmas to Twelfth Night) are printed there, pp. 333-4.



decliners of it in the World) but because he could not refuse the Civility of his friends and relations who voluntarily came themselves, or sent in their Servants: But my Father was afterwards most unjustly & spitefully molested by that jeering Judge Richardson, for repreeving the execution of a Woman, to gratifie my L: of Lindsey then Admiral;<sup>1</sup> but out of this he emerged with as much honor as trouble.

1634. The King made this Yeare his progresse into Scotland, and Duke James was borne.<sup>2</sup>

Decemb: 15. my deare Sister Darcy departed this life,<sup>3</sup> being ariv'd to her 20th yeare of age, in vertue advanc'd beyond her yeares, or the merit of her Husband the worst of men. It was believed that the indisposition caused by her prety infant, which was borne the 2d of June before, contributed much to her destruction; as infallibly both their deaths did to my Mothers, who not long survived her.

The 24 of December I was therefore sent for home the second tyme to celebrate the obsequies of my Sister,<sup>4</sup> who was interr'd in a very honorable manner, in our Dormitory,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Richardson, 1569-1635; knighted 1621; lord chief justice of the Common Pleas 1626; of King's Bench 1631: *D.N.B.*, where some of his witticisms are given; and Robert Bertie, 1582-1642; twelfth Lord Willoughby de Eresby 1601; created earl of Lindsey 1626: *D.N.B.*; G.E.C. Lindsey was a vice-admiral in 1627 and 1628; he commanded the expedition to La Rochelle in 1628 and was admiral of the Ship Money fleet in 1635; but he was never lord high admiral, and has no known connexion with Surrey and only a slight connexion with Sussex. He was lord great chamberlain from 1625 (or 1627). There was no lord high admiral at this date (for a suggestion that Evelyn confused Lindsey with Algernon Percy, earl of Northumberland, see *Early life*, ed. Maynard Smith, p. 51). Richard Evelyn reprieved two women who

had been convicted at the Surrey assizes in March 1634; his petition relating to them and a report on it are printed by H. Evelyn, pp. 31-3 (*Cal. S.P., Dom., 1635*, p. 285).

<sup>2</sup> Both events belong to 1633: Sanderson, *King Charles*, pp. 191-4. James, b. 14 Oct. 1633; designated and proclaimed duke of York at birth; succeeded as James II 1685; d. 1701.

<sup>3</sup> She was in her twenty-first year. Her baby, Elizabeth, was apparently both born and baptized on 2 June 1634, and died on 17 and was buried on 20 July 1635: Wotton *Parish registers*, pp. 139, 196; Foljambe, p. 34. Mrs. Darcy's monument is figured by Foljambe, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> She was buried on 2 Jan. 1634/5: *Parish registers*, p. 196.

<sup>5</sup> For the dormitory see *Sylva*, 1706, p. 344\*. Evelyn uses the word frequently in this sense.

joyning to the Parish-Church, where now her Monument stands.

1635. On<sup>a</sup> Jan:<sup>a</sup> 7th following I returned to Lewes:<sup>b</sup>

But my deare Mother, being now dangerously sick, I was the 3d of Sept: following sent for to Wotton; whom I found so far spent, that all human assistance failing, she in a most heavenly manner departed this Life upon the 29 of the same moneth, about 8 in the Evening of Michaelmas-day. It was a malignant feavor which tooke her away, about the 37th of her age, and 22d of her marriage, to our irreparable losse, and the universal regret of all that knew her. Certaine it is, that the visible cause of her indisposition proceeded from grieve, upon the losse of her daughter, and the Infants that follow'd it; and it is as certaine, that when she perceived the perill, whereto its excesse had engaged her, she strove to compose her selfe, and allay it; but it was too late, and she was forc'd to succumb; Therefore summoning all her Children then living (I shall never forget it) she express'd her selfe in a manner so heavenly, with instructions so pious, and Christian,<sup>c</sup> as made us strangely sensible of the extraordinary losse then imminent; after which, embracing every one of us in particular, she gave to each a Ring with her Blessing, and dismiss'd us. Then taking my Father by the hand, she recommended us to his care; and because she was extreamey zealous for the education of my Younger Bro: she requested my Father, that he might be sent with me to Lewes; and so having importun'd him that what he design'd to bestow on her Funeral, he would rather dispose among the poore (for that she feared, God had not a little punish'd her, for the pomp, and expense of my Sisters) she labourd to compose herselfe for the blessed change which She now expected. There was not a Servant in the house, whom she did not expressly send for, advise, and infinitely affect with her coun-

<sup>a-a</sup> Altered from *In June*.    <sup>b</sup> Followed by a deleted entry: *July the 16, my Father being (as I understood) extreamey displeased at my Writing so ill a Character, I put my selfe to the Writing Schoole for a Moneth or two, till I had redressed that in some measure.*<sup>1</sup>    <sup>c</sup> Substituted for *moral*.

<sup>1</sup> I have seen no specimens of Evelyn's hand-writing prior to 1636.

sell; and thus she continu'd to employ her intervalls, either instructing her relations, or preparing of her selfe: for though her Physitians (who were Dr. Meverell,<sup>1</sup> Dr. Clement,<sup>2</sup> & Dr. Rand<sup>3</sup>) had given over all hopes of her recovery, and Sir Sanders Duncomb<sup>4</sup> tried his celebrated & famous powder upon her; yet she was many days impairing, and endur'd the sharpest conflicts of her sicknesse with admirable patience, and a most christian resignation; reteining both her intellectuals, and ardent affections for her dissolution to the very article of her departure; which hapned, as I sayd, on the 29 of September after she had fallen into a Crisis by a profound sweate (the onely change through all her sicknesse) after which lay(i)ng her hand upon every one of her Children, and (having) taken solemn leave of my Father; with elevated heart, & eyes, she quietly expired, and resign'd her Soule to God.

<sup>1</sup> Othowell Meverall, 1585-1648; M.D., Leyden, 1613; *D.N.B.*; R. W. Innes Smith, *English-speaking students of medicine at the University of Leyden*, 1932.

<sup>2</sup> William Clement, c. 1569-1636; M.D., Padua, c. 1596; W. Munk, *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians*, 2nd ed., 1878, i. 146; R. W. Innes Smith, as above.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Ralph Rand, c. 1594-1653; M.A., St. Andrews, 1612; matriculated at Leyden 1616; M.D., Groningen, 1617; traceable at Godalming from 1642. He appears to have been a son of James Rand, vicar of Norton; if so, Dr. Ralph Rand, c. 1561-1649, rector of Gatton and later of Oxted (Venn, *Alumni Cantab.*), was an uncle, and Dr. William Rand, the translator of Gassendi's *Life* of Peiresc (below, 5 March 1657), the grandson of another uncle. The latter says that Rand's widow was Evelyn's 'near kinswoman': dedication of the *Life*. Her Christian name was Francis, but she cannot be further identified; she died in 1661: R. W. Innes Smith, as

above; *Visitation of London, 1633, &c.* ii. 184-5 (Harleian Soc.); R. Surtees, *Hist. . . of Durham*, 1816-40, iii. 417; *Parish registers of Godalming*, pt. i (Surrey Parish Register Soc., 1904).

<sup>4</sup> Sir Sanders Duncombe, d. c. 1653, was a first cousin of George Duncombe of Shalford, &c. (below, p. 24 n.): *Visitations of Bedfordshire, 1566, 1582, and 1634*, pp. 100-1, and *Visitations of Surrey, 1530, &c.*, p. 201 (Harleian Soc., vols. xix, 1884; xliii). He was knighted in 1617 when attending James I in Scotland. On 1 Oct. 1634 and 7 Dec. 1635 he obtained patents for the sole right, for fourteen years, of letting out sedans on hire, the latter grant applying to London; and in 1638 he obtained rights for fourteen years for combats of wild and domestic animals in England. He kept a private bear-garden near Islington, and later apparently a zoological garden there: J. L. Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration stage*, 1928, pp. 66-8. Nothing is known of his powder.

Thus ended that prudent, and pious Woman in the flowre [almost]<sup>a</sup> of her age, to the unconsolable affliction of her husband, irreparable losse of her Children, and universal regret of all that knew her: She was interr'd as neere as might be, to her Daughter Darcy, the 3d of October, at night; but with no meane Ceremony.

It was the 3d of the ensuing November after my Bro: Geo: was gon back to Oxford,<sup>1</sup> 'ere I return'd to Lewes, where I made way (according to instructions received of my Father) for my Bro: Rich: who was sent the 12th after.

This Yeare 1636,<sup>2</sup> being extreamely dry, the Pestilence<sup>3</sup> much increased in Lond, and divers parts of England.

The 13th of Feb: I was especialy admitted (and as I remember my other Bro:) into the Middle-Temple<sup>4</sup> Lond: though absent, and as yet at Schoole.

There were now large contributions to the distressed Palatinate.<sup>5</sup>

The 31 of October came my Father himselfe to see us, and return'd the 5t of November following.

The 10th of December he sent a Servant to bring us necessaries &c, and the Plague beginning now to cease<sup>6</sup>

The 3d. of Apr: 1637 I was sent for from Schoole; where till about the last Yeare I had been extreamely remisse in my

<sup>a</sup> Interlined.

<sup>1</sup> George Evelyn matriculated at Oxford on 24 Oct. 1634: Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*. His college was Trinity. Three letters between him and his father are printed by H. Evelyn, pp. 37-42.

<sup>2</sup> For Evelyn's memoranda of this and the following year see introduction.

<sup>3</sup> See proclamations in R. Steele, *Tudor and Stuart proclamations*, 1910, vol. i, nos. 1723, 1727, 1730-5.

<sup>4</sup> George and John were admitted on 18 Feb. 1636/7: C. H. Hopwood, ed., *Middle Temple records, Minutes of parliament*, 1904-5, ii. 853; or on 16 February: H. Maynard Smith, pp. 63-4; Richard on 15 June 1640:

Hopwood, ii. 894. Several other Evelyns and members of families connected with them were at the same inn.

<sup>5</sup> The collection, which was ordered by a proclamation of 9 April 1635, was for the ministers driven into exile from the Palatinate, and for their families: Steele, no. 1695.

<sup>6</sup> The plague deaths in 1636 amounted to 10,400, the highest number since 1625; there was a marked decline in the weekly figures in December, but there were 3,082 plague deaths in 1637: C. Creighton, *A history of epidemics in Britain*, 1891-4, i. 530, 533.

studies; so as I went to the Universitie, rather out of shame of abiding longer at Schoole, than for any fitnessse, as by sad experience I found, which put me to relearne all that I had neglected, or but perfunctorily gaind.

It was Apr: 5. that I return'd to Wotton (upon what occasion I do not well remember) and the 9th of May after, that I arriv'd at Oxford, where I was admitted Fellow-Communer<sup>1</sup> of Balliol Colledge upon the 10th in the Chapell there, taking an Oath to be conformable to the Statutes, and Orders of that Society.

On the 29 of May I was MATRICULATED in the Vestry at St. Maries;<sup>2</sup> UBI SUBSCRIPSI ARTICULIS FIDEI, ET RELIGIONIS, ET JURAMENTUM SUSCEPI DE AGNOSCENDA SUPREMA REGIÆ MAJESTATIS POTESTATE, ET DE OBSERVANDIS STATUTIS, PRIVILEGIIS, ET CONSUECUDINIBUS UNIVERSITATIS. Dr. R: Baily<sup>3</sup> head of St. Johns, being then Vice-Chancellor. [afterwards Bishop.]<sup>a</sup>

It appeares by a letter of my Fathers, that he was upon treaty with one Mr. Bathurst<sup>4</sup> of Trinity Coll: (afterwards

<sup>a</sup> Added later.

<sup>1</sup> Fellow-commoners took their commons (i.e. dined) with the fellows of the college and enjoyed some other privileges. They were to be found in various colleges of both universities; in other colleges the gentlemen-commoners were on a similar footing: *O.E.D.*; for Balliol, Andrew Clark, ed., *The colleges of Oxford*, 1891, p. 40. For entrance at a college in this period see *Register of the University of Oxford*, vol. ii, 1571-1622, ed. A. Clark (Oxford Hist. Soc., 1887-9), i. 3-5.

<sup>2</sup> The date should be 19, not 29, May: early memoranda; Foster, *Alumni Oxon.* The 'Vestry at St. Maries' is presumably the old Congregation House, in use c. 1480-c. 1637: Anthony Wood, *Survey of the antiquities of the city of Oxford*, ed.

A. Clark (Oxford Hist. Soc., 1889-99), ii. 29-30. For the ceremonies for entrance to the university—subscription and matriculation—see *Register, 1571-1622*, i. 5-7.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Baylie, c. 1586-1667; D.D. 1633; president of St. John's College 1633-48, 1660-7; vice-chancellor 1636-8; H. Maynard Smith, pp. 70-1; Anthony Wood, *Life and times*, ed. A. Clark (Oxford Hist. Soc., 1891-1900), ii. 114-15. He was never a bishop, refusing the see of Lichfield in 1661: Wood, as above, i. 422; but was dean of Salisbury from 1635 until his death.

<sup>4</sup> This cannot be Dr. Ralph Bathurst, 1620-1704, who was not elected a fellow of Trinity until 1640 (below, 1 March 1665). It is probably his brother George, c. 1610-

Doctor [& Præsident]<sup>a</sup>) who should have been my Tutor; but least my Brothers Tutor Dr. Hobbs,<sup>1</sup> (more zelous in his life, then industrious with his Pupils,) should receive it as an affront; and especialy for that Fellow-Communers in Balliol were no more exemptd from Exercise than the meanest Scholars there; my Father sent me thither to one Mr. Geo: Bradshaw<sup>2</sup> (*nomen invisum*) yet the sonn of an excellent Father, beneficed in our Country of Surrey. I ever thought my Tutor had parts enough; but as his ambition [& I fear vices]<sup>b</sup> made him very much suspected of the Colledg; so his grudg to the Governor of it Dr. Lawrence<sup>3</sup> [Margaret Professor]<sup>a</sup> (whom he afterwards supplanted) tooke up so much of his tyme, that he seldom, or never had any opportunity to discharge his duty to his Scholars; which, I perceiving, associated my selfe with one Jam: Thicknesse<sup>4</sup> (then a Young

<sup>a</sup> Interlined later.

<sup>b</sup> Interlined later; *vices* is doubtful.

*c.* 1644, who was elected a fellow in 1634; he served in the garrison at Faringdon and died before 7 Aug. 1645: G. Baker, *Hist. . . . of the county of Northampton*, 1823-30, ii. 203; Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*; Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, 1813-20, Fasti, i. 515. George was never a doctor; Ralph became a doctor of physic in 1654; the parenthesis shows that Evelyn was confusing the two already in 1660.

<sup>1</sup> William Hobbs, d. 1670; subscribed 1614; fellow of Trinity 1623; D.D. 1639; prebendary of Salisbury 1662: H. Maynard Smith, p. 72; Venn, *Alumni Cantab.*

<sup>2</sup> George Bradshaw, presumably son of Nicholas, 1575-1655, rector of Ockham 1606-55. The latter is described as of Buckinghamshire and of plebeian origin: Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*; there was apparently no connexion with John Bradshaw the regicide's family (for which see J. P. Earwaker, *East Cheshire*, 1877-3811.2

80, ii. 65). George graduated B.A. from Balliol 1630; M.A. 1635; fellow of Balliol 1635. Perhaps rector of Wisley, Surrey, from 1639 until expelled in 1645: Manning and Bray, iii. 120; *Surrey arch. coll.* ix (1888), 306. He was appointed master of Balliol on 21 July 1648 in place of Laurence (see below) and was succeeded in 1651 by Henry Savage (*D.N.B.*); Foster; *Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford, 1647-1658*, ed. M. Burrows (Camden Soc., new ser., vol. xxix, 1881). For the father see also Manning and Bray, iii. 125, 128.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Laurence, 1598-1657; D.D. 1633; Margaret professor of divinity 1638-48; elected master of Balliol 11 Nov. 1637; resigned 14 July 1648: *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> Born *c.* 1620; son of Ralph Thicknesse (Thickens) of Whitechapel; matriculated 1636; B.A. 1639; fellow 1641; M.A. 1642; expelled 20 Oct. 1648; restored 1660: Foster; *Register*, ed. Burrows, as

C

man of the foundation, afterwards fellow of the house) by whose learned and friendly Conversation I received a great advantage.

At my first arival Dr. Parkhurst<sup>1</sup> was Master, after his discease Dr. Lawrence, a Chaplaine of his Majesties and Margaret Professor succeeded, an accute and Learned Person; nor do I so much reproch his severity, considering that the extraordinary remissenesse of discipline had (til his coming) much detracted from the reputation of that Colledg.

There came in my tyme to the Coll: one Nathaniel Conopios<sup>2</sup> out of Greece, from [Cyrill]<sup>a</sup> the Patriarch of Constantinople,<sup>3</sup> who returning many yeares after, was made (as I understood) Bishop of Smyrna. [He was the first I ever saw drink Coffè,<sup>4</sup> which custome came not into England til 30 years after.]<sup>b</sup>

---

<sup>a</sup> Interlined later.    <sup>b</sup> Evelyn first inserted *Coffè*; then he deleted it and substituted this marginal note.

---

above; H. W. C. Davis, *Balliol College* ('College histories'), 1899, p. 146. I have found no traces of him at Padua. Further notices below.

<sup>1</sup> John Parkhurst, 1564–1639; D.D. 1610; master of Balliol 1617–37: *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> For Conopius see E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique: dix-septième siècle*, 1894–1903, v. 294–9, and letters in vol. iv. Lukaris (see below) recommended him to come to England, but he came only after Lukaris's death. He received a pension of £40 per annum at Oxford: Wood, *Life and times*, i. 76; was later a chaplain at Christ Church; matriculated at Leyden in 1645; and was expelled from Oxford in 1648. The authority for his being bishop of Smyrna is H. Savage, *Balliofergus*, 1668, p. 121, where there is some account of his musical compositions.

<sup>3</sup> Kyrillos Lukaris, 1572–1638, patriarch of Constantinople from 1620. He attempted to reform the

Orthodox Church, having been strongly influenced by Calvinistic theology. He was strangled on 27 June 1638 as a result of the intrigues of Orthodox opponents; the Jesuits had also opposed him: Thomas Smith, *An Account of the Greek Church*, 1680; J. J. Herzog, *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd ed., ed. A. Hauck, 1896–1913, s.v. Lukaris; Georg Hofmann, S.J., *Patriarch Kyrillos Lukaris und die römische Kurie*, 1929 (*Orientalia Christiana*, no. 52). He was godfather of Sir Cyril Wyche, who married Evelyn's niece Mary in 1692.

<sup>4</sup> This statement is apparently derived from Anthony Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 1691–2, ii. 658 (ed. Bliss, iv. 808). Wood obtained his information from George Ashwell in 1676: *Life and times*, ii. 334. Evelyn probably inserted the note in K when he was preparing to write V; but he may have had some genuine recollection.

After I was somewhat settled there in my formalities,<sup>1</sup> (for then was the University exceedingly regular under the exact discipline of William Lawd, Archbish: of Canterbury then Chancellor)<sup>2</sup> I added as benefactor to the Library of the Coll: these Bookes following:

Ex dono Johannis Evelyni hujus Coll:  
Socio-Commensalis, Filij Richardi  
Evelyni, è Com: Surriæ, Armigeri

Zanchij Opera Voll: j. 2. 3m.

Granado in Tho: Aquinatem Vol: j. 2. 3m.

Novarini Electa Sacra, &

Cresolij Anthologia Sacra. Authors (it seemes) desired  
by the students of Divinity there.<sup>3</sup>

Upon the 2d of July, being the first of the Moneth, I first received the B: Sacrament of the Lords Supper<sup>4</sup> in the Colledg Chapell, one Mr. Cooper,<sup>5</sup> a fellow of the house preaching; and at this tyme was the Church of England in her

<sup>1</sup> Here probably requirements of etiquette or custom: *O.E.D.*, s.v. Formality, 9; but it might mean academic costume: cf. below, 6 July 1660.

<sup>2</sup> William Laud, 1573–1645; D.D. 1608; bishop of St. David's 1621; of Bath and Wells 1626; of London 1628; archbishop of Canterbury 1633; *D.N.B.* He was chancellor of the university from 1629 to 1641; his disciplinary action included the codification of the statutes (the Laudian code, 1636).

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn follows, with slight variations, the entry of his gift in the college library 'Catalogus librorum & Benefactorum', p. 32. The books are: H. Zanchius, *Omnium operum theologicorum tomi octo*, Geneva, 1619, eight volumes bound in three; J. Granadus, S.J., *Commentarii in Summam theologiae sancti Thomae* and *Commentarii in primam partem Summae theologiae . . . tomus tertius*, Pont-à-Mousson, 1624, three

volumes bound in two; A. Novarinus, *Electa sacra*, Lyons, 1629 (a work dealing with Christian antiquities); and L. Cresollius, *Anthologia sacra; seu de selectis piorum hominum virtutibus . . . decades duae*, probably vol. i only, Paris, 1632 (vol. ii was not published until 1638; the book was not available in the college library in 1946). Each volume (apart from the missing Cresollius) contains a note that it is a gift of Evelyn's.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn was not confirmed until 14 Dec. 1639 (see below); practice at this time was slack: H. Maynard Smith, p. 111. Evelyn was obliged to communicate at least four times a year as a member of the university, and at least three times a year in any case: *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical* (1604), nos. xxi, xxiii.

<sup>5</sup> Edward Cowper, c. 1597–1640; M.A., Oxford, 1622; perhaps B.D. 1637; held livings in Worcestershire: Venn, *Alumni Cantab.*



greatest splendor, all things decent, and becoming the peace, and the Persons that govern'd.

The most of the following Weeke I spent in visiting the Colledges, and several rarities of the University, which do very much affect young comers; but I do not find any memoranda's of what I saw.

18 July, I accompanyd my Eldest Bro (who then quitted Oxford)<sup>1</sup> into the Country; and the 9 of Aug: went to visite my friends at Lewes, whenc I returned the 12th to Wotton. 17 Sept: I received the B: Sacrament at Wotton-Church, and Octob: 23 went back to Oxon.

5: Nov: I received againe the holy Comm: in our Coll: Chapell: one Prouse,<sup>2</sup> a Fellow (but a mad one) preaching.

December 9, I offerd at my first exercise in the Hall, and answerd myne Opponent: and upon the 11th following declaymed in the Chapell before the Master, Fellows & Scholars according to the Custome: The 15th after, I first of all Oppos'd in the Hall.<sup>3</sup>

The Christmas ensuing, being at a Comedy, which the Gent: of Excester-Coll: presented to the University, and standing (for the better advantage of seeing) upon a table in the Hall, which was neere to another in the darke; being constrain'd by the extraordinary presse to quit my station, in leaping downe to save my selfe I dash'd my right leg with such violence against the sharp edge of the other board, as gave me an hurt which held me in cure till almost Easter,<sup>4</sup> and confined me to my study.

1638. The 22d of Jan, I would needes be admitted into the dauncing, and Vaulting Schole; of which late activity one

---

<sup>2</sup> Followed by *on this supposition* [?] deleted, and then four lines, each beginning *an*, all so deleted as to be illegible.

---

<sup>1</sup> George did not take a degree.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Prowse, *c.* 1611-67 or later; B.A. 1629; M.A. 1632; he held various livings in Northumberland, &c.: Foster; *Archaeologia Aeliana*, new ser., xvii (1895), 247. He was a fellow on the Blundell foundation from 1629 to 1642:

information supplied by Professor R. A. B. Mynors.

<sup>3</sup> On methods of instruction in the universities at this time see H. Maynard Smith, pp. 87-9.

<sup>4</sup> Easter Day fell on 25 March in 1638.

Stokes<sup>1</sup> (the Master) did afterwards set forth a pretty booke, which was publish'd with many witty Elogies<sup>2</sup> before it.

Feb: 4th. one Mr. Wariner<sup>3</sup> preachd in our Chapell after which followd the B: Sacrament and so also Mar: 25: when Mr. Wentworth<sup>4</sup> preached, a kinsman of the Earle of Straffords.

Apr: 13th my Father order'd that I should begin to manage myne owne Expenses; which ('til then) my Tutor had don, at which I was much satisfied.

July 1: I received the B: Sacr: one Evet,<sup>5</sup> preaching.

The 9th following, I went home to visite my friends and the 26t, with my Bro: and Sister to Lewes, where we aboad till the 31, and thence, to one Mr. Michaels<sup>6</sup> of Houghton neere Arundel (where we were very well treated) and the 2d of Aug: to Portsmouth; and thence having surveyd the fortifications (a greate rarity in that blessed Halcyon tyme<sup>7</sup> in England) my bro: Rich. and I passed into the Ile of Wight, to

<sup>1</sup> William Stokes, d. 1643; he had been teaching for about thirty years: *Oxford magazine*, xxxi (1912-13), 229-30. His book is *The Vaulting Master: or The Art of Vaulting: Reduced to a Method, comprized under certaine Rules, illustrated by Examples, And Now primarily set forth*, London, 1641. It contains fifteen plates of 'passes', with letterpress, besides Stokes's portrait and six 'elogies'. Reissues were published at Oxford in 1652 and (probably) 1655: F. Madan, *Oxford books*, vol. iii, 1651-80, 1931, nos. 2207, 2283.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn frequently uses the word elogy, which is derived from *elogium*, a short saying. It is frequently confused with, but actually not connected with, eulogy.

<sup>3</sup> Probably John Warriner of Queen's, c. 1609-52; M.A. 1633: Foster.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Peter Wentworth, 1601-61; D.D. 1633; dean of Armagh 1637-41; &c. He was very distantly connected with Strafford (below, p. 27); they had a common

ancestor in the fourteenth century: Foster; John Wentworth, *The Wentworth genealogy*, 1878, i. 30-1, &c.

<sup>5</sup> Probably William Evett of Balliol, c. 1613-78?; M.A. 1635; rector of Grafton Flyford, Worcs., 1645: Foster; T. R. Nash, *Collections for the history of Worcestershire*, 1781-2, i. 469.

<sup>6</sup> John Michell of Houghton, a first cousin of Evelyn's 'grandmother' Mrs. Newton, or his son William: Comber, *Sussex genealogies*, Horsham, pp. 239-41.

<sup>7</sup> So Evelyn in his introduction to *Of Liberty and Servitude* writes: 'during the Reign of our most gracious Sovereignes Halcion daies' (*Misc. writings*, p. 6). The phrase was applied to the England of Charles I by Carew as early as 1633, in his poem on the death of Gustavus Adolphus. For Evelyn's general view of England before the Civil War see *Numismata*, p. 110.

The fortifications of Portsmouth were greatly improved in Elizabeth's reign: *V.C.H., Hants*, iii. 189.

the house of my Lady Richards,<sup>1</sup> in a place call'd Yaverland ; but we returned to our Company the next morning, whom we overtooke at Chichester, where having viewed the Citty, and faire Cathedrall, we lodg'd that night, and the day following return'd home.

9 Aug: I receiv'd the B: Sacrament<sup>a</sup> in our Parish-Church.<sup>2</sup>

About the beginning of September I was so afflicted with a quartan Ague, that I could by no meanes get rid of it untill the December following: This was that fatal Yeare, wherein the rebellious Scots oppos'd the King, upon pretence of the introduction of some new Ceremonies, and the Booke of Comm: Prayer;<sup>3</sup> and madly began our Confusions, and their owne destruction too, as it proved in event.

(1639.)<sup>b</sup> I came back to Oxon (after my tedious indisposition, and to the infinite losse of my tyme) on the 14 of Jan: 1639, and now I began to looke upon the rudiments of Musick, in which I afterwards ariv'd to some formal knowledge, though to small perfection of hand because I was so frequently diverted, with inclinations to newer trifles.

14 (April), being Pascha Dr. Lawrence our Master preaching in the Chap: I received the B: S:

May 20, accompany'd with one Mr. Jo: Crafford<sup>4</sup> (who

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Sar<sup>t</sup>*:    <sup>b</sup> MS. 1637.

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Hungerford of Downe, a distant relation of the future Mrs. John Evelyn's uncle Hungerford of Cadendam (below, 9 June 1654); second wife of Sir John Richards, knighted 1615, d. 1626, whose mother, Bridget Michell, was a second cousin of Evelyn's 'grandmother' Mrs. Newton. The house at Yaverland still exists: W. Berry, *County genealogies: Hants*, 1833, p. 18; Sir R. C. Hoare, *Hungerfordiana*, 1823, pp. 14-22; Comber, *Sussex genealogies, Horsham*, pp. 232-3, 238-40; for her children see H. Maynard Smith, p. 99; for Yaverland *V.C.H., Hants*, v. 207-8.

<sup>2</sup> 9 Aug. 1638 was a Thursday;

9 September was a Sunday.

<sup>3</sup> The riot at St. Giles took place on 23 July 1637; the National Covenant and the Glasgow Assembly belong to 1638; the first Bishops' War belongs to 1639.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly John Craford or Crayford, son of Edward Craford of Great Mongeham, Kent; he is later described as of Sutton near Dover: W. Berry, *County genealogies: Kent*, 1830, pp. 109, 133. He was not at Oxford; he is presumably the John Crayford who matriculated at Padua on 12 Nov. 1644: G. (J. L.) Andrich, *De natione Anglica et Scotica juristarum universitatis Patavinae, 1222-1738*, 1892, p. 146.

afterwards, being my fellow-traveller in Italy,<sup>1</sup> there chang'd his Religion) I tooke a journey of pleasure to see our Summer-set-shire Bathes, Bristoll, Cirencester, Malmesbury, Abington, and divers other townes of lesser note; cursorily view'd, and return'd the 25t.

July 9, my Father sent for me home, and the 11th I receiv'd the B: Sa: at Wotton.<sup>2</sup>

16. Sept: I went to Lewes, returning not till the 26t: so it was the 8th of Octob. e're I went back to Oxon.

December 14th according to injunctions from the heads of Colledges, I went (amongst the rest) to the Confirmation in St. Maryes; where after Sermon, the Bishop of Oxon:<sup>3</sup> lay'd his hands upon us, with the usual forme of benediction prescrib'd: But this receiv'd (I feare) for the more part, out of curiosity, rather then with that due preparation and advise which had been requisite, could not be so effectual, as otherwise that admirable, and usefull institution might have been; and as I have since deplor'd it.

1640. Jan: 21, came my Bro: Richard from Schole, to be my Chamber-fellow at the University: he was admitted the next day, and Matriculated the 31th.<sup>4</sup>

Feb: 16 was a Comm: againe in our Coll: and upon March the 25. my Father happning to be sick, sent both for me and my Bro: to come to him.

Apr: 11th, I went to Lond, to see the solemnity of his Majesties riding through the City in State to the Short Parliament,<sup>5</sup> which began the 13 following; a very glorious

<sup>1</sup> This does not necessarily mean that the two men travelled together in Italy, or even at the same time, merely that they both travelled there. This is shown by Evelyn's description of Dr. John Bargrave as 'my old fellow Travelor in Italy': below, 13 May 1672. Evelyn left Italy in May 1646; Bargrave apparently first entered the country in the following December: Dr. J. Bargrave, *Pope Alexander the Seventh and the College of Cardinals* (Camden Soc., 1st ser., vol. xcii, 1867), introd., p. x; J. Raymond, *Itinerary* (see note

on Evelyn's sources for his account of Italy), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> 11 July 1639 was a Thursday; 11 August was a Sunday.

<sup>3</sup> John Bancroft, 1574-1640; D.D. 1610; bishop of Oxford 1632: *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn would read this as 'the one-and-thirtieth', not as 'thethirty-first'.

<sup>5</sup> The procession presumably took place on 13 April, the day on which the parliament was opened. Evelyn again mentions his seeing it in *Numismata*, p. 110.

and magnificent sight, the King circl'd with his royal diademe, and the affections of his People. But

The day after I return'd to Wotton againe, where I stay'd (my Fathers indisposition suffering greate intervalls) till Apr: 27th when I was sent to London to be first resident at the Middle-Temple:<sup>1</sup> so as my being at the University, in regard of these avocations, was of very small benefit to me.

Upon May the 5t following, was the Parliament unhapily dissolved: and the 20th I return'd with my Bro: Geor: to Wotton, who was upon 28 of the same Moneth<sup>a</sup> married at Albury, to Mrs. Caldwell<sup>2</sup> (an heyresse of an antient Licester-shire family) where part of the nuptials were celebrated.

June 10th, I repaired with my Bro: to the Tearme,<sup>3</sup> to goe into our new Lodgings<sup>4</sup> (that were formerly in Essex-Court) being a very handsome appartement just over against the Hall-Court; but 4 payre of stayres high; which gave us the advantage of the fairer prospect; but did not much contribute to the love of that impolish'd study; to which (I suppose) my Father had design'd me, when he payd £145 to purchase our present lives, and assignements afterwards.

London, and especialy the Court, were at this period in

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *ensuing* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> George Evelyn had a chamber, or part of one, in Essex Court from 23 June 1637: *Middle Temple records, Minutes of parliament*, ii. 856, 872.

<sup>2</sup> Mary, d. 1644, daughter of Daniel Caldwell of Horndon-on-the-Hill, Essex, by his second wife Mary, daughter of George Duncombe of Shalford and Albery Weston (above, p. 14 n.) by his wife Judith Carrell (Caryll): *Visitations of Surrey, 1530, &c.* (Harleian Soc.), pp. 89, 201. The Caldwells came originally from Rolleston, Staffs.: Foljambe, pp. 41–2.

<sup>3</sup> Trinity term began on 17 June this year.

<sup>4</sup> George surrendered his chamber in Essex Court (see note above) on 20 June. On the same day the three

brothers were each admitted 'to the third part of an upper chamber on the fourth floor, with appurtenances, in the new buildings situate towards Middle Temple Lane on the west, between the lane and le Little Court eastward and westward, for life and one assignment after'. Richard had been admitted to the inn on 15 June. John transferred his third to Thomas Henshaw (below, p. 179) on 28 Nov. 1654; George sold his third to Henshaw by 11 May 1655; Richard transferred his third to William Perrott on 25 May 1658. Elias Ashmole (below, 19 Sept. 1655) succeeded Henshaw in November 1658: *Middle Temple records, Minutes of parliament*, ii. 895, 894; iii. 1071, 1078, 1121–2, 1128.

frequent disorders, and greate insolencies committed by the abus'd and too happy Citty: in particular the Bish: of Canterburys Palace at Lambeth was assaulted by a rude rabble from Southwark;<sup>1</sup> my Lord Chamberlayne imprison'd,<sup>2</sup> and many Scandalous Libells, & invectives scatter'd about the streetes to the reproch of Government, and the fermentation of our since distractions;<sup>3</sup> so that upon the 25. of June I was sent for to Wotton; and the 27th after, my Fathers indisposition augmenting, by advice of the Physitians, he repaired to the Bathe.

The 31.<sup>4</sup> I went againe to Lond: to visite one Mr. Duncomb,<sup>5</sup> a Relation of my Brothers Lady, who lay mortaly sick there, and the next day return'd: But on the 7th after, my Bro: Geo: and I, understanding the perill my Father was in upon a suddaine attaque of his infirmity; rod post from Guildford towards him, and found him indeede extraordinary weake. Yet, so, as that continuing his course, he held out till the 8th of September, when I returned (with)<sup>a</sup> him home in his Litter; being, as we conceiv'd, something repair'd in his health.

Octob: 15. I went to the Temple, it being Michaelmas Tearme:<sup>6</sup> and Oct: 30, I saw his Majestie (comming from his Northern expedition) ride in pomp, and a kind of Ovation, with all the markes of an happy Peace restor'd to the affections of his People; being conducted through Lond, with a most splendid Cavalcade; and on November following, the

<sup>a</sup> MS. *whith*.

<sup>1</sup> 11 May. Sanderson, *King Charles*, pp. 306, 309.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn has made a mistake here. Philip Herbert, 1584-1650; created earl of Montgomery 1605; succeeded as fourth earl of Pembroke 1630; lord chamberlain of the household 1626-41: *D.N.B.* As a result of a quarrel on 17 July, when they were attending a committee of the house of lords, he and Lord Mowbray (below, [29] Sept. 1645) were confined to their houses, and on 19 July were sent to the Tower;

they were released a few days later: J. Rushworth, *Hist. collections*, vol. iii, pt. i, 1692, p. 350; *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 10th Rep., app. vi, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn presumably refers to the placards posted in the streets just after the attack on Lambeth: Gardiner, ix. 133.

<sup>4</sup> This date presumably belongs to July.

<sup>5</sup> Not identifiable.

<sup>6</sup> Michaelmas term began on 23 October.

*third* (a day never to be mention'd without a curse)<sup>1</sup> to that long, ungratefull, foolish and fatal Parliament, the beginning of all our sorrows for twenty yeares after, and the period of the most happy Monarch in the World—*quis talia fando*—.<sup>2</sup>

But my Father being by this time enter'd into a Dropsy, which was an indisposition, the most unsuspected, being a person so exemplarily temperate, and of admirable regiment; hastened me back to Wotton December 12. where the 24th following, being Thursday, between 12 and one at noone, departed this life, that excellent man, and indulgent parent; reteining his senses, and his piety to the last; which he most tenderly express'd in blessing us, whom he now left in the World, and the worst of tymes, whilst he was taken from the evill to come.

It was a sad, and lugubrous beginning of the Yeare, when on the 2d of Jan: 1640/1. we at night follow'd the mourning hearse to the Church at Wotton; where (after a Sermon, and funebral Oration, by the Minister) my Father was interr'd neere his formerly erected Monument,<sup>3</sup> and mingled with the ashes of our Mother, his deare Wife.

But thus we were bereft of both our Parents in a period when we most of all stood in neede of their Counsell and assistance; especially my selfe of a raw, vaine, uncertaine and very unwary inclination;<sup>4</sup> but so it pleased God, to make tryall of my Conduct, in a conjuncture of the greatest and most prodigious hazards, that ever the Youth of England saw; and if I did not amidst all this, impeach<sup>5</sup> my Liberty, nor my Vertue, with the rest who made ship-wrack of both; it was more the infinite goodnesse, and mercy of God, then the least providence or discretion of myne owne, who now thought of nothing, but the pursute of Vanity, and the confus'd imaginations of Young men.

Upon the 27 of Jan: I went with my Bro: to London about

<sup>1</sup> Compare Sanderson, *King Charles*, p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> *Aeneid*, ii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> It is figured by Foljambe, p. 30; the epitaph is also given there.

<sup>4</sup> So Evelyn writes of his 'raw

and unsettled spirit' prior to his travels: *State of France*, preface (*Misc. writings*, p. 48).

<sup>5</sup> So 'without the least impeachment to my *Religion and Loyalty*': *ibid.*, preface (*Misc. writings*, p. 50).

finding my Fathers Office,<sup>1</sup> in which something that was then left me, was concern'd; there I aboad till the 17th of March when I returnd to Wotton.

Apr: 1: I went with my Bro: Rich: to Lewes to settle matters with some Tennants of mine there,<sup>2</sup> and came back againe the 9th but upon the 15, I repaired to Lond: to heare, and see the famous Tryall of the Earle of Strafford, Lord Deputy of Ireland;<sup>3</sup> who on the 22d of March before had been summoned before both houses of Parliament, and now appear'd in Westminster-Hall, which was prepar'd with Scaffolds for the Lords and Commons, who together with the King, Queene, Prince, and flowre of the Noblesse were Spectators, and auditors of the greatest malice, and the greatest innocency that ever met before so illustrious an Assembly. It was Tho: Earle of Arundell & Surrey Earle Martial of England<sup>4</sup> who was made high Stuard upon this occasion, and the Sequell is too well known.

<sup>1</sup> Office is here used presumably in the legal sense, an official inquest or inquiry, concerning any matter that entitles the king to the possession of lands or chattels: *O.E.D.*, s.v. Office, 7. To find an office is to return a verdict showing that the king is thus entitled: *ibid.*; but here the taking of the inquest is perhaps intended.

<sup>2</sup> By his father's will Evelyn obtained lands at South Malling and £4,000: Foljambe, p. 44 (cf. *Surrey arch. coll.* ii (1864), 45-9, 113-14). This was in lieu of legacies made by John Stansfield, who left to Richard and Eleanor Evelyn, with remainder to Evelyn, the manor, &c., of Denton, messuages in the Cliffe and Eckington, and his capital messuage at South Malling: will in Stansfeld, *Hist. of the family of Stansfeld*, pp. 388-90. Evelyn later appears as owner of a house at the Cliffe and of a farm at Ripe: below, 20 May 1652, 8 Aug. 1674; Denton went to George Evelyn: below, 3 June 1694. Evelyn later sold the impropriation

of South Malling: below, 16 May 1648.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Wentworth, 1593-1641; knighted 1611; succeeded as second baronet 1614; created Baron Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse 22 July 1628; Viscount Wentworth 13 Dec. 1628; earl of Strafford 1640; viceroy of Ireland as Lord Deputy 1633-40; as Lord Lieutenant 1640-1: *D.N.B.* The trial lasted from 22 March to 17 April; it is not clear on which day Evelyn was present; the most important was 13 April: J. Nalson, *Impartial collection*, 1682-3, ii. 103-52. The arrangements in Westminster Hall are described by Sanderson, *King Charles*, p. [375]; there is an etching of the proceedings by Hollar (reproduced by A. M. Hind, *Wenceslaus Hollar and his views of London*, 1922, pl. liii).

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Howard, 1585-1646; restored as twenty-first or fourteenth earl of Arundel and fourth earl of Surrey 1604; made Earl Marshal 1621; created earl of Norfolk 1644; the art-collector: *D.N.B.*; Mary



On the 27th came over out of Holland the young Prince of Orange,<sup>1</sup> with a splendid equipage, to make love to his Majesties eldest daughter, the now Princesse-Royall,<sup>2</sup> and that evening were celebrated the pompous funeralls of the Duke of Richmond,<sup>3</sup> who was carried in Effigie in a⟨n⟩ [open]<sup>a</sup> Charriot through Lond: in greate solemnity.

29, I kissed the Prince of Wales his hand, in the Lobby behind the house of Lords,<sup>4</sup> and return'd to Wotton on the 30th, where I receiv'd the B: Sacr: the next Sunday.

May: 7th I went againe to Lond: with my Bro: and on the 12th following beheld on Tower-hill, the fatal Stroake, which sever'd the wisest head in England from the Shoulders of the Earle of Strafford, whose crime coming under the cognizance of no human-Law, a new one was made, not to be a precedent, but his destruction, to such exorbitancy were things arived.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Added later.

F. S. Hervey, *Life, correspondence, and collections, of Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel*, 1920. He was a friend of Evelyn's. His house at Albury (below, p. 77) was situated about five miles from Wotton.

<sup>1</sup> William II, prince of Orange, 1626–50; succeeded his father 1647. He arrived on 19 April at Gravesend, coming to Whitehall on 20 April: Hist. Genootschap (Utrecht), *Bijdragen en mededeelingen*, xxvii (1906), 418 (the dates there n.s.).

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 10 n. She was Princess Royal by right of birth.

<sup>3</sup> Ludovick Stuart, b. 1574; succeeded as second duke of Lennox (Scotland) 1583; created duke of Richmond 1623 (*D.N.B.*), was buried in Westminster Abbey on 19 April 1624; James Stuart, b. 1612; succeeded as fourth duke of Lennox (Scotland) 1624; created duke of Richmond 1641 (*D.N.B.*), was buried there on 18 April 1655: J. L. Chester, ed., *Marriage, baptismal, and burial registers of the . . . abbey of St. Peter, Westminster* (Harleian Soc., vol. x, 1876), pp. 122, 148.

No important burial took place in the abbey at this time of the year in 1641; Evelyn probably refers to Ludovick's funeral; his error is perhaps due to his misunderstanding a memorandum noting the coincidence of the day of the funeral with that, seventeen years later, of William's arrival. Funeral effigies of Duke Ludovick and his duchess were formerly preserved near their tomb: J. C[rull], *The antiquities of St. Peters . . . Westminster*, 1711, p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently the Prince's Chamber, at the south end of the then house of lords, which was in use until c. 1800. The Prince's Chamber was at the end farthest from the house of commons. This part of the palace was pulled down c. 1823: J. T. Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, 1807, p. 36 and plan, p. 38; E. W. Brayley and J. Britton, *Hist. of the ancient Palace . . . at Westminster*, 1836, pp. 401, 406, 420–2.

<sup>5</sup> 'Under the Sun was it never heard, that a man should be con-

The 23d I receiv'd the B: Sac: and the next day returnd to Wotton, and went to Lond againe June 28 with my sister Jane: The day after I sate to one Vanderborcht<sup>1</sup> for my Picture in Oyle, which I presented her, being her request upon my resolutions to absent my selfe from this ill face of things at home, which gave umbrage to wiser then my selfe, that the Medaill was turning,<sup>a</sup> and our calamities but yet in their infancy:<sup>2</sup> so upon July the 15, having procur'd a passe at the Costome-house<sup>3</sup> where I repeated my oath of Allegiance, I went the 16th from Lond: to Graves-end, accompany'd with one Mr. Caryll,<sup>4</sup> and our Servants, where we arived by 6 that Evening, with a purpose to take the first opportunity of a passage for Holland; but the Wind as yet

<sup>a</sup> reversing interlined later; turning not deleted.

demned for transgressing no law, but that which was made after the fact, and abrogated after execution; that the Posterities to come might not be witnesses of your horrid injustice: Yet thus you proceeded against my L. *St(r)afford*: *An apology for the royal party*, 1659, p. 4 (*Misc. writings*, p. 175); cf. *Eikon Basilike*, ch. ii, to which Evelyn refers in V. Etching of the execution by Hollar (reproduced by Hind, pl. xxxi).

Evelyn spent this night at Great Tangley Manor, Guildford, the home of John Caryll (see below); a pane of glass with his name scratched on it is still preserved in one of the bedroom windows there (information from Lord Ponsonby and Lord Sysonby).

<sup>1</sup> Henrik van der Borcht: see Dr. W. R. Valentiner, *Pieter de Hooch*, [1930], pp. xxxiii–xlvii. He is traceable in Arundel's service from 1636 onwards, and at Amsterdam from 1652 to 1658. Dr. Valentiner does not, I think, succeed in identifying him with Hendrik van der Burch, an imitator of de Hooch active c. 1645–c. 1675; he does not mention the portrait of Evelyn at

Wotton attributed to him (the picture appears, however, to be by an English rather than a Dutch artist). For Arundel House see below, 17 Oct. 1659.

<sup>2</sup> Although political tension was increasing rapidly in May and June, it is difficult to see why Evelyn should have regarded it as making it desirable for him to go abroad. The passage seems to date from 1660 rather than from 1641.

<sup>3</sup> A proclamation of 21 July 1635 forbids travel to any foreign state without a licence from a secretary of state: Steele, no. 1697; but in 1640 'a passe From the Custom-house' was sufficient for Peter Mundy to travel abroad (Netherlands and Germany): *Travels*, iv. 53 (Hakluyt Soc., 2nd ser., vol. lv, 1925).

<sup>4</sup> John Caryl or Caryll, 1615–56, son of Simon Caryl of Tangley by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Aungier, Lord Longford: identification from Leyden *Album Studiosorum* (below, p. 52 n.); Manning and Bray, ii. 109, 114. Simon Caryl's sister Judith was the grandmother of Mary, first wife of George Evelyn: above, p. 24 n.

not favourable, we had tyme to view the Blockhouse of that Towne,<sup>1</sup> which answer'd to another over against it at Tilberry (famous for the Rendezvous of Queene Eliz: in the yeare 88:) which we found stor'd with 20 piece of Cannon, and other ammunition proportionable: The 19th we rod to Rochester, and having seene the Cathedrall, we went to Chatham to see the Sovraigne,<sup>2</sup> a mo(n)strous Vessel so call'd, being for burthen, defense and ornament the richest that ever spread cloth before the Wind; and especialy for this remarkable, that her building cost his Majestie the affections of his Subjects, who quarreld with him for a trifle (as it was manag'd by some of his seacret Enemyes, who made this an occasion) refusing to contribute either to their owne safty, or his glory.<sup>3</sup> We return'd againe this evening and (on)<sup>a</sup> the 21, nine in the morning, embarqued in a Dutch Fregat<sup>4</sup> bound for Flushing, convoyd<sup>5</sup> and accompanied by five other stoute Vessells, whereoff one was a Man of Warr, whose assistance we might have needed, if the two Saile which we discover'd to make towards us about midnight (and with whom we all prepar'd for an encounter) had proved to be the enemy which we apprehended;<sup>b</sup> but finding them Norrway-Marchands onely,

<sup>a</sup> MS. *one.*    <sup>b</sup> Here is a marginal note, *we had war with Spaine*, written later and deleted.

<sup>1</sup> For a report on the forts at Gravesend and Tilbury in 1631 see R. P. Cruden, *Hist. of Gravesend*, 1843, pp. 292-6. Elizabeth reviewed the levies at Tilbury on 9 Aug. 1588.

<sup>2</sup> The *Sovereign of the Seas*, launched in 1637, rebuilt c. 1659, again c. 1685, and accidentally burnt in 1696. She carried a hundred guns and her tonnage, 1,522 tons, was nearly twice that of any other English ship existing in 1641; she had cost over £40,000, the normal forty-gun ship costing about £6,000. She was later known as the *Sovereign*, *Sovereign Royal*, or *Royal Sovereign*: M. Oppenheim, *Hist. of the administration of the Royal Navy*, 1896, p. 260, &c.; *Mariner's Mirror*, iii (1913), 109-10; all the important

representations of her are reproduced in Sir G. Callender, *The portrait of Peter Pett and the Sovereign of the Seas*, 1930. She apparently never saw much service.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to the ship-money; Evelyn takes the conventional royalist view.

<sup>4</sup> The first English frigate intended for fighting was built in 1646: see note to Evelyn's account of the *Sovereign of the Seas* in V. Here he perhaps uses the term loosely; in V he calls the ship a pink.

<sup>5</sup> The United Provinces were at war with Spain from 1621 to 1648. The principal danger for ships was from the Dunkirk privateers.

as we approach'd, we at 4 in the morning discry'd the coast of Flanders, and by noone, with a fresh Gale<sup>a</sup> (which made it the most pleasant passage could be wished) we landed safely at Flushing in Zeland.<sup>1</sup>

And now me thought the Seane was infinitely chang'd, to see so prety and neate a towne in the frontier: Here we first went to view the Pr: of Oranges house and garden,<sup>2</sup> the Wales whereof are washed with Neptune continually; after that the State-house,<sup>3</sup> which are generally in all the Low countries magnificently built; but being desirous to over-take the Leagure<sup>4</sup> which was then before Genep, 'ere the summer should be too far expir'd, we went this Evening to Midelbrogh,<sup>5</sup> another sweete towne in this Iland of Walcheria; and by night to Der-Veere,<sup>6</sup> from whence upon the 23d we embarked for Dort: I may not forget that being insufferably tormented with the stitch in my side, caus'd through the impetuous motion of the Wagon, which running very swiftly upon the pav'd Cause-ways, give a wonderfull concussion to such as are unacquainted with that manner of travelling; the Fore-man<sup>7</sup> perceiving me ready to drop from my seate, immediately cur'd and easd me of my payne, by unbouttoning my doublet, and applying an handfull of [could]<sup>b</sup> couch-grasse to my side.

We passe from Der-Veere over many Townes, houses and ruines of demolish'd suburbs &c which have formerly ben swallow'd up by the sea; at what time no lesse then eight of

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *wind*.

<sup>b</sup> Interlined later.

<sup>1</sup> The sources used by Evelyn for his account of his tour in the Netherlands, and the literature for its elucidation, are described in a note at the end of this volume; the chronology of the tour is also discussed there.

<sup>2</sup> The princes of Orange were hereditary stadholders of Zealand. A house in Flushing belonging to them is mentioned in the additions to Guicciardini, Latin trans., 1613, p. 222, and is shown on the plan of the town.

<sup>3</sup> A renaissance building destroyed in the British bombardment in 1809. Figured in Guicciardini, 1613.

<sup>4</sup> A leaguer was 'a military camp, especially one engaged in a siege, an investing force': *O.E.D.* For Genep see below, p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Middelburg in Walcheren.

<sup>6</sup> Veere.

<sup>7</sup> From the Dutch *voerman*, a carter or wagoner. For the state of the English roads see J. Parkes, *Travel in England in the seventeenth century*, 1925, ch. ii.

those Ilands had ben irrecoverably lost,<sup>1</sup> which put me in mind of the deluge, and that description of the Poet.<sup>2</sup>

—culmen tamen altior hujus

Unda tegit, pressæque latent sub gurgite turre.

Met: j.

By reason of an adverse wind, we were this night constrain'd to Lodg in our Vessel; but on the next day we landed at Dort, the onely virgin, and first towne of Holland.<sup>3</sup>

This Citty is commodiously situated on the river of . . . . . by which it is furnish'd <with><sup>a</sup> all German Commodities, and especialy Rhenish-Wines<sup>4</sup> and Timber: It hath almost at the extreamity a very spacious, and venerable Church; a stately Senat-house wherein was holden that famous Synod against the Arminians 1618;<sup>5</sup> and in that hall hangeth a Picture of the Passion,<sup>6</sup> an exceeding rare, and much esteemed piece.

It was in this Towne that I first observed the Storckes building on their Chimnies, and frequently feeding in the Streetes, without that any dares to molest them.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>a</sup> MS. *will*.

<sup>1</sup> So Heylyn: 'Since that, it <the sea> hath in *Zeland* swallowed eight of the Islands, and in them 300 Towns and Villages: many of whose Churches and strong buildings, are at a dead low water, to be seen': *Cosmographie*, p. 361. For the recorded inundations see K. L. Torfs, *Hist. schets, &c.*, 1850; for the waterways at this time the maps published by W. and J. Blaeu; they have greatly changed since then.

<sup>2</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, i. 289-90.

<sup>3</sup> Dort (Dordrecht) took precedence in the States General of Holland. It seems to have been called a maiden city on account of its resistance to John IV of Brabant in 1418; the term is found at least as early as 1549: Barlaeus, in Hegenitius, p. 162; Balen, as below, pp. 766-8; Guicciardini, 1646, ii. 39. For accounts of the town see M. Balen, *Beschryvinge der stad Dordrecht*, 1677; J. Sels, *Beschrijving*

*der stad Dordrecht*, 1857.

<sup>4</sup> 'Formerly the Staple for *Rhenish wines*': Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, p. 382.

<sup>5</sup> The Synod of Dort (13 Nov. 1618-29 May 1619) met in the Kloveniersdoelen, the guild-house and shooting-gallery of the company of arquebusiers or cross-bowmen: accounts of the building in Balen, pp. 665-7; Sels, pp. 54-5; see also Brereton, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> It was an altar-piece showing the Last Supper and the Crucifixion and was painted by Anthonie van Montfort, called van Blocklandt, 1532-83: Balen, p. 666. A Last Supper by the same artist was in the Stadhuis in Balen's time and probably in Evelyn's: Balen, p. 233.

<sup>7</sup> Brereton, p. 14, and Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*, 1617, i. 48, both note the presence of herons; Brereton saw 'a stork's nest on the top of the chimney of a low boor's house' near Dort: p. 12.

Being desirous to hasten towards the Army, I tooke Wagon this afternoone to Rotterdam, whither we were hurried in lesse than an houre, though it be ten-miles distant;<sup>1</sup> so furiously do these Foremen drive. I went first to visite the greate Church; the Doole,<sup>2</sup> and the Burse,<sup>3</sup> the publique statue of the learned Erasmus,<sup>4</sup> which of brasse and a goodly piece; as we pass'd, they shew'd us his house; or rather the meane Cottage wherein he was borne,<sup>5</sup> over which there are extant this distic in capital letters.

Ædibus his ortus, mundum decoravit Erasmus,  
Artibus ingenuis, Religione, Fide.

The 26, I pass'd by a strait, and most commodious River<sup>6</sup> through Delft, to the Hague; in which journey, I observ'd divers Leprous poore Creatures dwelling, and permitted to ask the charity of passengers, which is convey'd them in a floating box that they cast out; they live in solitary huts on the brink of the Water; & I was told, contract their disease from their too much eating of fish.<sup>7</sup>

Ariv'd at the Hague, I went first to the Queene of Bohemias Court,<sup>8</sup> where I had the honor to kisse her Majesties hand;

<sup>1</sup> Monconys also performed the journey in a little over an hour, apparently by land: ii. 128–9.

<sup>2</sup> The *doelen* or shooting-gallery for the companies of arquebusiers or cross-bowmen; Brereton gives a description of it: p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> It consisted of a colonnade with attics above; there were only two wings. The present Bourse, built 1722, occupies the site, but the canals have been altered.

<sup>4</sup> The statue, erected in 1622 to replace various predecessors, is by Hendrik de Keyser, 1565–1621: van der Aa, *Aardrijkskundig woordenboek*, ix. 678–9. Brass included the two alloys of copper now distinguished as brass and bronze; the latter word was introduced into English in the eighteenth century; Evelyn uses it as a verb below, May 1645 (at end of notice of Florence).

3811.2

<sup>5</sup> The house was in the Nauwe or Wijde Kerkstraat. A modern house occupies the site.

<sup>6</sup> For the Dutch canal-boats in 1640 see Mundy, *Travels*, iv. 62; in 1663, Skippon, p. 404; a list of services rather later in G. Miselli, *Il Burattino veridico*, 1684, pp. 219–21. There were regular and frequent services; the speed was three miles an hour; the fares mentioned by Mundy and Miselli seem reasonable. For the Amsterdam services see Brereton, p. 65; for the service between Antwerp and Brussels see below, p. 68 n.

<sup>7</sup> Brereton describes the 'lazarus-house' near Rotterdam and explains that their disease grows worse if the lepers eat any victuals not begged, or bought with money not begged: pp. 9–10, 19.

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth, 1596–1662, daughter of James I and widow of Frederick

D

and severall of the Princesses, her daughters:<sup>1</sup> Prince Mauris<sup>2</sup> was also there, newly come out of Germany: and my Lord Finch,<sup>3</sup> not long before fled out of England from the fury of the Parliament. It was a fasting-day with the Queene, for the unfortunat death of her husband, and therefore the Presence had been hung with black-Velvet, ever since his discease;<sup>4</sup> after some discourse with her Majestie we went to our Lodging, and spent the next day in contemplating that most divertissant, and noble Village.<sup>5</sup>

The 28, I went, by the like passage to Leyden, and by the 29th to Utricht, being 30 English miles distant (as they reckon by houres). It was now Kermas, or a Faire in this Towne; the streetes swarming with Boores and rudenesse; so that early the next morning (having visited the antient Bishops Court, and the two very famous Churches)<sup>6</sup> I satisfied my curiosity till my returne, and better leasure: The 10th we came to Rynen,<sup>7</sup> where the Queene of Bohemia hath a neate, & well

V, Elector Palatine, the 'Winter King' of Bohemia, herself known as the 'Queen of Hearts': *D.N.B.* Frederick died in exile on 29 Nov. 1632. In 1634 Brereton saw the queen at The Hague and some of the younger children at Leyden: pp. 28, 33, 39.

<sup>1</sup> Besides Elizabeth and Louisa Hollandina (see V and notes there) there were Henrietta Maria, 1626–51, who married Sigismund Rákóczi, son of Prince George I of Transylvania; and Sophia, 1630–1714, subsequently electress of Hanover and mother of King George I.

<sup>2</sup> Maurice, 1620–52: *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> John Finch, 1584–1660; knighted 1625; chief justice of the Common Pleas 1634; lord keeper 1640–1; created Baron Finch of Fordwich 1640: *D.N.B.* The commons had voted his impeachment on 21 Dec. 1640: *C.J.* ii. 55; *L.J.* iv. 115. See also below, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth 'mourns, and it is thought will continue that habit *durante vita*': Brereton, p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> 'The Inhabitants will not wall it, as desiring to have it rather accounted the chief Village in Europe, than the second City': Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, p. 384. So Hegenitius: 'pagus . . . totius Europæ pulcherrimus': p. 137. Further notice below, p. 41.

<sup>6</sup> The Bishop's Court is the Bisschopshof, formerly adjoining the cathedral tower, but destroyed c. 1805: van der Aa, *Aardrijkskundig woordenboek*, xi. 442. Evelyn's 'two famous Churches' are due to reading Heylyn carelessly: Utrecht contains 'many goodly Churches, of which 5 were anciently Collegiate; besides two famous Monasteries of noble women': *Cosmographie*, p. 387. On the city see V. J. Blondeel, *Beschryving*, 1757.

<sup>7</sup> Rhenen. The palace was built by the Winter King and was pulled down c. 1811: van der Aa, *Aardrijkskundig woordenboek*, ix. 453. According to Sir A. W. Ward (*The Electress Sophia*, 1909, p. 56) the best account of it is given by

built Palace, or Country house, built after the Italian manner, as I remember; and so crossing the Rhyne, upon which this Villa is situated, lodged that night in a Country-mans house.

The 31, I passed by Nimegen, built upon the rising brinke of the same River, having a strong Castle at one end of the Towne, which doth greatly improve the prospect:<sup>1</sup> I went to see the Church, and the Fort of Naseburg,<sup>2</sup> built by Pri: Maurice<sup>3</sup> when he wonn this Citty, which in the time of Charles the 5t<sup>4</sup> was an Imperial seate: The place is in Gelderland.

Two days after, being Aug: 2d, we ariv'd at the Leagure, where was then the whole Army encamped about Genep,<sup>5</sup> a very strong Castle situated on the river Wahale, and Commanding all Cuke-Land;<sup>6</sup> but being taken now foure (or)<sup>a</sup> 5 days before,<sup>7</sup> we had onely a sight of the demolitions, and

<sup>a</sup> MS. of.

J. Kretschmar, *Mittheilungen zur Geschichte des Heidelberger Schlosses*, pp. 96–132 (not seen). A drawing by Saenredam is reproduced by Ward, ed. 1903, p. 40. The style of the building was Dutch renaissance, but it may have possessed some Italian features, as loggie, &c.

<sup>1</sup> The castle is the Burcht, frequently called the Valkhof; it was demolished c. 1797; the church is the Groote Kerk of Nijmegen: H. D. J. van Schevichaven, *Oud-Nijmegens kerken*, &c., 1909, pp. 107–18, 356–9; views in H. K. Arkstée, *Nymegen*, 1738.

<sup>2</sup> Correctly Knodsenburg, across the Waal from Nijmegen; it was built in 1590.

<sup>3</sup> Maurice of Orange, 1567–1625, son of William the Silent and stadholder of Holland and Zeeland from 1585 until his death.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn's error for Charlemagne: Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, p. 388.

<sup>5</sup> The siege of the fortress of Gennep (t' Huys te Gennep) was the principal exploit this year in the war between the Dutch and Spain.

The fortress was situated not on the Waal but on the Maas, at the point where the Niers flows into it, about two miles distant from the village of Gennep. The commander of the Spanish forces was Thomas Preston, first Viscount Tara (*D.N.B.*). The best accounts of the siege are given by I. Commelyn, *Frederick Hendrick van Nassauw*, 1651, ii. 95–103 (French translation, 1656, unreliable), and L. van Aitzema, *Historie . . . van saken van staet en oorlogh*, 1657–71, v. 263–9; a shorter account, with splendid illustrations, by J. Blaeu (below, p. 37 n.).

<sup>6</sup> The Land van Cuyk, along the left bank of the Maas, about the village of Cuyk, was formerly a separate fief.

<sup>7</sup> The surrender took place on Saturday, 27 July, n.s., and the garrison marched out on Monday, 29 July, n.s., that is, 17 and 19 July according to Evelyn's o.s. dates. It was therefore over a fortnight since the surrender. Evelyn presumably confused the styles of dating when writing up his original



upon the next Sunday was the thanksgiving-Sermons, perform'd in Coll: Gorings<sup>1</sup> Regiment (eldest sonne of the since Earle of Norwich<sup>2</sup>) by Mr. Goffe,<sup>3</sup> his Chaplaine (now turn'd Roman, and Fa: Confessor to the Q: Mother) his text being taken out of 107: Psal: v. 9th, and the evening spent in shooting of the Canon, and other expressions of Military Triumphs.

Now (according to the complement) I was receiv'd a Voluntéere in the Company of Cap: Apsley,<sup>4</sup> of whose Cap: Lieutenant, Honywood<sup>5</sup> (Apsley being absent) I received many civilities.

Aug: 3 at night we rod about the lines of Circumvallation, the Generall being then in the field: The next day I was accommodated with a very spacious, and commodious Tent for my Lodging, as before I was with an horse, which I had at command, and an Hutt, which during the excessive heates, was a very greate conveniency; for the sun peircing the

---

notes with the help of Blaeu (below, p. 37 n.); the chronology of this tour is discussed in a note at the end of this volume.

<sup>1</sup> George Goring, 1608-57, styled Lord Goring from 1644, the royalist general: *D.N.B.* He succeeded to the colonelcy of Horatio Lord Vere's regiment in 1633, and was succeeded by William Killebrew in 1647: F. J. G. ten Raa and F. de Bas, *Het Staatsche Leger, 1568-1795, 1911-21*, iv. 242. He was appointed governor of Portsmouth in 1639, and was apparently in England at this time.

<sup>2</sup> George Goring, 1585-1663; created Baron Goring of Hurstpierpoint 1628; earl of Norwich 1644: *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> Stephen Goffe or Gough, 1605-81; D.D. 1636: *D.N.B.*; see also T. Raymond, *Autobiography* (Royal Hist. Soc., Camden 3rd ser., vol. xxviii, 1917), p. 38. Further notice below, 18 Aug. 1663. The queen mother is Henrietta Maria.

<sup>4</sup> Peter Apsley, commissioned as captain on 30 July 1638 in the place

of Captain Cotton; succeeded, 26 Feb. 1642, by Benedict Honywood (see below): Hague Archives, Raad van State. He was probably a son of the elder Sir Allen Apsley (d. 1630; *D.N.B.*) by his second wife, and so a half-brother of Mrs. Hutchinson. The Jane Apsley who married William Newton (above, p. 9 n.) was a distant relation.

<sup>5</sup> Benedict Honywood, who succeeded Apsley on 26 Feb. 1642 and was superseded on 1 Nov. 1644: Hague Archives, Raad van State. He was a great-grandson of Mary Honywood (*D.N.B.*) and a brother of Sir Robert, the politician (*ibid.*). Genealogical details in *Topographer and Genealogist*, i (1846), 398-9, 403, 573. The mother of Sir Edward Engham, who married a first cousin of Evelyn's, was a Honywood: Foljambe, p. 5; the family was also connected with the Browns of Betchworth.

The captain-lieutenant was the officer who commanded the company under the captain and in his absence: *O.E.D.*, s.v. Lieutenant.

Canvass of the Tent, it was during the day unsufferable, and at night, not seldome infested by the mists and fogs, which ascended from the river.

Upon the 6<sup>t</sup> as the turne came about, I watched on a horneworke, neere our quarters; and traild a pike; being the next morning reliev'd by a company of French: This was our continual duty, till the Castle was refortified, and all danger of quitting that station secur'd.

The 7<sup>th</sup> I went to see a Convent of Franciscan Friers,<sup>1</sup> not far from our Tents, where we found them at their devotions; and both their Chapell, & Refectory full of the goods of such poore people as at the approach of the Army, had fled with them thither for Sanctuary. On the day following I went to view all the trenches, aproches, and Mines &c of the besiegers; and in particular I tooke speciall notice of the Wheele-bridg,<sup>2</sup> which Engine his Excellency,<sup>3</sup> had made, to run over the moate, when they storm'd the Castle; as it is since described (with all the other particulars of his seige) by the Author of that incomparable Worke, *Hollandia illustrata*:<sup>4</sup> the incredible thickness of the Walls, and ramparts of Earth, which a mine had broaken, and crumbl'd all to ashes, did much astonish me.

Upon the 8, I din'd in the horse quarters, with Sir Robert

<sup>1</sup> This must be Blaeu's St. Aechten Clooster (i.e. St. Agatha's). For its history see L. H. C. Schutjes, *Geschiedenis van het Bisdom's Hertogenbosch*, 1870-6, iii. 65-80; F. R. Spengler, *Geschiedenis van het Klooster St. Agatha*, 1863. It was taken under his protection by Frederick Henry on 9 June 1641 and was occupied during the siege by the commissioners of the States General (field deputies). It belonged, not to the Franciscans, but to the Crosiers or Canons regular of the Holy Cross, an order existing mainly in the lower Rhineland.

<sup>2</sup> This was a long piece of planking mounted on a pair of cart-wheels and was used to bridge the

Niers at its outlet into the Maas. It is clearly figured in Blaeu; see also Commelyn, ii. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Frederick Henry, prince of Orange, 1584-1647; succeeded his brother Maurice 1625.

<sup>4</sup> This is presumably a binder's title for Jan Blaeu's *Novum ac magnum theatrum urbium Belgicæ liberæ ac fœderatæ*, a large folio published about 1649 (see note on Evelyn's sources for Netherlands). The work fully justifies Evelyn's admiration of it. It gives two double-page plates and eight smaller figures to the siege of the Huys te Gennep, as well as a good account in the text. For Blaeu see below, p. 49.

Stone,<sup>1</sup> and his Lady; Sir William Stradling<sup>2</sup> and divers Cavaliers; where there was very good cheere, but hot service for a young drinker as I then was: so that being prety well satisfied with the confusion of Armies, & seiges (if such, that of the United-Provinces may be call'd, where their quarters, and encampments are so admirably regular, and orders so exactly observed, as few Cittys, the best disciplin'd, do in the World excede it, for all Conveniences) I tooke my leave of the Leagure, and Camerades; and on the 12 of Aug. embarked upon the Wahal (where the Prince had made a huge bridge of boates),<sup>3</sup> in the company of three grave divines, who enter-taynd us a greate part of our passage with a long dispute concerning the lawfulnessse of Church Musick:<sup>4</sup> Here we saild by the Towne of Teile,<sup>5</sup> where we landed some of our freight, and about five a clock we touch'd at a pretty Towne nam'd Bommel, that had divers English in Garnison;<sup>6</sup> it stands upon Contribution Land,<sup>7</sup> which subjects the environs to the

<sup>1</sup> In 1634 a Mr. Stone was an attendant on the queen of Bohemia: Brereton, p. 33. Sir Robert was appointed *ritmeester* of a squadron of cavalry on 29 March 1640 and apparently still held the rank in 1665: ten Raa and de Bas, iv. 194, v. 480; see also *Cal. S.P., Dom., 1639-40*, p. 421. He apparently served Cromwell as a spy from about 1653: *Cal. Clarendon S.P.* ii. 198, 268; J. Thurloe, (*State papers*), 1742, iii. 137, &c., and vol. i; *Nicholas papers* (Camden Soc., new ser., vols. xl, &c., 1886, &c.), ii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> No Sir William Stradling is traceable at this time (information from Mr. H. Farr, librarian of the Cardiff Public Libraries) and no one named Stradling in the Dutch sources; but a member of the family may have been serving as a volunteer.

<sup>3</sup> Two bridges of boats had been constructed across the Maas above and below the fortress at Gennep. Evelyn presumably went by road

to some place on the Waal; Nijmegen is the nearest point.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably the divines were Dutchmen, speaking Latin; most of the English ministers in Holland were Puritans, whom Evelyn would scarcely have called grave. For their subject see below, pp. 50-1 and n.

<sup>5</sup> Tiel.

<sup>6</sup> The English here are not traceable. The word garrison was superseded during the sixteenth century by garrison, which has the same meaning but a different origin; the latest occurrence of the noun quoted in *O.E.D.* dates from 1611.

<sup>7</sup> This phrase occurs again below, p. 74. It implies that enemy troops levied impositions from the population: see [P. and F. De Zoete van Laeke], *Journal du voyage de deux jeunes Hollandais à Paris en 1656-1658*, ed. A.-P. Faugère and L. Marillier, 1899, p. 23. For the Spanish incursions in this area at a rather earlier date see T. Coryate, *Coryats crudities*, 1611, pp. 640-1.

Spanish incursions: We saild also by an exceeding strong fort, call'd Lovestine<sup>1</sup> (the appellative of a well knowne party in Holland) [famous for the Escape of the learned<sup>a</sup> Grotius by a Stratagem of his Lady convey(ing him) out instead of a Trunk of Books<sup>2</sup>] <sup>b</sup> and soone after by another Towne Worcom, but we landed at the opposite Gorcom<sup>3</sup> that night; a very strong & considerable frontiere.

13 We arived late at Roterdam, where was at that time their annual Mart or Faire, so furnish'd with pictures (especially Landscips, and Drolleries, as they call those clownish representations) as I was amaz'd: some of these I bought and sent into England. The reason of this store of pictures, and their cheapenesse procede from their want of Land, to employ their Stock; so as 'tis an ordinary thing to find, a common Farmor lay out two, or 3000 pounds in this Commodity, their houses are full of them, and they vend them at their Kermas'es to very greate gaines.<sup>4</sup>

Here I first saw an Eliphant, who was so extreamely well disciplin'd and obedient, that I did never wonder at any thing more: It was a beast of a mo(n)strous size, yet as flexible and nimble in the joynts (contrary to the vulgar tradition<sup>5</sup>) as

<sup>a</sup> Reading doubtful.

<sup>b</sup> Later marginal note.

<sup>1</sup> Loevestein, a castle belonging to the princes of Orange. After the imprisonment here in 1650 of six members of the States of Holland, the States party was also known as the Loevestein party.

<sup>2</sup> Hugo Grotius (de Groot), 1583–1645, the jurist; his wife Maria van Reigersberch, 1589–1653: for both see *Nieuw Nederlandsch biog. woordenboek*. The escape took place on 22 March 1621; account of it in T. Raymond, *Autobiography*, p. 36. Evelyn refers to it again in his letter to Boyle, 29 Sept. 1659 (Bohn, iii. 123); *Numismata*, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Worcom is Woudrichem, Gorcom Gorinchem or Gorcum.

<sup>4</sup> So Evelyn attributes the Genoese merchants' expenditure on

their palaces to the shortage of land: below, p. 174. Many writers notice the Dutch love of pictures, especially Peter Mundy: 'All in generall striving to adorne their houses, especially the outer or street roome, with costly peeces, Butchers and bakers not much inferiour in their shoppes, which are Fairely sett Forth, yea many tymes blacksmithes, Coblers, etts., will have some picture or other by their Forge and in their stalle': *Travels*, iv. 70. For a picture bought by Evelyn during this tour see below, p. 56.

<sup>5</sup> 'The elephant hath joints, but none for courtesy: his legs are legs for necessity, not for flexure': *Troilus and Cressida*, II. iii. 114–16. The error, which dates back to

could be imagin'd from so prodigious a bulke, & strange fabrick; but I most of all admired at the dexterity, and strength of his proboscis, on which he was able to support two, or three men, and by which he tooke, and reached what ever was offer'd him; his teeth were but short being a fernal, and not old, as they told us. I was also shew'd a Pelican, or rather (as I conjectur'd) the Onocratulus<sup>1</sup> of Pliny, having a large bill, tip'd with red, and pointing downewards a little reflected; but what is most prodigious, the under part, annex't to a gullet, so wide, and apt to extend; and would easily have swallowd, a little child: The plumage was white, wall-eyd,<sup>2</sup> the legge red and flatt footed; but in nothing resembling the picture, and description of the fabulous Pelican; which when I told the testy old-man who shew'd it; he was very wroth. There was also a Cock with 4 leggs; but what was most strange, with two rumps or vents, one whereof was at his breast; by which he likewise voyded dongue, as they assur'd us: There was with this fowle an hen having two large Spurrs growing out at her sides, and penetrating through the feathers of her wings.<sup>3</sup>

Upon Aug. 17 I passed againe through Delft,<sup>4</sup> visited the Church, where was the monument of Prince William of Nassau, a peace of rare art; There lyeth likewise intombed with him, his sonn & successor Grave Maurice.<sup>5</sup>

---

classical times, is refuted by Sir Thomas Browne in *Pseudodoxia epidemica* (1646), bk. iii, ch. 1; Edward Topsell also contradicts it: *Historie of foure-footed beastes*, 1607, p. 196.

Brereton saw 'a young little elephant about three years old' in the prince of Orange's stable near The Hague in 1634: p. 31.

<sup>1</sup> Correctly *onocrotalus* (the error may be in transcription, rather than due to Evelyn). Evelyn refers to Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, bk. x, ch. 47 (66). For the 'picture' and fable of the pelican see Browne, *Pseudodoxia*, bk. v, ch. i.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn presumably means that

the irises of the eyes are very light in colour.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn, aged twenty, would naturally share the general love of monstrosities; but it must be remembered that scientists were only beginning to realize that the normal is more important than the abnormal.

<sup>4</sup> For Delft see D. van Bleyswijck, *Beschryvinge der stad Delft*, 1667, with illustrations.

<sup>5</sup> William I, prince of Orange, 1533-84, William the Silent. His tomb, in the Nieuwe Kerk, is by Hendrik de Keyser (1614-22). Maurice is buried in the same vault and has no separate monument.

The Senat-house<sup>1</sup> of this Citty, hath a very stately Portico, supported with very choyce Pillars of black-marble; being, as I remember of one entire stone: and within, there hangs up a certaine weight(y) vessell of Wood (not much unlike to a butter-Churne) which the adventurous Woman that hath two husbands at one time is to weare for a time about the Towne, her head comming out at the hole, & the rest hanging on her shoulders, as a pennance for incontineny:<sup>2</sup>

From hence we went the next day to see Risewick, a stately country house of the Prince of Oranges; but for nothing more remarkable then the delicious walkes planted with Lime-trees, and the moderne paintings within.<sup>3</sup> We return'd this evening to the Hague, and the next day went to visite the Hoff, or Princes-Court, with the adjoyning Gardens, which were full of ornament, close-Walkes, Statues, Marbles, Grotts, Fountaines, and artificiall Musique &c.<sup>4</sup> There is to this Palas a very stately Hall, not much inferior to ours of Westminster, hung round with Colours, and other Trophys taken from the Spanyard; & the sides below are furnish'd with shoppes.<sup>5</sup> I return'd the next day to Delft, and thence to Rotterdam, whenc againe to the Hague Aug: 20: (as my buisnesse requird, which was<sup>a</sup> to bring some Company on their way)

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *not*, struck out in red chalk.

<sup>1</sup> The building was designed by Hendrik de Keyser and erected in 1620: van Bleyswijck, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> See Brereton, pp. 19–20.

<sup>3</sup> Short history of the house in van der Aa, *Aardrijkskundig woordenboek*, art. Nieuwburg. Brereton describes it (not the House in the Wood, which was begun c. 1645) in some detail: pp. 31–2. It was built in 1634 and pulled down in 1783. It is figured in *Acts and negotiations . . . of the general peace . . . at Ryswick*, 1698, and elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn evidently means one of the small gardens attached to the Binnenhof, not the Prinsesse-tuin: see plan of The Hague in Blaeu. It appears to be the garden described by Brereton, pp. 32–3 (the Prinsesse-

tuin, p. 28). Evelyn intended to describe it and the garden at Ryswyk in his proposed work on gardens: letter to Sir Thomas Browne, 28 Jan. [1660], Browne's *Works*, ed. Keynes, 1928–31, vi. 304. The most important work on The Hague is J. de Riemer, *Beschryving van 's Graven-Hage*, 1730–9.

<sup>5</sup> So Pepys: 'The hall is a great place, where the flags that they take from their enemies are all hung up; and things to be sold, as in Westminster Hall, and not much unlike it, but that not so big, but much neater': *Diary*, 15 May 1660. There is a view by Dirck van Deelen of the interior during the sitting of the States General in 1651 (Mauritshuis, no. 26).

and that Evening arriv'd at Leyden where immediatly I mounted a Wagon, which that night (as late as it was) brought us to Harlaem and almost to the end of my Last Journey; for I tooke such a Cold, as was like to kill me: About 7 in the Morning, I came to Amsterdam,<sup>1</sup> where being provided of a Lodging, I procur'd to be brought to a Synagogue of the Jewes (it being then Saturday) whose Ceremonies, Ornaments, Lamps, Law, and Scholes afforded matter for my wonder and enquiry:<sup>2</sup> The Women were secluded from the men, being seated above in certaine Galleries by themselves, and having their heads mabbl'd<sup>3</sup> with linnen, after a fantastical & somewhat extraordinary fashion: From hence I went to a place (without the Towne) call'd Over-kirk,<sup>4</sup> where they had a spacious field assign'd them for their dead, which was full of Sepulchers, and Hebrew Incriptions, some of them

<sup>1</sup> There are several important seventeenth-century works on Amsterdam, notably Johannes Isacius Pontanus, *Rerum et urbis Amstelodamensium historia*, 1611; O. D[apper], *Hist. beschryving der stad Amsterdam*, 1663; and F. von Zesen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam*, 1664. Travellers' accounts prior to 1850 are listed and described by J. N. Jacobsen Jensen, *Reizigers te Amsterdam* (Genootschap Amstelodamum), 1919-36. The most important modern work is *Amsterdam in de zeventiende eeuw*, a collection of illustrated monographs by A. Bredius and others, 1897-1904; the most useful part of it has been D. C. Meijer, 'Groei en bloei der stad' (here cited as D. C. Meijer). Views and other illustrations in Pontanus; a series attributed to J. van Meurs in Dapper, repeated in Zesen; another series in [M. Fokkens?], *Beschrijvingh der wijdt-vermaarde Koop-stadt Amstelredam*, 3rd ed., 1664 (some of them in Fokkens, same title, 1662). View-plan by B. Florensz. van Berckenrode, 1625, reproduced in *Amsterdam in de zeventiende eeuw*.

Amsterdam was now the principal financial centre in Europe and perhaps the greatest commercial city. Its school of painting was in its greatest period, but had not as yet obtained much foreign recognition.

<sup>2</sup> The Jews were not readmitted into England until 1655. In Amsterdam they had lived 'in liberty, wealth and ease' (Mundy, *Travels*, iv. 70) at least since 1597: D. C. Meijer, p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> The only examples of this form quoted in *O.E.D.* are from G. Sandys, *Relation of a Journey*, 1615, pp. 69, 148 (ed. 1637, same pp.). This book was well known to Evelyn and much matter derived from it occurs in the diary. See note on Evelyn's sources for his account of Naples at the end of this volume.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently a slip for Ouderkerk. Brereton describes its position, without naming it: p. 61. Accounts by D. H. de Castro, *Keur van Grafsteenen . . . te Ouderkerk*, 1883, and H. C. Rogge, 'Het kerkelyk en godsdienstig leven', pp. 99-100 (in *Amsterdam in de zeventiende eeuw*). Two views by Romein de Hooghe are reproduced in these two works.

very stately, of cost: In one of these Monuments, looking through a narrow crevice, wher the stones were disjoynted, I perceived divers bookes to lye, about a Corps (for it seemes (they use) when any learned Rabby dies, to bury some of his Bookes with him, as I afterwards learn'd): of these, by the helpe of a stick that I had in my hand, I raked out divers leaves, which were all writen in Hebrew Characters but much impair'd with age, & lying. As we return'd we stepp'd in to see the Spin-house<sup>1</sup> of Amsterdam, which is a kind of Bridewell, where incorrigible and Lewd Women are kept in Discipline and Labour; but in truth all is so sweete and neate, as there seemes nothing lesse agreable then the persons and the place. Here we were shew'd an Hospital erected for poore Travelors and Pilgrimes (as they told us) by Queene Eliz: of England, and another maintaind by the Citty.<sup>2</sup> The State, or Senat-house of this vast Towne is (if the designe be perfected) one of the most costly, and magnificent pieces of Architecture in Europ; especialy for the materialls, & the Carvings, which exceeds all description.<sup>3</sup> In the Doole,<sup>4</sup> there is paynted on a very large table Maria de Medices her statue to the breast, supported by fower royal Diademes, the Worke of one Vandall, who hath set his name thereon. 1. Sept: 1638.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It was one of the show-places of Amsterdam: Hegenitius, p. 67; Mundy, *Travels*, iv. 73-4; Edward Browne, *Account of several travels*, p. 13. Descriptions in Pontanus, p. 103; Zesen, pp. 315-17. Pictures in D. C. Meijer, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn's statements are confused. A St. Elizabethsgasthuis, dedicated to St. Elizabeth, queen of Hungary, had existed already in 1361, but its buildings were incorporated in the Stadhuis in 1492: H. Brugmans and A. W. Weissman, *Het Stadhuis van Amsterdam*, 1914, p. 22. Evelyn probably refers not to this, but to a part of the Gasthuis said to have been founded by Queen Elizabeth for the English soldiers in the Netherlands (see below, p. 45 n.). The other hospital will be some other

part of the Gasthuis, which was a large group of buildings; in a part of it poor travellers were entitled to three days' lodging: Zesen, pp. 325-8 and plan, p. 88; D. C. Meijer, pp. 89-91; see also Mundy, *Travels*, iv. 73 n.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn saw the old Stadhuis (figured in Zesen, p. 78), which was destroyed by fire in 1652. For the new building see J. van Campen, *Afbeelding van 't Stadt Huys van Amsterdam*, 1661, a book possibly known to Evelyn, and H. Brugmans and A. W. Weissman, as above; it was begun in 1648 and largely completed by 1655.

<sup>4</sup> The Kloeveniers-doelen: Zesen, p. 100. It was the original home of Rembrandt's 'Night-watch'.

<sup>5</sup> What Evelyn describes is a large



Upon Soneday, I went to heare an English Sermon, at the Presbyterian congregation;<sup>1</sup> where they had chalked up the Psalmes upon a slate, which were that day to be sung; so placed, as all the congregation might see it, without the bidding of a Cleark: There was after sermon a Christning celebrated according to their fansy, which was homely enough. I was told, that after such an age no Minister was permitted to preach but had his maintenance continu'd during life.

I now expressly chang'd my Lodging, out of a desire to converse amongst the Sectaries that swarm'd in this Citty, to which gaine made every new-fangle acceptable.<sup>2</sup> It was at a Brownists house,<sup>3</sup> where we had an extraordinary good Table; There was in pension<sup>4</sup> with us my L: [Keeper]<sup>a</sup> Finch, and

---

<sup>a</sup> Interlined later.

---

picture (3.43 × 2.58 m.) by J. von Sandrart representing Captain C. Bicker van Swieten and his company about a table on which are placed the bust of Marie de Médicis and two crowns; a piece of paper hanging beneath the bust contains some verses by the poet Joost van den Vondel, with his name, 'van Vondel'. It is now in the Rijksmuseum: P. Kutter, *Joachim von Sandrart als Künstler*, 1907, pp. 46-50, 120-1, and plate; it is fairly clearly indicated in Zesen, p. 100; the corresponding passage in D[apper], p. 444, is not so clear. The date is that of Marie's arrival in Amsterdam; it does not appear on the picture. Marie de Médicis, 1573-1642, daughter of Francesco I, grand duke of Tuscany; married, 1600, Henri IV of France; mother of Louis XIII and Henrietta Maria.

<sup>1</sup> Presumably the English Reformed Church in the Begijnhof, assigned to the English community in 1607: H. C. Rogge, p. 61, in *Amsterdam in de zeventiende eeuw*. It is figured by Zesen, p. 90; Brereton also attended a service at it:

p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> 'Tis the Fair of all the Sects, where all the Pedlers of Religion have leave to vent their toies, their Ribands, and phanatick Rattles': Owen Feltham, *Brief character of the Low-Countries*, 1652, p. 45. All religions are 'not only *tollered*, and *connived* at in private, but openly and freely *exercised* without any dislike. A greater confusion (in my mind) than that of *Babel*; this being of *Religions*, that of *Languages* only': Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, p. 384.

<sup>3</sup> The Brownists were Congregationalists and took their name from Robert Browne (1550?-1633?; *D.N.B.*); Evelyn describes them in his *Hist. of religion*, ii. 262. James Howell writes in 1619: 'I am lodg'd in a *Frenchman's* House, who is one of the Deacons of our *English Brownists* Church here': *Epistolæ Ho-Elianae*, ed. J. Jacobs, 1890-2, i. 29.

<sup>4</sup> So 'lived in Pension': *State of France*, prefatory letter (*Misc. writings*, p. 45); 'I settled them in their Pension': below, p. 149; the phrase also occurs in V.

one Sir Jo: Fotherbee;<sup>1</sup> here I also found an English Carmelite,<sup>2</sup> that was travelling through Germanie towards Rome with another Irish Gentleman. I went to see the Weese-house,<sup>3</sup> which is a foundation like our Charter-house in designe, for the education of decay'd Persons, Orphans, and poore Children, where they are taught severall occupations; and, as I learn'd, the Wenches are so well brought up to housewifry, that men of good worth (who seeke that chiefly in a Woman) frequently take their Wives from this Seminary. Hence we were carried to see the Rasp-house,<sup>4</sup> where the lusty Knaves are compell'd to labour, and it is a very hard labour, the rasping of Brasill, & Log-wood for the Diers, appointed them by their Task-masters. Thence to the Dull-house,<sup>5</sup> a place for mad persons & fooles, like our Bethleem: But none did I so much admire as an Hospitall for their lame and decrepid souldiers,<sup>6</sup> it being for state, order & accommodations one of the worthiest things that I thinke the world can shew of that nature: Indeede it is most remarkable, what

<sup>1</sup> John Fotherby, d. 1666; nephew of Martin Fotherby, bishop of Salisbury (*D.N.B.*); knighted 1628; Finch was married to one of his sisters: Hasted, *Kent*, iii. 544; *Visitation of Kent, 1663-8* (Harleian Soc., vol. liv, 1906), p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Not identifiable. On the English Carmelites see B. Zimmerman (G. R. Zimmermann), *Carmel in England*, 1899.

<sup>3</sup> The Wees-huys: Pontanus, pp. 68-71; Zesen, pp. 284-91. The Charterhouse provided a home for old men and a school for forty poor boys; it was not an orphanage: below, 21 April 1657.

<sup>4</sup> The Rasphuys or Tucht-huys: Pontanus, p. 98; Zesen, pp. 302-4; D. C. Meijer, p. 53; all these give pictures, with the inmates at work. Further descriptions by Edward Browne, *Account of several travels*, pp. 11-13, and in *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 8th Rep., app. i, p. 61b. For brazil and log-wood see *O.E.D.*; they had

to be broken up into fine fragments for the dyers.

<sup>5</sup> The Dolhuys: Pontanus, pp. 90-1; Zesen, pp. 314-15. For Bedlam see below, 21 April 1657.

<sup>6</sup> 'Das Soldaten-Gasthaus / hat die Englische Königin / Elisebet / als sie diese vereinigte Länder unter ihre beschirmung genommen / oder vielmehr ihr Stathalter in denselben / der Graf von Leizester / . . . in der Königin nahmen / vor die kranken und verwundeten armen kriegsleute im 1587 jahre gestiftet: wiewohl es itzund die kranken Männer besitzen': Zesen, p. 326. Moryson mentions the 'fifty two beds made for the auxiliary Soulders of England': *Itin.* i. 44. A stone bearing the date 1587 is still preserved: D. C. Meijer, p. 89. The building formed part of the Gasthuis (above, p. 43 n.); there was nothing of the sort in England until the foundation of Chelsea Hospital in 1682.

provisions are here made and maintain'd for publique and charitable purposes, and to protect the poore from misery, and the Country from beggers.

It was on a Sunday morning about 11, that I purposely went to the Bourse (after the sermons were ended) to see their Dog-market,<sup>1</sup> which lasts till two after-noon. I do not looke on the structure of this Exchange to be comparable to that of Sir Tho: Gresshams in our Citty of Lond:<sup>2</sup> yet in one respect it exceeds, that ships of considerable burthen ride at the very key contiguous to it; and realy it is by extraordinary industry, that as well this Citty, as almost generaly the Townes of Holland, are so accommodated with Grafts,<sup>3</sup> Cutts, Sluces, Moles & Rivers, that nothing is more frequent then to see a whole Navy of Marchands & others environ'd with streetes & houses, every particular mans Barke, or Vessell at anker before his very doore, and yet the Streetes so exactly strait, even, & uniforme that nothing can be more pleasing, especialy, being so frequently planted and shaded with the beautifull lime trees, which are set in rowes before every mans house, affording a very ravishing prospect.

The next day we were entertain'd at a kind of Tavern, calld the Briloft,<sup>4</sup> appertaining to a rich Anabaptist, where in the

<sup>1</sup> 'The Dog and Rag-Market . . . where every Sunday Morning there is a kind of publick Mart for those Commodities, notwithstanding their precise observance of the Sabbath': Howell, *Epist.* i. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Comparisons of the two Exchanges are very common: see Mundy, *Travels*, iv. 72-3 and n. They differed in shape, but were very similar in design. The Royal Exchange was built in 1566-8, the Amsterdam Bourse in 1608-11; the latter was altered in 1659-60 and was pulled down c. 1841: P. Scheltema, *De Beurs van Amsterdam*, 1846. It was built over the south end of the Rokin; the Damrak was an open canal as far as the Dam. For Sir Thomas Gresham, c. 1519-79, see *D.N.B.*; the Royal Exchange had

been rebuilt (after the Great Fire of 1666) when Evelyn wrote V.

<sup>3</sup> A graft is properly a ditch or moat, but Evelyn also uses it in one sense of the Dutch word *gracht*, a canal with quays forming a street.

<sup>4</sup> *Bruiloft* means properly a wedding. 'In de Mennisten Bruyloff' was so called from its original proprietor, the Mennonite Johannes Anthonides (Jan Theunisz), 1569-c. 1635, who at one time taught Arabic at Leyden: *Nieuw Nederlandsch biog. woordenboek*; it was also called 't Huys te Sinnelust'. It is also described by Hegenitius, pp. 67-8; Brereton, pp. 56-7; Mundy, *Travels*, iv. 76-7; see also D. F. Scheurleer, 'Het Muziekleven', p. 20 (in *Amsterdam in de zeventiende eeuw*).

upper romes of the house were divers pretty Water workes rising 108 foote from the ground, which seem'd very rare, till the Engine was discovered: here were many quaint devices, fountaines, artificiall musique, noyses of beasts & chirping of birds &c: but what I most admir'd then, was a lamp of brasse, projecting eight soccketts from the middle stemm, like to those we use in Churches, which having counterfeit lights or Tapers in them, had streames of Water issuing, as out of their Wieekes or Snuffs: the whole branch hanging all this while loose upon a <s>talk in the middst of a beame, and without any other perceptible commerce with any pipe; so that unlesse it were by compression of the ayre with a syringe, I could not comprehend how it should be don.<sup>1</sup> There was likewise shew'd as a rarity, a Chime of Purselan dishes, which fitted to clock-worke, rung many changes, and tunes without breaking.<sup>2</sup>

At another place of this City, we saw divers other Water-workes;<sup>3</sup> but nothing more surpriz'd me than that stately, and indeede incomparable quarter of the Towne, calld the Keisers-Graft,<sup>a</sup> or Emperors Streete, which appears to be a City in a Wood,<sup>4</sup> through the goodly ranges of the stately & umbragious Lime-trees, exactly planted before each-mans doore, and just at the margent of that goodly Aquæ-duct, or river, so curiously wharfed with Clinicar'd,<sup>5</sup> (a kind of White

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *Kiesers-Graft*.

<sup>1</sup> The principal works published since 1641 were M. Mersenne, *Hydraulica pneumatica*, 1644; G. Schottus, *Mechanica hydraulico-pneumatica*, 1657; and Robert Boyle, *Experiments physico-mechanicall*, 1660. Schottus gives many devices for fountains, &c.

<sup>2</sup> For this see Mundy, *Travels*, iv. 76. For porcelain see below, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> See Brereton, pp. 58–9, and Mundy, *Travels*, iv. 77 n.; a similar place in Zesen, pp. 212–15.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn perhaps found the phrase in Sandys: Constantinople 'seemeth to present a City in a wood to the pleased beholders': *Relation of a*

*journey*, 1637, p. 31. He uses it again in *Sylva*; writing of the lime-trees in the Dutch towns: 'Is there a more ravishing, or delightful object then to behold some intire *streets*, and whole *Towns* planted with these *Trees*, in even lines before their doors, so as they seem like *Cities* in a *wood*?': ed. 1664, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Sir B. Gerbier writes of pavements of 'white or yellow (twice burnt) *Flanders Bricks*, in *Dutch called Clinkart*': *Brief discourse . . . of magnificent building*, 1662, p. 33. Evelyn is presumably wrong in describing them as sun-baked. See further below, 2 Dec. 1666.

sun-bak'd brick) & of which material the spacious streetes on either side are paved. This part of Amesterdam is built, and gained upon the maine Sea, supported by Piles at an immense Charge, but with everlasting foundations. Prodigious it is to consider those multitudes, and innumerable Assemblys of Shippes, & Vessels which continually ride before this Citty, which is certainly the most busie concourse of mortall men, now upon the face of the whole Earth & the most addicted to commerce:<sup>1</sup> Nor must I forget the Ports & Issues of the Towne, which are very noble Pieces of Architecture, some of them modern;<sup>2</sup> and so are their Churches (though more Gotick<sup>3</sup>) where in their Turrets or Steeples, (which are adorn'd after a particular manner for cost, & invention) the Chimes of Bells are so rarely manag'd, and artificialy rung, that being curious to know whither the motion were from any extraordinary Engine, I went up into that of St. Nicholas (as I take it) where I found one who play'd all sorts of Compositions from the tablature before him, as if he had fingerd an Organ; for so were the hammers fastned with wyers, to severall keyes, put into a frame 20 foote below the Bells, upon which (by help of a Wooden instrument not much unlike a Weavers Shuttle that guarded his hand) he struck on the keys, and playd to admiration; all this while, through the clattering of the Wyers, dinn of the too neerely sounding bells, & noise that his wooden-gloves (made),<sup>a</sup> the confusion was so greate, that it was impossible for the Musitian to heare any thing himselfe, or any that stode neere him; Yet to those, who were at a distance, and especialy in the streetes, the harmony, and the time were most exact & agreable.<sup>4</sup> The South-Church is richly

<sup>a</sup> *made* is deleted in MS.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Navigation and commerce*, pp. 61-4 (*Misc. writings*, pp. 658-9).

<sup>2</sup> The gates. See illustrations in Zesen. For the use of modern here compare 'the best and most modern Pieces of Architecture': *State of France*, pp. 108-9 (*Misc. writings*, p. 93); 'the peices of *modern Architecture*': *Character of England*, p. 10

(*Misc. writings*, p. 151). But with Evelyn it usually means Gothic; hence the change in V to the 'antien, & best manner'.

<sup>3</sup> On the word Gothic see appendix in vol. v.

<sup>4</sup> Described by Zesen, p. 343; an instrument of the kind is figured by M. Mersenne, *Harmonicorum libri*

paved with Blak, and White-marble: The West is a new fabric: Generally, there are in all the Churches in Holland Organs, Lamps, Monuments &c: carefully preserved from the fury, and impiety of popular reformers, whose zeale has foolishly transported them in other places rather to act like madmen, then religious.<sup>1</sup>

Upon St. Bartholomews-day<sup>2</sup> I went to Hundius's shop<sup>3</sup> to buy some Mapps, greatly pleas'd with the designes of that indefatigable Person: Mr. Bleaw,<sup>4</sup> the setter-forth of the Atlas's & other Workes of that kind is worthy seeing: At another shop I furnish'd my selfe with some shells, & Indian Curiosities;<sup>5</sup> and so towards the end of August quitted the Towne, returning back againe to Harlem by that strait River which runs betweene them; and in earnest it is a most stupendious prospect, to looke back upon Amsterdam at the end of this River cutt 10 miles in length as strait as a line without the least flexure, and of competent breadth to saile by one another: By the way it is not to be omitted, we were shew'd a Cottage where they told us dwelt a Woman, who<sup>a</sup> had then been married<sup>a</sup> to her 25th Husband; and being now a Widdow, was prohibited to marry for the future; yet it could not be proved, that she had ever made any of her

<sup>a-a</sup> Altered from *who was then married*.

(xii), 1635, 'De campanis', p. 160. Tablature was the name for any special system of musical notation: *O.E.D.* St. Nicholas is the Oude Kerk.

<sup>1</sup> The Zuiderkerk was built 1603-11, the tower completed in 1614; the Westerkerk was built 1620-31, the tower completed *c.* 1638; both from the designs of Hendrik de Keyser. The older Amsterdam churches had undergone the usual iconoclasm and purging at the time of the Reformation; Evelyn is probably thinking, however, of the vandalism of the Civil War period.

<sup>2</sup> 24 August, o.s.

<sup>3</sup> The shop, 'In den Atlas', on the Dam, was now the property of

3811.2

Hendrik Hondius (II), *c.* 1597-*c.* 1644. For the various members of the family see *Nieuw Nederlandsch biog. woordenboek* and Thieme, *Lexikon*.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Joan Blaeu, 1596-1673, the cartographer and publisher: *Nieuw Nederlandsch biog. woordenboek*; Zesen, pp. 215-16; P. J. H. Baudet, *Leven en werken van Willem Jansz. Blaeu*, 1871. Evelyn mentions him in *Sculptura*, p. 63 n.; the family, p. 97. He inherited his profession and his business from his father, W. J. Blaeu, who had published the first two volumes of an atlas *c.* 1635.

<sup>5</sup> For such a shop in 1663 see *Monconys*, ii. 176; Zesen, pp. 361-2; see also D. C. Meijer, p. 144.

husbands away, though the suspicion had brought her divers times to trouble.<sup>1</sup>

Harlem is a very delicat<sup>2</sup> Towne, and hath one of the fairest Churches of the Gotique designe, I had ever seene: There hang in the Steeple (which is very high) two Silver-bells, which they report were brought from Damiate in Egypt, by an Earle of Holland, in memory of whose successe, they are rung out every Evening.<sup>3</sup> In the Nave or body of the Church, hang the goodliest branches of brasse for tapers that ever I had seene, esteemed of greate value for the curiosity of the Workmanship:<sup>4</sup> also a very faire payre of Organs, which I could not find they made any use of in Divine-Service or so much as to assist them in their singing of Psalmes (as I suppos'd)<sup>5</sup> but onely for shew, and to recreate the people

<sup>1</sup> Brereton describes the passage, including the woman; her name was Frische Roomer and she had lived at Sloterdijk; according to him she died about 1629: pp. 52-4.

<sup>2</sup> In the old sense, delightful from its beauty: *O.E.D.*

<sup>3</sup> 'Ceterum Harlemenses duarum sibi rerum gloriam præcipue arrogant. Unum est, quod aliquando cum Frederico Barbarossa adversus Saracenos expeditionem susceperint, & Pelusium . . . quam . . . hodie autem Damiatam vocant, occuparint: novo sane ac mirabili stratagemate, dum nimirum serras carinis seu imis navium trabibus adaptarunt, & illarum beneficio catenas portubus occludendis destinatas dissecuerunt. . . . Certioris tamen fidei testimonia supersunt *duæ nolæ seu tintinnabula ex ære Corinthio (de Damiaetgens vulgo dictæ) quæ in turri editissima templi magni suspensa arguto tinnitu quotidie circa horam nonam vespertinam perstrepunt*': Hegenitius, pp. 85-6. Evelyn apparently refers to this in *Navigation and Commerce*: '. . . of later times, *Fredric Barbarossa* did bravely against the *Saracens* at *Pelusium* in *Ægypti*': p. 63 (*Misc.*

*writings*, p. 658; he gives a marginal date, 1219). Barbarossa was never in Egypt; William I, count of Holland, with some 'Frisones', which might include Hollanders, took part in the siege of Damietta in 1218-19, but the stratagem is legendary: see H. A. Hamaker's notes to some extracts from Al-Makrisi, 1824, pp. 81-9; most of the evidence for it is given by G. W. van Oosten de Bruyn, *De Stad Haarlem*, vol. i, 1765, pp. 35-49.

The bells apparently still exist. Brereton also writes that they are made of silver: p. 51.

For the church (St. Bavon) in general see J. Wolff, *Beschrijving, &c.*, 1845.

<sup>4</sup> One of the large chandeliers was presented in 1639: Wolff, p. 136. See the view of the interior of the church by G. A. Berck-Heyde, 1673, in the National Gallery, no. 1451.

<sup>5</sup> In his *Character of England*, 1659, Evelyn wrote: 'the *Reformed* in *Holland* . . . still retain their *Organs* in the Churches, and make use of them at the *Psalms*, without any opinion of superstition': p. 30 (*Misc. writings*, p. 158). The statement in the text may belong to 1641

before and after their Devotions, whilst the Burgomasters were walking and conferring about their affaires:

There likewise hangs up, neere the West-Window (as I remember) two modells of Shippes, compleately equipp'd, in memory of that invention of Saws under their keeles, with which they cutt the Chayne before the port of Damiate.<sup>1</sup> Having visited this Church, the Fishmarket,<sup>2</sup> and made some enquiry about the Printing-house, the Invention whereof is sayd to have been in this towne,<sup>3</sup> I return'd to Leyden,<sup>4</sup> that renowned University of Batavia: Here, the better to take view of the Citty, I was carried up to the Castle<sup>5</sup> or Pyrgus, built on a very steepe mount artificialy cast up, as 'tis reported, by Hengist the Saxon at his returne out of England; as a place to retyre to when by any unexpected accident, the Inhabitants should be threatned with suddaine inundations. There is nothing observable in it besides a very profound Well, in which they say a very monstrous fish was found, and drawne forth when being beseiged, those of this Castle were

---

or to 1660. Sir John Reresby, who travelled in Holland in 1657, agrees with it: *Memoirs and travels*, 1904, p. 125.

There were three organs in the church at this period, the principal one being that shown in Berck-Heyde's picture. The existing organ at the west end of the nave was built in 1735-8: Wolff, pp. 155-9.

<sup>1</sup> See note above. Brereton writes three ships: p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> See Brereton, p. 50. It is the low building on the north side of the church in Berck-Heyde's view in Haarlem, 1674, in the National Gallery, no. 1420.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 54 and n.

<sup>4</sup> For Leyden see J. Meursius, *Athenæ Batavæ*, 1625, and J. J. Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der Stadt Leyden*, 2nd ed., 1641. The illustrations in these two books were first used in the first edition of Orlers, 1614; after being used in Meursius they were retouched or re-engraved for

the second edition of Orlers. The university at this time held perhaps the highest place among the universities of Europe.

<sup>5</sup> The Burcht: see Guicciardini, 1646, ii. 44; Meursius, pp. 39-41; Orlers, pp. 81-92; the two last give a view. Evelyn appears to be following Hegenitius: '*Pyrgus* seu Burgum in media fere urbe, acclivi undecunque tumulo, loco editiori, ut quaqua te convertas, prospectus aptissimos habere possis. . . . Hujus Castri autorem & conditorem ferunt Engistum, circa An. à N.C. 450, cum post devictam valida manu Britanniam domum rediisset': pp. 125-6; I have found no other writer who calls the Burcht 'Pyrgus'. It is generally said to have been a place of refuge from invasions, not inundations. The association with Hengist, or rather with his sons, goes back to medieval chronicle: *Die cronyncke van Hollandt Zeelandt en Vrieslant*, 1517, ff. [xlvi]-xlviiii.



almost famished, the throwing of which over the wales amongst the assaylants, caus'd them to raise the seige.<sup>1</sup> The Churches are many, and very faire. In one of them lyes interr'd that Prodigy of Learning, the noble & illustrious Joseph Scaliger, without any extraordinary inscription, as having himsele left so many Monuments of his Worth behind him, more lasting then Marble, besides his Library to this University.<sup>2</sup>

The 28, I went to see their Colledg, and Schooles, which are nothing extraordinary; and was Matriculated by the then Magnificus Proffessor<sup>a 3</sup> who first in Latine demanded of me where my Lod(g)ing in the Towne was; my Name, Age, birth; & to what faculty I addicted my selfe; then recording my Answers in a Booke, he administred an Oath to me, that I should observe the Statutes, & Orders of the University, whiles I stay'd, and then deliver'd me a tickett, by virtue whereof I was made Excise-free; for all which worthy Priveleges, and the paines of Writing, he accepted of a Rix-dollar.<sup>4</sup> Here was the famous Dan: Heinsius,<sup>5</sup> whom I so long'd to see; as well as the E(l)zivirian Printing house & shop, renown'd for the politenesse of the Character, & Editions of what he has publish'd through Europ.<sup>6</sup> I went also to visite their Garden of Simples, which was indeede well stor'd with exotic Plants,

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *the famous and the firs<t>*, deleted.

<sup>1</sup> Edward Browne was told the same story: *Account of several travels*, p. 5. I have not found it told of Leyden elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> Scaliger (1540–1609) was buried in the Vrouwe Kerk, which was used by the French protestants. There were two epitaphs. Scaliger's own runs, 'Iosephus Iustus Scaliger Iul. Cæs. Fil. Hic expecto resurrectionem': Hegenitius, pp. 99–100. When the church was demolished (c. 1820?) the monument was re-erected in St. Peter's. For Scaliger's bequest of books see *ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> According to Ray this should be the Rector magnificus: *Observa-*

*tions*, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn matriculated on 6 Sept. 1641, N.S., as 'Mat. et Histor. '; John Caryll on the same day: *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae*, 1875, p. 326. For the rix-dollar see below, p. 62 n.

<sup>5</sup> Daniel Heinsius, c. 1580–1655, scholar and poet, in whose arms Scaliger had died: *Nieuw Nederlandsch biog. woordenboek*.

<sup>6</sup> The press was now under the control of Abraham (1592–1652) and Bonaventure (1583–1652) Elzevier: *ibid.*; A. Willems, *Les Elzevier*, 1880, pp. clxiv–clxxxviii. For the printing-house, *ibid.*, pp. li–lvi.

if the Catalogue presented to me by the Gardiner be a faithfull register.<sup>1</sup> But amongst all the rarities of this place I was much pleas'd with a sight of their Anatomy Schole, Theater & Repository adjoining,<sup>2</sup> which is very well furnish'd with Naturall curiosities; especially with all sorts of Skeletons,<sup>a</sup> from the Whale & Eliphant, to the Fly, and the Spider, which last is a very delicat piece of Art, as well as Nature, how the bones (if so I may name them) of so tender an Insect, could possibly be separated from the mucilaginous parts of that minute animal. Here is the Sceletus of a Man on Horse-back, of a Tigar, and sundry other creatures: The Skinns of Men & Women tentur'd<sup>3</sup> on frames & tann'd: Two faire and entire Mummies, Fishes, Serpents, Shells, divers Urnes; The figure of Isis cut in wood of a greate Proportion & Antiquity; a large Crocodile; The head of the Rynoceros; The Leo-marinus, Torpedo, many Indian Weapons, Curiosities out of China, & of the Eastern Countries; so as it were altogether (impossible) to remember all, or take particular notice of them; though I could not forget that knife which they here shew'd us, newly taken out of a Drunken Dutch-mans gutts, by an incision in his side, after the sottish fellow had swallow'd it, when tempting to make himselfe vomit, by tickling his throat with the handle of it, he let it slip out of his fingers into his stomac, and had it taken out againe by the operation of that dextrous Chyrurgeon, whose Picture is together with his

---

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *Skelletons*.

---

<sup>1</sup> Meursius, pp. 31-3; Hegenitius, pp. 103-5; Brereton, pp. 40, 42; Orlers, pp. 202-7. Plate in Meursius and Orlers, The catalogue is by A. Vorstius, 1636.

<sup>2</sup> See Meursius, pp. 34-5; Hegenitius, pp. 105-13; Brereton (who by the 'Itinerary' means Hegenitius), pp. 41-2; Orlers, pp. 208-10; Ray, *Observations*, p. 37; Skippon, p. 400; Monconys, ii. 151; Cosimo [III] de' Medici, *De twee reizen . . . door de Nederlanden (1667-1669)*, ed. G. J. Hoogewerff (Hist. Genootschap,

Werken, 3rd ser., vol. xli, 1919), p. 102; *Catalogus van alle de principaelste varieteyten . . . op de Anatomie-kamer binnen der stadt Leyden*, 1669 (English trans. 1678?, 1683, and later editions); Christyn, 1720, iv. 96-7; plate in Meursius and Orlers; another in Christyn. Most of the exhibits listed by Evelyn appear in these writers, but some of them are questionable.

<sup>3</sup> The common form is tentered, stretched on tenters or wooden frames: *O.E.D.*

Patients preserv'd in this excellent Collection, and both the Persons living at my being in Holland.<sup>1</sup>

There is somewhat without the Towne a faire Mail, curiously planted: Returning to my Lodging I was shew'd the happy Monke, whom they report to have been the first inventor of Typography, his statue being cut in stone, and set over the doore; but this is much controverted, by others who strive the glory of it besides John Guttenberg.<sup>2</sup>

I was the next day brought acquainted with a Burgundian-Jew who had married an Apostate Kentish-Woman: I asked him divers questions, and, amongst the rest, remember he told me that the World should never end: That our Soules transmigrated; & that even those of the most holy persons did Pennance in the bodys of bruits after death; & so he interpreted the banishment & salvage life of Nebucadnezar. That all the Jewes should rise againe and be lead to Jerusalem: That the Romans onely were the occasion of our Saviours death, whom he affirm'd (as the Turkes do) to be a greate Prophet but not the Messias: He shewed me severall bookes of their devotion, which he had translated into English for the instruction of his Wife; and told me that when their Messias came all the Ships, Barkes, & Vessells of Holland should by the powers of certaine strange Whirle-winds, be

<sup>1</sup> This refers to Andreas Grünheide of Grünenwald near Königsberg. He was trying to promote vomiting to cure 'nauseam quandam in ventriculo' when the knife slipped; the operation, the first of its kind to succeed, was performed on 9 July 1635 by Daniel Schwab (*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*); the knife was about seven inches long. Accounts in German by G. Loth, 1635; R. Hemsing, 1635; D. Beckher, 1643 (with portrait); in Latin by Beckher, 1636, 1638, and 1640 (with portrait); English translation of the last, with additions, by Daniel Lakin, 1642 (with portrait).

<sup>2</sup> This passage is misplaced: it refers to the figure of Laurence Coster at Haarlem: Hegenitius, pp.

87–90, where Gutenberg is also mentioned; Ray, *Observations*, p. 39; Christyn, 1720, iv. 74–5; &c. The mall also probably belongs to Haarlem, in spite of the additional statement in V: see Hegenitius, p. 78, and Christyn, 1697, p. 361. In *Sculptura* Evelyn writes of the discovery of typography 'by John Guittemberg; or who ever that lucky person were (for 'tis exceedingly controverted) that first produc'd the Invention': p. 35. In *Numismata* he reverts to 'the famous Costar of Harlem, or whoever else he was, that brought the stupendious Art of *Typography* into the World': p. 279. On Coster see *Nieuw Nederlandsch biog. woordenboek*.

loosed from their Ankers and transported in a moment to all the desolat ports & havens throug(h)out the world, where ever the dispersion was, to convey their Brethren & Tribes to the Holy Citty; with other such like stuff, and so I tooke my leave of the lying-Jew, whom I found to be a merry dronken fellow; but would by no meanes handle any mony (for something which I purchas'd of him) it being Saturday; but bid me leave it in the Window of his house: meaning to receive it on Sunday following.<sup>1</sup>

Sep: 1. I went hence to Delft, thence to Rotterdam the next morning, and two days after back to the Hague againe to bespeake a Suite of Armor which I causd to be made to fit me, with the harness of an Horse man.<sup>2</sup>

I [now]<sup>a</sup> rod out of Towne to see the Monument of the Woman, reported to have borne as many Children as are dayes in the Yeare: The Basins wherein they were baptis'd, together with a large Inscription of the mat(t)er<sup>b</sup> of fact is affixed to the Tomb, & inched in a Compartiment of Carved Worke, in the Church of Lysdune, a desolate plase.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Interlined later; before the entry *Sep: 6.* deleted.  
*matter.*

<sup>b</sup> Altered from

<sup>1</sup> 'Burgundian' can be used only rather loosely, and can scarcely refer to the French province of Burgundy. Messianic prophecies were widely accepted by the Jews within a few years of this conversation: Cecil Roth, *A life of Menasseh ben Israel*, 1934, pp. 205-7.

<sup>2</sup> A helmet, said to have been worn by Evelyn, is still preserved at Wotton, and he carries it in one of his portraits there. Why he wanted the suit of armour is not clear.

<sup>3</sup> Loosduinen. A poor woman, carrying twins, asked Margaret, countess of Henneberg, for alms. Margaret declared that the twins could not be the children of one father and drove the woman away; whereupon the woman cursed her, wishing that she might give birth

to as many children as there are days in the year. On Good Friday 1277 Margaret gave birth to 365 children, who were all baptized by Guido, bishop of Utrecht, the boys being called John and the girls Elizabeth. They and their mother all died on the same day and were buried here. So the inscription in the church, printed in Hegenitius, pp. 142-4. Margaret and her husband, Hermann II of Henneberg, are historical; she actually died on Good Friday (26 March) 1277. Why the legend attached itself to her is unknown; it has been suggested that it was due to her giving birth to twins on Good Friday: as Easter Day started the new year at that time, this was as many children as there were days remaining in the year; but this appears to be an

As I return'd we diverted to one of the Princes Palaces call'd the Hoff van Hounslers dyck,<sup>1</sup> which is in truth a very magnificent Cloyster'd and quadrangular building: The Gallery is prettily paynted with severall huntings; and at one end thereof, a Gordian Knot, with severall rusticall Instruments so artificialy represented, as would deceive an accurate Eye to discern it from true Relievo. There is in this house a faire Staire-Case well contrived, having in the Domo,<sup>2</sup> or Ceiling the rape of Ganymede painted, and other pendent figures, the Worke of F: Couenberg,<sup>3</sup> of whose hand I bought an excellent drollery, which I afterwards parted with to my Bro: Geo: Evelyn of Wotton, where now it hangs:<sup>4</sup> To this Palace joynes a faire Garden and Parke, curiously planted with Limes.

Being furnish'd at the Hague with some things which I wanted, I returned September 8th towards Rotterdam through Delfts-haven, and Seedam,<sup>5</sup> where was at that time Coll: Gorings Winter-quarters:<sup>6</sup> This Towne has heretofore been very much talk'd of for Witches.<sup>7</sup>

eighteenth-century attempt to explain the legend, there being apparently no authority for the twins: Z. C. von Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen*, 1753–4, iii. 327–9; J. A. Schultes, *Diplomatische Geschichte des gräflichen Hauses Henneberg*, 1791, i. 130–2; H. Obreen, *Floris V, graaf van Holland*, 1907, pp. 45–6. Seventeenth-century travellers, including Pepys, naturally visited the place; Misson collects a number of parallel instances but nothing to equal this: *Nouveau voyage d'Italie*, 2nd and later eds., letter ii. Full list of accounts of it in *Notes and Queries*, 12th ser., xi (1922), 351–4, &c.; bibliography for parallel stories, H. E. Rollins, ed., *A Pepysian garland*, 1922, p. 123 (with a ballad). Evelyn alludes to the story in *Numismata*, p. 267.

<sup>1</sup> On the Huis te Hondsholredijk see van der Aa, *Aardrijkskundig woordenboek*, where its history and

a short description are given. It was built c. 1629 and largely demolished in 1816. I have not been able to see the book by T. Morren, 1909, on it.

<sup>2</sup> An older form of the Italian word *duomo*. The word was apparently not used in this sense in Italian at this time; the English word *dome*, first recorded in 1656, apparently derives from the French *dosme* (*dôme*). Constructions of this kind were presumably very rare in England at this time.

<sup>3</sup> Christiaen van Couwenberch, 1604–67: Thieme, *Lexikon*; see also *Oud Holland*, viii (1890), 223–6, where some prices for his pictures are given.

<sup>4</sup> The picture is still at Wotton.

<sup>5</sup> Schiedam.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 36 n.

<sup>7</sup> There was a notorious case in 1593, that of Maritjen Arents, who was, however, acquitted on appeal to the supreme court of Holland:

September 10th I tooke Wagon for Dort, to be present at the Reception of Queene-Mother Maria de Medices Dowager of France, Widdow of Henry the Greate, and Mother to the French King Lewes<sup>a</sup> xiiiith, and Queene of England, whence she newly ariv'd toss'd to<sup>b</sup> and fro by the various fortune of <her><sup>c</sup> life;<sup>1</sup> From this Citty she design'd for Collin,<sup>2</sup> conducted by the Earle of Arundell, and the Here van Brederod:<sup>3</sup> I saw at this enterview the Princesse of Orange,<sup>4</sup> and the Lady her daughter, afterward married to the house of Brandenburg:<sup>5</sup> There was little remarkable in this reception befitting the greatnesse of her Person, but an universal discontent, which accompany'd that unlucky Woman wherever she went. The next day I return'd to Rotterdam to dispatch a servant of mine with some things into England.

Sep: 12th, I went towards the *Busse* [Bosleduke]<sup>d6</sup> passing by the Schone of the Grave, a most invincible fort, neere to which is another calld Jack a tra, not far from Ingle:<sup>7</sup> We

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *xiv* deleted.    <sup>b</sup> Altered from *too*.    <sup>c</sup> Altered from *his* to *hir*.    <sup>d</sup> Interlined later.

S. van Leeuwen, *Batavia illustrata*, 1685, pp. 306–8. There was a popular outburst in July 1628, when a woman was drowned in the Leuvehaven: protocols of J. van Aller Andrieszoon in Rotterdam archives; G. van Spaen, *Kroniek van Rotterdam*, 1698, p. 148 (not seen); cf. J. Scheltema, *Geschiedenis der Heksenprocessen*, 1828, p. 267, reference to a drowning, *c.* 1631. After 1610 there were apparently no more trials for witchcraft in the United Provinces; even popular outbursts seem to have been rare after that time.

<sup>1</sup> So the Dutch gave refuge 'to *Mary de Medices*, Mother of so many Crown'd Heads when she had none to shelter her own': *Numismata*, p. 76. She sailed from Dover on 3 September: *Nicholas papers*, i (Camden Soc., new ser., vol. xl, 1886), 43–4; and arrived at Dort on 20 September, *n.s.*: see

note on chronology of Evelyn's tour.

<sup>2</sup> Cologne. For the journey see Hervey, *Arundel*, pp. 424–30.

<sup>3</sup> Joan Wolfert van Brederode, 1599–1655: *Nieuw Nederlandsch biog. woordenboek*.

<sup>4</sup> Amalia von Solms, 1602–75, widow of Frederick Henry.

<sup>5</sup> Louise Henriette of Nassau, 1627–67; married Frederick William, the Great Elector, 1646.

<sup>6</sup> His route is not clear: one would expect him to go direct from Dort to 's Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc).

<sup>7</sup> Ingle is probably Engelen, on the Dieze, which joins 's Hertogenbosch to the Maas; the Dutch lines ran through it in the siege of the Bosch in 1629: plan of the lines in Blaeu. The Schone of the Grave is perhaps a redoubt (*schans* = sconce, a small fort) commanded by one of the counts serving with the Dutch army. Jakatra was a kingdom in

arrived at Bosleduc on Sep: 16. at the time when the new Citadell was advancing with innumerable hands, and incomparable inventions for the draining of the Waters out of the Fenns & Moraces about it, being by Bucketts, Mills, Cochleas,<sup>1</sup> Pumps and the like. Here were now 16 companies, and 9 tropes of Horse: They were also cutting of a new River to passe from the towne to a Castle not far from it, and here we split our skiff terribly, falling fowle upon another through negligence of the Master, who was faine to run on ground to our no little hazard: At<sup>a</sup> our arival a Souldier conveyd us to the Governor, where our names were taken, and our Persons examin'd very strictly.

17th I was permitted to walke the round, and view the Workes; and obtained Licence to visite a prety Convent of Religious Women of the Order of St. Clara, permitted (it seemes) to enjoy their Monastery & maintenance undisturb'd by articles & capitulations at the Surrender of the Towne, now 12 yeares since;<sup>2</sup> Where we had a Collation & very Civil entertaynement. They had a very neate Chapell, in which the heart of the Duke of Cleve, their Founder lies inhum'd under a plate of Brasse:<sup>3</sup> Within the Cloyster is a Garden, and in the middle of it an over-growne Lime-tree, out of whose stem, neere the roote, issue 5 upright & exceeding tall suckers or boles, the like whereof for evenesse & height I had not observd.

The Chiefe Church of this City is curiously carved within, & without; furnish'd with a paire of Organs, & a magnificent

---

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *in*.

---

Java conquered by the Dutch in 1619; it perhaps gave its name to another redoubt.

<sup>1</sup> The cochlea is the water-screw of Archimedes.

<sup>2</sup> 's Hertogenbosch was surrendered on 14 Sept. 1629, N.S. Evelyn refers to the fourth article in the terms granted to the townsmen: Aitzema, *Hist.* ii. 868.

<sup>3</sup> This is a mistake. No heart was preserved by the Poor Clares; that of Arnold of Egmont, 1410-73, duke

of Gelderland and of Juliers, was preserved by the Augustinian canonesses at St. Geertrui: Schutjes, *Geschiedenis van het Bisdom 's Hertogenbosch*, iv. 469; the Poor Clares, *ibid.*, pp. 462-6; J. van Oudenhoven, *Beschryvinge van 's Hertogen-Bossche*, 1649, p. 38. The fact that William V, 1516-92, duke of Juliers and Cleves, was also for a time duke of Gelderland may have led to the mistake in the duke's title.

Font, or Baptistery all of Copper.<sup>1</sup> The 18, I went to see that most impregnable Fort & Towne of Hysdune,<sup>2</sup> where I was exceedingly oblig'd to one Coll: Crombe,<sup>3</sup> the Lieutenant-Governor, who would needs make me accept the honor of being Cap: of the Watch, & to give the Word this night. The Fortification is very irregular; but esteem'd one of the most considerable for strength, & situation, not onely of the Neither-Lands, but of the World.

On the 18 we departed towards Gorcum, in which passage we discover'd a Party lurking on the shore neere Bomel; but they were to(o) weake to atacke us, being in a Mart-Ship,<sup>4</sup> and well provided to receive them: Here, Sir Kenelme Digby<sup>5</sup> travelling towards Colin met us. The next morning we ariv'd at Dort, passing by the Decoys where they catch innumerable quantities of Fowle.<sup>6</sup>

On the 22d I went to Roterdam againe to receive a Passe, which I expected from the Cardinal Infanta<sup>7</sup> then Governor for the K: of Spaine his Bro: in Flanders, being desirous to see that Country in my returne for England whither I was now shaping my Course: And within two days after, having obtain'd another from his Highnesse the Pr: of Orange, upon the 24th of September I departed through Dort, attempting

<sup>1</sup> The St. Janskerk; the organ (1617) and the font (1492) are still preserved. The organ-loft is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Evelyn commonly uses baptistery for font; the word is so defined in E. Coles, *English dictionary*, 1685; and elsewhere. <sup>2</sup> Heusden.

<sup>3</sup> Christoffel Crombe was given a commission as captain on 3 May 1619 and retired from the army on 30 March 1649: Hague Archives, Raad van State. He is mentioned as a lieutenant in the Bergen-op-Zoom parish registers, 16 Oct. 1616 and 1 July 1617; as captain, 1 Oct. 1630, 6 April 1632, and 23 Oct. 1641. His child Courtenay was baptized there on 21 Jan. 1618 (notes sent by Mr. D. S. van Zuiden

to Dr. Maynard Smith).

<sup>4</sup> From the Dutch *marktschip*, a market-ship, plying regularly on inland waters, and, sometimes at least, carrying passengers as well as cargo. Cf. Brereton, pp. 48, 65.

<sup>5</sup> Kenelm Digby, 1603–65; knighted 1623; author, diplomatist, &c.: *D.N.B.* He was obliged to leave France on account of a duel in 1641, but that may have been earlier or later in the year.

<sup>6</sup> Brereton, who was much interested by decoys, describes some near Dort: p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> Ferdinand of Austria, 1609–41; brother of Philip IV; cardinal 1619; the Cardinal Infante; viceroy from 1634. He died on 10 Nov. 1641, n.s.: *Biog. nationale de Belgique*.



to sayle by the Keele,<sup>1</sup> an obscure harbor so call'd, which the winds not permitting, we were constrain'd to lye that night at Anker: 25th the next morning we made another Essay, but were againe repuls'd as far as Dort: The 26t, we put to sea afresh from the Keele; but a suddaine storme rising, with the Wind, and the Women (passengers) out-cries, we were forc'd to retyre into Harbor, where there lay threescore Vessells expecting fairer Weather. But we, impatient of the tyme, and inhospitableness of the Place set out againe the next morning early having the tyde propitious, though a most contrary and impetuous wind, passing so tirrible & overgrowne a Sea, as put us all in very greate jeopardy of our Lives; for we had much ado to keepe our selves above water, the billows breaking so desperately upon our Vessell, 'til it pleased God about noone to drive us in at a Towne calld William-Stat,<sup>2</sup> a Place garnison'd by the English, where the Governor hath a faire house; the Workes, and especialy the Counterscarp is worthy of note, curiously hedg'd with a quick,<sup>3</sup> and planted with a stately row of Limes on the Ramparts. The Church is of a round structure with a Cupola:<sup>4</sup> Here I encounter'd two Polish noble-men, who were travelling out of Germany, and had beene in Italy, very accomplish'd persons.

It was now the 28 of Sept: when failing of an appointment, I was constrain'd to returne againe to Dort, for a Bill of Exchange;<sup>5</sup> but it was the 1 of Octob: 'ere I could get back, when at the Keele I number'd 141 Vessells, who durst not yet adventure this fowle Passage: but we animated by the

<sup>1</sup> Properly the Dordsche-Kil, but commonly the Kil, a word for channel used as a proper name in this case.

<sup>2</sup> Willemstad, a fortress constructed by William the Silent in 1583.

<sup>3</sup> 'In *Holland, and Flanders* . . . they have the goodliest *Hedges* of this kind [i.e. quickset] about the *Counter-scarps* of their invincible *Fortifications*, to the great security of their *Musketiars* upon occasion': *Sylva*, 1664, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> The church, on an octagonal plan, was completed in 1604: van der Aa, *Aardrijkskundig woordenboek*. In 1641 this type of design was new to Evelyn.

<sup>5</sup> This system, although Evelyn had trouble with it again in Rome, was the most economical and satisfactory, so far as travellers were concerned. Fynes Moryson advises the traveller to carry letters of credit in addition to his bills of exchange: *Itin.* i. 276–8.

Master of a stout Barke, after a small encounter of Weather ariv'd by 4 that Evening at Stene-bergen ;<sup>1</sup> In which passage we sailed over a Sea call'd the Plaet,<sup>2</sup> which is an exceeding dangerous Water by reason of two contrary tydes which meete very impetuously: Here, because of the many Shelfes we were forc'd to tyde it along the Channell in sight of two pretty Townes call'd Oude Towne, & Sommers Dyke:<sup>3</sup> but 'ere we could gaine the Place the ebb was so far spent, that we were compell'd to foote it at least a league in a most pelting shower of raine. This is an exceeding impregnable fort.

Octob: 2. with a Gent: of the Rhyne-graves,<sup>4</sup> I went in a Cart (for it was no better, nor other accommodation could we procure) of two Wheelles & one horse to Bergen-op-Zome; by the way meeting divers partys of his Highnesse Army, now retiring towards their Winter-Quarters; the Convoy-Skiffs riding by thousands, alongst the harbour. Having viewed the Workes (which are wonderfull strong) and the Fort, built heretofore by our Country-men the English,<sup>5</sup> adjacent to the Towne; the Church & Market-place, we spent the night with severall Commanders & Souldiers (then)\* in the Towne. The next morning imbarked (for I had refus'd a Convoy of Horse which was offered me) and came early to Lillo,<sup>6</sup> landing short

<sup>a</sup> MS. *thene*.

<sup>1</sup> Steenbergen. The water-ways have changed since the seventeenth century: see the maps in J. Blaeu, *Le grand atlas (Géographie blaviane)*, vol. iv, 1667.

<sup>2</sup> De Plaet, also called Ooltgens-plaat, forms the easternmost part of the island of Overflakkee; the name does not appear to have been applied to the sea.

<sup>3</sup> Oude Tonge and Sommelsdijk (Zomersdijk), on the south-east and north of Overflakkee.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Frederick Magnus, 1607-73, prince of Salm: *Nieuw Nedevlandsch biog. woordenboek*; but the title Rhinegrave was generic.

<sup>5</sup> Bergen-op-Zoom was governed by English governors from 1586 to

1596: J. Faure, *Hist. abrégée de Bergen-op-Zoom*, 1761, p. 333; cf. Moryson, *Itin.* i. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Lillo is on the right (eastern) bank of the Scheldt; it was included in the modern kingdom of Belgium by the settlement of 1839. The distance walked by Evelyn, '5 or 6 miles', seems to be an exaggeration; the total distance from Bergen-op-Zoom was about fifteen miles. For the water-ways and the forts see the map in Blaeu, *Grand atlas*, vol. iv, bk. ix, following p. 33. For the political control of the frontier see S. T. Bindoff, *The Scheldt question to 1839*, 1945, pp. 85-107. All the forts have belonged to Belgium since 1839.

of the Fort, by reason the tyde was against us, which constrain'd us to Land one the beach, where we marched halfe-leg-deepe in mudd, ere we could gaine the Dyke, which for being 5 or 6 miles distant from Lillo we were forced to walke on foote very wett, and discompos'd: Then entering a Boate we pass'd the Ferry, and came into the Castle; being first examin'd by the Sentinel, and<sup>a</sup> conducted to the Governor, who demanded my Passe, to which he set his hand, and asked 2 Rixdollars<sup>1</sup> for a fee, which me thought appeared very unhandsome in a Souldier of his quality; I told him, that I had already purchas'd my Passe to the Commissaries<sup>2</sup> at Rotterdam, at which, in a great fury snatching the Paper out of my hand, he flung it scornfully under a table, and bad me try whether I could get to Antwerp without his permission: But when I drew out the mony, he return'd it as scurvily againe; bidding me pay 14 dutch shill: to the Cantore<sup>3</sup> or Searcher for my contempt, which I was also glad to do with a greate deale of Caution & danger, conceiling my Spanish-passe, it being a matter of Imprisonment; for that the States were therein treated by the names of Rebels;<sup>4</sup> Besides all these exactions, I g(a)ve<sup>b</sup> the Commissary 6 shill: more, to the Souldiers something, and 'ere perfectly cleare of this Severe Frontiere 31 stivers to the Man-of Warr who lay blocking up the River, twixt Lillo, and the opposit Sconce call'd Lifkinshoek;<sup>5</sup> Two such Fortresses, as for their circuit are hardly to be paralleld in all Europ besides. Thus on 4 of Octob: being (as I remember) Sondag,<sup>6</sup> we passed the Forts of Santa Cruce; St. Philippo, Callò, and St. Maria<sup>7</sup> all apper-

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *who*; after *conducted* the word *us* not deleted.

<sup>b</sup> Altered from *cague*.

<sup>1</sup> For Dutch coins and their contemporary English value see Mundy, *Travels*, iv. 79–80 and n. A stiver was worth a penny; six stivers made a Dutch shilling; forty-eight stivers a rix-dollar, but the latter was generally regarded as worth 4s. 2d. or 4s. 4d.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably of the States of Holland or of the States General.

<sup>3</sup> *Kantoor* means properly counting-house or office.

<sup>4</sup> The Spanish government did not recognize the independence of the United Provinces until the peace of Westphalia in 1648.

<sup>5</sup> Liefkenshoek.

<sup>6</sup> 4 Oct. 1641, o.s., was a Monday.

<sup>7</sup> Santa Cruce is the Kruisschans or La Croix, on the right bank near

taining to the Spaynard: Out of St. Maria's came some Dons a'board us; and now I made use onely of my other Passe, to which one of them put his hand, receiving 6 guilders<sup>1</sup> as a gratuity; These after they had sufficiently searched our Vessel, left us very courteously: Then we pass'd by another Man-of-Warr to which we Lower'd o(u)r top-saile, and so after many importunate accidents of this nature twixt these two jealous States, we at last ariv'd safe at Antwerp about 11 in the morning.

Here so soone as I had provided me of a Lodging (which are in this Citty very handsome & convenient) I lost little tyme; but with the conduct of one Mr. Lewkner,<sup>2</sup> spent the afternoon (being a little refresh'd) in seeing divers Churches, Coledges, Monasteries &c:<sup>3</sup> I exceedingly admir'd that sumptuous and most magnificent Church of the Jesuites,<sup>4</sup> being a very glorious fabrique without; & within wholly incrusted with marble inlayd & polish'd into divers representations of histories, Landskips, Flowers &c. Upon the high Altar is

Lillo, belonging to the Dutch since 1632: Bindoff, p. 86. St. Philippe, also on the right bank, belonged to the Spaniards, as well as La Perle and Ste Marie on the left bank. Calloo lay a short distance inland from La Perle.

<sup>1</sup> Presumably the same coin as, or of the same value as, the Dutch guilder, worth twenty stivers or 1s. 8d.: Mundy, *Travels*, iv. 79–80.

<sup>2</sup> The Lewknors were a Sussex family; Evelyn was distantly connected with them through the Newtons.

<sup>3</sup> As the greatest city of the Netherlands in the mid-sixteenth century Antwerp is given an extensive notice by Guicciardini; Gölnitz also describes it at length, pp. 42–88. The principal older works are C. Scribanus, *Antverpia*, 1610, and *Origines Antverpiensium*, 1610; J. B. Gramaye (Grammay), *Antverpiae antiquitates*, 1610; see also J. Le Roy, *Notitia Marchiona-*

*tus*, &c., 1678. The principal modern works are F. H. Mertens and K. L. Toris, *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen*, 1845–54; A. Thys, *Historique des rues . . . d'Anvers*, 1873; and P. Génard, *Anvers à travers les âges*, [1888–92].

Antwerp was already declining, Amsterdam having superseded it as a financial and commercial centre; it had, however, been able to give a magnificent reception to the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand in 1635 and still maintained its intellectual and artistic importance.

<sup>4</sup> St. Charles Borromée. The greater part of the church was destroyed by fire in 1718; a view of the interior by A. G. Gheringh is reproduced by A. Rosenberg, *P. P. Rubens* ('Klassiker der Kunst'), 1905, p. xxxi. The surviving pictures by Rubens are now in Vienna; the rest were engraved by J. de Witt and J. Punt, 1751.

plac'd the Statue of the B: Vergin & our Saviour in White-marble, which has a bosse in the girdle consisting of a very faire and rich Saphyre, with divers other stones of price. There hang up in this Church divers Votive tables & Reliques, containing the Pictures or Emblemes of severall dissasters, & recoveries. The Quire is a most glorious piece; and the Pulpit supported with fowre Angels, adorn'd with other carvings & rare Pictures wrought by the hand of Rubens now newly deceased:<sup>1</sup> I went hence unto<sup>a</sup> the Vrou-kirke or Notre Dame d'Anvers, which is the Cathedrall of this Citty: It is a very venerable fabrique, built after the Gotick manner, and especialy the Tower, which is in truth of an excessive height: This I ascended, that I might the better take a view of the Country about it, which happning on a day when the sunn shone exceedingly hot, and darted the rayes without any interruption, afforded so bright a reflection to us who were above, and had a full prospect of both the Land & Water about it, that I was much confirm'd in my opinion of the Moones being of some such substance as this earthly Globe consists of; perceiving all the subjacent Country (at so smale an horizontal distance) to repercusse such a light as I could hardly looke against; save where the River, and other large Water within our View appeard of a more darke & uniforme Colour, resembling those spotts in the Moone, attributed to the seas there &c according to our new Philosophy & the Phænomenas by optical Glasses:<sup>2</sup> I number'd in this Church

---

<sup>a</sup> Or *& to*; altered from *into*.

---

<sup>1</sup> He had died on 30 May 1640, n.s. Sir Peter Paul Rubens, b. 1577.

<sup>2</sup> The view appears to be a confused derivative from Gölnitz: 'Altera [turris] . . . tantâ . . . passim pellucet amœnitate, tantâ mutuo superstantium columnarum varietate, ut & solaribus undique radiis transverberetur, & luci quaqua parte viam prospectu præbeat lætissimo: præterquam enim quod ex ea conspicias totam, quàm latè patet, pulcherrimam urbem & circum-

jectos illi non minùs amœnos, quàm pagis, hortis & villis frequentes campos, detegis etiam clarè primarias quasdam atque longinquas urbes . . . præterea fluminis latè diffusam oram, adeoque & ipsum mare, & Zelandicas etiam insulas': pp. 55-6. The passage relating to the moon appears to belong to the original memoranda; if so, Evelyn probably derived his theory from John Wilkins, whose *Discovery of a World in the moone*, 1638 (3rd ed.,

30 priveleg'd Altars,<sup>1</sup> whereof that of St. Sebastians was rarely paynted.<sup>2</sup>

Next we went to see Jerusalem Church, affirm'd to have been founded by one, who upon divers greate Wagers, went to & fro betweene that Citty & Antwerp on foote; by which he procur'd greate Summs of mony which he bestow'd in this pious structure.<sup>3</sup> Hence to St. Marys Chapell, where I had some Conference with two English Jesuites, Confessors to Coll: Gage<sup>4</sup> his Regiment: These Fathers, conducted us to the Cloyster of Religious-Women where we heard a Dutch sermon at a Quarantia,<sup>5</sup> or Exposure of the Sacrament as they tearme it.

The Senat-house of this City<sup>6</sup> is a very spacious and magnificent building.

Octob: 5. I visited the Jesuites-Scholes<sup>7</sup> (which for the fame of their method & institution,<sup>8</sup> I had greatly desir'd to

1640, as part of *A Discourse concerning a new world*), contains the proposition (no. 8), 'The spots represent the Sea, and the brighter parts the Land.' Wilkins bases it on the reflection of light. The theory had already been put forward by Galileo in 1610 as a result of telescopic observation and had been accepted by Kepler. The *Selenographia* of J. Hevelius (below, 29 June 1671), to which Evelyn refers in V, was published in 1647; in it see pp. 151-2; Evelyn mentions it in *Sculptura*, pp. 82-3.

<sup>1</sup> Gölnitz writes sixty-six chapels ('sacella') and altars: p. 54; Christyn, 1720, thirty-two altars: i. 168-9. So many as thirty altars are not likely to have been 'privileged', i.e. where, in addition to the ordinary uses, a plenary indulgence is granted to the individual soul for whom mass is there offered: see *Catholic Encyclopaedia*.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably the picture by Michiel van Coxcyen, now no. 371 in the Antwerp museum.

<sup>3</sup> Part, if not the whole, of this 3811.2

paragraph is out of place. The Jerusalem church is at Bruges; account of it and figure in A. Sanderus, *Flandria illustrata*, 1641-4, i. 263; modern account in A. J. Duclos, *Bruges*, 1910, pp. 559-60.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Gage, 1597-1645; knighted 1644: *D.N.B.* His regiment is more likely to have been stationed at Bruges than at Antwerp.

<sup>5</sup> i.e. a Quarant'Ore or Forty Hours' Devotion, in which 'continuous prayer is made for forty hours before the Blessed Sacrament exposed': *Catholic Encyc.*

<sup>6</sup> Evidently Antwerp. Gölnitz describes the building at length, pp. 61-3.

<sup>7</sup> The Gymnasium, founded in 1607 and closed on the suppression of the order in 1773; it occupied the site of the present military hospital in the rue du Prince. Its history is given in Mertens and Torfs, iv. 119 n., v. 356-8, vi. 59-64, 187; see also Thys, pp. 192-5.

<sup>8</sup> In the sense training, instruction, education, teaching: *O.E.D.*

F

see):\* they were divided into 4 Classes with a several Inscription over each of them;<sup>1</sup> as, Ad majorem Dei gloriam the 1. Over the 2d was Principis diligentiae; the 3d Imperator Byzantium; over the 4th & Upmost Imperator Romanorum; under these, the Scholars & Pupils had their Places or formes, with titles & priority according to their proficiency: Their dormitorys & Lodgings above, were exceeding neate; Prisons they have for the offenders, & lesse diligent; a Court to recreate themselves in, wherein is an Aviary of Birds; besides Eagles, Foxes, Monke(y)s &c to divert the Boys withall at their times of remission. To the house joyn'd a Music, & Mathematical Scholes where they were also initiated into those Studys; & lastly a pretty Chapell. I pass'd hence to the greate Streete<sup>2</sup> which is built after a more Italian mode, in the middle whereof is erected a glorious Crucifix of White & black-marble greater then the life. This is a very faire and noble Streete; cleane, & sweete to admiration.

The Oesters-house, belonging to the East-India Company<sup>3</sup> is a most beautifull Palace, adorn'd with more then 300 Windows: From hence walking into the Gun-garden<sup>4</sup> I was suffer'd to see as much of the Citadell as is easily permitted to

---

\* Colon supplied.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn is evidently mistaken about the inscriptions. 'Ad majorem Dei gloriam' is the motto of the order. The 'Imperator Byzantium' and the 'Imperator Romanorum' were probably the leaders in the *concertationes* (contests) which played a large part in Jesuit teaching: see R. Schwickerath, *Jesuit education*, 1903, pp. 511, 515; the titles may have been put on placards. 'Principis diligentiae' may have been a similar title.

<sup>2</sup> The place de Meir. The crucifix was set up in 1635 and destroyed in 1797: Thys, pp. 325-6; see also Mertens and Torfs, v. 430; figured in Le Roy, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn means the Oostershuis,

the house of the Hanseatic League, built 1564-8, and burnt down in 1893; its site was on the north side of the Place Hanséatique: Mertens and Torfs, iv. 115; Thys, pp. 146-9; Baedeker, *Belgium and Holland*, 1910, p. 203; figured in Guicciardini, Latin trans., 1613. The '300 Windows' apparently derives from Gölnitz's 'trecenta . . . cubicula': p. 67. There was no East India company in Antwerp.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably the central area of the Citadel, containing the barracks, &c. Monconys saw it in 1663: ii. 107-8. For the Citadel see Gölnitz, pp. 45-8. It was begun by the duke of Alva in 1567; its site is now occupied by the Musée Royal, &c.

strangers: It is doubtlesse the most matchlesse piece of modern Fortification in the World; for all contrivances of force, and resistance; incomparably accommodated with Logiaments for the Souldiers, & magazines of Warr: The Graffs,<sup>1</sup> ramparts, & Platformes are stupendious. Returning hence by the Shop of Plantine,<sup>2</sup> I bought some bookes for the namesake onely of that famous Printer: But there was nothing about this Citty, which more ravished me then those delicious shades and walkes of stately Trees, which render the incomparably fortified Workes of the Towne one of the Sweetest places in Europ;<sup>3</sup> nor did I ever observe a more quiet, cleane, elegantly built, and civil place then this magnificent and famous Citty of Antwerp,<sup>4</sup> which caused me to spend the next day in farther contemplation of it, & reviewing what I had seene before; some few Palaces, Churches, Convents & Ports<sup>5</sup> &c 'til Evening, when I was invited to Signor Duerts,<sup>6</sup> a Portuguese by nation, an exceeding rich Merchant, whose Palace I found to be furnish'd like a Princes; and here his three Daughters, entertain'd us with rare Musique, both Vocal, & Instrumental, which was finish'd with an handsome Collation: And so I tooke leave of the Ladys, and of sweete Antwerp as late as it was, embarquing

<sup>1</sup> Logiaments, lodgements, are here soldiers' quarters; a graff is a fosse or moat: *O.E.D.*

<sup>2</sup> The present head of the business was Balthasar (II) Moretus, 1615-74, a great-grandson of Christopher Plantin: *Biog. nationale de Belgique*. The printing house is now the Musée Plantin-Moretus; description in Gölnitz, pp. 70-1, mainly from Scribanus, *Origines*, pp. 124-5, and *Antverpia*, pp. 44-5.

<sup>3</sup> See the passage from Scribanus (*Origines*, pp. 70-1) quoted by Gölnitz, pp. 49-50. The trees were limes, a detail added by Gölnitz.

<sup>4</sup> 'Tanta urbis est elegantia (*dicit Gram. c. 10*), tanta suburbanorum amenitas, tantus vicorum splendor, tanta domorum commoditas & ornatus, tanta suppellectilis & copia

& mundicies & ædificiorum in iis magnificentia, ut regum, non civium, esse videantur': Gölnitz, p. 53, from Gramaye, *Antverpiæ Antiquitates*, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> i.e. gates.

<sup>6</sup> i.e. Duarte. The family was art-loving as well as musical; it was probably Jewish (Marrano) or of Jewish descent; the father, Gaspard, dealt in jewels and was also engaged in banking. The best account is by W. J. A. Jonckbloet and J. P. N. Land, in *Correspondance et œuvres musicales de Constantijn Huygens*, 1882, pp. clxxiv-clxxxiii, followed by some letters; see also Margaret Cavendish, duchess of Newcastle, *Life of the duke*, ed. Firth, 1886, pp. 128-9, and her *CCXI. Sociable Letters*, 1664, no. 206, and especially



my selfe for Bruxelles upon the Scheld, in a Vessel which deliver'd us to a second boate (in another River) drawn or tow'd by horses. In this passage we frequently chang'd our Barge by reason of the Bridges twharting our Course so frequently: Here I observed many numerous Familys to inhabite their Vessells & floating dwellings, which were so built & divided by Cabines, as few houses on land enjoy'd better accommodation; stor'd with all sorts of Utensiles; neate, Chambers, a pretty Parlour, and kept so sweete and polite, as nothing could be more refreshing: The rivers on which they are drawne, being very cleare, & still waters & passe through a most pleasant Country on both the bankes: We had in our Boate a very good Ordinary, and excellent Company:<sup>1</sup> The Cutt is as straitte as a line can possibly lay it for the space of 20 English-miles;<sup>2</sup> and what I much admir'd was, neere the mid-way, another artificial River, which intersects this at right-angles; but upon an eminence of Ground, which is therefore caryed in a Channel or Aqæduct of stone so far above<sup>a</sup> the other, as that the Waters neither mingle, nor hinder one anothers passage.<sup>3</sup> We came to a Towne call'd

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *aboute*.

no. 202; Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. Bohn, iv. 216. For the pictures belonging to the family in 1663 see Monconys, ii. 101-2; in 1673, Edward Browne, in Sir Thomas Browne, *Works*, ed. Wilkin, 1836-7, i. 207.

<sup>1</sup> The route was up the Scheldt and then the Rupel as far as Boom, which was connected with Brussels by a canal constructed in 1550-61; there were five locks between Boom and Brussels: A. Henne and A. Wauters, *Hist. de la ville de Bruxelles*, 1845, i. 373-4; Gölitz, pp. 117-18. Monconys describes a day-time journey in the opposite direction in 1663. At Brussels 'nous nous embarquasmes sur les sept heures dans le bateau d'Anvers à 15. sols par personne & 6. liards de plus pour entrer dans la chambre des bateaux; car jusques à Anvers, on entre dans

six differents, & dans le troisième on y disne bien, & fort proprement, n'y ayant rien de mieux ajusté que les chambres de ces bateaux.' He arrived at Antwerp at 4.30 p.m.: ii. 101. The night-journey is noteworthy; there was a regular night-service from Brussels to Antwerp c. 1684: Miselli, *Il Burattino veridico*, p. 488.

<sup>2</sup> The cut is regular, not straight.

<sup>3</sup> Edward Browne writes that at Fontaine 'three Rivers cross one another: one of them being carried over a bridg': *Account of several travels*, p. 34. Fontaine is not marked on Blaeu's maps (*Grand atlas*, vol. iv), and is perhaps meant for the fountain at Vilvorde (see below); Blaeu's map shows a tributary of the Senne crossing the canal to the north of Vilvorde, but apparently

Villefrow where is a very faire Castle, and here all the Passengers went on shore to Wash at a certaine fontaine issuing out of a Pillar, and so came aboard againe.<sup>1</sup> On the Margent of this long tract, are abundance of Shrines, and Images defended from the injuries of the Weather, by the Niches of stone wherein they are placed. Thus at 9 in the Morning, being Octob: 7th we ariv'd at Bruxelles,<sup>2</sup> where after I had a little dispatch'd some addresses;<sup>3</sup> I went first to visite the State-house<sup>4</sup> neere the Market-Place; being for the carving in free-stone a most laborious, & (strangely)<sup>a</sup> finish'd Piece; well worth the observing.

The flesh-shambles is also built of stone:<sup>5</sup> I was infinitely pleas'd with certaine small Engines, and divices by which a silly Girle or Boy was able to draw-up, or let-downe huge Bridges, which in divers parts of the Citty crossed the Channell, for the benefit of Passengers. The Wales of this Towne are very intyre, and full of Towers at competent distances.<sup>6</sup> The Cathedrall<sup>7</sup> is built upon a very high, & exceeding steepe ascent, to which we mounted by<sup>b</sup> faire steps<sup>b</sup> of stone: Hence I walked to a Convent of English

<sup>a</sup> MS. *stranggly*.    <sup>b-b</sup> Altered from *by a faire payere of stepps*.

passing under it (see also his text, p. 22).

<sup>1</sup> Villefrow is an error for Vilvorde. For the fountain see A. Sanderus, *Chorographia sacra Brabantia*, 1659, &c., vol. i, section 'Regiæ domus Belgicæ', p. 41 and illustration not named, but on same plate as 'Arx Vilvordiana'.

<sup>2</sup> The principal older work on Brussels is E. Puteanus, *Bruxella . . . septenaria*, 1646; it is interesting mainly for its plates. The principal modern works are A. Henne and A. Wauters, *Hist. de la ville de Bruxelles*, 1845, and L. Hymans, &c., *Bruxelles à travers les âges*, [1886–9], which reproduces many old engraved views.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently letters of intro-

duction.

<sup>4</sup> The Hôtel de Ville. Description in Gölnitz, pp. 124–5. Its interior was ruined in the French bombardment of 1695.

<sup>5</sup> The Boucherie (later Grande Boucherie) in what is now the rue du Marché aux Herbes, behind the Maison du Roi; the building seen by Evelyn was destroyed in the bombardment of 1695: Gölnitz, p. 126 (as 'Macellum'); history in Henne and Wauters, iii. 69–70.

<sup>6</sup> See Gölnitz, pp. 118–19.

<sup>7</sup> Ste Gudule. *Ibid.*, p. 119. The steps, as Evelyn saw them, are figured in Puteanus, p. 28; they were altered in 1707 and again later: Hymans, i. 342.

Nunns,<sup>1</sup> with whom I sate discoursing most part of this afternoon.

Octob: 8: (being the Morning I came away) I went to see the Princes Court,<sup>2</sup> which is an antient confus'd building, large & irregular, not much unlike the Hoff, at the Hague; for there is here likewise a very large Hall, where they vend all sorts of Wares:<sup>3</sup> Through this we passed by the Chapell which is indeede rarely (arch'd)<sup>a</sup> and in the middle of it (at present) the Hearse or Catapalco of the late Arch-dutchesse, the wise & pious Clara Eugenia:<sup>4</sup> Out of this, we were by a Spanyard conducted to the Lodgings, tapissryd with incomparable Aras; and adorn'd with many excellent pieces of Rubens; old, and young Breugle, Titian, Steen-wick;<sup>5</sup> with stories of most of the late actions in the Netherlands.<sup>b</sup> The Library<sup>6</sup> I would very faine have seene; but by an accident, we could not at this tyme; Yet peeping through the key-hole, I perceived that the Bookes were placed in Presses, which

<sup>a</sup> Deleted in MS.

<sup>b</sup> Altered from *Nitherlands*.

<sup>1</sup> The abbey of the Glorious Assumption of Our Lady; the nuns were Benedictines; for its history see P. Guilday, *English Catholic refugees on the Continent*, vol. i, 1914, pp. 256-65.

<sup>2</sup> The Cour. It occupied the site of the existing Place Royale; it was burnt down in 1731. Evelyn may have been influenced by the description in Gölnitz, pp. 121-4. Modern account in Henne and Wauters, iii. 318-35; see also Hymans, vol. i, ch. iv. Views in Puteanus; J. Blaeu, *Theatrum urbium Belgicæ regiæ*; Sanderus, *Chorographia sacra Brabantiae*, vol. i, section 'Regiæ domus Belgicæ'; Christyn, 1697, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> 'Atrium majus non dissimile Hagensi; ubi trophæa & spolia appensa': Gölnitz, p. 121; cf. Guicciardini, 1646, i. 47.

<sup>4</sup> Isabella Clara Eugenia, 1566-1633, daughter of Philip II of Spain

and wife, 1598, of the Archduke Albert: *Biog. nationale de Belgique*. The Spanish Netherlands were ceded to her and her husband in 1598, but reverted to Spain on Albert's death in 1621.

<sup>5</sup> Pieter Bruegel the elder, active 1551, d. 1569; probably his younger son, Jan Bruegel the elder, 1568-1625; Titian, 1477?-1576; probably Hendrick van Steenwyck the younger, 1580-after 1649. Many of the works by these artists were apparently incorporated in the collection of the Archduke Leopold William, stadholder of the Spanish Netherlands 1647-56; the collection is now in the Kunsthistorisches Hofmuseum in Vienna. Ten pictures by Rubens in the hall (*grande salle*) were destroyed in the fire of 1731: Henne and Wauters, iii. 327-8.

<sup>6</sup> Short account in Henne and Wauters, iii. 369-73.

were onely cancell'd<sup>1</sup> with gilt-wyre. There is a faire Terrace which respects the Vine-yard, in which upon Pedestalls are fix'd the Statues of all the Spanish Kings of the house of Austria;<sup>2</sup> the opposite Wales paynted by Rubens, being an history of the late tumults in Belgia; in the last piece, the Arch-Dutchesse shutts a greate payre of Gates upon Mars, who is made comming forth out of Hel, arm'd, & in a menacing posture; which, with that other of the Infantas taking leave of Don Phelip the IVth is a most incomparable table.<sup>3</sup> From this wee walked into the Parke, which for being intirely within the Walles of the Citty is particularly remarkable; nor lesse divertissant, then if in the most solitary recesses; So naturally it is furnish'd with whatever may render it agreeable, melancholy<sup>4</sup> & Country-like: for here is a stately Heronry; divers springs of Water & artificial Cascads, Rocks, Grotts, one whereoff being compos'd of the Extravagant rootes of trees, and so cunningly built & hung together with Wyres, lookes very Extravagantly: There are in this Parke both Fallow & Red-deare. From hence we were led into the Manage,<sup>5</sup> and out of that into a most sweete and delicious Garden, where was another Grott, of more neate & costly materials, full of noble Statues, and entertaining us with

<sup>1</sup> Enclosed with lattice-work; the literal meaning of the Latin *cancel-lare*: *O.E.D.*

<sup>2</sup> See the engraving of the garden-front of the palace in Puteanus; list of the statues in Gölnitz, p. 122. They represented various royalties. To respect here is to look towards or to face: *O.E.D.*

<sup>3</sup> Of the two compositions described by Evelyn the first is the 'Temple of Janus'. A version of it was used as part of the decorations for the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand's entry into Antwerp in 1635; Isabella helps Peace to close the gates of the temple on Mars: J. C. Gevartius, *Pompa introitus . . . Ferdinandi Austriaci*, 1641, p. 117 and plates. The second composition appears to be the 'Apotheosis of Isabella', also

used for the entry; the Infanta Isabella is seen in the sky while in the foreground the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand parts from Philip IV: Gevartius, p. 97 and plate. Sketches for both compositions are now in the Hermitage; the paintings seen by Evelyn were perhaps the versions executed for the entry.

<sup>4</sup> With Evelyn's use of melancholy cf. *Il Penseroso* and *Comus*, l. 546; and note his description of Nova Fossa, below, Jan. 1645, as 'very agreeably melancholy'; 'a glomy & melancholy horror' in the account of a grotto in this park in V; and his use of the word elsewhere.

<sup>5</sup> Manège, riding-school. Manage is the older English form, and the more common in the first half of the seventeenth century: *O.E.D.*

artificial musique: But it was the hedge of Water, which in forme of Lattice-Worke the Fontaniere caused to ascend out of the earth by degrees exceedingly pleased & surprizd me; for thus with a pervious Wall, or rather Palisad-hedge of Water, was the whole Parterr enviroind: There is likewise a faire Aviary; and in the Court next it are kept divers sorts of Animals, rare & exotic fowle; as Eagles, Cranes, Storkes, Bustars, Pheasants of Severall kinds, & a Duck having 4 Wings &c: In another division of the same Close, Connys of an almost perfect yellow Colour:<sup>1</sup> There was no Court now in the Palace, the Infanta Cardinal, who was the Governor of Flanders being dead but newly,<sup>2</sup> & every body in deepe Mourning, which made us quitt the Towne sooner than happily we should else have don.

It was now neere eleaven, when I repaired to his Majesties Agent Sir Henry De Vic,<sup>3</sup> who very courteously receivd me and accommodated me with a Coach & six-horses, which carried me from Bruxelles to Gant, where it was to meete my Lord of Arundel, Earle Martial of England, who had requested me when I was at Antwerp to send it for him, if I went not thither my selfe.<sup>4</sup>

Thus taking leave of Bruxelles, and a sad Court, yet full of Gallant Persons (for in this small Cittye the acquaintance being universal, Ladys & Gentlemen I perceiv'd had greate diversions and frequent meetings) I hasted towards Gant: Upon the Way, I met with divers little Wagons, pretily contriv'd and full of pedling Merchandises, which were drawne by Mastive-Dogs, harness'd compleately like so many Coach-horses; in some 4, in others six, according to the Charge they drew; as in the Towne of Bruxelles it selfe I had observed

<sup>1</sup> On the gardens and their contents see Gölnitz, pp. 123-4, and the description quoted in Henne and Wauters, iii. 332.

<sup>2</sup> This appears to be a mistake. Ferdinand died on 31 Oct./10 Nov.

<sup>3</sup> Henry de Vic, c. 1599-1671; appointed about 5 July of this year resident at Brussels, where he remained until 1661; knighted by

15 August of this year; created baronet 1649; chancellor of the Order of the Garter 1660-71 G.E.C., *Baronetage*, iii. 11; *Westminster Abbey registers*, p. 175 n. *Cal. S.P., Dom., 1641-3*, pp. 43, 82 Further notices below.

<sup>4</sup> Arundel was returning from his journey with Marie de Médicis to Cologne: above, p. 57.

In Antwerp I saw (as I remember) 4 dogs draw 5 lusty Children in a Charriot to my greate astonishment; the Master commands them whither he pleases, crying his Wares about the streetes.<sup>1</sup>

I baited by the Way to refresh our horses at a prety Towne call'd Ouse,<sup>2</sup> and by 6 that Evening ariv'd at Ghendt.

Ghendt<sup>3</sup> is an extravagant<sup>4</sup> Citty of so vast a Circumference, that it is reported to be no lesse then 7 Leagues in compasse;<sup>5</sup> but there is not an halfe part of it now built; much of it remaining in feilds and desolate pastures, even within the Wales,<sup>6</sup> which has marvailous strong Gates towards the West, and two faire Churches, in one of which I heard a Sermon. Here I beheld the Palace wherein John of Gaunt, and Charles the Vt were borne,<sup>7</sup> whose statue stands erected in the Market-place upon an high Pillar, with his sword drawn, to which (as I was told) the Magistrates and Burgers were wont to repaire upon a certaine day every yeare, with roaps about their necks, in toaken of submission & pennance for an old Rebellion of theirs: but now the Weede is changed into a blew ribbon.<sup>8</sup> Here is planted the Basilisco, or monstrous gun

<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. M. Misson, *Nouveau voyage d'Italie*, letter xxxvii (ed. 1691, ii. 261).

<sup>2</sup> Presumably Alost, in Flemish Aalst or Aelst.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn's account of Ghent derives in part from Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, p. 365. For the town see Sanderus, *Flandria illustrata*, i. 81–164; modern accounts by C.-L. Dierickx, *Mémoires sur la ville de Gand*, 1814–16; F. de Potter, *Gent van den oudsten tijd tot heden*, 1882–9. Views in Sanderus.

<sup>4</sup> In the obsolete sense, straggling: *O.E.D.* Evelyn uses the word frequently in this sense: e.g. *Sylva*, 1664, p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> 'Seven miles in compasse': Heylyn.

<sup>6</sup> 'Sunt . . . immensa in Urbe spatia ædificiis & cultoribus vacua': Gölnitz, p. 19; so also Guicciardini, 1646, i. 130. I cannot trace the

strong gates. The churches appear to be St. Bavon and St. Michel, both described by Gölnitz.

<sup>7</sup> Marchantius, p. 116, Heylyn, and Blaeu, *Theatrum urbium Belgicæ regiæ*, mention John of Gaunt; Gölnitz, the palace as the birth-place of Charles V: p. 18. The former was born in the old abbey of St. Bavon, on whose site Charles V built his citadel in 1540: Sir S. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, 1904, pp. 1–2; the latter in the Princen-hof: Sanderus, i. 147. The latter building has also been destroyed.

<sup>8</sup> The monument stood in the Vrijdagsmarkt; it was erected in 1599, altered at various times, and destroyed in November 1792: Gölnitz, p. 21; Dierickx, ii. 140–2; de Potter, vi. 279–83; figured in Sanderus, i. 127. Evelyn's statement about the annual humiliation

so much talked of.<sup>1</sup> (The)<sup>a</sup> Ley and Scheld meeting in this vast Citty divide it into 26 Ilands which are united together by many bridges somewhat resembling Venice.<sup>2</sup>

This night I supp'd with the Abbot of Andoyne,<sup>3</sup> a pleasant and courteous Priest:

Octob: 8: I passed by Boate to Bruges, taking in a Convoy of 14 Musqueteeres by the way at a Redout, because the other side of the River being contribution land, was subject to the inrodes & depredations of the borduring States.<sup>4</sup> This River was cut by the famous Marq: Spinola, and is, in my judgment, a wonderfull piece of Labour, and worthy publique worke, being in some places forced through the maine rock to an incredible depth for 30 miles:<sup>5</sup> At the end of each mile is built a small Redout which communicats a line to the next; and so the whole way, from whence we received many volyes of shot in complement to my Lord Marshall who was in our Vessell a passenger with us: Thus about 5 that Evening we were met by the Magistrates of Bruges, who came out to convoy my Lord to his Lodging at whose cost he was enter-

<sup>a</sup> MS. *They*.

is probably wrong; after the rebellion in 1539 Charles V ordered a solemn humiliation, including fifty persons with halters about their necks, which took place on 3 May 1540, but was not repeated: *Relation des troubles de Gand sous Charles-Quint*, ed. Gachard, 1846, pp. 155-6.

<sup>1</sup> De Dulle Griete: see de Potter, vi. 275-83. I have found no contemporary references to it.

<sup>2</sup> 'The *Scheld*, and the *Ley*, both which run thorow it, and make in it 26 Islands, joynd together with 98 Bridges': Heylyn. '36' in V is a slip.

<sup>3</sup> Untraceable; perhaps an abbé of this name.

<sup>4</sup> France and the United Provinces were both at war with Spain. Nicholas Lanier's wife and her maids were pillaged by Dutch soldiers

when making this journey in 1646: *Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*, iv. 289 ('s Rijks geschiedkundige publicatien, vol. xxiv, 1915). For the phrase 'contribution land' see above, p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> 'Relictâ Brugâ . . . cymbâ per fossam novam, Spinolâ autore factam, iter Gandavum octo leucarum instituimus; commoditas, & mercibus ultrò citroque vehendis firma securitas: castella siquidem & receptus . . . ripam munientes numerabis viginti & amplius; nec minori cohortes sunt numero cum turmis equitum sex ibi in præsidio': Gölnitz, p. 17; Gölnitz and his companions took six soldiers as a convoy. The canal was begun in 1613: Sanderus, *Flandria illustrata*, i. 81. Ambrogio Spinola, 1569-1630, the general: *Enciclopedia italiana*.

tayn'd that night. The morning after we went to see the State-house<sup>1</sup> and adjoining Aquæduct;<sup>2</sup> the Church<sup>3</sup> and Market-place, where I remember we saw Cheezes, & Butter [pild up]<sup>a</sup> like heapes of Mortar: Also the Fortifications and grafts, which are incredibly strong & large:

The 9th we ariv'd at Ostend, by a strait & artificial River: Here with leave of the Captaine of the Watch, I was caryed to survey the river and harbour which fortifies one side thereof: The East & South are mud & earth Wales, one of the strongest places in my life I had seene:<sup>4</sup> I then went to the Church of St. Peters,<sup>5</sup> and the Cloyster of the Franciscans;<sup>6</sup> & tooke more than ordinary notice of all for the memorable seige it endur'd not long before, of 3 yeares, 3 moneths, 3 Weekes & 3 dayes.<sup>7</sup>

Octob: 10, I went by Wagon (accompany'd with a jovial Commissary) to Dynkirk, the journey was made all on the sea sands: On our arivall we first viewed the Court of Guards, The Workes, Towne-house<sup>8</sup> and new Church<sup>9</sup> (which is indeede very beautifull within) and another wherein they shew'd us an excellent piece of our B: Saviours bearing the Crosse.<sup>10</sup> The Harbour in<sup>b</sup> two<sup>b</sup> Channells coming<sup>c</sup> up to the Towne was choaked<sup>d</sup> with a multitude of Prizes:<sup>11</sup> From hence I the next

<sup>a</sup> Added later.    <sup>b-b</sup> Altered from *reaching into the*.    <sup>c</sup> Altered from *come*.    <sup>d</sup> Followed by *up* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> This should be the Stadhuis; but Evelyn may have confused it with the Halles (see next note).

<sup>2</sup> This is apparently the branch of the Reie behind the Stadhuis (for aqueduct in this sense cf. pp. 47, 68, above); but there was a fountain in the square in front of the Halles: Sanderus, *Flandria illustrata*, i. 190; and on its east side the Waterhalle, a cloth-hall: A. Duclos, *Bruges*, 1910, p. 434.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably St. Donatien, destroyed in 1799: Duclos, pp. 444-5.

<sup>4</sup> See the plan in Blaeu and in Sanderus, i. [310-11].

<sup>5</sup> This was destroyed in 1712: Christyn, 1720, ii. 137.

<sup>6</sup> Capuchins: Gölnitz, p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Evelyn is wrong: the siege lasted from 5 July 1601 to 20 (22) Sept. 1604; three years, two months, and fifteen days; according to Gölnitz, p. 8.

<sup>8</sup> It was a Gothic building burnt down in 1642: P. Faulconnier, *Description hist. de Dunkerque*, 1735, i. 153-4, with figure.

<sup>9</sup> The parish church (St. Eloi) had been repaired after a fire in 1558; but the Jesuits were building a church in 1632 and the Capuchins had completed another in 1640: Faulconnier, i. 63, 133, 143.

<sup>10</sup> Not traceable.

<sup>11</sup> See plan and views in Blaeu and



day marched 3 English miles towards the Packet-boate<sup>1</sup> being a pretty Fregat of 6 Gunns, which embarked us for England about 3 in the afternoone: At our going off the Schrnken<sup>2</sup> fort (against which our Pinnac ankerd) saluted my L: Martial with 13<sup>a</sup> greate gunns, which we answerd with 3. and so (not having the Wind favourable) after a little motion, ankerd that night before Calis: About midnight we weigh'd, and at 4 in the morning being not far from Dover, we could not yet make the Peere till 4 that afternoone, the wind proving contrary and driving us Westward; but at the last we got on shore, being the afternoone of Octob: 12th.

From Dover I that night rood Post to Canterbery, where I visited the Cathedrall, now in greatest splendor, those famous Windoes being intire, since demolish'd by the Phanatiques:<sup>3</sup> The next morning by Sitinbourn, I came to Rochester; and thence to Graves-End, where a Light-horse-man (as they call it) taking us in, we spent our tide as far as Greene-Wich, whence after we had a little refresh'd at the Colledge<sup>4</sup> (for by reason of the Contagion then in Lond:<sup>b</sup> we baulked the Inns<sup>5</sup>) we came to London, landing at Arundel Stayers,<sup>6</sup> where I tooke leave of his Lordship, and retyr'd to my Lodgings in

<sup>a</sup> Altered from 12.

<sup>b</sup> MS. Lond;).

in Sanderus, ii. [630–1], 632. Dunkirk was taken by the English and French in 1658, held by the English until 1662, and then sold to Louis XIV; for the subject in general, and the privateers' attacks on English shipping, see C. L. Grose in *American hist. rev.* xxxix (1934), 1–27.

<sup>1</sup> This term implies a regular service.

<sup>2</sup> The Schuerken or Plate was a sand-bank to the west of the mouth of the harbour; in 1625 there was a small fort, more correctly called Fort Mardyck, on the shore facing it: L. Lemaire, *L'Infante Isabelle . . . à Dunquerque . . . 1625*, 1926, pp. 17–18, and engraving reproduced at end of the book.

<sup>3</sup> This was the work of Richard Culmer (*D.N.B.*); his own account appears in his *Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury*, 1644, pp. 20–3. An earlier desecration, in 1642, had not affected the fabric.

<sup>4</sup> Trinity Hospital, commonly called Norfolk College, founded in 1613 by Henry Howard, earl of Northampton, Arundel's great-uncle: E. Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, ed. H. H. Drake, pt. i, Hundred of Blackheath, 1886, pp. 90–1.

<sup>5</sup> There are said to have been 1,375 deaths from plague this year; in 1640 there had been 1,450: Creighton, *Hist. of epidemics*, i. 533.

<sup>6</sup> These were at the foot of the modern Arundel Street.

the Middle Temple, being about two in the morning the 14th of October.

Octob: 16 I went to see my Bro: at Wotton, being the 31 of this Moneth (unfortunate for the Irish rebellion which brake out the 23)<sup>1</sup> one & twenty Yeares of age.

No: 7: I received the B: Sac, at the Church of Wotton; and in the afternoone went to give my L: Martial a Visite at Albury:<sup>2</sup>

Nov: 8 I went to Lewes to see my friends in Sussex, accompany'd with my two Brothers. The 13th I return'd, and the 23d to Lond: where on the 25t following I saw his Majestie ride through the Citty, after his comming out of Scotland and a peace proclaym'd, with greate acclamations and joy of the giddy people.<sup>3</sup>

Decemb: 15, I was elected one of the Comptrollers of the Middle-Temple-Revellers, as the fashion of the Young Students & Gentlemen was; the Christmas being kept this Yeare with greate Solemnity; but being desirous to passe it in the Country, I got leave to resigne my Staffe of Office, and went with my Bro: Richard to Wotton. [Statues & heads set up in Temple hall:]<sup>4</sup>

\* Added later.

<sup>1</sup> News of the rebellion reached London on 31 October and was read in both houses of parliament on 1 November: *L.J.*; *C.J.*

<sup>2</sup> Arundel bought Albury in 1638, Richard Evelyn being one of the trustees for the purchase; he had perhaps already lived there for some time. Owing to his failure to complete the payment the manor reverted for a time to its previous owner, George Duncumb of Weston. Arundel's grandson Henry Howard (below, Oct. 1645) was in full control by 1655. He or his son sold it to Heneage Finch, afterwards earl of Aylesford (below, 12 Feb. 1686) between 1680 and 1687. The house was half-timbered; it was burnt down in the reign of Queen Anne:

*V.C.H., Surrey*, iii. 73-4; Manning and Bray, ii. 124-5; Hervey, *Arundel*, pp. 345-6; notices below. There is an etched view by Hollar.

<sup>3</sup> John Taylor and other writers published accounts of the procession.

<sup>4</sup> Identifiable as a series first mentioned in the Middle Temple records in 1658/9; five of them still decorate the hall; they are made of plaster coloured to look like bronze. The boxes in V are presumably those to which the dicers made contributions out of their winnings: J. Bruce Williamson, *Hist. of the Temple*, 1925, p. 521; information from Mr. Williamson; E. Chamberlayne, *Angliæ notitia*, 9th ed., 1676, ii. 230.

<1642> Jan: 10th I gave a Visite to my Co: Hatton<sup>1</sup> of Ditton and went the next<sup>a</sup> to London, [13 Christend Mr. Smiths Sonn at Fan-Church<sup>2</sup> for my Bro: George]<sup>b</sup> returning the next day, but not to Wotton till the 18th.

29, I went againe to Lond, where I stayd till 5 March following, studying a little; but dauncing and fooling more:

[6: Feb: I received the B: S: at the Midle Temp: Church Dr. Littleton<sup>3</sup> preaching: as also on Quadragessim Sunday:]<sup>c</sup>

The 23d Mar: I tooke a journey with my Brothers to Northampton faire to buy some saddle horses, & returnd the 28 by St. Albans, where we visited the Church, and the ruines of old Verulame, where the L: Chancelor Bacons contemplative monument is the sole ornament worth remembring.<sup>4</sup>

Apr: 13: I went from Wotton to Godstone [to visite Sir J. Evelyn]<sup>d</sup> returning within two dayes: The 19 to Lond, where I remayn'd till May: 2d, & thence on the 5 to Lond. againe, tempted to adventure some monyes upon the Irish reduction;<sup>6</sup> but there remaining some Scrupules, it did not succede: so on the 23 I returnd to Wotton, till the 7th of June when I went againe to Lond: whence on the 23d to Lewes in Sussex, returning the 25t.

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *day* deleted.  
<sup>d</sup> Interlined later.

<sup>b</sup> Interlined.

<sup>c</sup> Marginal note.

<sup>1</sup> Mary Evelyn, *c.* 1550–1612, a half-sister of Evelyn's father, married Richard Hatton of Shrewsbury, who died at Long Ditton on 23 Jan. '1616', aged 81: Foljambe, p. 54. Evelyn clearly refers to their son Robert, who was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1606, called to the utter bar about 1615, reader in 1635, and treasurer Oct. 1647–Oct. 1648; in 1642 he was a master of the bench and in 1650 a serjeant-at-law; he is last mentioned in the Middle Temple records in 1654: *Middle Temple records, Minutes of parliament*, ii. 470, 598, 602, 835, 926, 955, 969; iii. 1012, 1056. He was one of the overseers of Richard Evelyn's will: Foljambe, p. 44; and

Evelyn, in a letter to Sir Thomas Clifford, 23 Nov. 1670, describes him as his 'Guardian': Clifford MSS. at Ugbrooke Park, Miscellaneous papers 4. See also below, 10 Oct. 1647.

<sup>2</sup> St. Gabriel Fenchurch, destroyed in 1666.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably John Littleton; D.D. 1635; Master of the Temple 1638–44: Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*

<sup>4</sup> In the church at St. Michael's: Clutterbuck, *Hertfordshire*, i. 101.

<sup>5</sup> Evelyn's first cousin: below, 11 April 1649. Godstone is about fifteen miles east of Wotton.

<sup>6</sup> Presumably the scheme accepted by the king on 24 February: Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, x. 173.

July 6, I visited my Bro: at Wotton, from whence with both my Bro: & sister we went Aug: 2 a journey of pleasure to Lewes, where we left my sister for the rest of the Summer, returning on the 5.

22 I went to Lond, & came back to Wotton 24th.

30th to Ditton: Sep: 2, to Wotton: Octob: 3d to Chichester, and thence the next day to see the Seige of Portsmouth; for now was that bloody difference betweene the King and Parliament broaken out, which ended in the fatal Tragedy so many yeares after: It was on the day of its being render'd to Sir William Waler, which  $\langle$ gave $\rangle^a$  me opportunity of taking my leave of Coll: Goring the Governor now embarquing for France:<sup>1</sup>

On the 6t I went from Portsmouth to  $\langle$ Southampton $\rangle$ ,<sup>b</sup> lay at Winchester, where I visited the Castle, Schole, Church & K: Arthyrs round table; but especialy the Church and its Saxon Kings Monuments, which I esteemed a worthy antiquity:<sup>2</sup> On the 7th I return'd to Wotton by Farne-ham & Guildford.

Octob: 3d was fought that signal Battaile at Edgehill:<sup>3</sup>

31 I was 22 yeares of age.

No: 12: was the Battaile of Braineфорд<sup>4</sup> surprisingly fought, & to the greate consternation of the City, had his Majestie (as 'twas beeliervd he would) pursu'd his advantage: I came in with my horse and Armes just at the retreat;<sup>5</sup> but was not permitted to stay longer then the 15th by reason of the Army's marching to Gloucester,<sup>6</sup> which had left both me and my Brothers expos'd to ruine, without any advantage to his Majestie.

<sup>a</sup> MS. *gavv.*      <sup>b</sup> MS. *So<sup>t</sup>hampton.*

<sup>1</sup> George Goring (above, p. 36 n.) surrendered Portsmouth to Sir William Waller (1597?–1668; knighted 1622; the parliamentary general: *D.N.B.*) on 7 September, and was to hand it over on the 9th: *Declaration of all the passages at the taking of Portsmouth*, 1642, pp. 7–8.

<sup>2</sup> A good description of Winchester in 1635 is given in 'A relation of a short survey', in *Camden*

*Miscellany*, vol. xvi (Royal Hist. Soc., Camden 3rd ser., vol. lii, 1936), pp. 43–51. Camden gives a fair notice: *Britannia*, 1607, pp. 190–3.

<sup>3</sup> The date should be 23 October.

<sup>4</sup> Brentford.

<sup>5</sup> On 14 November.

<sup>6</sup> Charles retired to Oxford and did not attack Gloucester until the following summer.

Decemb: 7: I went from Wotton to Lond, to see the so much celebrated line of Communication,<sup>1</sup> & on the 10th return'd: [no body knowing of my having ben in his Majesties Army:]<sup>a</sup>

<1643> Jan: 17 I went to Lewes, & return'd the 21:

[26 receivd the B: Sac:]<sup>b2</sup>

Feb: 7: to Lond: againe, returning the 11th.

March 3d To: Lond: from thence on the 10th to Hartingford-berry to Visite my Cousen Keightly:<sup>3</sup>

The 11th I went to see my L: of Salisburys Palace at Hatfeild; where the most considerable rarity besides the house, (inferior to few for its Architecture then in England) was the Garden & Vineyard rarely well water'd and planted:<sup>4</sup> They also shewd us the Picture of Secretary Cicil in Mosaique-worke very well don by some Italian hand.<sup>5</sup>

I must not forget what amaz'd us exceedingly on the night before; viz, a shining clowd in the ayre, in shape resembling a sword, the poynt reaching to the North; it was as bright as the Moone, the rest of the skie being very serene; it began about 11 at night, and vanish'd not 'til about one, seene by all the South of England.<sup>6</sup>

On the 13, I returnd to Lond, & on the 15 went to Wotton:

<sup>a</sup> Inserted.      <sup>b</sup> Marginal note.

<sup>1</sup> The phrase is applied by Clarendon to the whole system of new fortifications round London: *Hist.* vi. 328; vii. 48; x. 92, 112. In 1642 some small forts, &c., were built at the approaches of London. A ring of about 25 forts was constructed in 1643; it was razed in 1647: N. G. Brett-James, *The growth of Stuart London*, 1935, pp. 268-95.

<sup>2</sup> 26 Jan. 1642/3 was a Thursday; possibly an error for 26 February, a Sunday.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Keightley was Evelyn's godmother: above, p. 5 n. Thomas Keightley acquired Hertingfordbury Park between 1628 and 1643; his grandson sold it in 1681: *V.C.H., Herts.* iii. 465.

On 16 March the house of commons ordered, 'That Mr. *Wm. Keightley* and Mr. *Jo. Evelyn* shall have Mr. Speaker's Warrant to pass into France, with one Servant': *C.J.* iii. 3. William was Thomas Keightley's eldest son and about the same age as Evelyn.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn mentions these gardens in his letter to Sir Thomas Browne, 28 Jan. [1660]: Browne, *Works*, ed. Keynes, vi. 305.

<sup>5</sup> Now in the library at Hatfield. Sir Robert Cecil, 1563?-1612; created earl of Salisbury 1605; secretary of state from 1596 until his death: *D.N.B.*

<sup>6</sup> Evelyn describes a similar phenomenon below, 12 Dec. 1680.

Apr: 2d I receiv'd the B: S:

The 10th I went to Ditton: 11th to Lond: 12 to Hartingfordbery againe: 15 to Hatfeild, and neere the Towne of Hartford went to se(e) Sir J: Harris<sup>1</sup> his house new built: 19 I return'd to Lond; calling in by the Way to see his Majesties House and Gardens at Theobalds,<sup>2</sup> (since demolish'd by the Rebels<sup>a</sup>) thence on the 21 to Wotton.

May 2d I went to Lond; where I saw the furious & zelous people demolish that stately Crosse in Cheapeside:<sup>3</sup> The 4th I return'd with no little regrett for the Confusion that threaten'd us:

On the 15, to Lond: againe returning the 17th and resolving to possesse my selfe in some quiet if it might be, in a tyme of so greate jealousy, I built (by my Brothers permission,) a study, made a fishpond, Iland and some other solitudes & retirements at Wotton,<sup>4</sup> which gave the first occasion of improving them to those Water-Workes and Gardens, which afterwards succeded them, and became the most famous of England at that tyme.<sup>b</sup>

July 2: I received the B: Sac: On the 11th I went with my Bro: to Godstone to see Sir Jo: Evelyn:

The 12th I return'd, and sent my Black-[manage]<sup>c</sup>-horse and furniture with a friend to his Majestie then at Oxford.<sup>5</sup>

23 July, The Covenant being pressed, I absented my selfe;

<sup>a</sup> Substituted later for *Warrs*. <sup>b</sup> Followed by *and perhaps at any after* deleted; above this is written in pencil *for many yeres*, perhaps not by Evelyn. <sup>c</sup> Interlined.

<sup>1</sup> This should be Sir John Harrison: account of him by H. C. Fanshawe, ed., *Lady Ann Fanshawe, Memoirs*, 1907, pp. 325-30. The house, Balls Park, still exists: *V.C.H., Herts.* iii. 412-14; figured also in Sir H. Chauncy, *Hist. antiquities of Hertfordshire*, 1700, p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> It was largely demolished *c.* 1651; for its history see *V.C.H., Herts.* iii. 447-50. Evelyn also mentions the cypresses (see V) in *Sylva*, 1664, p. 58.

3811.2

<sup>3</sup> See *The Downe-fall of Dagon*, 1643, with woodcut; etching by Hollar in J. Vicars, *A sight of the transactions, &c.*, [1646], reproduced by Hind, *Hollar*, pl. xxxiii.

<sup>4</sup> On these alterations see below, 22 Feb. 1652. In 1660 Evelyn describes this garden as 'far surpassing any else in England': letter to Sir Thomas Browne, in Browne, *Works*, ed. Keynes, vi. 305.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the passage in V wrongly placed in 1642.

but finding it impossible to evade the doing of very unhand-  
some things; and which had been a greate Cause of my  
perpetuall motions hitherto betweene Lond: and Wotton:<sup>1</sup>  
October the 2d, I obtayn'd a Lycense of his Majestie dated at  
Oxford, & sign'd by the King, to travell againe,<sup>2</sup> so as on  
November 6, lying by the way at Sir Ralph Whitfeilds<sup>3</sup> at  
Bletchinglee, (whither both my Brothers had conducted me)  
I arived at Lond: on the 7th and two dayes after tooke boate  
at the Tower-Wharfe, which carryd me as far as Sittinburne,<sup>4</sup>  
though not without danger, I being onely in a payre of Oares  
expos'd to an hidious storme; but it pleas'd God, that we got  
in before the perill was considerable: From thence by Post I  
went to Dover accompany'd with one Mr. Thicknesse<sup>5</sup> a very  
deare friend of mine:

On the 11th having a reasonable good Passage, though the  
Weather were snowy & untoward enough, we came before  
Calais; where as we went on shore, mistaking the tyde, our  
shallop struck with no little danger on the sands; but at  
length we gott off.<sup>6</sup>

Calais<sup>7</sup> is an extraordinary well fortified Place consider'd in

<sup>1</sup> By an ordinance of 9 June 1643 the Solemn Vow and Covenant was to be taken by 'all who are true-hearted, and Lovers of their Country'; it was designed as a protection against royalist plots: Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, i. 175–6.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn mentions this licence in his letter to Clifford, 23 Nov. 1670 (above, p. 78 n.); he there states that it was Robert Hatton who persuaded him to travel abroad. See also the passage in V wrongly placed in 1642, where he gives one reason for his going abroad.

<sup>3</sup> Ralph Whitfield, apparently of a Surrey family; admitted at Gray's Inn 1607; Reader there 1633; serjeant-at-law 1634; knighted, as of Tenterden, Kent, 1635; married Dorothea, daughter of Sir Henry Spelman (*D.N.B.*): *Visitations of Surrey, 1530*, &c. (Harleian Soc.),

pp. 218–19; *The Pension book of Gray's Inn, 1569–1669*, ed. R. J. Fletcher, 1901, p. 315, &c. He is not traceable at Blechingley.

<sup>4</sup> The usual route appears to have been by water to Gravesend, and thence by land to Dover: cf. below, 12 July 1649, 12 Aug. 1650.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> The source used by Evelyn for his account of his travels in France, and the materials available for its elucidation, are described in a note at the end of this volume.

The date of Evelyn's arrival at Calais is clearly old style. From the beginning of 1644 his dates are evidently new style, and presumably those in December 1643 also. He continued to use new style dates until his return to England in 1647.

<sup>7</sup> Calais is not described in Varennes. Evelyn's account is apparently original. For the topo-

the old Castle, & new Citadell regarding the Sea:<sup>1</sup> The Haven consists of a long banke of Sand lying opposite to it: The Market-place<sup>2</sup> and Church are very remarkeable things, besides those reliques of our once dominion there, so as I remember there was engraven in stone upon the front of an antient dwelling which was shew'd us, these words God save the King, in English, together with the name of the Architect and date:<sup>3</sup> The Walls of the Towne are likewise very substantial, but the situation towards the Land not Pleasant in the least, by reason of the Marishes and low-grounds about it. The next day (being the 12th) after diner we tooke horse with the Messagere,<sup>4</sup> hoping to have that night ariv'd at Bollogne; but there fell so greate a Snow, accompanied with hayle, raine & suddaine darknesse, as we had much a doe to retriue the next Village; and in this passage being to goe crosse a Vally where a Causeway<sup>5</sup> and a Bridge was built over a small river, the raine that had fallen making it now an impetuuous streame for neere a quarter of a mile, my horse slipping his ⟨footing⟩<sup>a</sup> had almost been the occasion of my perishing: This night we none of us went<sup>b</sup> to bed, for the Souldiers in those parts

<sup>a</sup> MS. *fotting*.

<sup>b</sup> Substituted later for *got*.

graphy see Viscount Dillon, 'Calais and the English Pale', in *Archaeologia*, liii (1892), 289–388, and works cited there.

<sup>1</sup> For the two fortresses see Coryat, pp. 4–5.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Market-place is very spacious and faire, being so large both for bredth and length, that I never saw the like in all England': *ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the Cour de Guise, once called the Prince's Inn and later part of the Staple; it still exists. The inscription is said to have been 'God be our friend': R. Bertrand, *Le vieux Calais: Hôtel de Guise*, 1929; see also Dillon, as above, p. 320.

<sup>4</sup> 'The messenger . . . according to the custom of that country

[France], furnisheth passengers with meat, drink, lodging, carriage, and all other accommodation for so far as you contract to go with him, at a reasonable rate (though not very cleanly, yet a convenient way of travelling for strangers)': Reresby, *Mem. and travels*, p. 5. The *messagers* were organized and provided a regular service. See Sincerus, *introd.*, &c. (as 'equi conductitii'); some charges in Brackenhoffer, *Voyage en France*, p. 216; for methods of travelling in France in general, Babeau, *Les voyageurs*, *introd.*; and casual notices in the guide-books, &c.

<sup>5</sup> There is a village called La Chaussée on the Boulogne road, two or three miles from Calais.



leaving little in the Villages,<sup>1</sup> we had enough to do to get ourselves dry by morning, between the fire and the fresh straw:

The next day early we ariv'd at Bollogne, where we were willing to recover some rest, though to the losse of a day:

Boullogne<sup>2</sup> is a double towne, one part of it situate on an high rock or downes; the other call'd the Lower Towne is yet with a greate declivity towards the Sea; both of them defended by a strong Castle which stands on a notable Eminence: Under the Towne runs the River de Liane, which is yet but an inconsiderable brooke: This place is yet both a County, & a Bishoprick, but for nothing more remarkable to us, then the Seige of Hen: 8., when he made use of those letherne greate Gunns, which I have since beheld in the Tower of Lond: with this motto on them, Non Marte Opus est, cui non defficit Mercurius, if at least the history be true, which my L: Herbert doubts:<sup>3</sup>

The next morning, through some danger of Partys<sup>4</sup> surprizing us, we came to Monstreuil;<sup>5</sup> It is built<sup>a</sup> on the Summit of a most conspicuous hill, enviroind with faire & ample Meadows; but all the Suburbs had been from time to time

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *build*.

<sup>1</sup> France and Spain were at war from 1635 to 1659; the frontier at this time ran almost due south from Oye near Gravelines to the Authie near Hesdin.

<sup>2</sup> From Varennes, pp. 202-3; the reference to the siege and the guns is original.

<sup>3</sup> The siege took place in 1544. The guns were 'of Wood coloured like brasse' and at least one was preserved at the Tower until the fire in 1841; it was called 'Policy'. There is another version of the inscription, 'Quod opus est Marte cui Minerva non desit.' The tradition of the use of the gun is found only in the accounts of visitors to the Tower, not in the more important chronicles. See *Archaeological journal*, lxxv (1908), 265-9; C. J. Ffoulkes, *Inventory and survey of the*

*Armouries of the Tower of London*, [c. 1916], i. 21-2, 65-9; the reference in the text is to Edward Herbert, Lord Herbert of Chisbury, *Life and raigne of King Henry the Eighth* (ed. 1649, p. 516).

<sup>4</sup> Of soldiers; see above. The military application of the word apparently came into use in England during the Civil War: quotations in *O.E.D.*

<sup>5</sup> Varennes, p. 203; Evelyn is here independent. Monstreuil was sacked by the Imperial forces in 1537 and suffered from Spanish inroads in the time of the League; I cannot trace a later attack, but it was in continual danger until the capture of Hesdin in 1639: F. Lefils, *Hist. de Monstreuil-sur-Mer*, 1860, pp. 231-6, 246, 249-50.

ruin'd, and now lately burnt by the Spanish inroads. This Towne is exceedingly fortified with two very profound ditches, yet without Water; The walls about the Bastions, and Citadell are a noble piece of Massonry: The Church is more glorious<sup>a</sup> without then within: The Market-place large, but the Inhabitans miserably poore.

From Montreuil<sup>b</sup> we came the next day to Abbeville<sup>1</sup> (having passd all this way in continual expectation of the Volunteeres as they call them)<sup>2</sup> a Towne that affords a most gracious aspect towards the hill from whence we descended; nor indeede dos it deceive the Eye, for it is handsomly built, and has many pleasant & usefull streames passing through it, the maine river being the Somme which dos after wards discharge it selfe into the Sea at St. Valery almost in view of the Towne. The Principal Church<sup>3</sup> is a very handsome piece of Gotique Architecture, and the Ports and Ramparts swee(t)ly built and planted for defence & ornament: In the morning they brought us choyce of Gunns & Pistolls to sell at reasonable rates, and neatly made, being here a merchandize of greate account; so as the Towne abounds in Gun-Smiths.<sup>4</sup>

Henc we advanc'd to Beavais,<sup>5</sup> another Towne of good noate, and the first Vineyards we came at: The next day to Beaumont,<sup>6</sup> & the morrow to Paris, having taken our repast at St. Denys within t(w)o Leagues of that greate City.

St. Denys<sup>7</sup> is a towne considerable onely for its stately Cathedrall, and Dormitory of the French Kings who lye there inhum'd, as ours at Westminster: Not omitting the Treasury esteemed one of the richest in Europ.

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *noble*.      <sup>b</sup> MS. *Mont'*:

<sup>1</sup> From Varennes, p. 203, but Evelyn is fuller.

<sup>2</sup> Marauding soldiers, as above.

<sup>3</sup> St. Vulfran; in Evelyn's time, as now, the building was only half complete: cf. Symonds, in Mundy, *Travels*, i. 220.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Mortoft, p. 1 and n.

<sup>5</sup> Beauvais. Not mentioned by Varennes. Evelyn perhaps spent a night at Poix on his journey from

Abbeville to Beauvais: route in M.L.R. (i.e. C.-M. Saugrain), *Nouveau voyage de France*, 1723, p. 424.

<sup>6</sup> Not mentioned by Varennes.

<sup>7</sup> The general statement is from Varennes, p. 192, but Evelyn is wrong in calling the church a cathedral. The references at this point to the tombs, Westminster, and the treasury, are original.

The Church<sup>1</sup> was built by K: Dagobert, but since much enlarged; being now no lesse then 390 foote long & 100 in bredth: 80 in height without comprehending the cover; it has also a very high shaft of stone,<sup>2</sup> and the gates are of brasse:

Here whiles the Monke conducted us, we were shew'd the antient, and moderne Sepulchers of their Kings beginning from the founder to Lewes his son,<sup>3</sup> with Charles Martel, Pepin (his) son, & father of Charlemagne, these lye in the Quire, & without more then as many more; amongst the rest Bertrand du Gueselin<sup>4</sup> Constable of France; in the Chapell of Charles V. all his posterity, and neere him that magnificent Sepulchre of Francis the first, with his Children, Warrs, Victories & Triumphs engraven in Marble: In the Nave of the Church lyes the Catap(h)alc or hearse of Lewes XII.<sup>a</sup> Hen: 2d; a noble tomb of Fr: 2, and Charles IX.

Above is depos'd the Body of St. Dionysius, St. Rusticus & Elutherius, with St. Eustach; and in the core below, under a state of black-Velvet the late K: Lewes 13th,<sup>5</sup> father of this

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *XIII*.

<sup>1</sup> The earlier part of the account of the church, including the royal tombs, is taken from Varennes, pp. 192-4. The church and its contents were seriously injured in the French Revolution, when the contents of the treasury were dispersed and in part destroyed. The most important works are: J. Doublet, *Hist. de l'abbaye de S. Denys en France*, 1625; S.-G. Millet, *Le Tresor sacré . . . de S. Denis*, 1636, 4th ed. 1645 (Evelyn possessed a copy of the 1645 edition: his library catalogue, 'Libri historici', no. 345); M. Félibien, *Hist. de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France*, 1706. A short 'Mémoire des reliques' appears in some of the later editions of Varennes. Modern works: Baron F. de Guilhermy, *Monographie de l'église royale de Saint-Denis: Tombeaux et figures historiques*, 1848; P. Vitry and G. Brière, *L'église abbatiale de Saint-Denis*, 1908; Lord

Conway, article on the present fate of the treasures, in *Archaeologia*, lxvi (1915), 103-58; summary list of the tourists' guides in Soc. de l'hist. de Paris, *Mém.* xxviii (1901), 163. Many of the monuments are figured in P. Bonfons, *Les fastes, antiquitez et choses plus remarquables de Paris*, 1607, as well as in later works.

<sup>2</sup> Varennes has 'deux grosses tours quarrées'. One of them had, and has, a tall spire.

<sup>3</sup> 'à commencer par Dagobert fondateur du convent, & Louis son fils.'

<sup>4</sup> Bertrand du Guesclin, c. 1320-80; constable of France 1370.

<sup>5</sup> He died on 14 May of this year. Account of the funeral services in Millet, 4th ed., Au lecteur. The names of the saints and the rest of the account of St. Denis are summarized from Millet, probably with a basis of notes made at the time.

present Monarch. In a small Chapel above was shew'd us a Chest of Coper in which (as they afirm'd) was containd one of the Innocents bodys: In the next St. Hilary of Poictieres; in summ, eavery of the 10 Chapells and Oratories had some Saints or other in them; The Treasury is kept in the Sacristy above, where were shew'd us greate Presses full of Sacred Reliques; especialy that greate Crosse of Gold inchas'd & studded with precious stones: also another full of pearles & gold, another of massy Gold 3 foote high, set with Saphyres, Rubies and greate oriental Pearles: Another given by Charles the greate, having a noble oriental Amethyst in the middle of it, stones & pearles of inestimable value. In a Tabernacle of Silver gilded is shew'd a pretended naile of the real Crucifix, this is supported by an Angel, and in a box of Gold full of precious stones. There is likewise a greate Crosse of Silver garnish'd with jewells, and a multitude of other Crosses full of Reliques which I had not time to take notice of: A Crucifix of the true Wood of the Crosse carved by Pope Clement the 3d which was inchas'd in a Chrystal coverd with Gold: A Crucifix made of the rocky Chrystal to a vast bignesse: A Box wherein is preserv'd some of the B: Virgins haire, also her Image in Silver guilt, bestudded with faire stones; another where she holds a box of Chrystal in which lyes some of the Linnen our B: Saviour was envelop'd in at his Nativity; others of the Virgin in Ivory, Amber what not? Then they brought out an huge Reliquary model'd like a Church of rare workemanship, in this he shew'd us some thing staind red, which the Father would have us believe was of the natural blood of our Saviour, as also some of his haire, Cloaths, Linnen with which he wip'd the Apostles feete: Something of the Crowne of Thornes, a piece of the Sponge, of the Title, all these in Chrystal'd, &\* Phiols set in gold: In another faire Reliquary coverd also with Chrystal, he expos'd some of the B: Virgins milke, with other Sacred toys; this

---

\* Substituted for *ex*.

Most of the objects in the treasury can be identified in the various inventories. The weight given by

Evelyn for the ruby in St. Louis's crown is not found elsewhere.

was garnish'd with huge Rubies and Saphyrs: An arme of St. Simon enchas'd in Gold & set with jewells: A greate Image of pure-gold of St. Jo: the Evangelist, his hand held a Chrystal set with one of his teeth. In another Box of Reliques supported by 4 Lyons of massive silver, upon it two Angels of pure Gold carying a large Chrystal where in was the right hand of St. Thomas the Apostle, garnish'd with Saphyrs, rubies, Emralds, Diamonds and an infinity of huge pearles: In another box the Chin of their St. Lewes, the shoulder bone of St. Jo: Baptist, the finger of St. Bartholomew, in severall enchasements: A greate head of pure Gold miter'd, and cover'd with very faire rubies, Saphyrs Topazes and a world of Pearles, it being the head of their greate St. Denys, supported by two Angels: There is likewise his Chalis, Crosse and Pastoral ring, with his booke, Inkern, Pilgrims Staffe, all coverd with gold: The Image of St. Hilary in a large Chrystal, a bone of his arme, the Collar & miter are full of precious stones and pearles almost numberlesse: Besides these divers other Saints. A Church of plate made after the Model of Noster Dame at Paris full of Reliques: Some of the Prophet Isaias bones in a silver Coffin. The Stole & Pallium of Pope Stephen the 3d. The body of St. Lewes: The Crowne of Charlemagne full of admirable stones, his 7 foote high Septer, & hand of Justice: The agraffe of his royal mantle beset with diamonds and rubies; his sword, belt, & spurrs of Gold: The Crowne of St. Lewes coverd with precious stones, amongst the rest one vast Ruby uncut, of inestimable value weighing 300<sup>a</sup> carrats<sup>a</sup>, under which is set one of the thornes of our B: S: Crowne: his Sword, Seale & hand of Justice: The two Crownes of Hen: IVth, his Scepter, hand of Justice & Spurrs: The 2 Crownes of His sonn Lewes: In the Cloake-Royall of Anne de Bretagne is a very greate & rare Rubie: divers bookes cover'd with solid<sup>b</sup> Plates of Gold, and studded with precious stones. Two Vasas of Berill; two incomparable Vasas of Achate<sup>1</sup> whereof one is esteemed for bignesse, Colour

<sup>a-a</sup> MS. 300 and carrats.      <sup>b</sup> Altered from *solit*.

<sup>1</sup> Agate. The two words derive *achates*. Agate superseded achate in by different courses from the Latin      the seventeenth century: *O.E.D.*

and carving imboss'd, the best now to be seene in the World: By a special favour I was permitted to take the measure & dimensions of it: The story on it is a Bacchanalia and sacrifice to Priapus, a very holy thing, & fit for a Cloyster: It is realy antique and indeede the Noblest jewell there.<sup>1</sup> There is also a large Gundola of Chrysolite, an huge Urne of Porphyrie; another of Calcedone: A Vasa of Onyx, the largest I had ever seene of that stone: Two of Chrystal: A morcel of one of the Water-potts our Saviour did his first Miracle in. The Effigies of the Q: of Saba, of Julius, Augustus, Marc Antony, Cleopatra and others upon Saphyrs, Topazes, Agates, & Cornelians: That of the Q: of Saba has a Morish face: That of Julius, and Nero Achats so rarely colour'd and cut, as could not be nobler: He shew'd us a Cup in which Solomon was us'd to drinke:<sup>2</sup> An Idol of Apollo upon a greate Amethyst.

There lay in the Window a miroir of a kind of stone sayd to have been the Poet Virgils: Charlemaynes Chesse-men, full of Arabique Characters, and as greate as bowles: In the Presse next the doore the brasse Lanterne full of Chrystals, sayd to have conducted Judas and his Company to apprehend our B: S: There was a faire Unicornes-horne sent by a K: of Persia; it was about 7 foote long: The onely tallon or claw of a Griffon that ever I saw:<sup>3</sup> In another Presse (over which stands the Picture in Oyle to the life, of their Orleans Amazon<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Now known as the Coupe des Ptolomées and preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale: E. Babelon, *Catalogue des camées*, 1897, no. 368.

<sup>2</sup> Now known as the Coupe de Chosroès II and preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale: Babelon, no. 379.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn's coat of arms accounts for his interest. Doublet gives the best description: 'Un ongle de griffon, assis sur un pied de griffon d'argent doré, & au bout de la pointe une pomme, & sur icelle un oiseau, le tout d'argent doré: & au milieu, par dessus ledit ongle, une riche amatiste en fond de cuve. Ceste piece est excellente pour sa

rareté, dautant que cest ongle, qui est naturel, est fort grand & gros, de sorte qu'il tient une pinte, & sert de mesure & d'estalon pour la pinte de vin de saint Denys qui est grande; par ainsi qu'il est aisé à juger que cest oiseau nommé griffon, à proportion d'un tel ongle, fut d'une monstrueuse grandeur & grosseur': *Hist. de l'abbaye*, p. 343. Cardan was already sceptical: Soc. de l'hist. de Paris, *Mém.* xxvi (1899), 123 n. Reresby says that it was as big as a cow's horn: *Mem. and travels*, p. 6. On griffons in general see Browne, *Pseudodoxia*, bk. iii, ch. xi.

<sup>4</sup> 'L'espée de la genereuse

with her Sword) the Effigies of the late French Kings in Wax like ours at Westminster, covered with their Robes, & a world of other rarities I was forc'd to passe over: But thus having rewarded our Courteous Fryer, we tooke horse for Paris, where we ariv'd about five in the afternoone; in the Way observing divers faire Crosses of stone erected, and carv'd with flowr de Lyces, at every fu(r)long's end, where they affirme St. Denys rested, and layd downe his head after Martyrdome, carying it from the Place where this Monastery is builded.<sup>1</sup>

We lay at Paris at the Ville de Venize,<sup>2</sup> where after I had something refresh'd, & put my selfe in equipage, I went to visite Sir Rich: Browne,<sup>3</sup> his Majesties Resident with the French King:

On the 5 of December, came the Earle of Norwich,<sup>4</sup> Extraordinary Ambassador, whom in a Coach & six horses I went to meete, at the Palais of Monsieur de Bassompieres,<sup>5</sup> at

Amazone, Jeanne la Pucelle': Millet, p. 126. Evelyn uses the word Amazon in a similar connexion below, p. 100.

<sup>1</sup> These were the 'Mont-joyes'. Evelyn gives the common tradition rather carelessly (St. Denis was martyred on Montmartre and carried his head hither; he corrects this in V): see L. Coulon, *Le fidele conducteur pour le voyage de France*, 1654, p. 52 (following Gölnitz, p. 195); Locatelli, p. 190. The Mont-joyes were erected to mark the places where King Philip III rested when carrying the relics of his father, St. Louis, to St. Denis in 1271. They have all disappeared. For their positions and later history see Soc. de l'hist. de Paris, *Bulletin*, xxiii (1896), 110–13.

<sup>2</sup> 'I will now suppose it late, and that I am retiring to my Countrey-men at the good *Hostel de Venise*': the Londoner describing Paris in Sir W. Davenant, *The First Days Entertainment at Rutland-House*, 1657, p. 80. It appears from Davenant to

have been near the Pont-Neuf and is identifiable as a house in the rue de Bussy (Buci), in the Faubourg Saint-Germain, and just to the east of the abbey. This house is called the Hôtel de Venise in 1595, and had 'la Ville-de-Venise' as its sign in 1687: *Hist. gén. de Paris: Topog. hist. du vieux Paris*, Région du Faubourg Saint-Germain, by A. Berty and L.-M. Tisserand, 1876, p. 40. The 'Ville de Venise' is also mentioned as the natural lodging-place for an Englishman in Paris in the specimen conversations in C. Mauger, *The true advancement of the French tongue*, 1653, pp. 146, 147.

<sup>3</sup> 1605–83; knighted 1 Sept. 1649; baronet 19 Sept. 1649; English agent and, later, resident in France 1641–57: *D.N.B.* Evelyn's future father-in-law; frequent references below.

<sup>4</sup> George Goring, the elder: above, p. 36. He was not created earl of Norwich until 28 Nov. 1644.

<sup>5</sup> François, maréchal de Bassompierre, 1579–1646: *Nouv. biog. gén.*

Chalio<sup>t</sup>,<sup>a</sup> where I had the honor to see that gallant Person his Gardens, Terraces and rare Prospect: My L: was waited on by the Master of the Ceremonies, and a very greate Cavalcade of men of Quality to the Palais Cardinal.<sup>2</sup> Where on the 23d he had Audience of the Fr: King and the Q: Regent his Mother,<sup>3</sup> in the Golden Chamber of Presence; from thenc I conducted him to his Lodging in the rüe St. Denys<sup>4</sup> & so tooke my Leave.

December 24 I went with some company to see some remarkable places about the Citty;<sup>5</sup> as the Isle, and how 'tis

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *the Bonnes homes*.

<sup>1</sup> Chaillot; the variant Chalio<sup>t</sup> occurs in Varennes, p. 194, and is common in this period. The house belonged not to Bassompierre himself, but to his brother or to his sister-in-law. In 1651 it was bought by Queen Henrietta Maria for the Sisters of the Visitation (Visitandines), formerly established in the rue Saint-Antoine; the convent was shut down in 1792 and its buildings destroyed c. 1794–1810; the Trocadéro occupies the site. Mary of Modena was buried here and here were preserved the hearts of Henrietta Maria, James II, and his daughter, Louisa Maria Theresa: M. Dumolin, *Études de topog. parisienne*, 1929–30, ii. 1–110; Marchesa Campana de Cavelli, *Les derniers Stuarts à Saint-Germain en Laye*, 1871, i. 84–5.

<sup>2</sup> Now the Palais-Royal: below, pp. 133–4 and 18 Nov. 1649.

<sup>3</sup> Louis XIV was born on 5 Sept. 1638. His mother is Anne of Austria, 1602–66, married Louis XIII 1615, regent 1643–51.

<sup>4</sup> It ran from the Grand Châtelet (Pont au Change) to the Porte Saint-Denis, and still retains its name.

<sup>5</sup> Evelyn now begins a tour of the city with Varennes's *Voyage de France* as his principal source (ed.

1643, pp. 176–91); he also apparently made some use of P. P[etit], *De l'antiquité, grandeur, richesses, gouvernement . . . de Paris*, attached to some copies of the plan of Paris of J. Gomboust, 1652 (the plan was certainly known to Evelyn: *Sculptura*, p. 98; references here to Petit are to the separate reprint by Le Roux de Lincy, 1858). There are two important general works: H. Sauval, *Hist. et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, 3 vols., fol., 1724 (written c. 1650–70); and Germain Brice, *Descr. nouvelle de ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans la ville de Paris*, 1684 (all references here, unless otherwise indicated, are to this edition; there is an English translation, *A new description of Paris*, 1687). Much illustrative material is to be found in the *Mémoires* of the Société de l'histoire de Paris, which also contain a bibliography by Maurice Dumolin of the guide-books for Paris prior to 1789: xlvii (1924), 209–85; xlviii (1925), 164–73. The best plan is that of Gomboust (see above; reproduction with prefatory note by A. Bonnardot, 1908; other reproductions also available).

Evelyn spent a considerable amount of time between 1646 and 1652 in Paris; the notices in the



encompassed by the Seine and Oyse rivers:<sup>1</sup> The City is divided into thre(e) Parts, whereof the Towne is greatest: The City lyes betwixt it and the University in forme of an Iland;<sup>2</sup> Over the river Seine is built a stately bridg (call'd Pont Neuf,<sup>3</sup>) by Hen 3d 1578, finished by Hen: 4th his Successor: It consists of 12 Arches, in the middst of which ends the poynt of an Iland handsomely built about with artificers houses:<sup>4</sup> The Bridg above is very commodiously divided into one large Passage for Coaches, and two for footemen 3 or 4 foote higher, and of convenient breadth for 8, or 10 to goe on brest;<sup>5</sup> all of hewn free-stone the best I thinke in Europ & growing in the very streetes, though more plentifully at Mont-Martyre within a mile of it.<sup>6</sup> On the Middle of this stately bridge upon one side stands that famous statue of Henry le grand on horse-back exceeding the natural proportion by much, and on the 4 faces of a stately Pedestal (which is all compos'd of various sorts of Polish'd-Marble and rich mouldings) is engraven in brasse Inscriptions of his Victories, & most signal actions: The statue and horse is of Copper, being the Worke of the greate John di Bolognia, & sent from

present account are sometimes influenced and occasionally rendered anachronistic by his later observations.

Evelyn's account of Paris in his *State of France* is given in an appendix to vol. iii.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn has been careless here: 'Paris & l'Isle de France ne font qu'un Gouvernement, & l'Isle de France est fermée par la Seine & Oyse . . . L'Isle qu'y [in the Paris or the town] forme la Seine ont esté les petits commencements de cette puissante Ville': Varennes, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 176-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 178-80, including the statue of Henri IV and the Samari-taine. See F. Boucher, *Le Pont-Neuf*, 1925-6. There are a number of interesting views from the Place Dauphine looking westward, notably an anonymous painting at Versailles,

c. 1635. This and later views by S. della Bella, c. 1645 (see *Sculptura*, p. 60), Pieter Wouwerman (painting at Stockholm, probably derived from della Bella), and F. van der Meulen, 1660, as well as a view from the north bank, showing the bridge and the houses of the Place Dauphine, by C. Chastillon, 1640, are all reproduced by Boucher.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. the houses of the Place Dauphine. They were built by Henri IV: Sauval, i. 130-1.

<sup>5</sup> These were apparently the only footpaths of the kind in Paris at this time. There was probably little, if anything, of the kind in any city.

<sup>6</sup> 'The whole citie, together with the suburbes, is situate upon a quarre of free stone, which doth extend it selfe to a great part of the territorie round about the citie': Coryat, p. 21.

Florence by Ferdinando the first, and Cosimo the second, Uncle & Cousin to Mary di Medices wife of Henry, whose statue it represents:<sup>1</sup> The Place where it is erected is enclosed with a very strong and beautiful grate of Iron; about which there are always Montebancs shewing their feates to the idle passengers. From hence is a rare Prospect towards the Louver, & Suburbs of St. Germaines, the (Isle)<sup>a</sup> du Palais and Notre Dame.<sup>2</sup> At foote of this Bridge is a water-house, at the front whereof a greate height is the Story of our B: Saviour and the Woman of Samaria powring Water out of a bucket; above a very rare dial of severall motions with a chime &c: The Water is conveyd with huge Wheelles, pumps & other Engines from the river beneath:<sup>3</sup> But the confluence of the People, multitude of Coaches and severall accidents passing every moment over this Bridge is the greater miracle, and to a new Spectator, a most prodigious, yet agreable diversion: Other bridges there are as that of Notre dame, the Pont au Change &c fairly built with houses of stone which are layd over this river;<sup>4</sup> onely the Pont St. Anne<sup>5</sup> landing the Suburbe of St.

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Ilse*.

<sup>1</sup> Giovanni Bologna (1524–1608) is not mentioned by Varennes. The statue was completed after his death by Pietro Tacca (1577–1640) and was erected in 1614; the decoration of the base was apparently not finished until 1635. The statue was destroyed in 1792; the slaves from the pedestal are now in the Louvre: Boucher, ii. 66–94; C. J. Lafolie, *Mém. hist.*, &c., 1819 (dealing mainly with the new statue set up at that time). The 'grate' seen by Evelyn was immediately about the pedestal and was put up about 1635; the whole projection on which the statue stood was not fenced off until 1663: Boucher, ii. 80–1. Ferdinand I, grand duke of Tuscany 1587–1608; Cosimo II, grand duke 1608–21.

<sup>2</sup> The view westward included the two medieval towers, the Tour de Nesle on the left bank, the Tour du Bois on the right, with the green

hill of Chaillot in the distance: see the views listed above, p. 92 n. The Isle du Palais is given by Gomboust as an alternative name for the Place Dauphine (Brice applies the name to the whole island forming the Cité: ii. 230; but it seems not to have been in general use). Notre Dame would scarcely have been visible from the bridge.

<sup>3</sup> The Samaritaine, on the downstream side, in the second arch from the right bank. It was built c. 1604–8 by Jean Lintlaër as a low building with a high roof with dormer-windows; largely reconstructed c. 1665 and several times later; and pulled down in 1813; the statues were also first renewed in 1665: Boucher, i. 124–45. Further notice below, 21 June 1650.

<sup>4</sup> Varennes, p. 178. Both bridges have been rebuilt.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180, as the Pont des

Germaines at the Thuilleries is built of Wood, having likewise a Water-house in the middst of it, & a statue of Neptune (as the other) casting Water out of a Whales mouth of lead; but much inferiour to the Samaritans.

The University lyes South-West on an higher grownd, contiguous to, but the lesser part of, Paris: The(y) reckon no lesse than 65 Colleges, but they in nothing approach ours at Oxford for state and order: Within the University dwell the Bookesellers: Onely the Scholes (of which more hereafter) are very regular:<sup>1</sup>

The Suburbs<sup>2</sup> are those of St. Denys, Honoré, St. Marcel, Jaques, St. Michel, St. Victoire, and St. Germaines which last is the largest and where the nobility and Persons of best quality are seated: And truely Paris, comprehending the Suburbs is certainly for the material the houses are built with, and many noble and magnificent piles, one of the most gallant Cittys in the World, and best built: large in Circuit, of a round forme, infinitely populous;<sup>3</sup> but situat in a botome environd with gentle declivities, which renders some places very durty, and makes it smell as if sulphure were mingled with the mudd:<sup>4</sup> Yet is it pav'd with a kind of freestone of neere a foote square which renders it more easy to walke on then our pibbles of London:

Tuilleries. It was generally called the Pont-Rouge, sometimes the Pont-Barbier, after its builder, Louis le Barbier, one of the chief persons engaged in developing the Faubourg Saint-Germain. It was completed in 1634, but was frequently injured by fire or ice; it was destroyed by the ice on 28/29 Feb. 1684, and was replaced by the existing Pont-Royal, built 1685-8: Dumolin, *Études*, i. 168-71, 139-41; Soc. de l'hist. de Paris, *Mém.* xxii (1895), 179-224 (for the Pont-Royal); views by Silvestre. The name Sainte-Anne was given in honour of Anne of Austria; Evelyn is apparently the only authority for its use before c. 1663.

<sup>1</sup> From Varennes, p. 180; the

number 65 is an error for his 63. The comparison with Oxford (and Cambridge) is of course original. By the Schools Evelyn probably means the Sorbonne.

<sup>2</sup> The list is derived from Varennes, pp. 177, 180, but is incomplete.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Evelyn's account in the *State of France*. Sir William Petty compares the populations of London and Paris in *Two essays in political arithmetick, concerning . . . London and Paris*, 1687 (in *Economic writings*, ed. C. H. Hull, 1899, pp. 505-9).

<sup>4</sup> Sauval also notes the sulphurous smell of the mud: i. 186; for the paving, *ibid.*, p. 185.

On Christmas-Eve I went to see the Cathedrall Nostre Dame;<sup>1</sup> it was built by Philip August, but begun by K: Robert son of Hugh Capet: It consists of a Gotique fabrique,<sup>2</sup> sustaynd with 120 pillars which make two allys in the Church round about the Quire, without comprehending the Chapells, long 174 paces, large 60:<sup>3</sup> high 100: The Quire is enclosed with stone worke, graven with the Sacred History, and contains 45 Chapells cancelled with yron: At the front of the chiefe entrance are statues in relievo of the Kings 28 in number from Chi(1)debert unto Philip the founder,<sup>4</sup> and above them two high towers square built, and another of a smaller size bearing a spire in the middle where the body of the Church formes a Crosse: The greate Towres ascend by 389 steps, having 12 Gallerys<sup>5</sup> from one to the other: They greatly reverence the Crucifix over the Skreene of the Quire with an Image of the B: Virgin cut out of a piece; some moderne Paintings there are good hanging on the Pillars;<sup>6</sup> but the most Conspicuous statue is the huge Colosse of St. Christopher,<sup>7</sup> with eleven other figures of men, houses, prospects & rocks about this gygantique piece, being of one stone, and more

<sup>1</sup> The greater part of the notice is taken from Varennes, pp. 180-2. There appears to be no good general history of Notre Dame; a bibliography and reproductions of many of the older views of it are given by A. Marty, *L'hist. de Notre-Dame de Paris d'après les estampes*, 1907. M.C.P.G., *Descr. hist. . . . de l'église de Paris*, 1763, is a useful guide.

In 1644 the medieval fittings of the church still apparently survived intact. The most striking new feature was probably the *Mays*, pictures about twelve feet high presented annually from 1630 to 1707 by the company of goldsmiths; they hung, inclining forward, immediately over the capitals of the columns of the nave: Soc. de l'hist. de Paris, *Mém.* xiii (1886), 289-316; view by Aveline, *c.* 1695, reproduced in Marty, pl. 36. The fittings of the choir, including the screen

and crucifix mentioned below, were replaced by new ones in 1699-1714. Since then there has been much destruction and restoration.

<sup>2</sup> This remark is original; the term Gothic is not applied to architecture by either Sincerus or Varennes.

<sup>3</sup> ' . . . la largeur de 60 . . . '.

<sup>4</sup> Philip Augustus.

<sup>5</sup> Evelyn's mistranslation of 'deux galeries'.

<sup>6</sup> Probably some of the *Mays*: see note above. They are now preserved in various French museums or lost.

<sup>7</sup> The figure is not mentioned by Varennes. It was set up by Antoine des Essarts to commemorate his escape from execution in 1413 and was destroyed in 1784: *Nouvelle biog. gén.*, art. des Essarts. Description in M.C.P.G., pp. 84-6. Marty, plates 36, 57.

remarkable for its bulke than any other perfection. This is the prime church of France for dignity, having Archdeacons, Vicaries, Cannons, Priests and Chaplaines good store, to the number of 127. It is also the Palace of the Archbishop:<sup>1</sup> The young king being now there with a greate and martial Guard, who enter'd the Nave of the Church with their drumms & Fifes, at their ceasing was entertaind with the Church musique, and so I left him.

Jan: 4 I passd with one Mr. Jo: Wall an Irish gent, who had been a Frier in Spaine, and after Reader in St. Isodor's Chayre at Rome ;<sup>2</sup> but now, I know not how, getting away, pretended himselfe a souldier of fortune, and absolute Cavaliere, having as he told us been Cap: of horse in Germany: It is certaine he was an excellent disputant, and so strangly given to it, that nothing could passe him, and he would needes perswade me to goe along with him this morning to the Jesuites Colledge to be witnessse of his polemical talent: We found the Fathers in their Church at the rüe St. Anthoine, there one of them shewd us the body of that nob(l)e fabrique which indeed for its Cupola, pavings, incrustations of marble; the Pulpit, Altars (especialy the high-Altar) Organ, Lavatorium &c but, above all the richly carvd, and incomparable front, I esteeme for one of the most perfect pieces of Architecture in Europ, emulating even some of the greatest now at Rome it selfe: But this not being what our Frier sought, he lead us into the adjoyning Convent where having shewed us the Library they began a very hot dispute upon some poynts of divinity, which our Cavalier contested onely to shew his excessive pride, and to that indiscrete height, as the Jesuits would hardly bring us to our Coach, being put beside all patience:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Varennes, p. 182. It was situated to the south of the church.

<sup>2</sup> St. Isidore's chair must refer to the Irish Dominican College of St. Isidore, founded in 1625: see G. Cleary, *Father Luke Wadding and St. Isidore's College, Rome*, 1925. I can find no references to Wall apart from Evelyn's.

<sup>3</sup> In this paragraph Evelyn has

apparently confused two buildings: '[Le college] de Clermont en la rüe saint Jacques est occupé & basty de nouveau par les Peres Jesuites, lesquels ont aussi une fort belle, Eglise dite saint Louys, en la rüe saint Antoine, où le portail est tres-magnifique, & d'une belle structure': Varennes, p. 184. The account of Wall's conduct at this

The next day we went into the University, and enter'd into the College of Navarre,<sup>1</sup> which is a well-built spacious Quad-  
rangle, having a very noble Library; Thenc to the Sorbonne,<sup>2</sup>  
an antient fabrique built by one Robert de Sorbonne whose  
name it retaynes; but the restauration which the late  
Cardinal de Richlieu has made to it of most excellent moderne  
building, together with the sumptuous Church of admirable  
Architecture is far superior to the rest: The Cupola, Portico  
and whole designe of the Church is very magnificent: We  
enter'd into some of the Scholes, and in that of Divinity we  
found a grave Doctor in his chaire with a multitude of  
Auditors, who<sup>a</sup> all are<sup>a</sup> Writers after his dictats, this they call  
a Course: After we had sate a little, up starts our Cavalier  
and ru(d)ely enough begins to dispute with the Doctor, at  
which (and especialy to see a fellow clad in the Spanish habit  
which is in Paris the greatest bugbare imaginable<sup>3</sup>) both the  
Scholars & Doctor fell into such a fit of laughter, as no body  
could be heard speake for a while; but silence being obtaind,  
he began to speake Latine, and make his Apology in so  
good a style, that their derision was turn'd to admiration,  
& beginning to argue, he so baffled the Professor that with  
universal applause they all rose up and did him very greate  
honors, waiting on us to the very streete and Coach, & testi-  
f(y)ing a greate deale of satisfaction.

On the 6t, I alterd my Lod(g)ing to the rüe de Seine.<sup>4</sup> The  
18 I tooke a Master of the French Tongue.

Feb: 2d I heard the newes of my Nephew Georges<sup>5</sup> birth;  
which was on Jan: 15: English style 1645.

<sup>a-a</sup> MS. *who are all are.*

time is therefore doubtful. For the  
two buildings see Brice, i. 181-91;  
ii. 59-67.

<sup>1</sup> Varennes, pp. 183-4. Now re-  
built and converted into the École  
polytechnique. The University is  
the district, the part of Paris within  
the walls on the left bank of the  
Seine.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184. The account of  
3811-2

the architecture is original. Every-  
thing except the church has since  
been rebuilt.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 84 n.

<sup>4</sup> In the Faubourg Saint-Germain,  
immediately outside the city wall;  
it still bears the name.

<sup>5</sup> Son of George Evelyn of Wot-  
ton; baptized there, 23 Jan. 1644;  
married Catherine Gore, 19 Dec.

Feb: 3d I put my selfe in mourning for the French Kings death Lewes xiii; and having occasion to go to the Exchange,<sup>1</sup> was curious to see the buildings about it, which as to the late addition is very noble, but the Gallerys where they sell their petty Merchandize nothing so stately as ours at London; no more then the place where they walke below, being onely a low Vault: The Palais<sup>2</sup> (as they call it above) was built in the time of Philip the faire, noble and spacious; and the greate Hall annex'd to it bravely arch'd with stone, having a range of Pillars in the middle, round which, and at the sides, are shops of all kinds; especialy bookesellers;<sup>3</sup> the other side is full of pewes for the Clearkes of the Advocates, which (as ours at Westminster<sup>4</sup>) swarme here: At one of the Ends stands an Alter were daily Masse is sayd, within are severall Chambers, Courts, Treasures &c above that most rich and glorious Sale de L'Audiens; the Chamber of St. Lewes, and other Superior Courts where the Parliament<sup>5</sup> sits richly guilt on Embossed carvings & fretts guilt with gold & exceedingly beautified: Within the Place where they utter their wares is another narroer Gallery full of shopps and Toys &c which lookes downe into the Prison-Yard:<sup>6</sup> Descending by a large payre of

1667; buried at Wotton, 29 Sept. 1676: Foljambe, pp. 34, 74; for his daughters see below, 4 Oct. 1699. In the date 1645 is a slip for 1643.

<sup>1</sup> 'La Bourse des marchands, ou le lieu de leur rendez-vous pour traiter du négoce et lettres de change, tous les jours à midy': Petit, p. 39. This was in the court of the Palais (see below); the shops in the galleries in association with it reminded Evelyn of the London Exchange.

<sup>2</sup> The account of the Palais is from Varennes, pp. 185-6, with additional matter and a fuller description of the architecture; cf. Coryat, p. 23. The whole group of buildings, except for the Sainte-Chapelle and the restored towers on the north façade, has been completely rebuilt. See Brice, ii. 253-

72; Henri Stein, *Le Palais de Justice et la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris*, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> For the shops here and in the galleries see T. Platter (1599), in Soc. de l'hist. de Paris, *Mém.* xxiii (1896), 179-80; Corneille's comedy, *La Galerie du Palais*, 1634, and introd. to it by C. Marty-Laveaux ('Les grands écrivains de la France', Corneille, vol. ii, 1862); Locatelli, pp. 122-3; and the print by A. Bosse. Stein figures a plan of 1700, showing the arrangement of the shops in the Salle or Galerie des Merciers: p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. in Westminster Hall.

<sup>5</sup> The Parlement of Paris.

<sup>6</sup> Presumably the courtyard of the Conciergerie. The prisoners were seen here also by Platter: as above, p. 182; and by Locatelli: pp. 146-7.

stayres we passed by St. Chapelle,<sup>1</sup> which is a Church built by St. Lewes 1242 after the Gotique manner; what is most observable, is, that it stands upon another church which is under it, sustained by pillars at the sides which seeme to be very weake, which makes it appeare somewhat extraordinary in the Artist: This Chapell is wonderfull famous for its Reliques which they pretend to be the almost intyre Crowne of Thornes, the Achat Patine,<sup>2</sup> rarely sculptur'd, judg(e)d one of the Largest & best in Europ: There was now a very beautifull spire to be cover'd with gold erecting:<sup>3</sup> Below in the Court (which is very spacious, as capable to hold many Coaches, & environ'd with shoppes of all sorts, especialy Engravers, Gold-smiths, Watch-makers &c) is a fayre Fontaine and Portico:<sup>4</sup> Returning home we passd by the Isle du Palais<sup>5</sup> which consists of a triangular building of brick, whereof one side regards the river inhabited with Gold-Smiths;<sup>6</sup> within the Court are privat dwellings: The Front lookes on the greate Bridge<sup>7</sup> possessd by Montebankes, Operators and Puppet Players: On the other Part, the Vale de Misere,<sup>8</sup> where is an every-days Market of all sorts of

<sup>1</sup> From Varennes, p. 182, except 'after the Gotique manner' and the reference to the relics, &c. Literature as above, p. 98 n.

<sup>2</sup> The Grand camée de la France, now preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale: Babelon, no. 264; see also Brice, ii. 264-5. I have not found it called a paten elsewhere (patine is a variant spelling); the word is used very loosely.

<sup>3</sup> The roof of the chapel was burnt on 26 July 1630: Petit, p. 38; Stein, pp. 123-4. The reconstruction was not completed until 1671.

<sup>4</sup> For this group of shops see Locatelli, p. 123. The fountain is perhaps the Fontaine Sainte-Anne: Stein, p. 62 n.; the portico that of the Salle Dauphine or the open staircase of the Chambre des Comptes. Stein reproduces various views of the court.

<sup>5</sup> The Place Dauphine: above, p. 93 n.

<sup>6</sup> The Quai des Orfèvres runs along the exterior on the south side.

<sup>7</sup> i.e. the Pont-Neuf. 'Operateur: m. *An Operator, a worker; also a Quacksalver, Cheater, Imposter (called so at Tours)*': R. Cotgrave, *A dictionarie of the French and English tongues*, 1632. The first recorded use of the English word in this sense is dated 1674: *O.E.D.*

<sup>8</sup> 'La place de la Vallée de Misere, où l'on tient marché de toutes sortes de volailles & gibier': G. Dechuyes, *La Guide de Paris*, 1654, p. 160. It was the quay on the north bank running westward from the Pont au Change, part of the modern Quai de la Mégisserie. The whole area has been transformed.



Provision, especially Bread, even to admiration the quantity consider'd; hearbs, Flowers, Orange-trees, choyce shrubbs; besides Powltry & the like, and here is a shop cal'd Noahs-Arke, where are to be had for mony all the Curiosities naturall or artificial imaginable, Indian or Europan, for luxury or Use, as Cabinets, Shells, Ivorys, Purselan,<sup>1</sup> Dried fishes, rare Insects, Birds, Pictures, & a thousand exotic extravagances: Passing hence we view'd the Port Dauphine,<sup>2</sup> which is an Arch of excellent Workmanship, the streete, bearing the same name, ample, & strait.

On the 4th I went to see the Marais de Temple,<sup>3</sup> where is a noble Church and Palace, heretofore dedicated to the Knights of that order; but now converted to a Piazza not much onlike ours of Covent Garden;<sup>4</sup> but far larger, & not so pleasant; though built about with divers considerable Palaces: From hence we went to St. Genevefe<sup>5</sup> a Church of greate devotion, and another of their Amazons, sayd to have deliver'd the Citty on a tyme from the English:<sup>6</sup> for which she is esteem'd

<sup>1</sup> Except at a small factory at Florence about 1580, no porcelain had so far been made in Europe; very little was made until the eighteenth century. For its importation see J. Marryat, *Hist. of pottery and porcelain*, 3rd ed., 1868, pp. 241-9, &c.

<sup>2</sup> The gate where the city wall crossed the rue Dauphine on the south bank. It was built in 1639-41 and demolished in 1673: *Hist. gén. de Paris: Topog. hist. du vieux Paris, Région occidentale de l'Université*, by A. Berté, 1887, pp. 81-6.

<sup>3</sup> There is some confusion in this and the following paragraph. The old premises of the Templars were not converted into a regular square; the Place Royale is in the Marais, at some distance away; Evelyn describes it below, calling it the 'Palace Royal'. The visit to Sainte-Geneviève is clearly out of place between the Temple and the Place Royale. Evelyn was in part in-

fluenced by Varennes: 'Il y a une porte, une rue, une eschelle . . . , un quartier de la ville grand & bien basti, dit le Marais, qui se desnomment tous du Temple': pp. 182-3.

The medieval premises of the Temple were still largely intact; they belonged to the Knights of Malta, and the Grand Prior of France, one of the chief officers of the order, had his lodgings there; many of the buildings were let to private persons: Sauval, ii. 270-1.

<sup>4</sup> Built c. 1631-8. There was nothing like it in the Temple; Evelyn is presumably thinking of the Place Royale; there had, however, been a project in Henri IV's time for a new square and quarter near the Temple: Sauval, i. 72-3; cf. C. Chastillon, plate dated 1640 (in *Topog. françoise*, 1641).

<sup>5</sup> Varennes, p. 183, whence the canons regular. It was rebuilt 1757-91 and is now the Panthéon.

<sup>6</sup> St. Geneviève delivered Paris

the Tutelary saint of Paris: The Church stands upon a steepe eminence of ground, & has an exceeding high spire; It is governd by Canons Regular:

We next drove to the Palace Royal,<sup>1</sup> where Henry the fourth has built a faire quadrangle of stately Palaces arched underneath; in the middle of a Spacious Area, stands on a noble Pedistal the Brasen Statue of Lewes 13th which though made in imitation of that in the Roman Capitol;<sup>2</sup> is nothing so much esteemd as that on the Pont Noeufe:<sup>3</sup>

We went to visite some Hospitals, that of the Quinz-Vingts<sup>4</sup> in rue St. Honorè is realy a noble foundation; but above all the Hostel Dieu<sup>5</sup> for men & Women neere Nostre Dame, to a Princlly, pious and prodigious expense: That of the Charite<sup>6</sup> neere my Lodging is another, built by Q: Mary di Medices, where I have taken greate satisfaction to see how decently and Christianly the sick People are tended, yea even to delicacy; being sometymes (as I have seene them) served by <noble><sup>a</sup> Persons men and Women: The<y> have also Gardens, Walkes, Fountaines: Here are divers People Cutt for the stone with greate successe yearely in May:<sup>7</sup>

<sup>a</sup> MS. *nobles*.

from the Huns in 451 by advising the inhabitants to repent. The other Amazon was Joan of Arc.

<sup>1</sup> From Varennes, p. 187, with additional matter. The Place Royale, now Place des Vosges. Louis XIII's horse was by Daniele da Volterra (1509?–1566); Louis XIII by P. Biard the younger. The statue was erected in 1639 and destroyed in 1792: A. de Montaiglon, *Notice sur l'ancien statue équestre de Louis XIII*, 1874/96.

<sup>2</sup> The antique Marcus Aurelius.

<sup>3</sup> Henri IV: above, p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> Varennes, p. 185. It was a society of three hundred blind persons founded by St. Louis; it was moved to the Faubourg Saint-Antoine in 1780. For its history see Soc. de l'hist. de Paris, *Mém.* xiii (1886), 107–260; xiv (1887), 1–208.

<sup>5</sup> Varennes, p. 184. See J. Lévy-Valensi, *La médecine et les médecins français au xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1933, pp. 302–16. There might be from three to seven patients in a bed; in 1682 the hospital could accommodate 2,400 patients.

<sup>6</sup> Some brothers of the Order of Charity (St. John of God) were established in Paris by Marie de Médicis in 1602 and moved to the rue des Saints-Pères (below, 15 Oct. 1650) in 1606; the hospital still occupies this site. It was especially celebrated at this time for operations for the stone: Lévy-Valensi, pp. 320–2, where a view by A. Bosse of one of the wards is reproduced. Further notice below, 3 May 1650.

<sup>7</sup> Some of these remarks presumably date from Evelyn's later residence in Paris, in 1649–51.

The two Chasteletts<sup>1</sup> (suppos'd to have been built by Julius Cæsar) are the Places of Judicature in Criminal Causes under the Lieutenant Civil and Præsidual, to which is a strong Prison; the Courts are magnificent & spacious.

The 8th I tooke Coach and went to see the famous Garden Royale,<sup>2</sup> which is an Enclosure wall'd in, consisting of all sorts of varietys of grounds, for the planting & culture of Medical simples. It is certainly for all advantages very well chosen, having within it both hills, meadows, growne Wood, & Upland, both artificial and naturall; nor is the furniture inferiour, being very richly stord with exotic plants: has a fayre fontaine in the middle of the Parterre, a very nob(ly) house, Chapel, Laboratory, Orangerie & other accommodations for the Præsident, who is allwayes one of the Kings chiefe Physitians:

We pass'd from hence quite to the other side of the Towne, and at some distance from it, to the Bois de Vincennes, going by the Bastille<sup>3</sup> which is the Fortresse Tower and Magazine of this great City: It is vastly spacious within, and there the grand Master of the Artillery has his house, with faire Gardens & Walkes:<sup>4</sup>

The Bois de Vincennes has in it a square, and noble (Castle),<sup>5</sup> with a magnificent apartment fit for a royal Court, not forgetting the Chapell: It is the chiefe Prison for persons of Quality: about it is a Parke wall'd in, and full of Deere, and there is in one part of it a grove of goodly Pine trees:

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Castles*.

<sup>1</sup> From Varennes, p. 185; Præsidual is Evelyn's rendering of 'Presidial'. For the administration of justice in them see Varennes, p. 190. The Grand Châtelet guarded the northern approach to the Pont au Change, the Petit Châtelet the southern approach to the Petit Pont. They were destroyed in 1802–10 and 1782 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> In part from Varennes, p. 188, but greatly expanded; all the details about the garden are original. Now the Jardin des Plantes. See G. de la

Brosse, *Descr. du Jardin royal des plantes medecinales*, 1636, with view by F. Scalberge; L. Denise, *Bibliog. . . . du Jardin des Plantes*, 1903, where other early views are reproduced.

<sup>3</sup> Varennes, p. 186.

<sup>4</sup> From Varennes, p. 186. The Arsenal was connected with the Bastille and covered the area between it and the river.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194. The account of the prison and the park is original.

I went the next day to consider the Louvre<sup>1</sup> more atentively, with all its severall Courts and Pavilions. One of the Quad-rangles<sup>2</sup> begun by Hen: 4: and finish'd by the two last Lewes's his son, & Grandchild, is a superb, but mix'd Structure: the Cornices,<sup>a</sup> mouldings and Compartiments, together with the insertions of severall colour'd marbles being of infinite expense. Hence through the Long Gallery which is foote, pav'd with white & black marble, richly fretted & paynted a fresca by Monsieur Per and others:<sup>3</sup> but the

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *Cornishes*.

<sup>1</sup> At this time the Louvre consisted of the following parts: Vieux Louvre, west side of quadrangle, excluding the Pavillon de Beauvais (southern part, Charles IX and Henri III; Pavillon de l'Horloge, Louis XIII, altered by Louis XVIII; northern part, Louis XIII, the sculpture Napoleon I and Louis XVIII; the whole western façade reconstructed); south side of quadrangle, west of the Pavillon des Arts (Charles IX and Henri III; third story substituted for attics by Napoleon I; new rooms and new façade along the river front); east side of the medieval quadrangle (Philip Augustus and Charles V; removed in 1660; line of foundations marked in the modern pavement); Pavillon de Beauvais and north side of quadrangle, west of the Pavillon Marengo, ground story only (Louis XIII; completed *c.* 1660-2; third story substituted for attics by Napoleon I). Western extension, Petite Galerie (Charles IX and Henri III; rebuilt by Louis XIV, 1661-4; now the Galerie d'Apollon); the buildings at its north end, connecting it with the Pavillon du Roi (altered and enlarged, 1655-9); Grande Galerie (Henri IV; new façades on both sides from the Pavillon Lesdiguières to the Pavillon de Flore inclusive; all buildings

west of the Petite Galerie and north of the Grande Galerie, later). The garden of Marie de Médicis ran eastward from the Petite Galerie, between the Vieux Louvre and the river (later the Jardin de l'Infante). Henrietta Maria had an apartment in the ground story of the south wing of the Vieux Louvre from 1644 to 1648. See L. Hauteceur, *Hist. des châteaux du Louvre et des Tuileries . . . sous . . . Louis XIV*, 1927; also his *Hist. du Louvre . . . 1200-1928*, n.d., a short illustrated history; Baltard, *Paris et ses monuments*, 1803-5.

Evelyn's account is independent of Varennes; it was perhaps influenced by Petit, pp. 40-2.

<sup>2</sup> This probably refers to the Vieux Louvre; but Evelyn is wrong about the kings who built it. 'Mix'd' refers to the style, either to the early Renaissance style of the new wings, or to the Gothic and Renaissance of the several wings.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Grande Galerie: 'The Gallery next the Water is not halfe-way roof, paved with brick and two Row of square stones in the middle of black and white marble. The spaces between the Windowes was designed to have the prospects of all the famousest Citties of the World in painting, not one perfected nor begun. The Roofe has halfe

front regarding the River, though of exceeding rare worke for the Carving, yet wants of that magnificence which a playner & truer designe would have contributed to it:<sup>1</sup> In the Court aux Thuilleries<sup>2</sup> is a princely fabrique, especialy that incomparable winding stayres of stone, which hanging without support at the pozzo<sup>3</sup> in the middle, together with the Cupola, I take to be as bold & noble a piece of Architecture as any in Europ of the kind: To this is a Corps de Logis worthy of so greate a Prince: Under these buildings through a Garden<sup>4</sup> which has an ample fontaine, was the Kings Printing-house<sup>5</sup> & that famous Letter so much esteem'd; & here I bought divers of the Clasique Authors, Poets & others: Hence we returnd through another Gallery,<sup>6</sup> larger then the other, but nothing so long, where hung the Pictures of all the Kings & Queenes and prime nobility of France; descending henc we were let into a lower very large roome call'd the Sale

statues and antique worke upon painting of Mosaique': Symonds, 1649, in Mundy, *Travels*, i. 225. The decoration was begun by Poussin, 1641-2, and continued from his designs for a short time after his return to Rome; all traces of it disappeared in the eighteenth century. 'Per' may be due to Evelyn's inability to read the name Poussin as written in his original notes; or it may be the beginning of the name of Henri Perlan, the chief modeller engaged in the work: N. Poussin, *Corr.* (Soc. de l'hist. de l'art français, nouvelle pér., vol. v, 1911), p. 64 n.; the decoration of the gallery, *ibid.*, *passim*.

<sup>1</sup> The design of the river-front changed at the Tour du Bois, where the city wall had come to the river: Hauteceur, *Hist. du Louvre*, pp. 28-9.

<sup>2</sup> The Tuileries consisted of the central pavilion with its two short wings, the pavilion to the south of this block, and a further wing joining this pavilion to the Pavillon de Flore; it was built by Charles IX,

Henri III, and Henri IV, transformed and extended by Louis XIV, 1664-71, and destroyed in 1871: Hauteceur, *Hist. des châteaux*, pp. 14-19, 124-6; see also Varennes, pp. 186-7, and Petit, pp. 41-2, both of whom describe the staircase; see also Gomboust's plan of Paris.

<sup>3</sup> I have not noticed the word used in this sense in Italian works on architecture before this time. Evelyn uses the English word well below, p. 229, and in the passage corresponding to this in V. It does not appear to have come into general use until the eighteenth century.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently the Parterre de Mademoiselle, between the Tuileries and the modern place du Carrousel: see Gomboust's plan.

<sup>5</sup> It was established in 1640: A. J. Bernard, *Hist. de l'imprimerie royale du Louvre*, 1867, with list of its publications.

<sup>6</sup> The Petite Galerie, burnt down in 1661. Larger is a Gallicism. Evelyn probably follows Petit, p. 42. See Hauteceur, *Hist. des châteaux*, pp. 105-8; Sauval, ii. 37-40.

des Antiques,<sup>1</sup> which is a Vaulted Cimelia<sup>2</sup> destin'd onely to set statues in, amongst which stands that so celebrated Diana of the Ephesians<sup>3</sup> said to be the same which utterd Oracles in that renowned Temple: besides those Collosean Figures of marble  
 Not forgetting the huge Globe which is hung up in Chaynes: The pavings, inlayings & incrustations of this Hall are very rich and glorious. In another more privat Garden<sup>4</sup> towards the Queenes apartment is a noble Walke or Cloyster under Arches, whose tarrac is pav'd with stones of a greate breadth; this, and the pleasant Aviary, Fountaine and stately Cypresses has prospect towards the river; where is to be seene a prodigious number of Barges & boates of incredible length, full of hay, Corne, Wood, Wine & other Commodities which this Vast City consumes.

Under the Long Gallery we have describ'd dwell Gold-Smiths, Paynters, Statuaries, Architects, who being the most famous for their art in Christendom are here stipendiated by the King:<sup>5</sup> Into that of Monsieur Saracins<sup>6</sup> we enterd, who

<sup>1</sup> 'Une grande salle qu'on appelle des Antiques ou Ambassadeurs, remplie de curiositez, comme d'une grande sphere mobile suspendue à la voûte, & de quantité de belles statues, entre autres d'une qu'on dit estre la Diane d'Ephèse': Petit, p. 42. The room is now the Salle d'Auguste; for its decoration see Hauteœur, *Hist. des châteaux*, pp. 45-6; Mundy, in *Paris in 1620*, also describes it, but the ceiling described by him belonged to the Petite Galerie; he also describes the statue and the globe: *Travels*, i. 126-7.

<sup>2</sup> This word is here used incorrectly. The Greek word *κειμήλιον* means a thing stored up, a treasure; it appears in post-classical Latin as *cimelium*. Below Evelyn uses the singular, *cimelium*, to mean a treasury, as here: (1) Nov. 1660, 22 June 1664. In his published writings he twice uses the plural correctly: Pomona, p. 1, in *Sylva*,

1664; *Philosophical transactions*, vol. v (1670), no. 60, p. 1056 (*Misc. writings*, p. 621). He also uses the word *cimeliarcha*: below, p. 188.

<sup>3</sup> The Diana with the fawn in the Louvre: W. Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique . . . du Louvre*, vol. i, 1869, no. 98; see also Locatelli, p. 153 n.

<sup>4</sup> The garden to the east of the Petite Galerie. The queens occupied the first story of the south wing of the Vieux Louvre; Marie de Médicis also occupied its ground story, as did Henrietta Maria later. The quay outside was the Port au Foin; the old views show the river full of barges here.

<sup>5</sup> Petit, p. 42; *Archives de l'art français*, 1st ser., i (1851-2), 193-206.

<sup>6</sup> Jacques Sarrazin, 1592-1660: *Archives*, as above, pp. 215-17. The treasury at Loreto was pillaged in 1798.

was then moulding for an Image of a Madona, to be cast in gold, of a very greate bignesse, to be sent by the Q: Regent to Lauretto as an offering for the birth of the Dauphine, now the young King: I this day finish'd with a Walke in the greate Garden of the Thuilleres,<sup>1</sup> which is rarely contriv'd for Privacy, shade, company, by Groves, Plantations of tall trees, especialy that in the middle being of Elmes,<sup>a</sup> the other of Mulberys; & that Labyrinth of Cypresse; not omitting the noble hedges of Pome-granads, the fountaines, Piscianas,<sup>a2</sup> Aviary, but above all the artificial Echo,<sup>3</sup> redoubling the words so distinctly, and as it is never without some faire Nymph singing to its gratefull returnes: standing at<sup>b</sup> one of the focus's, which is under a tree or little Cabinet of hedges, the Voyce seemes to descend from the Clowds; and at another, as if it were under grownd: This being at the botome of the Garden, we were let into another, which being kept with all imaginable accuratenesse, in regard of the Orangery, precious Shrubbs, & rare fruite, seem'd a Paradise: From a Tarrac in this Place we might see so many Coaches (as late in the yeare as it was) going towards the Course<sup>4</sup> (which is a place neere adjoyning of neere an English mile long, & planted with 4 rows of Trees, making a large Circle in the middle) that one would Conceive were impossible to be maintaint in the whole City: This Corso is wall'd about neere breast-high with squar'd freestone, has a very stately Arch at the Entry, with noble Sculpture & statues about it, built by Mary di Medices; and here it is that the

<sup>a</sup> Followed by & deleted.      <sup>b</sup> Substituted for *under*.

<sup>1</sup> The garden, separated from the Tuileries by a road, was laid out by Catherine de Médicis; it was transformed by Le Nôtre, 1664-71: Hauteœur, *Hist. des châteaux*, pp. 19-20, 139-42; A. Babeau, in Soc. de l'hist. de Paris, *Mém.* xxviii (1901), 37-66; Sauval, ii. 59-60; and especially *La comédie des Tuileries*, by five authors, including Corneille, 1638.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. piscinas, ponds.

<sup>3</sup> It figures in *La comédie des Tuileries*, II. ii.

<sup>4</sup> Cours la Reine; it included the Cours Albert I<sup>er</sup> as well as the modern Cours la Reine. There is a view of the gateway by Silvestre. Evelyn compares Hyde Park with the Cours already in *A Character of England*, p. 54 (*Misc. writings*, p. 165).

Gallants, & the Ladys of the Court take the ayre & divert themselves, as with us in Hide-Parke, the middle Circle being Capable to containe an hundred Coaches to turne commodiously, & the larger of the Plantations for 5 or 6 Coaches a breast:

Returning againe through the Thuilleries, at a certaine building on one side of the Wall, we went to see divers Wild<sup>a</sup> beast(s)<sup>a</sup> kept for the King's pleasure, as a Beare, a Wolfe, a Wild-boare, a Leopard &c:<sup>1</sup>

Feb: 27 accompanyd with some English Gent: we tooke horse to see St. Germain en Lay,<sup>2</sup> which is a stately Country-house of the Kings, some 5 leagues from Paris: By the way we alighted at St. Cloes,<sup>3</sup> where upon an Eminence neere the River, the Arch-Bishop of Paris, has a Garden (for the house is not very considerable) so rarely waterd, & furnish'd with fountaines, statues, & groves: as I had never seene an(y)thing exceeding it: The Walkes are very faire; above all that fontaine of the Laocoon in a very ample square poole or Piscina, casting waters neere 40 foote in height, and having about it a multitude of Statues and basines, is a most glorious & surprizing object: Those three at descent of the hill, and dispos'd in a round walke are very remarkable; but nothing

<sup>a-a</sup> MS. *Wild, beast.*

<sup>1</sup> 'Septa feræ claudunt, hirsutos  
vidimus ursos;  
Sunt aquilæ, tigres, terrificæque læ.'

A. de Rombise, *Itin.*, 1639, extract in Soc. de l'hist. de Paris, *Mém.* xiii (1886), 280. In *La comédie des Tuileries*, iv. v, the hero is rescued from the lions' den, the heroine from the pond. See also G. Loisel, *Hist. des ménageries*, 1912, ii. 93-5. Short accounts of the menagerie are common.

<sup>2</sup> Below, p. 110. The distance is taken from Varennes, p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> Varennes, pp. 192, 194-5. Saint-Cloud. Evelyn's description is original. The estate, over which the archbishops of Paris had rights of

suzerainty, belonged to the family of Gondi from 1578 to 1618, when it was sold; the Gondi laid out the estate and built the first château. In 1625 it was bought by Jean-François de Gondi, archbishop of Paris and uncle of the Cardinal de Retz. He died in 1654; in 1658 it was bought for 'Monsieur', Philippe, duke of Anjou (later of Orleans). The house was rebuilt c. 1675-8 and burnt down in 1870; the ruins were removed in 1891. The gardens and park were extended and altered by Monsieur. See É. Magne, *Le Château de Saint-Cloud*, 1932 (description of the first château, pp. 12-15); Gölnitz, p. 188.



is more esteem'd than the Cascada falling from the greatesse steps into the lowest & longest Walke from the Mons Parnassus, which consists of a Grotto or shell house erected on the summit of the hill; & herein are divers water-workes, and unlucky contrivances to wet the Spectators: This is coverd with a fayre Cupola, the Walls paynted with the Muses, statues placed thick about it, whereof some antique and good: In the upper Walkes are two Perspectives very pretty ones, seeming to enlarge the allys; and in this Garden there are a world of other incomparable diversions: The Palace (as I sayd) is not extraordinary; the out walles onely painted a fresca; in the Court is a Volary, and the statues of Char: the 9th and Hen: 3:<sup>1</sup> 4th & Lewes the 13th on horsback, being Mezzo-relievo'd in Plaster: I must not forgett, that in the Garden neere the house is a small Chapell, and under shelter, the figure of Cleopatra<sup>2</sup> taken from the Belveders original, with divers others: From the Tarrac above, is a Tempest well paynted, & thence an excellent Prospect towards Paris, the meadows, & river.

At an Inn in this Village, neere the bridge is an host, who treates all the greatesse Persons in Princely lod(g)ings, for furniture & Plate; but they pay well for it, as I hav don: Indeede the entertainment is very splendid, and not unreasonable, considering the excellent manner of dressing their meate, and the service; here are many debauches & excessive revellings as being out of all noyse & observance.<sup>3</sup>

From hence about a leage farther, we went to the Cardinal Richlieus Villa at Rueil;<sup>4</sup> the House is but small, but fairely

<sup>1</sup> Henri III was murdered here by Jacques Clément on 1 Aug. 1589.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the so-called Sleeping Ariadne: below, p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> The Cabinet de la Durier, owned by Durier and later by his widow: Magne, pp. 18–22; M. Poëte, *La promenade à Paris au xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1913, pp. 182–5.

<sup>4</sup> Varennes, p. 194. Rueil. Evelyn's account is original. Göl-nitz (1631) describes it while it was

still owned by Jean de Moisset; it was already well provided with fountains: p. 178. See A. Cramail, *Le Château de Ruel*, 1888; E. Bon-naffé, *Dictionnaire des amateurs français au xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1884, pp. 270, 272; and his *Recherches sur les collections des Richelieu*, 1883, pp. 23–4, 88–95. Descriptions of Rueil also occur in P. Heylyn, *A full relation of two journeys*, 1656, pp. 59–60, and Edward Browne, *Journal*

built in forme of a Castle, moated about; The Offices are towards the Way side, and over against it are large Vineyards walled in: But though the House be not of the greatest, the Gardens about it are so magnificent, as I much doubt whither Italy have any exceeding it for all varietyes of Pleasure: That which is neerest the Pavillion is a Parterre, having in the middst divers noble brasse statues perpetually spouting Water into an ample Bassin, with other figures of the same metall: But that which is most admirable is the vast enclosure and variety of ground in the larger Garden, as containing Vineyards, Corne fields, Meadows, Groves, whereoff one is of Perennial Greenes; and Walkes of vast lengthes, so accurately kept & cultivated that nothing can be more agreable and tempting: In one of these Walkes within a square of tall trees, or rather a Grove, is a basilisc of copper, which as it is managed by the Fontaniere, casts Water neere 60 foote in height, and will of it selfe (moove)<sup>a</sup> round so swiftly, that it is almost impossible to escape wetting: This leads to the Citroniere<sup>1</sup> where there is a very noble conserve<sup>2</sup> of all those rarities, and at the end of it the Arco of Constantine painted in Oyle on a Wall, as big as is the real one at Rome, so don to the life, that a man very well skilld in Painting may mistake it for stone, & sculpture; and indeede it is so rarely perform'd that it is almost impossible to believe it Paynting, but to be a Worke of solid stone: The skie, and hills which seeme to be betweene the Arches, are so naturall, that swallows & other birds, thinking to fly through, have dash'd themselves to pieces against the Walls:<sup>3</sup> I was infinitely taken with this

<sup>a</sup> MS. *moore*.

of a visit to Paris, 1664, ed. G. L. Keynes, 1923, pp. 19–20; they also describe the other palaces in this district.

<sup>1</sup> This is not a French word, but was coined by Evelyn: cf. below, 5 Sept. 1650.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn uses this word and conservatory apparently as interchangeable terms: *Kalendarium Hortense* (1664), Sept. He equates

conservatory and greenhouse: *ibid.*, March, but it is more widely applied. Cf. conserve, below, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> An anonymous traveller of 1647 also gives this statement: quoted in Mortoft, p. 6 n. Sir John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall, here in 1665, describes the arch very carefully: *Journals*, ed. D. Crawford (Scottish Hist. Soc., vol. xxxvi, 1900), pp. 6–7. See also the view by Silvestre.

agreable cheate: At the farther part of this Walke is that plentifull, though artificial Cascad of Water, which rolles downe a very steepe declivity, and over the marble degrees, & basins, with an astonishing noyse and fury, Each basin hath a jetto in it & flowing like sheetes of transparent glasse; especially that which rises over the greate shell of lead, from whenc it glides silently downe a Channell, through the middle of a most spacious gravell Walke, that terminates in a Grotto, resembling the Yawning mouth of hell: Here are also fountaines that cast Water of an exceeding height; and Piscinas very large, in which two of them have Ilands for fowle, of which here is store, one of these Ilands has a receptacle for them built of natural Rock with extravagant stones neere 50 foote high, growne over with Mosse, Ivy &c, & shaded at a competent distance with tall trees: In this rupellary nidary<sup>1</sup> do the fowle breede<sup>a</sup> & lay Eggs: Hence we were brought to a large & very rare Grotto of shell-worke, artificially stuck on in the shapes of Satyres & other wild fansys: In the middle stands a table of Marble, on which a fontaine playes in divers<sup>b</sup> formes of glasses, cupps, crosses, fanns, crownes &c. Then the Fountaniere represented a showre of raine from the topp, which was mett with the slender pissers from beneth; at the going out, two extravagant Musqueteeres shot us with a streame of water comming out very fiercely from their musket barrilles. Before this Grotto is a long poole into which run divers spouts of Water from leaden Escholop bassins: The viewing of this Paradise made us bring night to St. Germaines.

The first building of this Palace<sup>2</sup> is of Charles the 5 calld

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *g* deleted.      <sup>b</sup> Followed by *stra-* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> Both words appear to have been coined by Evelyn: see *O.E.D.*

<sup>2</sup> From Varennes, pp. 191-2; Evelyn follows him closely, but adds some new matter. Saint-Germain-en-Laye. The Old Château still exists but has been much restored; the New Château was destroyed in 1777-80, except for the north-eastern pavilion, formerly

the chapel; the terraces described by Evelyn have almost completely disappeared; they were to the south of the existing terraces, which are due to Le Nôtre. See G. Houdard, *Les Châteaux royaux de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1124-1789*, 1909-11, with reproductions of the old views.

the Sage; but Francis the first (that true Virtuoso<sup>1</sup>) made it compleate, speaking in the style of the magnificence then in fashion, which was with to(o) greate a mixture of the Gothic; as may be seen in what there is of his in the old Castle, an irregular piece, as built on the old foundation, having a moate about it: It has yet some spacious & handsome romes of state in it, & a chapell neatly paynted: The New Castle is at some distance divided from this by a Court; of a lower but more modern designe, built by Hen: 4th: to this belongs six incomparable Tarraces built of brick & stone descending in Cascads towards the river, & cut out of the naturall hill, having under them goodly Gallerys vaulted, whereof 4 have subterranean Grotts & rocks, where is represented severall objects in manner of sceanes, & other motions by the force of Water, to be shown by the light of torches onely: Especialy that of Orpheus, with his musique, & the Animals which daunce after his harp: In the 2d is the King and Dolphin; in the 3d the Neptune sounding with his trumpet, his charriot drawne by sea-horses: In the 4th the story of Perseus & Andromeda; not to insist on the mills, the solitude of Eremits, men a fishing, birds chirping & the many other devices:<sup>2</sup> There is also a dry Grott, to (refresh)<sup>a</sup> in; all of them rendring an incomparable prospect towards the River, & the goodly Country about it, especialy the Forrest: At the bottom is a Parterr; the Uppmost Tarrac is neere halfe a myle in length, with double declivities arched and balusterd with stone, of vast & royal cost: In the Pavilion of the new Castle are many faire romes well paynted, & leads into a very noble Garden and Parke, where there is a<sup>b</sup> pall-maill, in the midst of which,

<sup>a</sup> MS. *refrest.*      <sup>b</sup> Followed by *f* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn frequently refers to Francis I in similar complimentary terms: e.g. *Sculptura*, p. 86; *Publick employment*, 1667, p. 86 (*Misc. writings*, p. 540).

<sup>2</sup> These waterworks were constructed by T. and A. Francini, emulating those at Pratolino (below, May 1645): Soc. de l'hist. de Paris,

*Mém.* li (1930), 35-41 (the volume is a monograph by A. Mousset on the Francini). They seem to have been neglected from about 1671: Locatelli, p. 172 n. Locatelli's description of the grottoes probably derives from Varennes, as does Evelyn's.

at one of the sides, a Cappell Cupol'd with stone, though little, yet of an handsome order of Architecture: Out of the Parke you goe into the Forrest, which being very large is stor'd with Deare, Wild-boares, Wolves & other wild game: The Tennis Court, & Cavalerizzo for the menag'd horses are also observable.

We returnd to Paris by Madrid,<sup>1</sup> another Villa of the Kings built by Francis the first, and cald by that name, to absolve him of his Oath, that he would not go from Madrid, in which he was Prisoner in Spayne, but from whence he made his Escape.<sup>2</sup> This house is also built in a Park walled in: We next call'd in at the de bonnes (hommes),<sup>3</sup> which being rare situated has a faire Chapel & Library.

March: 1: I went to see the Count de Lion Courts Palac<sup>4</sup> in the rüe de Siene, which is well built, towards his study & bed-Chamber joynes a little Garden, which though very narrow, is yet by the addition of an excellently painted Perspective strangely enlarg'd to appearance; to this there is another part, supported by Arches, in which there runs a Streame of water, which rising in the Aviary out of a statue, seemes to flow for some miles, by being artificially continu'd in the painting, where it sinkes downe at the Wall, & then this I never saw a more agreable decept: At the end of this Garden is a little Theater which is made to change with divers pretty seanes, & the stage so ordered, that with figures of

\* MS. *homees*.

<sup>1</sup> Varennes, p. 192. The construction of the villa was ordered in 1528; it was completed in 1563. Its destruction was proposed in 1774 and carried out in 1793: H. G. Duchesne and H. de Grandsaigne, *Hist. du Bois de Boulogne: Le Château de Madrid*, 1912, pp. 6, 29, 127. Only a few fragments of the decoration survive. See also below, 25 April 1650.

<sup>2</sup> The story is given differently by Sir J. Lauder: *Journals*, pp. 5-6; it is in any case untrue.

<sup>3</sup> In part from Varennes, p. 194.

The convent of Minims at Chaillot called the Bonshommes from the sixteenth century onwards: Dumolin, *Études*, ii. 25-39. Further notice below, 21 Feb. 1651.

<sup>4</sup> Roger du Plessis de Liancourt, duc de la Roche-Guyon, 1598-1674: Bonnaffé, *Dictionnaire*. The house, in the rue de Seine, is shown on Gomboust's plan; views by J. Marot and Silvestre. It was pulled down in 1825, to make room for the rue des Beaux-Arts. For Evelyn's introduction to Liancourt see the end of the corresponding passage in V.

men & Women paynted on light boards, & cut out, a person who stands under neath makes to act as if they were speaking by guiding them, & reciting words in diferent tones, as the Parts require: We were lead hence into a pretty round Cabinet, where was a neate invention for reflecting of lights by lining divers sconces with thin shining plates of gilded Copper:

In one of the roomes of State was an excellent Paynting of Pussine,<sup>1</sup> being a Satyre kneeling: over the Chimny, the Coronation of the Virgin by Paulo Veroneze,<sup>2</sup> Another Madona over the dore and that of Jos: of Cigoli:<sup>3</sup> A picture in the Hall of a Cavaliero di Malta, attended by his Page, sayd to be of Mich: Angelo:<sup>4</sup> The rape of Proserpine with an huge Landskip of Correggio:<sup>5</sup> In the next room to this some payntings of Primaticcio,<sup>6</sup> especialy the Helena; the naked Lady brought before Alexander, well paynted, & a Ceres: In the Bed-chamber a Picture of the Cardinal de Lion-Court of Raphael,<sup>7</sup> rarely Colourd: In the Cabinet are divers pieces of Bassanos,<sup>8</sup> two of Polemburg;<sup>9</sup> 4 of Paulo Brill,<sup>10</sup> the skyes a little too blew: A Madona of Nicholao<sup>11</sup> very excellent painted upon a stone: A Judith of Mantegnia's,<sup>12</sup> 3 Women of Jeronimo,<sup>13</sup> One of Stenwich:<sup>14</sup> A Madona after Titian, & a St. Magdalen of the same hand as the Count esteemes it. Two small pieces of Paulo Veronezes being the Martyrdome

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas Poussin, 1594–1665.

<sup>2</sup> Paolo Caliari called Veronese, 1528–88.

<sup>3</sup> Lodovico Cigoli (Lodovico Cardi da Cigoli), 1559–1613.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently the portrait of Alof de Wignacourt, grand-master of the knights of Malta, with his page, now in the Louvre, by Michelangelo Merisi called Caravaggio (c. 1560/5–1609).

<sup>5</sup> Antonio Allegri called Correggio, c. 1494–1534.

<sup>6</sup> Francesco Primaticcio, 1504–70.

<sup>7</sup> The only Cardinal Liancourt was François Rochefoucauld d'Auguergne, 1558–1645, created cardinal 1607, so that no portrait by Raphael

3811.2

(1483–1520) is possible. Of the two Cardinals de Lenoncourt the earlier, Robert (d. 1561), was not created cardinal until 1538, so that a portrait by Raphael of either of them as a cardinal is also impossible.

<sup>8</sup> Presumably Francesco da Ponte called Bassano, 1549–92, the most important of the younger members of the family.

<sup>9</sup> Cornelis van Poelenburg, 1586–1667.

<sup>10</sup> Paul Brill, 1554–1626.

<sup>11</sup> Niccolo dell'Abbate, 1512–71.

<sup>12</sup> Andrea Mantegna, 1431–1506.

<sup>13</sup> Perhaps Girolamo da Carpi, 1501–56.

<sup>14</sup> Probably Hendrick van Steenwyck the younger.

of Santa Justina & St. Catherine: a Madona of Lucas V: Leydens<sup>1</sup> sent him from our King, six more of old Bassanos:<sup>2</sup> Two drawings of Alberts<sup>3</sup> excellent, A Magdalen of Leonardo da Vinci,<sup>4</sup> 4 of Paulos, A Madona of Titian very rare given him also by our King Charles the first: The Ecce homo<sup>5</sup> shut up in a frame or Enchassment of Velvet, for the life and accurate finishing exceeding all description: some curious Achats, & a Chaplet of admirable invention, the Intaglias being all upon fruite-stones: The Courteous Person himselfe being so over Civill, that he would needes make his Lady goe out of her dressing-rome before she was ready that he might shew us the Curiosities and Pictures in it: Taking leave of the Count; we went thence to visite one Monsieur Perishot,<sup>6</sup> one of the greatest Vertuosas in France for his Collection of Pictures, Achates, Medaills, & Flowers, especialy Tulips & Anemons: The chiefe of his Payntings were a Sebastian of Titian: from him we went to one Monsieur Frenes,<sup>7</sup> who shewd us also many rare drawings, a rape of Helens in black Chalke; many excellent things of Sneiders, all naked;<sup>8</sup> some of Julios,<sup>9</sup> & Mich: Angelo:<sup>10</sup> a Madona of Passeгна,<sup>11</sup> some-things of Parmensis<sup>12</sup> and other Masters.

The next mor(n)ing being reccommended to one Monsieur de Hausse,<sup>13</sup> President du Parliament, and once Ambassador

<sup>1</sup> Lucas van Leyden, 1494-1533.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably Giacomo da Ponte called Bassano, c. 1510-92, father of Francesco.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably Albrecht Dürer, 1471-1528.

<sup>4</sup> Leonardo da Vinci, 1452-1519.

<sup>5</sup> Bonnaffé identifies this as a work by Solario, still in the house in 1752: Brice, ed. 1752, iv. 73-4.

<sup>6</sup> Perruchot: Bonnaffé, *Dict.*

<sup>7</sup> Nicolas Hennequin, baron d'Ecquevilly, sieur de Fresne: *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> I cannot identify the artist; Frans Snyder (1579-1657) was a painter of animals, &c.; the name is probably altogether wrong. Naked is the usual noun in the seventeenth century; nude in this sense is not

recorded until 1708: *O.E.D.*

<sup>9</sup> Giulio Pippi called Giulio Romano, 1499-1546.

<sup>10</sup> Michelangelo (Michelangelo Buonarroti), 1475-1564.

<sup>11</sup> Domenico Passignano, 1560-1636.

<sup>12</sup> Presumably Francesco Mazzola called Parmigiano or Parmigianino, 1503-40.

<sup>13</sup> Claude de Mallier, seigneur du Houssay, c. 1600-81; French ambassador at Venice 1638-40; bishop of Tarbes 1648-68; de la Chenaye-Desbois and Badier, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse*, 3rd ed., 1863-76, xiii. 67-8; D. de Sainte-Marthe, &c., *Gallia Christiana*, 1715- , i. 1241; Richelieu, *Lettres*, &c., ed. Avenel,

at Venice for the French King, we were very civilly receiv'd, & shew'd his Library: amongst his Payntings a rare Venus & Adonis of Veronezes; a St. Anthony after the first manner of Correggio; A Madona of Palma<sup>1</sup> rare.

March the 6, being Sunday I went to Charenton 2 leagues from Paris, to heare & see the manner of the French-Protestant Churches service: The place of meeting they call the Temple,<sup>2</sup> being a very faire & spacious roome built of Free-stone, and very decently adorn'd within with payntings of the Tables of the Law, the Lords Prayer & Creede: The Pulpit stands at the upper end in the middle, having a Parque<sup>3</sup> or Enclosure of seates about it, where the Elders, & persons of greatest quality & strangers sit: The rest of the Congregation on formes & low stooles, but none in Pewes, as in our Churches, to their greate disgrace<sup>4</sup> and nothing so orderly as here, where the stoles & other comber are removd when the Assembly rises: I was greatly pleas'd with their harmonious singing the Psalmes, which they all learen perfectly well from the tablature,<sup>5</sup> which, I heard, their children are as duely taught, as their Catechisme: In this passage we went by that famous bridge over the Marne where that renown'd Eccho returns the Voice 9 or 10 times being provoked with a good singer:<sup>6</sup>

1853-77, vi. 577 n. See also Bonnaffé, *Dictionnaire*, where he is wrongly identified.

<sup>1</sup> Presumably Jacopo Palma, known as Palma Vecchio, c. 1480-1528.

<sup>2</sup> Built c. 1623, from a design by Salomon de Brosse, and demolished in 1685. See J. Pannier, *L'Église réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII, 1611-1629*, 1931-2, i. 133-213, where most of the important views, &c., are reproduced, including a drawing of 1648 showing a sermon in progress; and E. O. Douen, *La révocation de l'Édit de Nantes à Paris*, 1894, i. 111-56, where a plan of 1679 showing the internal arrangements is reproduced.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn's error for the *parquet*,

the enclosure containing the pulpit, the communion table, and seats for the pastors, elders, &c.: P. de Félice, *Les protestants d'autrefois*, 1896, pp. 32-3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Evelyn in his *Character of England*: 'But such of their [i.e. the English] Churches as I have frequented, were dammed up with Pews, every three or four of the Inhabitants, sitting in narrow pounds or Pulpits by themselves': p. 18 (*Misc. writings*, p. 154).

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 48, n. 4.

<sup>6</sup> 'Charenton, où l'on passe la Marne sur un Pont. On remarque icy un écho, qui rend la voix jusques à dix ou douze fois': Varennes, p. 175. The echo was already noticed by A. van Buchel in 1585:



The Next day, being Mar: 7th I set forwards with some Company, towards Fontaine Bleau, which is a sumptuous Palace of the Kings (like ours of Hampton-Court) about 14 leagues from the Citty: by the Way we passe through a Forest so prodigiously encompassd with hidious rocks of a Certaine whiteish hard stone, congested one upon another in Mountainous heights, that the like I believe is no where to be found more horrid & solitary: It abounds with Staggs, Wolves, Boares & sometimes more salvage bea(s)ts, there being not long after, a Lynx or Owncle killd amongst them who had devowrd some passengers: Upon the Summite of one of these gloomy Precipices, intermingled with Trees & Shrubbs & monstrous protuberances of the huge stones which hang over & menace ruine, is built an Hermitage:<sup>1</sup> passing these solitudes, not without howrly expectation of Rogues who frequently lurke about these dens & do mischief<sup>2</sup> (& for whom we were all well appoynted with our Carabines) we arived that Evening at the Village, where we lay at the Horne,<sup>3</sup> going the next morning early to the Palace:<sup>4</sup> The

Soc. de l'hist. de Paris, *Mém.* xxvi (1899), 74; but it appears to have been destroyed by new buildings put up before Evelyn's time and to have survived only in the guide-books: Gölnitz, p. 176. There is a view of the bridge and temple by Silvestre (reproduction in Pannier, i. 167).

<sup>1</sup> Probably that of the Butte Saint-Louis, to the east of the road from Melun to Fontainebleau: F. Herbet, *Dictionnaire hist. . . . de la Forêt de Fontainebleau*, 1903, pp. 154-60.

<sup>2</sup> For the danger so late as 1664 see Locatelli, pp. 108-10.

<sup>3</sup> It was situated in the rue Grande, at the corner of the rue de la Corne; for its history at this period see F. Herbet, *L'ancien Fontainebleau*, 1912, pp. 115-16.

<sup>4</sup> For Evelyn's indebtedness to Varennes, pp. 172-5, see the following notes. The palace of Fontaine-

bleau has undergone considerable changes since Evelyn's visit; most of the decorations seen by him have been removed or badly restored; the designs of the various gardens have been changed. The chief works are: P. Dan, *Le tresor des merveilles de la maison royale de Fontainebleau*, 1642, with illustrations of the fountains and general view (reduced version of the view by A. Francini, engraved by M. Lasne, 1614); P. Guilbert, *Descr. hist. des chateau, bourg et forest de Fontainebleau*, 2 vols., 1731; L. Dimier, *Fontainebleau* ('Les Villes d'Art célèbres'), with bibliography; there is no satisfactory modern work. The best of the relevant travellers' accounts are those of Gölnitz, pp. 165-75, and of Cassiano dal Pozzo (below, p. 277), here in 1625, edited by E. Müntz, Soc. de l'hist. de Paris, *Mém.* xii (1885), 259-78. Dan gives the order in which the parts of the palace

Fabrique of this house is nothing so stately & uniforme, as Hampton Court:<sup>1</sup> but Fra: the 1st<sup>a</sup> began much to beautifie it; most of all Hen: 4th, and not a little the last King: It abounds with very faire Halls, Chambers & Gallerys: In the longest<sup>2</sup> which is 360 foote long & 18 broad is paynted with the Victoryes of that greate Prince Grandfather to the present: That of Francis the 1: cal'd the grand Galery,<sup>3</sup> has all the Kings Palaces paynted on it: Above these in 60 pieces of incomparable Worke the history of Ulysses out of Homer don by Primaticcio in Fresca in the tyme of Hen: 3d and esteemed amongst the most renown'd in Europ for the designe: The Cabinet<sup>4</sup> is full of incomparable Pictures, especialy a Woman of Raphael:<sup>5</sup> In the Hall of the Guards<sup>6</sup> is a piece of Tapissry painted on the wall very naturally, representing the Victoryes of Charles the 7th against our Country-

<sup>a</sup> MS. 1<sup>o</sup>.

were shown to visitors in his day: pp. 194-6.

<sup>1</sup> The Hampton Court of Wolsey and Henry VIII, long before Wren's alterations were projected; cf. below, 9 June 1662.

<sup>2</sup> 'En la grande galerie qui a soixante toises de long & trois de large, sont représentées toutes les victoires du Roy Henry IV': Varennes, pp. 172-3. This was not the Grande Galerie so called, but the Galerie de la Reine: Dan, pp. 147-51; it was also known as the Galerie de Diane. It was rebuilt c. 1820; some of the paintings are preserved in the Galerie des Assiettes: Dimier, pp. 65-7; see also the engravings in Baltard, *Paris et ses monuments*.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn first follows Varennes, who wrongly states that the gallery with the views is 'celle du Roy François qu'on appelle la grande galerie': p. 173; it is in fact the Galerie des Cerfs, immediately beneath the Galerie de la Reine, and was also built by Henri IV; it was decorated with stags' heads and with fifteen views of royal forests

and palaces, now completely repainted: Dan, pp. 151-4; Dimier, p. 60. But Evelyn confuses with the Galerie des Cerfs the Grande Galerie, which formed the south side of the Cour du Cheval Blanc and which contained fifty-eight paintings by Primaticcio, executed 1540-70 and representing the history of Ulysses, as well as some paintings of Henri IV's time; this gallery was destroyed in 1738: Dan, pp. 108-27; Dimier, pp. 26-7; the Ulysses series was engraved by T. van Thulden.

<sup>4</sup> Varennes, p. 173. Probably the Cabinet des Peintures, occupying what is now the Vestibule d'honneur; it was built by Charles IX: Dan, pp. 132-8.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the portrait of Giovanna of Aragon: below, p. 120 n.

<sup>6</sup> From Varennes, p. 173. Apparently the Salle des Gardes du Corps: Dan, p. 195; it was later known as the Salle du Buffet and is now the Salle des Aides-de-camp; the decoration has disappeared; see Guilbert, ii. 48-9.

men. In the Sale des Festines,<sup>1</sup> is a rare Chimny-piece, and Hen: 4th on horse-back of White-marble esteemed worth 18000 Crownes: Clementia and Pax nobly don: Upon Columns of Jasper 2 Lyons of Brasse: The new stayres,<sup>2</sup> and an halfe Circular Court is of modern & good Architecture, & so is a Chapell<sup>3</sup> built by Lewes XIIIth all of Jasper and severall incrustations of Marble through the inside: Having seene the romes we went to the Volary<sup>4</sup> which has a Cupola in the middle of it; also greate trees & bushes, it being full of birds who dranke at two fountaines: There is also a faire Tennis-Court,<sup>5</sup> & noble stables;<sup>6</sup> but the Beauty of all are the Gardens: In the Court of the Fountaines stand divers Antiquities, & statues, a Mercury<sup>7</sup> especialy: In the Queenes Garden<sup>8</sup> is the figure of a Diana<sup>9</sup> making a fountayne with a world of other brasse statues: The Greate Garden<sup>10</sup> being 180

<sup>1</sup> From Varennes, p. 173. This was the Salle de la belle Cheminée: Dan, pp. 139-42; it was also called the Salle de la Comédie or des Festins. The chimney-piece, executed by Mathieu Jacquet in 1599, was broken up in 1725; parts of it, badly put together, are still in this room, the figure of Henri IV in the Salon de St. Louis: Dimier, pp. 72-3; see also Guilbert, ii. 49-52. The figure called Clemency by Varennes really represents Obedience.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably the Escalier du Fer-à-Cheval, built in 1634: Dan, p. 32. The 'halfe Circular Court' is perhaps a confused reminiscence of the form of the steps; it can scarcely refer to the Cour Ovale, which is very irregular.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably the chapel of the Holy Trinity, built by Francis I and decorated by Henri IV and Louis XIII: Dan, pp. 62-72; Dimier, pp. 67-70.

<sup>4</sup> From Varennes, p. 173. It was built by Henri IV; it formed the north side of the Jardin de la Reine or de Diane, connecting the Galerie des Cerfs (above, p. 117, n. 3) and the Galerie des Chevreuils, a short

gallery to the north of the chapel of the Holy Trinity; it was later converted into an orangery and then destroyed: Dan, pp. 156-9; Dimier, p. 60.

<sup>5</sup> Varennes, p. 174. It ran to the north-west of the chapel of the Holy Trinity, parallel with the Galerie des Chevreuils (see preceding note). The still existing Jeu de Paume.

<sup>6</sup> There appears to have been only one stable, situated in the Cour des Offices, at the other extremity of the palace.

<sup>7</sup> So Varennes, p. 174; but it was a Perseus. It is figured in Dan, p. [39].

<sup>8</sup> Now the Jardin de Diane.

<sup>9</sup> Varennes, p. 174. The Diana, a bronze copy by B. Prieur (1603) of the Diana with the fawn in the Louvre (above, p. 105 n.), has in its turn gone to the Louvre, having been replaced by a new copy by the Kellers (1684); four dogs from the base have also gone to the Louvre, but four stags' heads remain as part of the fountain: Dimier, pp. 75-6.

<sup>10</sup> From Varennes, p. 174. Now the Parterre. The fountains have all disappeared; they are figured by Dan, pp. [163-71].

thoises long and 154 wide has in the Center the Fountayne of Tyber in a Colossean figure of brasse, with the Wolfe over Romulus & Rhemus: also at each corner of the Garden rises a fontaine. In the Garden of the Piscina<sup>1</sup> is an Hercules<sup>2</sup> of White-marble; next is that of Pines,<sup>3</sup> and without that a Canale<sup>4</sup> of an English mile in length, at the end of which rises three jettos in the forme of a flowre de lys of an exceeding height; at the margent are incomparable Walkes planted with trees: Here the Carps come familiarly to hand:<sup>5</sup> Hence they brought us to a Spring which they report being first discover'd by a dog, gave occasion of beautif(y)ing this place both with the Palace and Gardens;<sup>6</sup> The White & horrid rocks at some distance in the Forest yeald one of the most august & stupendious prospects imaginable. The Parke<sup>7</sup> about it is very large, & the Towne<sup>8</sup> full of noble-mens houses.

Next morning we were invited by a Paynter who was keeper of the Pictures & rarities<sup>9</sup> to see his owne collection: we were lead through a Gallery of old Rossos worke,<sup>10</sup> at end of which in another Cabinet<sup>11</sup> were 3 Madonas of Raphael, 2 of Andr:

<sup>1</sup> 'Le jardin de l'estang': Varennes, p. 174. It was at the south end of the Cour de la Fontaine, projecting into the Bassin des Carpes; it was destroyed in 1713: Dan, p. 177; Guilbert, ii. 86-7.

<sup>2</sup> It was by Michelangelo and was sent to Francis I or Henri II by the Florentine G. della Palla; it has now disappeared: G. Vasari, *Opere*, ed. G. Milanesi, 1878-85, vii. 145; Dan, p. 177; C. de Tolnay, *The youth of Michelangelo*, 1943, pp. 81, 197-8, and plate.

<sup>3</sup> Varennes, p. 174. It occupied the north-eastern part of the present Jardin anglais.

<sup>4</sup> The canal was 600 *toises* in length: Dan, p. 185. I cannot trace Evelyn's fleur-de-lis fountain.

<sup>5</sup> The carp occupied the still existing Bassin des Carpes: Coryat, p. 39.

<sup>6</sup> Situated in what is now the Jardin anglais. Henri IV covered

it with a semi-dome of stone, destroyed in 1713: Dan, pp. 181-2; Guilbert, ii. 98-100, and figure. The legend takes various forms: Dan, pp. 10-13.

<sup>7</sup> Varennes, p. 174.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>9</sup> Identified by Bonnaffé as Jean Dubois, 1604-76: *Dictionnaire*; Thieme, *Lexikon*. Evelyn is mistaken in describing the collection as belonging to him: it is clear from the identifiable pictures that it was the old royal collection.

<sup>10</sup> The gallery of Francis I, joining the buildings about the Cour Ovale to those about the Cour du Cheval Blanc. It was decorated by Rosso Fiorentino (1494-1540), between 1533 and 1540 (completed in 1541); the paintings have been ruined but the stucco-work survives: Dan, pp. 86-94; Dimier, pp. 18-22.

<sup>11</sup> The Cabinet des Peintures: see above, p. 117, n. 4. Its contents are

de Serto:<sup>1</sup> In the Academy where the Paynter himself wrought was a St. Michael of Raphael<sup>2</sup> very rare: St. Jo: Baptist of Leonardo,<sup>3</sup> & a Womans head:<sup>4</sup> a Queene of Sicily [& St. Margarit]<sup>a</sup> of Raphael,<sup>5</sup> 2 more Madonas whereof one very large of the same hand;<sup>6</sup> some more Pictures of del Sartos:<sup>7</sup> a St. Jerome of Perino del Vagas:<sup>8</sup> The Rape of Proserpine<sup>9</sup> very good, with a greate quantity of drawings.

Returning part of our way to Paris that day, we visited an house cal'd Maison Rouge<sup>10</sup> incomparable for its Prospect, Grott, & Fountaines one whereoff rises 50 foote from the ground, & resembles the noise of a tempest, battailia of gunns & other meteors at its issue: Thenc we went to Essone an house belonging to Monsieur Essling,<sup>11</sup> who is a greate

<sup>a</sup> Interlined.

described by dal Pozzo, as above, pp. 267-9, and by Dan, pp. 134-8. Although rather more pictures may have been on view here at this time than they describe, Evelyn's list is very unsatisfactory. The numerous Raphael Madonnas are altogether impossible, though the 'Belle Jardinière' may have been here as well as the 'Holy Family of Francis I'.

<sup>1</sup> One of these is now in the Louvre, no. 1515: see dal Pozzo, p. 268. Andrea d'Agnolo called Andrea del Sarto, 1486-1530.

<sup>2</sup> St. Michael with Satan, Louvre no. 1504: dal Pozzo, p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Bacchus now in the Louvre, altered by order of Louis XIV; it originally represented St. John in the desert: Dan, p. 135; *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, iv (1911), 541-2. The half-length of St. John the Baptist now in the Louvre at this time belonged to Charles I, who had obtained it from Louis XIII.

<sup>4</sup> Probably the Monna Lisa: dal Pozzo, p. 268.

<sup>5</sup> Both in the Louvre; the former represents Giovanna of Aragon, wife of the Constable of Naples: dal Pozzo, p. 267.

<sup>6</sup> Probably the 'Holy Family of Francis I', now in the Louvre: dal Pozzo, p. 267.

<sup>7</sup> The only other work by del Sarto known to have been at Fontainebleau was the Charity, now in the Louvre: dal Pozzo, p. 268.

<sup>8</sup> Probably the picture ascribed by dal Pozzo, p. 269, and Dan, p. 137, to Pietro Perugino (c. 1450-1523) and now in the Louvre, but as a school-piece. The artist named by Evelyn is Pietro Bonaccorsi called Perino del Vaga, c. 1500-47.

<sup>9</sup> 'Un Ratto di Proserpina diligentissimo, ma di maniera alquanto secca; la figura della donna, quale è sostenuta in aria da Plutone, è la migliore': dal Pozzo, p. 267, apparently as by Leonardo. Not mentioned by Dan and not traceable.

<sup>10</sup> It was on the left bank of the Seine near Saint-Fargeau; the road from Fontainebleau to Essonnes passed close by; it is shown in Cassini's map of France. Brief notice in Piganiol de la Force, *Nouvelle descr. de la France*, 1718, ii. 369.

<sup>11</sup> Louis Hesselin, 1600?-1662: Soc. de l'hist. de Paris, *Mém.* xxii (1895), 225-48. The house at

Vertuoso, there are many good payntings in it; but nothing so observable as his Gardens & Fountains & Pooles of Fish, especially that in a triangular forme, the water cast out into the (channel)<sup>a</sup> by a multitude of heads about it: There is also a noble Cascado, and Pretty Bathes with all accommodations: Under a marble table is a fontaine of Serpents twisting about a Globe: We alighted next at Corbeil,<sup>1</sup> a towne famous for the Seige of Hen: 4th, an old place & high built: Here we slept, & so returnd the next morning to Paris.

On the 18 with one Sir Jo: Cotton<sup>2</sup> a Cambridg-shire Knight I went a journey into Normandy: The 1 day we passed by Gaillon<sup>3</sup> which is the Archbishops of Roüens Palac, the Gardens are highly commended, but we went not in, intending to reach Pontoise by dinner: The Towne<sup>4</sup> is built in a very gallant place, has a noble Bridge over the Oise, and is bravely refreshd with Fountains. This is the first Towne in Normandy<sup>5</sup> and the farthest terroire that the Vineyards extend on this side the Country, which is fuller of Playnes, Wood & Enclosures, with some downes towards the sea very like England. We lay this night at a small Vilage calld Magny;<sup>6</sup> The next day descending an extraordinary steepe hill we din'd at Fleury; and after riding 5 leagues

---

<sup>a</sup> MS. *chanter*.

Essones was called Chantemesle and has long since disappeared. See also Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*, i. 25-7; Mortoft, p. 7 and n.

<sup>1</sup> Varennes, p. 175; he does not mention the siege. Corbeil was occupied by Henri IV during his siege of Paris in 1590 but was recaptured by the duke of Parma; it was again occupied by Henri IV in 1592: E. Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, 1900-10, vi. i. 318, 323, 362.

<sup>2</sup> John Cotton, 1615-89; of Landwade, Cambs.; knighted 26 June 1641, created a baronet 14 July 1641: G.E.C., *Baronetage*, ii. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn has confused the two routes to Rouen. He did not pass

through Gaillon going or returning; his statement about it comes from Varennes, p. 195. He took the alternative route given by Varennes, pp. 195-6; between Paris and Pontoise he would have passed the châteaux of Madrid and Montmorency: Gölnitz, p. 202.

<sup>4</sup> Varennes, p. 196; the fountains are original.

<sup>5</sup> Evelyn's error; Varennes writes, 'Par delà cette Ville commence la Normandie': p. 196; the Epte formed the boundary. The general note on Normandy in part follows Varennes, p. 197.

<sup>6</sup> The usual place for spending the night: *ibid.*, p. 196.

downe St. Catherine<sup>1</sup> to Rouen, which affords a goodly Prospect to the ruines of that Chapell & mountaine. This Country dos so abound with Wolves, that a sheeheard whom I met told us, one of his Companions was strangled by one but the day before, & that in the middst of his flock: The feilds are most of them planted with Peares, & Apples & other Cider fruites: It is also plentifully furnish'd with quarries of stone & slat, & hath Yron in abundance.<sup>2</sup>

I lay at the White Crosse in Rouen<sup>3</sup> which is a very large Citty, situat on the Seine, having two smaller rivers besides calld the Aubelt and Lobes:<sup>4</sup> There stand yet the ruines of a magnificent bridge of stone now supplyd by one of boates onely,<sup>5</sup> to which there come up Vessells of considerable burthen: The other side of the Water consists of Meadow; and there have the reformed a Church:<sup>6</sup> The Cathedrall of the Citty is Nost(r)e Dame, built as they acknowledge by the

<sup>1</sup> 'Au chemin de Paris est le Monastere & fort sainte Catherine, sur une colline fort eslevée, il fut démolý sous le regne de Henry IV': Varennes, pp. 198-9.

<sup>2</sup> The notice about the wolves is original; the rest of the description of the country is from *ibid.*, pp. 197-8.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn's description of Rouen is almost entirely derived from *ibid.*, pp. 198-200. There appears to be no good general work on the city. C. Enlart, *Rouen* ('Les Villes d'Art célèbres') and Sir T. A. Cook, *The story of Rouen* ('Mediaeval Towns'), 1899, list the more important works; the most useful modern work is G. Dubosc, *A travers Rouen ancien et moderne*, 1920. There is a fine plan of the town by J. Gomboust, 1655, with an accompanying *Descr. des antiquitez et singularitez de la ville de Rouen*; a facsimile of the plan and a reprint of the text have been published by J. Adeline for the Soc. rouennaise des Bibliophiles, 1873-5. There is a reduced version of it and a reproduction of a

view of Rouen from St. Catherine, dated 1620, in Zeiller, *Topog. Gallia*, pt. viii.

<sup>4</sup> The correct names are Aubette and Robec: Varennes, p. 198.

<sup>5</sup> Varennes does not mention that the stone bridge was broken. It was built by the Empress Matilda and broken on 7 March 1564; the Pont Boieldieu occupies its site. The 'Pont de Batteaux, au nombre de dix-neuf, qui se leve & s'abaisse avec l'eau', was built in 1630 and was situated about fifty yards upstream: Gomboust, *Descr. . . de Rouen*, reprint, p. 36; Dubosc, p. 177. Mortoft also notes that it 'rises and fals with the Tide': p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> It was situated at Grand-Quevilly; it was built in 1600-1 and was closed in 1685: P. Legendre, *Hist. de la persécution faite à l'Église de Rouen*, 1704, ed. E. Lesens, 1874, with plates and quotation from Farin, pp. xvii-xviii; J. Bianquis, *La révocation de l'Édit de Nantes à Rouen*, 1885, p. xix. It is also described by Gölnitz, pp. 212-13.

English, and inded some English words graven in Gothic Characters upon the Front seeme to confirm it.<sup>1</sup> The Towers & whole Church is full of Carving: It has 3 steeples with a Pyramid;<sup>2</sup> in one of these I saw the famous bell<sup>3</sup> so much talk'd off, being 13 foote in height, 32 large, the diameter 11, & we(igh)ing 40000 pounds: In the Chapel d'Amboise, built by a Cardinal of that name, lyes his body,<sup>4</sup> with severall faire monuments: The Quire has behind it a greate Dragon paynted on the Wall,<sup>5</sup> which they affirme to have don much harme to the Inhabitans till vanquish'd by St Romain their Archbishop, for which there is an annual Procession. It was now neere Easter, and many Images were exposd, with scenes & stories representing the Passion made up of little Puppets, to which there was great resort & devotion with offerings.<sup>6</sup> There is before the Church a faire Palace.<sup>7</sup> St. Owen<sup>8</sup> is another goodly Church and Abby with very fine Gardens belonging to it: Here the King hath Lodgings when he makes his progresse through these parts.

The structure where the Court of Parliament is kep(t) is

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Finch, travelling in 1651, writes: 'Nostre Dame built by the English (as appears by the stones of the walls, whose situation make the letters which spell the word God)': *Hist. MSS. Comm., A. G. Finch MSS.* i. 60. Apparently not mentioned by later travellers. There is no good modern work on the cathedral.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn mistranslates: 'Il y a trois tours, sçavoir, celle de saint Romain, la tour de Beurre & la pyramide': Varennes, p. 199. The pyramid was the renaissance predecessor of the existing metal spire; it was built *c.* 1514-44 and destroyed in 1822.

<sup>3</sup> From Varennes, p. 199, including the measurements. It was founded in 1501 and melted down in 1793; it was called 'Georges d'Amboise' after its donor: J. F. Pommeraye, *Hist. de l'église cathédrale de Rouen*, 1686, pp. 48-51;

Dubosc, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> From Varennes, p. 199. The chapel is that of the Virgin. The tomb still exists.

<sup>5</sup> The whole notice from Varennes, p. 199. The painting was in the chapel of the Innocents (Gölnitz, p. 208), now the chapel 'du grand St. Romain'; it seems to have been completely forgotten. For the legend of St. Romain and the privilege connected with his conquest of the Gargouille see Cook, pp. 37-41, 104-9, &c.; for the procession, *ibid.*, pp. 354-8.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. below, 13 April 1645.

<sup>7</sup> Apparently the Bureau des Finances, facing the west front of the cathedral. It is an early renaissance building now much injured.

<sup>8</sup> From Varennes, p. 200. The abbey buildings have been entirely rebuilt; part is now the Hôtel de Ville.



very magnificent, containing very faire halles & chambers, especialy La Chambre d'orée.<sup>1</sup> The Towne house<sup>2</sup> is also well built; and so are some gentlemens houses; but the most part of the rest are of Timber<sup>3</sup> like our Merchants of London in the wodden part of the Citty.

Upon Easter moneday<sup>4</sup> we went from Rouen, din'd at Totes,<sup>5</sup> a solitary inn betweene that & Diepe<sup>6</sup> where we ariv'd March 21: This Towne is situated betwene two Mountaines not unpleasantly; is washed on the north by our English Seas: The Port is commodious, but the entrance difficult: It has one very ample & faire streete, in which a pretty Church: In the afternoone I walked up the hill to view the Fort Pollet which consists of a strong Earth-Worke and commands the Haven, as on the other side dos the Castle which is also well fortified with the Citadel before it; nor is the towne it selfe a little strong: This place exceedingly abounds in workemen that make and sell curiosities of Ivory and Tortoise shells, in which they turne, and make many rare toys; & indeed whatever the East Indys afford of Cabinets, Purcelan, natural & exotic rarities are here to be had with abundant choyce:

The 23d we passd all along by the Coast, a very rocky & rugged way, which forc'd many times to alight till we came to

<sup>1</sup> From Varennes, p. 200. Now the Palais de Justice. It is a late Gothic building, fairly well preserved. The Chambre dorée is now the Salle des Assises.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. It was built in 1607; it was sold to private persons in 1796 and still exists in a mutilated state: G. Dubosc, *Rouen monumental au xvii<sup>e</sup> et au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1897, pp. 31-4.

<sup>3</sup> Varennes remarks that the ordinary houses are not good: p. 200; Gomboust, that they are largely built of wood: *Descr.*, reprint, p. 42. The reference to London helps to date this part of the manuscript.

<sup>4</sup> The journey from Rouen to Dieppe took only one day, so that

Evelyn identifies Easter Monday 1644 as 21 March. But the new-style Easter Monday fell on 28 March. Evelyn was perhaps thrown out by the advice of Varennes, p. 195, that one should travel to England via Normandy shortly before the old-style Easter. He presumably spent Easter Sunday at Caen. The Anglicans in exile used the new-style calendar for religious observances: cf. below, in 1650 and 1651. The old-style Easter Monday fell this year on 22 April/2 May.

<sup>5</sup> Varennes, p. 201, as Tostes.

<sup>6</sup> Evelyn follows Varennes, pp. 201-2, with slight variations. Dieppe is also described by Heylyn, *Full relation*, p. 9; plan by Gomboust in Zeiller, *Topog. Gallia*, pt. viii.

Haver de Grace,<sup>1</sup> where we lay that night: The next morning we were admitted to see the Citadell which is both very strong and regular, and in regard of its situation altogether impregnable: It is also excellently stor'd with Artillery and ammunition of all sorts, the works furnish'd with faire brasse Canon; the alloggiements<sup>2</sup> of the Garnison very uniforme, a spacious place for drawing up the souldiers, a pretty Chapell, and faire house for the Governor. The Duke of Richlieu<sup>3</sup> being now in the Fort we went to salute him who received us very civilly, and commanded that we should be shew'd what ever we desired to see: That which I tooke more especiall notice of was this motto upon the Canon, out of the Prince of Latine Poets—Ratio Ultima Regum:<sup>4</sup> The Citadel was built by the late Card: de Richlieu, unkle of the present duke, and may be esteemed one of the strongest in France: The haven is very capacious: When we had don here we imbarqued our selves & horses to passe over to the other side, being about 4 or 5 leagues to a Towne calld Homfleur,<sup>5</sup> where dissembogues the Seine into the sea: The place seemes to be a poore fishertowne, observable for nothing so much as the odd, yet usefull habites which the good-Women weare, of beares & others skins, as of ruggs &c at Diepe and all along those<sup>a</sup> maritime

<sup>a</sup> Or these.

<sup>1</sup> Varennes, p. 201. The notice is almost entirely original. Plan of Havre by Gomboust in Zeiller, pt. viii; there is a bibliography by A. Lechevalier, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. allodgements, soldiers' quarters; from the Italian, *allogiamento*; cf. logiaments, p. 67 above.

<sup>3</sup> Armand-Jean du Plessis, duc de Richelieu, 1629–1715, a great-nephew of the cardinal.

<sup>4</sup> 'That excellent *Artillery*, which defend his Majesties *Citadell* at *Haver de grace* in *Normandy*; where you may run and read the best of *Tenures*, as the times are now, in this *Epigraph*.—*RATIO ULTIMA REGUM*': *State of France*, pp. 15–

16 (*Misc. writings*, p. 58). The phrase is not classical and was probably originated by Richelieu or in his circle; a rather fanciful explanation by Fleury de Bellingen (1653) is quoted in *Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde*, ii (1902), 417–18. In *En esta vida todo es verdad y todo mentira*, II. xxiii, Calderon gives a Spanish rendering:

Ultima razón de reyes

Son la pólvora y las balas.

The date of the play is uncertain; it may be as late as 1659 (so H. W. Hilborn, *A Chronology, &c.*, 1938).

<sup>5</sup> Not mentioned by Varennes. Plan by Gomboust in Zeiller, pt. viii.

Coasts:<sup>1</sup> The 25, being the day after we ariv'd at Caen,<sup>2</sup> a very noble and beautifull Towne situat on the river Orne which passes quite through it, joynd onely by a bridg consisting of one intire arch:<sup>3</sup> We lay at the Angel, where we were very well usd, the place being abundantly furnish'd with Provisions at a cheape rate. The most considerable object is the greate Abby and Church,<sup>4</sup> large & rich; built after the Gotish manner, with two spires [& a middle blunter one:]<sup>a</sup> at the West end, & all of stone: The Quire round & large, in the center whereof, elevated upon a square handsom (but plaine) Sepulcher there is this Inscription:

Hoc Sepulchrum Invictissimi juxta et clementissimi Conquestoris Gulielmi dum viveret Anglorum Regis, (Normannorum)<sup>b</sup> Cenomanorumque Principis insignis, Insignis Abbatiae Pijssimi Fundatoris: Cum Anno 1562 Vesano Hæreticorum furore direptum fuisset, pijs tandem nobilium ejusdem Abbatiae religiosorum Gratitudinis sensu in tam beneficum largitorem instauratum fuit. Anno Domini 1642 Domino Johanne de Baulhache Ascetarij Protopriores. P.D.D.P.

On the Other side these Monkish rhymes.

Qui rexit rigidos Normanos atque Britannos  
Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit  
Et Cenomanenses virtute coërcuit enses  
Imperij(que) sui legibus applicuit

<sup>a</sup> Interlined; the reading *blunter* doubtful; perhaps *slender* or *shorter*.  
<sup>b</sup> MS. *Nornannorum*.

<sup>1</sup> Eighty years later similar peculiarities were noticeable in the costume of the women near Calais: Edward Wright, *Some observations*, 1730, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn derives some matter from Varennes, pp. 200-1, but is largely original. There is a good account of the city by C. de Bourgueville, *Les Recherches et antiquitez de la province de Neustrie, &c.*, 1588, reprinted 1833; see also [P. D. Huet], *Origines de la ville de Caen*, 1702, new ed., 1706; plan by

Gomboust in Zeiller, pt. viii.

<sup>3</sup> 'Une seule arche du pont joint les deux Villes': Varennes, p. 200. The meaning is obscure; the Pont Saint-Pierre had three arches: Bourgueville, reprint, ii. 9; possibly Varennes means that it was the only bridge between the two parts of the town: cf. Zeiller, viii. 9. Sincerus does not describe Caen. The stream is now covered.

<sup>4</sup> St. Étienne, founded by William the Conqueror.

Rex magnus parvâ jacet hic Gulielmus in urnâ:  
 Suff(icit) et Magno parva domus domino.  
 Ter septem gradibus se volverat atque duobus,  
 Virginis in gremio Phæbus, et hic obijt.<sup>1</sup>

Leaving this Monastery, we went to the Castle,<sup>2</sup> which is very strong and fayre; and so is the Towne-house<sup>3</sup> built on the fore-mention'd bridg which unites the two townes: Here are Scholes, and an University for the Jurists:<sup>4</sup> All the whole Towne is handsomly built of that excellent stone, so well knowne by that name even in England: Here I was lead to a very pretty Garden<sup>a</sup> belonging (as<sup>a</sup> I remember) to a Churchman, which being planted with hedges of Alaternus,<sup>5</sup> had a skreene of an exceeding height at Entrance, acurately cutt in topiary worke with well understood Architecture, consisting of Pillars, Nices,<sup>6</sup> Freezes & other ornaments with greate curiosity; some of the Colomns curiously wreathed, others in spirall forme, all according to art.

From Caen we went on the 28th towards Paris; the first night lying at Evreux,<sup>7</sup> a Bishops seate, being an antient towne with a faire Cathedral; so the next day we ariv'd safe at Paris.

<sup>a-a</sup> MS. *Garden (belonging as.*

<sup>1</sup> I have not found the two inscriptions printed together earlier than in F. Sandford, *Genealogical hist. of the kings of England*, 1677, pp. 6, 7; the verse inscription was printed fairly frequently but the prose I have found printed prior to Sandford only in notes by L. Dacher to the life of Lanfranc, prefixed to Lanfranc, *Opera omnia*, 1648, p. 32, and in A. du Monstier, *Neustria pia*, 1663, p. 656. Evelyn presumably copied the whole inscription for himself or was given a copy.

<sup>2</sup> Varennes, p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*: see Bourgueville, reprint, ii. 9.

<sup>4</sup> 'Il y a une eschole de Droict, ou Université': Varennes, pp. 200-1.

<sup>5</sup> 'I have had the honour to be the

first who brought it [alaternus] into Use and reputation in this *Kingdom* for the most beautiful, and useful of *Hedges*, and *Verdure* in the world (the *swiftness* of the *growth* consider'd) and *propagated* it from *Cornwall* even to *Cumberland*: *Sylva*, 1664, p. 62. It is a species of buckthorn. Sir Richard Browne was also interested in it: *Nicholas papers*, vol. iv (Royal Hist. Soc., Camden 3rd ser., vol. xxxi, 1920), p. 65.

<sup>6</sup> Niches; the form was in common use at this time: cf. below, p. 232, &c.

<sup>7</sup> Not mentioned by Varennes. The journey from Caen to Paris probably took three, if not four, days.

April 1st<sup>a</sup> I went more exactly to see the roomes of that incomparable Palace of Luxemburge<sup>1</sup> in the Fauxbourgs St. Germain, built by Mary de Medices and I thinke one of the most noble, entire and finish'd Pile(s) that is standing in any City of the World, taking it with the Garden and all its accomplishments: The Gallery is of the Painting (of) P: Rubens, being the history of the Foundresses life,<sup>2</sup> rarely designe(d) and greate, at the end of it is the Duke of Orleans's Library,<sup>3</sup> rarely furnish'd with excellent bookes, all bound in Mar(o)quin & guilded: the Valans of the shelves being of greene Velvet, freing'd with gold; in the Cabinet joyning to it, are onely the smaler Volumes, with 6 Cabinets of Medails; and an incomparable (collection)<sup>b</sup> of shells and Achates, whereof some are prodigiously rich & glorious; this Duke being very learn'd in Medails, and Plants,<sup>c</sup> nothing of that kind escapes him. There are other spacious, noble & princly

<sup>a</sup> MS. r<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> MS. *collections*.

<sup>c</sup> Comma supplied.

<sup>1</sup> There is a short account of the Luxembourg in Varennes, p. 180, but Evelyn's account, apart from the Arcueil interpolation, is original, unless he derived some matter from Louys Jacob, *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques*, 1644; it is presumably the product of a number of visits made during the various periods of his residence in Paris between 1643 and 1652. The palace formed part of the estate of Marie de Médicis, who died in 1642; it was not adjudicated to Gaston (see below) until 1646, but he was certainly occupying it by July of this year: Hustin, *Luxembourg*, ii. 71-3, where, however, Gaston's occupation at this date is questioned; for it see Jacob (*privilege* dated 16 July 1644), p. 477. The building dates from c. 1615 to 1620; the whole of the south wing is new, being an addition (1836-41) to the original building; it reproduces the original south façade; otherwise the exterior has been comparatively slightly altered. The interior is

almost completely new; the garden has also been changed. See the rough notes in Sauval, iii. 7-8; A. Hustin, *Le Palais du Luxembourg*, 1904; same author, *Le Luxembourg, son histoire, &c.*, 2 vols., 1910-11 (vol. i deals with the earlier buildings on the site, vol. ii with the site alone, since the present building was erected); and J. Pannier, *Un architecte français . . . Salomon de Brosse*, 1911, pp. 52-67, 169-91. The duke is Gaston-Jean-Baptiste de France, 1608-60; duke of Orleans from birth.

<sup>2</sup> The series of pictures now in the Louvre.

<sup>3</sup> For Gaston's collections see Bonnaffé, *Dictionnaire*. The library is described by Jacob, including 'l'ornement de ses tablettes, qui sont toutes couvertes de velours verd, avec les bandes de mesme estoffe, garnies de passemens d'or, & les crespines de mesme': pp. 477-8.

furnish'd roomes which looke towards the Gardens, which are nothing inferior to the rest: The Court below is formd into a Squar by a Corridor, having over the chiefe Entrance a stately Cupola cover'd with stone, the rest is cloysterd & arch'd on Pillasters of rustique-worke; The Tarace ascending<sup>a</sup> before the Front, pav'd with white & black marble is balustred about with white marble exquisitely polish'd: Onely the hall below is lowe, and the stayre-case somewhat of an heavy designe; but the faciata respecting the Parter, which is also arched & vaulted with stone, is of admirable beauty, & full of Sculpture: The Gardens<sup>1</sup> containe neere an English mile in Compasse, enclos'd with a stately wall, & in good ayre, which renders it certainly one of the sweetest places imaginable; The Parterr is indeede of box; but so rarely designd, and accurately kept cut; that the (e)mbroderie makes a stupendious effect, to the Lodgings which front it; 'tis divided into 4 Squares, & as many circular knots; having in the Center a noble Basin of Marble neere 30 foot<sup>b</sup> diameter (as I remember) in which a Triton of brasse holds a Dolphin that casts a girandola<sup>2</sup> of water neere 30 foote high which plays perpetually, & the water is excellent, being convey'd from Arceuil, whence it is derived by an Aquæduct of stone built after the old Roman magnificence.<sup>3</sup> About this ample Parter, the spacious Walkes & all included, runs a bordure of free-stone adorn'd with Pedistalls for Potts & Statues; and part of it neere the Stepps of the Terrace, with a raile & baluster of pure white marble: The Walkes are exactly faire, long & variously descending, & so

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *ascended*.    <sup>b</sup> MS. 30 ft.

<sup>1</sup> For the gardens as first laid out see the article by Hustin in *Archives de l'art français*, nouvelle pér., viii (1916), 86–109.

<sup>2</sup> Properly, a kind of revolving firework: *O.E.D.* The word is apparently not used in the present sense in Italian. Evelyn uses it again below, p. 395.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn here probably follows carelessly a notice of Arcueil by Varennes: 'Arcueil, où sont les

traces des aqueducts Romains: & un pont commencé à bastir par le Roy Henry IV. & achevé par Louys XIII. à present regnant, pour conduire les eaux à Paris, & dans l'Hostel dit de Luxembourg': p. 194. The aqueduct, built by Marie de Médicis in 1613–24, crosses the valley of the Bièvre at Arcueil; for it see E. Belgrand, *Les Travaux souterrains de Paris*, 1872–87, iii. 33–82, 147–213; iv. 227–8, 236.

justly planted with limes, Elmes & other Trees, that nothing can be more delicious & surprizing, especially that of the hornebeame hedge,<sup>1</sup> which being high & stately, butts full upon the fountaine: Towards the farther end is an excavation intended for a Vast Piscina, but never finish'd; & neere it is an enclosure for a Garden of simples, rarely entertaind, & here the Duke keeps Tortoises in greate number who use the pole of Water at one side of the Garden: here is also a Conservatory for Snow: At the upper part (towards the Palace) is a grove of tall Elmes cutt into a Starr, every ray being a Walke whose center is a large fountaine: The rest of the Ground is made into severall enclosures (all hedge Worke or rowes of Trees) of whole fields, meadowes, boscages, some of them containing divers ackers: Next the streete side, & more contiguous to the house are knolls<sup>2</sup> in trayle or grasse Worke,<sup>3</sup> where likewise runs a fountaine; Towards the Grotto, & Stables, inclos'd within a Wall is a Garden of choyce flowers, in which the Duke spends many thousand pistoles:<sup>4</sup> In summ, nothing is wanting to render this Palace, & Gardens perfectly beautyfull & magnificent; nor is it one of the least diversions, to behold the infinite numbers of Persons of quality, & Citizens, & strangers who frequent it, and to whom all accesse is freely permitted: so as you shall meete some walkes & retirements full of Gallants & Ladys, in others melancholy Fryers, in others studious Scholars, in others jolly Citizens; some sitting & lying on the Grasse, others, running, & jumpi(n)g, some playing at bowles, & ball, others dancing & singing; and all this without the least disturbance, by reason of the amplitude of the place; & what is most admirable, you see no Gardners or people at Worke in it, and

<sup>1</sup> 'That admirable *Espalier-hedge* in the long middle walk of *Luxembourg* Garden at *Paris* (then which there is nothing more graceful)': *Sylva*, 1664, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Probably an error, either on Evelyn's part or made in transcription, for 'knots'.

<sup>3</sup> A trail here means a trailing

ornament in the form of a wreath, &c.: see *O.E.D.*

<sup>4</sup> The pistole was properly a Spanish coin, but the name (which does not occur in Spanish) was also applied to various French and other gold coins worth from 16s. 6d. to 18s. in English money of the time.

yet all kept in such exquisite order, as if they did nothing else but worke; It is so early in the mornings that all is dispatch'd, and don without the least confusion: I have been the larger in the description of this Paradise, for the extraordinary delight I have taken in those sweete retirements. The Cabinet, and Chapell, neerer the Garden Front has some choyce Pictures in it: All the houses neere this are also very noble Palaces: especialy Petite Luxemburge:<sup>1</sup> The ascent of the Streete is both for breadth, & situation and building incomparable.

I went the next to view Paris from the top of St. Jaques-Steeple,<sup>2</sup> (esteem'd the highest in the Towne):<sup>a</sup> from whenc I had a full view of the whole Citty & suburbs, both which I do not judge to be so large as London; though the dissimilitude of their severall formes & situations, this round, London, long; render it very difficult to determine; but there is no comparison between the buildings, Palaces & materials; This being intirely of Stone, and infinitely sumptuous; though I esteeme our Piazzas to exceede theirs.<sup>3</sup>

Henc I tooke a turne in St. Inocents Church-yard<sup>4</sup> where the story of the devouring quality of the ground (consuming Bodys in 24 houres), the Vast Charnells of Bones, Tombs, Piramids and sepultures tooke up much of my time, together with the Hieroglyphical Characters of Nicolas Flamens Philosophical Worke,<sup>5</sup> who had both founded this<sup>b</sup> Church,

<sup>a</sup> Closing bracket supplied.

<sup>b</sup> Followed by a comma.

<sup>1</sup> Built by Marie de Médicis and given by her to Richelieu in 1627; it is now occupied by the President of the Senate. For its history see Hustin, ii. 62–8.

<sup>2</sup> The still existing Tour Saint-Jacques.

<sup>3</sup> See the comparison between Paris and London in Evelyn's *State of France*, printed in vol. iii, app.

<sup>4</sup> Varennes, p. 183. Varennes says that corpses are consumed 'dans huit jours'; the period varies in different writers. The cemetery and the church were demolished in 1785–

7; for them see the articles by A. Bonnardot in *Revue universelle des arts*, vols. ii, iii, x, xi (1855–60), and the view by Silvestre.

<sup>5</sup> Nicolas Flamel, d. 1418: *Nouvelle biog. gén.* He was said to have built or rebuilt the church: Sauval, i. 358. The hieroglyphics, which were supposed to contain alchemical secrets, were a group of Gothic statuary. It is figured in *Trois traittez de la philosophie naturelle . . . Artephius . . . Les figures hieroglyphiques de Nicholas Flamel . . . Synesius, 1612* (English trans. of



& divers other charitable workes, as himselfe testifies in his booke: Here I observd that divers clearks got their livelyhod by inditing letters for poore mayds & other ignorant people, who come to them for advise, and write for them into the Country, both to their Sweete-hearts, Parents & friends, every large grave stone a little Elevated serving them for Table:

There is joyning also to this Church A Common fountaine with good relievo upon it:<sup>1</sup>

The next day I was carried to see a curious Collection of a French Gent:<sup>2</sup> which abounded in faire & rich jewels of all sorts of precious stones imaginable; most of them of grate sizes, & invaluable price; besides the most perfect for their bignesse that ever I beheld; he had also a number of Achates & Onixes, I veryly believe neere a bushell, amongst which some admirably colour'd & antique; nor inferiour was his collection of Landskips from the best hands, most of which he had caus'd to be copy'd in miniature: Some good pieces of story he had; one whereof being rarely painted on stone was broaken by the mischance of setting it up by one of our Company; but such was the temper & civility of the Gentleman, that it alterd nothing of his free and noble humor.

The next Morning I was had by a friend to Monsieur Morines<sup>3</sup> Garden; a person who from an ordinary Gardner, is ariv'd to be one of the most skillfull & Curious Persons of France for his rare collection of Shells, Flowers & Insects: His Garden is of an exact Oval figure planted with Cypresse,

---

parts of this work, *Nicholas Flamel, His Exposition . . . . 1624*). Flamel's tombstone, a different work, is now in the Musée de Cluny: *Catalogue gén.*, vol. i, 1922, no. 574 and plate.

<sup>1</sup> The Fontaine des Innocents, built c. 1549, removed to its present site and altered in 1788; the original reliefs are by Goujon: R. Lister, *Jean Goujon*, 1903, pp. 18-20.

<sup>2</sup> Identified by Bonnaffé as de Richaumont: *Dictionnaire*.

<sup>3</sup> This is Pierre Morin 'le jeune, dit Troisième', the author of a number of gardening books, including *Remarques necessaires pour la culture des fleurs*, 1658 (and later editions), a work similar to Evelyn's *Kalendarium Hortense*, and catalogues (1651, &c.) of some plants in his garden. The latter was situated in the Faubourg Saint-Germain. It is described by Sauval, iii. 4; his collections by M. de Marolles, *Suite des memoires*, 1657, p. 268.

cutt flat & set as even as a Wall could have form'd it: The Tulips, Anemonies, Ranunculus's, Crocus's &c being of the most exquisite; were held for the rarest in the World, which constantly drew all the Virtuosi of that kind to his house during the season; even Persons of the most illustrious quality: He lived in a kind of Hermitage at one side of his Garden where his Collection of Purselan, of Currall, whereof one is carved into a large Crucifix, is greatly esteemed: besides his bookes of Prints, those of Alberts, Van Leydens, Calot,<sup>1</sup> &c. But the very greatest curiosity which I esteemd, for being very ingenious and particular, was his collection of all the Sorts of Insects, especialy of Buter flys,<sup>2</sup> of which he had so greate Variety; that the like I had never seene: These he spreads, & so medicates, that no corruption invading them he keepes in drawers, so plac'd that they present you with a most surprizing & delightfull tapissry: besides he shewd me the remarques he had made of their propagation, which he promis'd to publish: some of these, as also of his best flowers, he had caus'd to be painted in miniature by rare hands, & some in oyle:

The 6t, I sent my sister, my owne Picture, in Water Colours, which she requested of me:<sup>2</sup> & went to see divers of the fairest Palaces<sup>3</sup> of the Towne; as that of Vendosme; very large & stately: That of Longueville, Guyse, Conde, Chever-euse, Nevers, esteemed one of the best in Paris towards the River.

The Palas Cardinal<sup>4</sup> bequeath'd by Richlieu to the King

---

<sup>2</sup> Or *Buterflys*; the word is repeated in the manuscript as a catchword.

<sup>1</sup> Dürer; Lucas van Leyden; Jacques Callot, 1592–1635.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn's sister Jane, who was still unmarried. V gives the painter as Haunce, i.e. Louis van der Bruggen, c. 1615–58, called Hans: Thieme, *Lexikon*. No works by him are known. He danced in the *Ballet des Festes de Bacchus*, which Evelyn saw on 11 May 1651: notice below.

<sup>3</sup> A list of important *hôtels*, including all these, is given by

Varenes, p. 188. For their identification see d'Aucourt, *Les anciens hôtels de Paris*, 1880.

<sup>4</sup> Now the Palais-Royal. It was begun by Richelieu c. 1624 and completed in 1639; in 1636 Richelieu gave it to Louis XIII, retaining his right to occupy it during his life and certain privileges for his successors; he confirmed the donation in his will (1642), but made no conditions about its name. Anne of Austria

(on condition to be cald by his name) & where during my aboad the King resided because of the building of the Louvre, I often went to; it is a very noble house, though somewhat low; The Gallerys, paintings there of the most illustrious Persons of both Sexes, the Queenes Bathes, Presence (in which the rich carved and gilded rooffe) Theater, & large Garden, in which is an ample Fountaine, Grove, & Maille;<sup>1</sup> are worthy of remarke:

Here I also frequently went to see them ride & exercise the Greate-horse; especialy at the Academy of Monsieur du Plessis, & de Veaus; which are particular Scholes of that Art frequented by the Nobility; & where besides the riding of the Greate horse Young-Gentlemen are taught to Fence, daunce, play on Musique & some skill in Fortification & the Mathe-matics: and truely the designe is admirable & very worthy; some of them being at the Charge of keeping neere an hundred brave horse, all of them manag'd to the greate saddle.<sup>2</sup>

first occupied it in October 1643, changing the name to Palais-Royal and removing Richelieu's inscription on the door, Palais-Cardinal; at the instance of Richelieu's niece, the duchess of Aiguillon, she restored the earlier name, but later, to avoid any scandalous association of it with Cardinal Mazarin, changed the name again. The building has been frequently altered and scarcely anything of Richelieu's work survives; the interior was burnt out in 1871; the garden has also been altered. Illustrated history by V. Champier and G.-R. Sandoz, *Le Palais-Royal*, 1900 (see especially i. 38-9, 107-8); description of the palace in Evelyn's time in Sauval, ii. 158-72. The portraits were in the Galerie des Hommes illustres and represented French statesmen from Suger to Richelieu and the last two kings and their queens: below, 18 Nov. 1649.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's variant for a mall, in which pall-mall is played. The French word is *mail*, and the form

mail also occurs in English: *O.E.D.*

<sup>2</sup> There appears to be no work on these academies. Their aim was to produce the cultivated man of the world; in accordance with seventeenth-century ideas the accomplishments taught were mainly military; they correspond to our finishing schools. Evelyn was interested in Salomon Foubert's attempt to establish an academy in London: below, 17 Sept. 1681. See Clare Howard, *English travellers of the Renaissance*, 1914, pp. 121-30; and further I. Dumont de Bostaquet, *Mém.*, ed. Read and Waddington, 1864, pp. 6-8, with the extracts from Sauval (ii. 498) quoted there; T. Platter, in *Soc. de l'hist. de Paris, Mém.* xxiii (1896), 192; Sincerus p. 32; Varennes, translating Sincerus, p. 18. Several academies are shown on Gomboust's plan of Paris; de Veau's was probably one not bearing a name in the rue des Esgousts, near St. Germain-des-Prés: see Brackenhoffer, *Voyage de Paris*, p. 5. The academy which

On the 12th I tooke Coach to see a generall Muster<sup>1</sup> of all the Gens d'Armes about the Citty, before their Majesties and all the Grandees in the Bois de Boulogna neere Paris: They were reputed to be neere 20000 souldiers; besides spectators, who certainly much exceeded them in number: And here they performed all their motions, and being drawne up horse & foote into severall figures, represented a battell and fell to fighting in jeast, but did it so artificialy, as they had been reall Enemys, & in Earnest:

The Summer now drawing neere, and determining to spend the rest of it in some more remote Towne upon the river of Loyer; On the 19 of Aprill I tooke leave of Paris, and by the way of the Messenger<sup>2</sup> agreed for my Passage to Orleans:

The Way from Paris to this City (as indeede most of the roades of France) is paved with a small square free-stone; so that the Country dos not much molest the Travelor with dirt and ill way as ours in England dos; onely 'tis somewhat hard to the poore horses feete which causes them to ride more temperately, seldome going out of the trot, or *grand pas*, as they call it:<sup>3</sup>

We passed by divers Wall'd Townes or Villages as the manner is frequently to secure them: Amongst others of note Chartres<sup>4</sup> & Estampes<sup>5</sup> where we lay the first night: This has a faire Church: The next day we had excellent Way; but had like to come short home; for no sooner were we entred two or three leagues into the Forest of Orleans (which extends it selfe for many miles) after dinner; but the Company behind us,

---

Sir Balthasar Gerbier (*D.N.B.*) tried to establish in London about 1648 was more a boys' school: see his advertisements and rules appended to his petition, *To the Right Honourable the Parliament*.

<sup>1</sup> A review of the guards was held in the Bois on 13 April, in the presence of the king, the queen, and many of the nobility: O. Lefèvre d'Ormesson, *Journal*, ed. A. Chéruef, 1860-1, i. 168-9. A similar review of the Swiss was held on 22 April: *ibid.*, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 83 n. Bracken-hoffer gives the cost of this journey as 11 francs: *Voyage en France*, p. 216.

<sup>3</sup> 'Le chemin de Paris à Orleans est pavé la plus grand part': Varennes, p. 20; see also Gölnitz, who writes of riding on grassy paths: p. 220.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn's error for Chastres: Varennes, p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Étampes: *ibid.* The church was Notre-Dame.

were set on by Rogues who shooting from the hedges and frequent Covert, slew fowre upon the spot, the rest flying: Amongst the slayne was a Captaine of Swisses of the Regiment of Picardy, a person much lamented: This disaster made such an Alarme<sup>a</sup> in Orleans at our arival; that the Prevost-Martial with his assistants going in pursuite, brought in two whom they had shot, and exposed them in the greate Market-place, to see if any would take cognizance of them. I have greate Cause to give God thankes for this Escape; this happend on

Apr: 20 when comming to Orleans, and lying at the White-Crosse<sup>1</sup> (where I found Mr. John Nicholas,<sup>2</sup> eldest sonne to Mr. Secretary) there kitten'd a Cat on my bed, which left on it a Young one having 6 Eares, eight leggs, two bodys from the navil downewards, & two tayles: which strange Monster, I found dead; but warme by me in the Morning when I awaked. The 21 I went about to view the Citty,<sup>3</sup> which is very well built of stone, upon the side of the Loyre; about the middle of the river is a very prety Iland full of Walkes, & faire Trees with some houses; this is contiguous to the Towne by a stately bridge<sup>4</sup> of stone, reaching to the opposite suburbs, built likewise upon the edge of an hill from whenc is a

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *Allarme*.

<sup>1</sup> The best inn was the Three Emperors, 'but people usually goe to the white Crosse to Monsieur Richard's': Mauger, *True advancement of the French tongue*, pp. 150-1.

<sup>2</sup> c. 1623-1705; acted as secretary to his father while the latter was abroad; one of the Clerks of the Council from July 1660 until his death; K.B. 1661; M.P. for Ripon 1661 (he was returned also for West Looe and Wilton); for Wilton 1680, 1681, 1685; Manning and Bray, iii. 43; &c. His father is Edward Nicholas, 1593-1669; knighted 1641; secretary of state 1641-9, 1654-62; *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> In his account of Orleans Evelyn follows Varennes, pp. 22-7, but gives

some additional matter. On account of the importance of its university to German students Gölnitz gives a long account of it, mainly relating to their privileges: pp. 222-55. Sincerus is also fairly full: pp. 42-55. The most important modern works are: L. de Buzonnière, *Hist. architecturale de la ville d'Orléans*, 1845, and J. E. Bimbenet, *Hist. de la ville d'Orléans*, 1884-8; see also G. Rigault, *Orléans* ('Les Villes d'Art célèbres').

<sup>4</sup> The description of the island and the bridge from Varennes, p. 22. The medieval bridge was injured beyond repair in 1746; the present bridge was built 1751-60.

beautifull prospect: At one of the extreames of the bridge are strong toures; and about the middle neere one side, the statue of the Virgin Mary, or Pieta, with a Christo Morto in her lap, as big as the life; At one side of the Crosse kneeles Charles the viith arm'd, and at the other Jane d'Arc the famous Pucele arm'd also like a Cavalier with boots & spurrs, her hayre dischevel'd as the Virago who deliver'd the Towne from our Countrymen, what time they beseig'd it:<sup>1</sup> The valiant Creature being afterward burnt at Rouen for a Witch. The figures are all cast in Copper with a Pedistall full of Inscriptions, as well as a faire Columne joyning to it, which is all adornd with flowre de lyces & a Crucifix, with two saints, proceeding as it were from two branches out of its Capital:<sup>2</sup> The Inscriptions upon the Crosse are in Latine.

Mors Christi in Cruce nos a Contagione labis, et æternorum morborum sanavit Clodoicus.

On the Pedistal of the Pucel.

Rex in hoc signo hostes profligavit, et Johanna Virgo Aureliam obsidio liberavit.

Non diu ab impijs diruta restituta sunt, hoc anno domini 1578: Jean Buret: m.f.

Octannoque Galliam servitute Britannica liberavit A Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris, in quorum memoria hæc nostræ fidei Insignia.<sup>3</sup>

To this is made an annual procession, with a Masse sung before it on the 12 of May, with infinite Ceremony & Concourse of people:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From Varennes, p. 26. The monument, erected in 1458, originally consisted of a crucifix, with the Virgin weeping at the foot of the cross and Charles VII and Joan kneeling on either side. It was damaged by the Huguenots in 1567 and restored in the form here described. It was removed in 1745, re-erected elsewhere in 1776, and destroyed in 1792: de Buzonnière, ii. 154-67; engraving by L. Gautier figured in Rigault, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot identify the column, crucifix, &c.; they may derive from some account which Evelyn read of the monument in its original condition.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn gives the inscription very incorrectly. Better versions in Gölnitz, pp. 253-4, and Bimbenet, v. 710.

<sup>4</sup> From Varennes, p. 27. The festival took place on 8 May; Varennes was led into error by Sincerus.

The Wine of this Place is so grosse & strong that the Kings Cup-bearers are (as I was assur'd) sworne never to give the King any of it: But it is else a very noble liquor, & much of it transported into other Countrys:<sup>1</sup>

The Language<sup>2</sup> for being here spoken in greate purity, as well for divers other Priveleges, & the University, makes the Towne to be much frequented by strangers, especialy Germans;<sup>3</sup> which<sup>a</sup> causes the English to make no long sojourn here; but such as can drinke & debauch:

The Citty<sup>4</sup> stands in the County of Beaulse, was once styld a Kingdome, afterwards a Dutchy, as at present, & belongs to the 2d sonne of France: Many Councils have been celebrated here, and some Kings Crown'd. The University<sup>5</sup> is very antient: divided now by the students into that of 4 Nations French, High-dutch, Normans and Picardins who have each their respective protectors, severall Officers, Treasurers, Consuls, Seal'es &c. There are in it two reasonable faire Libraries publique: whenc one may borrow a booke to on(e)s Chamber, giving but a note under hand,<sup>6</sup> which is a costome extraordinary, & a confidence that has cost many Liberarys deare. The first Church I went to visite was that of St. Croix:<sup>7</sup> It has been a stately fabric but now much ruind by the late Civil Warrs: They report the towre of it, to have beene the highest in France: There is the beginning of a

---

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *makes* deleted.

---

<sup>1</sup> In part from Varennes, p. 23. The cup-bearer's oath is original; it is also mentioned by Gölnitz, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Varennes, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 21. For the privileges and status of the Germans in the university see Gölnitz, pp. 225-52.

<sup>4</sup> The statements relating to the city are translated or summarized from Varennes, pp. 22, 23-4. La Beauce was a province, not a county. Orleans was capital of a separate kingdom at various times between 511 and 613. I cannot trace any

coronations here since that period. Seven councils were held here between 511 and 1022.

<sup>5</sup> The account of the university is derived from *ibid.*, pp. 24-5.

<sup>6</sup> Varennes states that the librarians are to take 'assurance' from those who borrow books.

<sup>7</sup> From *ibid.*, p. 25. The church was ruined in 1568; for its rebuilding see G. Chenesseau, *Sainte-Croix d'Orléans*, 1921. The choir was now completed; for the state of the nave and transepts in October 1643 see Chenesseau, i. 105-6.

faire reparation: about this Cathedrall is a very Spacious Cymeterie.<sup>1</sup>

The Towne hous<sup>2</sup> is also very nobly built, with an high towre to it: The Streetes,<sup>3</sup> Market-place (some whereof are deliciously planted with Limes) are both ample & very strait; so exquisitely paved with a kind of pibble, that I have not seene a neater Towne in France: In fine, this City was by Francis the first esteemed the most agreable of his vast dominions:<sup>4</sup>

On the 28, taking Boate on the Loir, I went towards Blois; the passage & River, being both very divertissant: Thus we went by Mehun, and Baugency where we din'd: Thence to a little Towne call'd St. Dieu where we repos'd that night.<sup>5</sup> Thence quitting our Barke we hired horses to carry us to Blois by the Way of Chambourg,<sup>6</sup> a famous house of the Kings built in the middle of a solitary Parke by Fran: I: the Enclosure is a Wall, and full of deere: That which made me desirous of seeing this Palace was the extravagance of the designe, especialy the Stayre-Case mention'd by the Architect Palladio: The⟨y⟩ report 1800 worke-men were employ'd in this fabrique together during the space of twelve yeares, which makes me wonder it was not finish'd, it being no greater than divers Gentlemens houses in England; both for rome and circuit. The Carvings are indeede very rich & full: The

<sup>1</sup> From Varennes, p. 26. Some fragments remain: Jollois, *Antiquités du grand cimetière d'Orléans*, 1831, with plates; Rigault, pp. 42–5.

<sup>2</sup> Varennes, p. 26. The tower is fifteenth century, the town hall early sixteenth century; the latter was sold in 1790 and now contains a museum: Rigault, pp. 58–66.

<sup>3</sup> The account of the streets, &c., is from Varennes, p. 26. Evelyn notes that the trees are limes, Varennes not specifying the kind of trees.

<sup>4</sup> From *ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> For this journey see *ibid.*, p. 49, where the names of the towns

are given as in the text. They are Meung, Baugency, and St. Dyé.

<sup>6</sup> So *ibid.*, p. 50, from which parts of the description of the château are taken, especially the statistics. Chambord. The building was begun in 1519 and the donjon was practically completed by Francis I, but work continued until 1571. The external additions made subsequently to Evelyn's visit have been removed; most of the interior has been renewed. See H. Guerlin, *Le Château de Chambord*, [c. 1912], and Félibien as cited below.



Stayre Case<sup>1</sup> is devis'd with 4 Entries, or ascents, which thwart one another so, that though 4 severall persons meete, yet they never come in sight, but by the small loope holes, till they land: It consists of 274 stepps as I remember, & is indeede a worke very extraordinary; but of far greater expense, than use or beauty: The Chimnys of the house appeare like so many Towres: About the whole is a large deepe moate; The Country about it full of Corne & Wine, with many faire noblemens houses.

Being ariv'd at Blois this Evening, on the 30th of April which was the morrow I went to view the Towne,<sup>2</sup> which is both very hilly, uneven and rag(g)ed.

The situation is on the side of the Loire, having suburbs joynd by a stately bridg of stone, upon which is a Pyramid with an Inscription<sup>3</sup> I could not read as I passed:

The Castle<sup>4</sup> has at the Entery Lewes the 12 on horseback in

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn follows the description in A. Palladio, *I quattro libri dell' architettura*, 1570, i. 64, but he adds his own error, 'though 4 severall persons meete': it should be, use the staircase. But Palladio's description is wrong: the staircase consists of two spiral ascents within the same well; they start at diametrically opposite points and ascend in the same direction and with the same incline, so that any step in the one ascent will always be diametrically opposite the same step in the other; accordingly persons on the two ascents cannot meet; they can see one another, however, through openings in the central newel. Palladio's error is pointed out by A. Félibien, *Mémoires... des maisons royales et bastimens de France*, written in 1681, edited by A. de M[ontaignon], 1874, p. 41; the passage from Palladio is quoted and discussed in the notes, pp. 96–9; this is the most important account of the planning of the staircase.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn's account of Blois is in part taken from Varennes, pp. 51–3,

in part original. There is a good account of the town, but also in part dependent on the guide-books, in Brackenhoffer, *Voyage en France*, pp. 173–88.

<sup>3</sup> From Varennes, p. 51. The pyramid commemorated the rebuilding of the bridge in 1593; the inscription is given by Gölnitz, pp. 260–1. This bridge was destroyed by ice in 1716: F. Bournon, *Blois, &c.*, 1908 ('Les Villes d'Art célèbres'), p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> After Evelyn's time some additions may have been made to the château (see note below), but in general it was much neglected and has since been restored: Félibien, *Mém.*, as above, with de Montaignon's notes; the drawings made for Félibien, published by F. and P. Lesueur, 1911; F. and P. Lesueur, *Le Château de Blois*, 1914/21; for Gaston's wing A. Blunt, *François Mansart*, 1941, pp. 48–53, 62–74; for the gardens an article by P. Lesueur, Soc. des sciences et lettres de Loir-et-Cher, *Mém.* xviii (1904–6), 223–438.

stone as big as the life,<sup>1</sup> under a Gothic State, & a little below these Words.

Hic ubi natus erat dextro Lodovicus Olympo  
 Sumpsit honorata regia Sceptra manu ;  
 Fælix quæ tanti fulsit lux nuntia Regis ;<sup>a</sup>  
 (Gallia)<sup>b</sup> non alio Principe digna fuit.<sup>2</sup>

Under this a very wide payre of Gates nailed full of Wolves heads & Wild Boares:<sup>3</sup> Behind the Castle the Present Duke Gastion had begun a faire building,<sup>4</sup> through which we walked into a large Garden,<sup>5</sup> esteemed for its furniture one of the rarest in Europ, especially for simples and exotic plants, in which he takes extraordinary delight: On the right hand is a longe Gallery<sup>6</sup> full of antient Statues & Incriptions both of Marble and Brasse:<sup>7</sup> The length of it being 300 paces, divides the Garden into higher & lower ground: having a very nob(1)e fontaine:<sup>8</sup> There is likewise the Portraiteure of an Hart taken in the forest by Lewes the 12th which has 24 Antlers on its head.<sup>9</sup> Henc we went to the Collegiat Church of

<sup>a</sup> Semicolon supplied.

<sup>b</sup> MS. *Gallica*.

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned by Varennes, p. 51. It was destroyed in 1792 and has been replaced by a modern work. A state here is a canopy: *O.E.D.*, s.v. State, *sb.* 20 b.

<sup>2</sup> The text is given by Sincerus, ed. 1616, p. 104; Evelyn may have found it there or elsewhere, or have copied it direct. The inscription has since disappeared; it was written by Publio Fausto Andrelini, for whom see *Encic. italiana*.

<sup>3</sup> Lesueur accepts this statement: article on the gardens, p. 266. The gates of the Grande Chartreuse were similarly decorated with bears' heads: Gölnitz, p. 411; Symonds notes boars' heads nailed to the gate of a house at Abbeville: in Mundy, *Travels*, i. 221.

<sup>4</sup> From Varennes, p. 51. For Gaston, duke of Orleans, see above, p. 128 n.; the wing seen by Evelyn

was built in 1635–8 by François Mansart (1598–1666); some further work on it was possibly carried out between 1652 and 1660: Blunt, p. 74; but Gaston left the wing as a masonry shell. An unfinished pavilion was demolished in 1815.

<sup>5</sup> The whole account of the gardens from Varennes, pp. 51–2. They fell into decay in the eighteenth century and have since almost completely disappeared.

<sup>6</sup> It was built by Henri IV: see Lesueur, article on the gardens, pp. 331–5.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 348.

<sup>8</sup> It was built by Louis XII: *ibid.*, pp. 258–60, with illustration of its remains.

<sup>9</sup> 'La graveure d'un cerf, pris du temps de Louys 12. & ayant une corne à 24. rameaux.' For its history see *ibid.*, pp. 269–72.

St. Saviours, where we saw many Sepulchers of the Earles of Blois.<sup>1</sup>

On Sunday, being May-day<sup>2</sup> we walked up into the Pall-mall,<sup>3</sup> which is very long and so nobly shaded with tall trees (being in the middst of a greate Wood) as, unlesse that of Tours, I had not seene a statlier: from hence we proceeded, with a friend of mine through the adjoyning Forest to see if we could meete any Wolves, which are here in such numbers, that they often come and take the Children out of the very Streetes;<sup>4</sup> for all which, will not the Duke (who is Souvraigne here) permitt them to be destroy'd: Thus we walked 5 or 6 miles out right, but met with none. Yet a Gentleman, who was resting himselfe under a tree, with his horse grazing by him; told us that halfe an houre before two Wolves had set upon his horse, and<sup>a</sup> had in probability devour'd him but for a dog which lay by him that frighted them: At a little Village at the end of this Wood we eate excellent Creame;<sup>5</sup> and visited a Castle which was there builded on a very steepe Cliff: so we return'd:

Bloys is a towne where the Language is exactly spoken, the Inhabitans very courteous, the [ayre]<sup>b</sup> so good that it is for that cause the ordinary nursery of the Kings Children; & the People so ingenious, that for Goldsmiths Worke, & Watches no place in France affords the like: The Pastures about the river are very rich and pleasant.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *had*.    <sup>b</sup> Interlined apparently later.

<sup>1</sup> From Varennes, p. 52. It was in the forecourt, the modern place du Château, and was destroyed during the Revolution: Lesueur, *Château de Blois*, pp. 37–41.

<sup>2</sup> It was also this year the old-style Easter Day (21 April/1 May).

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn had not yet seen the mall at Tours; that at Blois is not mentioned by Varennes; for it see Brackenoffer, pp. 178–9. Evelyn's sentence appears to be modelled on Varennes's account of the Jeu de paume: 'Estimé le plus grand de

toute la France, si celui de S. Germain en Laye ne luy est comparable': p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> Reresby, here in 1654, makes the same statement: *Mem. and travels*, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably at St. Gervais: see Varennes, p. 53. Brackenoffer gives a good account of the cream, which was already being sent to Paris: pp. 187–8; it is the *petit-gervais* of to-day.

<sup>6</sup> These statements are all taken from Varennes, pp. 52, 53. For the

Tuesday the 2d of May,<sup>1</sup> we tooke boate againe, passing by Charmont,<sup>2</sup> a prow'd Castle on the left hand; before it a sweete Iland, deliciously shaded with tall trees: A little distance from hence, at Ambois,<sup>3</sup> we went on shore; this is a very agreable Village, built of stone, and cover'd with blew Slate (as all the Townes generally are upon the Loyre) but the Castle<sup>4</sup> was that which chiefly invited us, the thicknesse of whose towres from the River to the top being admirable: We enterd by the draw-bridg, which has an invention to let one fall unhappily if not præmonished: It is full of halls, & spacious Chambers, and one Stayre Case large enough and sufficiently commodious to receive a Coach and land it on the very towre, as they told us it had been don: There is some artillery in it, but that which is most prodigious & observable is in that antient Chapell a staggs head,<sup>5</sup> or branches hung up

watchmakers see E. Develle, *Les Horlogers blésois*, 1917.

<sup>1</sup> 2 May 1644, N.S., fell on a Monday.

<sup>2</sup> 'Chaumont à main gauche, chateau relevé & superbe': Varennes, pp. 54-5. See A. Félibien, *Mém.*, pp. 51-9.

Evelyn now enters Touraine. M. Marteau, *Le Paradis délicieux de la Touraine*, pt. i, 1660, is a panegyric of little value. The most important of the travellers is Léon Godefroy, who was here in 1638; his account is published in Soc. archéologique de Touraine, *Mém.* iv (1855), 175-209 (here cited as 'Godefroy'). The most important modern work is J.-X. Carré de Busserolle, *Dictionnaire géographique, hist. et biographique, d'Indre-et-Loire et de l'ancienne province de Touraine*, 1878-84 (same society, *Mém.*, vols. xxvii-xxxii); the articles in it have good bibliographies.

<sup>3</sup> Varennes, p. 55. Amboise. Evelyn's details about the houses are original. For the French delight

in slate see Blunt, *François Mansart*, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> 'Il faut visiter son chateau tres fort, ses tours espaises, eslevées depuis le bord du Loire, jusques au sommet de la montagne': Varennes, p. 55; the notice of the lodgings and the arsenal also comes from Varennes. For the château see [L.-A. Bossebœuf], *La Touraine hist. et monumentale: Amboise*, 1897 (Soc. archéol. de Touraine, 4to ser.); an account of it about 1646 is given there, pp. 198-202.

<sup>5</sup> In part from Varennes, p. 55, who writes: 'On ne sçait si elle est naturelle ou faite avec artifice.' It was seven feet long; it hung originally in Notre-Dame-Saint-Florentin-du-Château (demolished c. 1791); it fell to pieces in 1870-1 when a Prussian soldier was trying to carry it away, being made of wood: Bossebœuf, pp. 102-4; Sir T. A. Cook, *Old Touraine*, 1920, ii. 87-8. For the other bones see *Hist. MSS. Comm., Ancaster MSS.*, p. 420; Reresby, *Mem. and travels*, p. 23.

in chaynes, consisting of 20 brow antlers, the beame<sup>1</sup> bigger than a mans middle, and of an incredible length: Indeede it is monstrous, and I cannot conceive how it should be artificial: they shew also the ribbs and Vertebras of the same beast; which might haply be made counterfeit of Whalebone. Leaving the Castle, we pass'd Mont Louis,<sup>2</sup> a Village having never an house above-ground; but such onely as are hewn out of the maine rocks of excellent free-stone; here & there the funnell of a Chimny appearing through the Surface amongst the Vineyards which are over them; and in this manner they inhabite the Caves, as it were sea-Cliffs, one side of the river for many miles together: And now we come within sight of Tours whither we were design'd for the rest of the tyme I resolv'd to spend in France, the sejourne being so absolutely agreeable:

Tours<sup>3</sup> is situat on the easy<sup>4</sup> side of an hill on the river of Loyre, having a faire bridg of stone cald St. Edme:<sup>5</sup> the Streetes very long, strait, spacious, well built, & exceeding cleane: The Suburbs very greate and pleasant, joynd to the Citty by another bridg: On the 5, we were carry'd about the Towne to see severall places; especialy St. Martins<sup>6</sup> both Church and Monastery, which is a vast piece of Gothic building, having 4 Square toures, faire Organs, a stately Altar, where they shew strangers the bones & ashes of St. Martine,<sup>7</sup> with

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the main trunk.

<sup>2</sup> The notice is expanded from Varennes, pp. 55-6. Gölnitz was shocked at the wretchedness of these cave-dwellings: p. 264. There are still many in use in France, especially about Trôo in the valley of the Loir: A. Blanchet, *Les souterrains-refuges de la France*, 1923, pp. 122-3, 212.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn's account is in part taken from Varennes, pp. 56-8. The best modern general work is E. Giraudet, *Hist. de la ville de Tours*, 1873; for bibliography see P. Vitry, *Tours* ('Les Villes d'Art célèbres').

<sup>4</sup> Tours is situated on the level ground between the Loire and the Cher; the ground rises on the farther

(north) bank of the Loire. In V Evelyn substitutes 'east' for easy. Varennes, whose account of the site is bad, says: 'La riviere de Loire . . . est au Levant.'

<sup>5</sup> Varennes, p. 56. It was about 600 yards east of the present bridge; it was removed in 1784 after the construction of the latter (1765-79): Giraudet, ii. 310-11. The name St. Edme seems to be peculiar to Varennes and writers deriving from him.

<sup>6</sup> From Varennes, pp. 56-7. It was destroyed in 1793-6; only two towers survive: C. (Loizeau) de Grandmaison, *Tours archéologique*, 1879, pp. 45-58.

<sup>7</sup> c. 316-c. 397.

other reliques. From hence we walk'd to the Mall,<sup>1</sup> which is without comparison the noblest for length, & shade the best in Europ, having 7 rowes of the tallest & goodliest Elmes I had ever beheld, the innermost of which do so embrace each other, & at such a prodigious height, as nothing can be more solemn & majestic: Here we play'd a party or two, and then walked about the Towne Walles,<sup>2</sup> which are built of square stone fill'd with Earth, & having a moate; no Citty in France exceeding it in beauty or delight. On the

6t we went to St. Gratian,<sup>3</sup> reported to have bene built by our Country-men: The dyal and Clock-worke<sup>4</sup> is much esteem'd: The Church has two handsom towres & spires of stone, & the whole fabric is very noble & venerable; To this joynes the Palace of the Arch-bishop,<sup>5</sup> consisting both of old, and new building: with many faire romes in it, & a faire Garden to it: Here I grew acquainted with one Monsieur Mercy,<sup>6</sup> a very good Musitian: The Archbish:<sup>7</sup> also treated me very Courteously: Hence we went to Visite divers other Churches, Chapells & Monasteries for the greatest part neatly built, & full of pretty Payntings, especialy the Covent of the Capucins<sup>8</sup> which has a prospect over the whole Citty, & many faire Walkes in Cascade:

On the 8th, I went to see their Manufactures in silke<sup>9</sup> (for in

---

<sup>a</sup> Or *Merey*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Varennes, p. 57, where its length is given as a thousand paces.

<sup>2</sup> See (Loizeau) de Grandmaison, pp. 214–16.

<sup>3</sup> From Varennes, p. 56, including this spelling of its name. St. Gatianus, d. 301, was the first bishop of Tours: *Nouvelle biog. gén.* The present church was begun in 1170: Giraudet, i. 119; at that time Touraine belonged to Henry II of England. <sup>4</sup> Cf. Godefroy, p. 179.

<sup>5</sup> Built 1626: *ibid.*, pp. 179–80.

<sup>6</sup> If the reading *Merey* is correct, perhaps a member of the family of Brossin, lords of Méré.

<sup>7</sup> Victor le Bouthillier, 1597–1670; archbishop of Tours from

3811.2

1641: Carré de Busserolle.

<sup>8</sup> Varennes, p. 59; the account of the garden is original. It was on the north bank of the Loire. See Godefroy, p. 184; for the foundation and first construction of the building, Giraudet, ii. 102–8.

<sup>9</sup> 'Les manufactures de soye & le lanifice ont grand lieu en cette ville cy, ce qui luy cause un bon negoce de draps de toutes sortes. Les soyes y sont teintes par excellence': Varennes, p. 58. Godefroy describes the making of tabbies: pp. 185–6. Chamblett is camlet, here perhaps a fine textile made of silk and wool; to water here is to produce a moiré finish.

L

this Towne they drive a very considerable trade with Silk-Wormes) their pressing & wateri(n)g<sup>a</sup> the Grograns & Chambletts: with weights of an extraordinary poyse put into a rolling Engine.

Here I tooke a Master of the Language, and studyed the tongue very dilligently; recreating my selfe sometimes at the Maill, & sometymes about the Towne.

The house just over against the place I lay at had been formerly a Palace of the Kings,<sup>1</sup> ha(v)ing the outside totaly coverd with innumerable flore de lyes, emboss'd out of the stone: here Mary de Medices had her Court when she was compell'd to retyre from Paris by the Persecution of the greate Cardinal.<sup>2</sup>

It was on the 21 I receiv'd the newes of the sicknesse and death of my Sister in Law, Wife to my Bro: Geo: Evelyn.<sup>3</sup>

On the 25 was the Fest Dieu,<sup>4</sup> and a goodly Procession of all the Religious Orders, the whole streetes hung with their best Tappissrys, and most precious moveables expos'd, silkes, Damasks, Velvets, Plate & Pictures in abundance, the Streets strew'd with flowres, and full of pageantry, banners & bravery:

On the June the 6t I went forth to visite that goodly & venerable Abby of Marmoustier,<sup>5</sup> by water; it being one of

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *making*.

<sup>1</sup> Identifiable as the Hôtel de la Bourdaisière, built as a private house 1525-42, bought by the town in 1630, sold in 1820, and since almost entirely destroyed: Giraudet, ii. 76, 152, 360. It was in the Grande rue (rue Colbert) facing the place Foire-le-Roy and was frequently occupied by the French kings when visiting Tours.

<sup>2</sup> Marie de Médicis stayed in this house at the time of her reconciliation with Louis XIII in September 1619: Soc. arch. de Touraine, *Mém.* xvii (1865), 124-5; and again in 1621: *ibid.* xxvi (1877), 89. She was apparently again in Tours in 1627: Giraudet, ii. 154; but where she

stayed is not given. So far her relations with Richelieu had not been hostile; it was not until 1631 that her conduct towards him drove her from Paris; then, after living under supervision at Compiègne for five months, she fled to the Spanish Netherlands and never returned to France.

<sup>3</sup> Mary, *née* Caldwell: above, p. 24. She died or was buried on 5 May, o.s.: *Parish registers . . . Wotton*, p. 197. She left a son George: above, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> Corpus Christi; it fell in 1644 on 26 May.

<sup>5</sup> From Varennes, p. 58, except the passage relating to the tun. The

the greatest, & principall in the Kingdome: To it is a very ample Church of Stone; with a very high Pyramid: Here amongst other reliques the Monkes shew'd us the holy Ampoule,<sup>1</sup> the same with that which sacres their Kings at Rhemes, this being that which anoynted Hen: 4th. Hence ascending many stepps we went into the Abbots Palac, where we were shew'd a monstrous vast Tunn<sup>2</sup> (as big as that at Heidelberg) which they report St. Martine (as I remember) did fill with one cluster of Grapes growing there.

The next day we walked about 2 miles from the Citty to an extraordinary agreeable solitude Calld Du Plessis,<sup>3</sup> The house belongs to the King, & has many pretty Gardens, the fullest of Nightingalls that ever I saw: In the Chapell lyes buried the famous Poet Ronsard:<sup>4</sup> Returning, we stepp'd into a Covent of Franciscans calld St. Cosme,<sup>5</sup> where the Cloyster is painted with the miracles of their St. Francis à Paula, whose ashes lye in their Chapell with this Inscription:

Corpus Sancti Fran: à Paula 1507. 13° Aprilis, concrematur vero ab Hæreticis, Anno 1562. cujus quidem Ossa et cineres hic jacent. The Tomb has 4 small Pyramids of Marble at each Corner:<sup>6</sup>

---

monastery was founded by St. Martin in 372 and was suppressed in 1792; the gate and a few fragments survive. For its history see E. Martène, work published by Soc. arch. de Touraine, *Mém.*, vols. xxiv, xxv, 1874-5.

<sup>1</sup> It was associated with St. Martin and was used for the consecration of Henri IV at Chartres on 27 Feb. 1594: Martène, i. 37; ii. 401-6.

<sup>2</sup> It was apparently used for the storage of the wine from the abbey's vineyards: Brackenhoffer, *Voyage en France*, p. 203, with Gölnitz, p. 268. Reresby gives a different version of the miracle: *Mem. and travels*, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Varennes, p. 58. Plessis-lez-Tours. Evelyn's account is mainly original. It was already neglected

when Godefroy saw it in 1638: p. 188. It was sold and destroyed during the Revolution.

<sup>4</sup> Ronsard was buried in the Augustinian priory of St. Côme near Plessis, having been prior from 1564 to 1585.

<sup>5</sup> The convent was dedicated to Jesus-Maria and was situated to the south of the priory of St. Côme. It belonged to the Minims, a reformed branch of the Franciscan order. It was founded by St. Francis of Paola in 1489 and was suppressed in 1791; most of its buildings have disappeared. For its history see Soc. arch. de Touraine, *Mém.* xxiii (1873), 123-40; see also Godefroy, pp. 188-90.

<sup>6</sup> There is a drawing of it in the Bodleian Library, MS. Gaignières 14, f. 210. The inscription as there



On the 9 June: I was invited abroad to a Vineyard, which was so artificialy planted, and supported with arched poles, that stooping downe one might see from end to end a very greate length, under the Vines, the bunches hanging downe in abundance:

On the 20th we tooke hors & rid to see certaine natural Caves, calld Goutiere,<sup>1</sup> neere Colombieres, where there is a Spring within the bowells of the Earth very deepe, so excessive cold, that the dropps, meeting with some lapidescent matter, converts them into an hard stone, which hangs about it like Isicles; having many others in the forme of Comfitures & suggar plumms as wee call them: Neere this we went under the ground, almost two furlongs, being lighted with candles, to view the source & spring which serves the whole City,<sup>2</sup> by a passage cutt through the maine rock of Free-stone.

On the 28, I went out of Towne to see the Palace & Gardens of Chevareux,<sup>3</sup> which is a sweete place:

The 30th I walked out on the Vinyards as fare as Roche Corbé,<sup>4</sup> to the ruines of an old & very strong (Castle)\* sayd to have ben built by the English: The height is excessive, & the precipice on a dreadfull Cliff, from whence the Country & River yeald a most incomparable Prospect.

27 July I heard excellent Musique at the Jesuites,<sup>5</sup> who have here a Schole and Convent; but a meane Chapell: We had now store of those admirable Melons so much celebrated in France for the best, of the whole Kingdome. But I was

---

\* MS. *Castles*.

---

given reads: 'Huic monumento datum fuit Corpus Sancti Francisci à Paula Anno 1507. 13<sup>a</sup> Aprilis, concrematum verò ab Hæreticis, Anno 1562. cujus quædam Ossa et cineres hic jacent.'

<sup>1</sup> Varennes, p. 59. They are near Savonnières, on the south bank of the Cher, about seven miles distant from Tours. Evelyn refers to them in his notes to his translation of Lucretius, bk. i, p. 130. See also Godefroy, pp. 190–1; Brackenhoffer,

*Voyage en France*, pp. 205–6.

<sup>2</sup> The spring of Limançon at St.-Avertin on the south bank of the Cher: J.-L. Chalmel, *Hist. de Touraine*, 1828, ii. 305–7. The 'two furlongs' is probably an exaggeration.

<sup>3</sup> No place of this name is traceable.

<sup>4</sup> Rochecorbon; the Lanterne de Rochecorbon still exists.

<sup>5</sup> The Jesuits were established in Tours in 1632: Giraudet, ii. 155–6.

about this tyme so exceedingly tormented with my gumms, by a new tooth which was growing, that I was faine to be lanced two or three times to give it passage, & aswage the paine:

Aug: 1: My Valet de Chambre, One Garro, a Spaynard, borne in Biscay, for some misdemeanors, I was forc'd to discharge; he demanded of me (besides his Wages) no lesse then 100 Crownes to cary him to his Country, which I refusing to pay, as no part of our agreement; he had the impudence to arest me, and serve me with a Processe: so the next day I was call'd on to appeare in full Court, where both our Advocats pleaded before the Lieutenant Civile: But it was so unreasonable a pretence, that the Judge had not patience to heare it out, but immediately acquitting me, was so civil, as after he had extreamely reproch'd the Advocate who tooke part with my servant,<sup>a</sup> he rose from the Bench, and making a courteous excuse to me, that being a stranger I should be so barbarously usd, conducted me through the Court to the very streete dore: This Varlet afterwards threaten'd to Pistol me.

The next day I waited on the Lieutenant to returne him thanks for his greate humanity:

On the 18 came the Queene of England<sup>1</sup> to Towers newly ariv'd in France, and taking this Citty in her way to Paris; she was very nobly receiv'd both by people and Cleargy, who went to meete her with all the Train'd bands: After the Harangue, the Archbish: entertaind her Majestie at his owne Palac, Where I did my duty to her: The 20th, she set forwards towards Paris.

Sep: 8: came two of my Kindsmen<sup>2</sup> from Paris to Towers, where I settled them in their Pension and exercises.

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *that* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> Henrietta Maria had sailed from Falmouth on 14 July, o.s. She was now on her way to Bourbon-l'Archambault (below, p. 155), not Paris. She arrived at Orleans on 23 August, n.s.: F. Le Maire, *Hist. . . . d'Orléans*, 1648, i. 296.

<sup>2</sup> Identifiable from the notice in

V as William, b. c. 1621, and Thomas Keightley, b. c. 1622, the sons of Evelyn's godmother (above, pp. 5, 80). Both brothers were admitted at Peterhouse in 1636: T. A. Walker, *Admissions to Peterhouse . . . 1615-1887*, 1912, p. 57; and Thomas at the Middle Temple on 19 Nov. 1641:

On the 14 we tooke post for Richlieu, passing by l'Isle Bouchart,<sup>1</sup> a Village in the way.

The 15 We ariv'd at the towne,<sup>2</sup> and went to se(e) the Cardinals Palace neere it: The Towne is built in a low marshy-ground, having a small river cutt by hand, very even & straitte, capable of bringing up a small Vessell: It consists of one onely considerable streete; the houses on both sides (as indeede they are throughout the Towne) built most exactly uniforme, after a modern handsome designe: I<t> has a large goodly Market-house and Place, opposite to which the Church built all of free-stone, having two pyramids of stone which stand hollow from the Towers: The church is well built, & of a well orderd Architecture, within handsomly pav'd & adorn'd: To this Towne belongs an Academy,<sup>3</sup> where besides the exercise of the Horse, Armes, Dauncing &c All the Siences are read in the Vulgar French; Professors stipendiated by the greate Cardinal, who by this, the Cheape living there, & divers Priveledges, not onely designd the improvement of the vulgar Language, but to draw People & strangers to the Towne: But sin(c)e the Cardinals death, it is thinly inhabited, it standing so much out of the way, & in a place not well situated either for health or pleasure: It being onely the Name of the Place, and an old house there standing, & belonging to his Ancestors, which allurd him to build:<sup>4</sup> This pretty Towne is also handsomly wall'd about, & moated,

*Middle Temple records, Minutes of parliament*, ii. 915. They are probably the two brothers 'Kytley' who visited the English Jesuits in Rome on 22 Jan. 1646; Thomas was there again on 11 April 1651: H. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, 1877-83, vi. 630, 644. Thomas was converted to Roman Catholicism and visited Evelyn in Paris on 21 June 1651: notices below. For the brothers' marriages, &c., see Walker, as above, and Clutterbuck, (*Hertfordshire*), ii. 202, 205.

<sup>1</sup> L'Île-Bouchard.

<sup>2</sup> Varennes, p. 68. Evelyn's

notice is original. Richelieu began to build the present town in 1631; it is well preserved but the château was demolished c. 1835. See L.-A. Bossebœuf, *Hist. de Richelieu*, 1890 (Soc. arch. de Touraine, *Mém.*, vol. xxxv); Bonnaffé, *Recherches sur les collections des Richelieu*, pp. 25-44, 103-21; L. Batiffol, *Autour de Richelieu*, 1937, pp. 143-205; description of the château in 1665 in Sir J. Lauder, *Journals*, pp. 25-9, 44-5.

<sup>3</sup> The academy was founded in 1640; it probably declined soon after Richelieu's death: Batiffol, pp. 201-4.

<sup>4</sup> Richelieu's father had begun to

with a kind of slight fortification, two fayre-Gates & draw-bridges: Before the Gate towards the Palace is a most spacious Circle where the faire is annually kept.

About a flite-shot off the towne on the left hand is the Cardinals house, being a most princely pile, though upon an old designe, not altogether gotique, but mix'd:<sup>1</sup> it has a cleare moate environing it. The roomes are stately, most richly furnishd, with Tissue, Damasque, Aras, Velvet: Pictures, Statues, Vases, & all sorts of Antiquities; especialy the Cæsars, all of Oriental Alabaster: The long Gallery is paynted with the famous Acts of the Founder;<sup>2</sup> the rooffe with the life of Julius Cæsar; at the end of it, is a Cupola or singing theater, supported with very stately pillars of black marble: The Court is very ample; and the Chapell, antiently belonging to his family: The Gardens without are very large & the Parterrrs of incomparable imbrodry, set with frequent statues both brasse, & Marble: The Groves, Meadows & severall excellent Walkes are a real Paradise: So on the 16th we returnd to Towers; from whence after 19 Weekes sejourne we went towards the more Southern parts of France minding now to shape my Course so as I might Winter in Italy:

September 16th<sup>3</sup> with my friend Mr. Thicknesse, and our

---

rebuild the château *c.* 1580; the cardinal's original intention was to continue this building; it was only after some years that he adopted a larger plan. One of the rooms preserved was reputed to have been the place of his birth; he was actually born in Paris: Batiffol, pp. 148-50, &c.

<sup>1</sup> The building was designed by Jacques Lemercier and was in the florid renaissance style of Louis XIII. Views by J. Marot, *Le magnifique chasteau de Richelieu*, *c.* 1650.

<sup>2</sup> Properly the victories of Louis XIII: Batiffol, pp. 181-3.

<sup>3</sup> This date is almost certainly wrong; it should probably be 20 September: Evelyn on his arrival at Lyons on 27 September remarks

that he has performed the journey from Tours in seven days: below, p. 156. The number was probably arrived at by subtraction, and in any case there appears to be an error in the sequence of places; but departure from Tours on 20 September makes possible a coherent journey.

The detour to Bourbon-l'Archaubault (below, p. 155) is obviously out of place. Bourbon lies very little out of the road from Franchesse to Saint-Menoux; to visit it after reaching Varennes would involve going back about twelve leagues over the same road. But if Evelyn visited Bourbon before Saint-Menoux he spent the night at one or other of the two places or at Moulins: this appears from his

guide,<sup>1</sup> we went the first day 7 leagues<sup>2</sup> to a Castle cal'd Chenonceaux<sup>3</sup> built by Cath: di Medices, and now belonging to the Duke of Vendosme;<sup>4</sup> it stands on a bridg: In the Gallery amongst divers other excellent statues, is that of Scipio Africanus of Oriental Alabaster: 21 We pass'd by Ville-Franche, where we din'd, & so by Muneton,<sup>5</sup> lying at Viaron,<sup>6</sup> au Mouton which was 20 leagues: The next day by Mung,<sup>7</sup> to Bourge<sup>8</sup> 4 leagues, where we spent the day: This towne is the Capital of Berry, an University, and much

having dined (midday) at both Moulins and Bourbon; he would also have required some time in both places for sightseeing, &c. But if he spent the night at one of these places, time does not permit his having spent nights at both Varennes and La Palisse; and as they lie only five leagues apart, there is no reason for his having done so, except that the day which he spent between them fell, according to his own timing, on a Sunday (25 September); that, however, need scarcely have impeded his movements. The most probable places for his spending the two nights are Saint-Menoux and Varennes.

In writing his account of the journey Evelyn probably used a road-book. Sir Theodore de Mayerne Turquet, *Sommaire descr. de la France*, 1591, and works copying it give the following itineraries (ed. Rouen, 1604, here cited): p. 138, Bourges to Tours; p. 137, Bourges to Moulins; pp. 131-2, Moulins to Lyons. The first of these (which does not include Villefranche) is in reverse order to Evelyn's journey, with the result that he placed Chenonceaux at seven leagues from Tours instead of four, and, probably to compensate, Vierzon at four leagues from Bourges instead of seven. Bourbon-l'Archambault does not appear in these itineraries. Distances between stages and the totals for the various itineraries

differ slightly from book to book; Evelyn's total for the whole journey, eighty-five leagues, is probably not more than a league or two out at most.

<sup>1</sup> Necessary for the cross-country journey as far as Moulins; why he was kept until Roanne (see below, p. 156) is not clear. How the travellers obtained horses is not stated.

<sup>2</sup> See note above.

<sup>3</sup> From Varennes, p. 55, except the gallery and the material of the statue. See C. Terrasse, *Le Château de Chenonceau*, 1928.

<sup>4</sup> César, duke of Vendôme, 1594-1665, son of Henri IV and Gabrielle d'Estrées: *Nouvelle biog. gén.* He owned Chenonceaux from 1601 to 1606 and from 1624 until his death.

<sup>5</sup> Now Mennetou; 'Menestou' in Mayerne Turquet.

<sup>6</sup> Now Vierzon; 'Viaron' in Sincerus, p. 60; 'Vierron' in Mayerne Turquet.

<sup>7</sup> Now Mehun; 'Meun' in Mayerne Turquet.

<sup>8</sup> Bourges; it is four leagues from Mehun and seven from Vierzon. Almost every statement is translated or summarized from Varennes, pp. 32-8. The most important modern works are: L. Raynal, *Hist. du Berry*, 1844-7; A. Buhot de Kersers, *Hist. et statistique monumentale du département du Cher*, vol. ii, 1883. See also G. Hardy and A. Gandilhon, *Bourges* ('Les Villes d'Art célèbres'), 1912.

frequented by the Dutch,<sup>1</sup> situated on the river Eure:<sup>2</sup> It stands high; strong & well placed for defence:<sup>3</sup> It is environ'd with Meadows, and excellent Vines, which makes living very cheape: In the Suburbs of St. Privé there is a fountayne of sharp Waters, which they report wholesome against the Stone:<sup>4</sup> They shew'd us also a vast tree, which they say stands just in the Center of France:<sup>5</sup> The French tongue is purely spoken in this place: We went to see St. Stephens Church which is the Cathedrall,<sup>6</sup> well built à la Gotic, full of sepulchres<sup>7</sup> withoutside; with the representation of the final Judgement over one of the Ports:<sup>8</sup> Here they shew the Chapel of Claud de la Chastre,<sup>9</sup> a famous Souldier who had serv'd six kings of France in their Warrs. Then we went to St. Chapell,<sup>10</sup> built much like at Paris, full of reliqu(e)s; and the bones of one Briat a Gyant of 15 Cubits-high:<sup>11</sup> This was built by Jo: Duke of Berry;<sup>12</sup> and there is shew'd the Coronet of the Dukedome.<sup>13</sup> The grosse Tour<sup>14</sup> is a Pharos for defence

<sup>1</sup> Bourges 'est descrite soigneusement aux voyages imprimez par les Allemands, ou autres Escrivains Estrangers, à cause du séjour qu'ils y font pour la beauté de la ville, & la reputation de son Université': Varennes, p. 32. See also Brackenhoffer, *Voyage en France*, p. 157; Gölnitz, p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> So Varennes, p. 32; now the Yèvre.

<sup>3</sup> It is on a hill surrounded by water meadows. This sentence and the next are summarized from Varennes, pp. 32-4.

<sup>4</sup> From *ibid.*, p. 34. Now known as the Fontaine de fer: Buhot de Kersers, ii. 295-6.

<sup>5</sup> From Varennes, p. 34. It was a lime and grew in front of the house of Jacques Cœur: Sincerus, p. 65; Brackenhoffer, p. 158.

<sup>6</sup> The whole notice from Varennes, pp. 34-5, except 'à la Gotic'.

<sup>7</sup> 'Elle est embellie de plusieurs sculptures en dehors.'

<sup>8</sup> A Gothic relief, still existing.

<sup>9</sup> Claude de La Châtre, *c.* 1540-

1614: *Nouvelle biog. gén.*; for the tomb see J. L. Romelot, *Descr. . . de l'église . . . métropolitaine de Bourges*, 1824, pp. 201-2.

<sup>10</sup> The whole notice from Varennes, p. 35, except 'full of reliques'. The chapel was wantonly destroyed in 1757. See A. de Champeaux and P. Gauchery, *Les travaux d'art exécutés pour Jean de France, duc de Berry*, 1894, pp. 24-9 and plates.

<sup>11</sup> The bones were found in 1456: see J. Chaumeau, *Hist. de Berry*, 1566, p. 229; J. Cassanio (Chas-sanion), *De Gigantibus, &c.*, ed. 1587, pp. 61-3.

<sup>12</sup> Jean de France, 1340-1416, duke of Berry; the celebrated art-lover: *Nouvelle biog. gén.*

<sup>13</sup> 'La Couronne du Duc de Berry.' It was an elaborate candelabrum: de Champeaux and Gauchery, p. 27; Raynal, ii. 449.

<sup>14</sup> The whole notice from Varennes, pp. 35-6, except 'is a Pharos'. The fortress was begun under Philip Augustus and was destroyed in 1651, its remains being used as a

of the towne; nor did I ever see a stronger, in thicknesse 18 foote fortified with graft & workes: There is still a garnison in it, and a strange engine wherewith to fling great stones: and the yron Cage where Lewes duke of Orleans was kept by Charles the 8th.<sup>1</sup> Neere to the Towne-house stands the Colledge of Jesuites,<sup>2</sup> where was heretofore an Amphitheatre: here I was courteously entertayn'd by a Jesuite who had us into the Garden, where wee fell amaine into disputation: The house of Jaques Coeur<sup>3</sup> is worth seeing. Bourges is an Archbishopric, & Primate of Aquitaine.<sup>4</sup> Having sufficiently visited this Towne, I tooke my leave of Mr. Nicholas,<sup>5</sup> & some other English there, & proceeded on my journey 23d by Douleroy,<sup>6</sup> Pont du Charge,<sup>7</sup> and lay that evening at Coulaivre:<sup>8</sup> 13 Leagues. The 24 by Franchede,<sup>9</sup> St. Menau:<sup>10</sup> thenc to Moulins<sup>11</sup> where we din'd: This is the chiefe towne of the Bourbonois, on the river Allier very navigable: The Streetes are faire, The Castle has a noble Prospect, having been the seate of the Dukes:<sup>12</sup> Here is a pretty Parke and

quarry: Buhot de Kersers, ii. 92-5; Raynal, iv. 346-8.

<sup>1</sup> Louis, afterwards king as Louis XII, was imprisoned here from 1489 to 1491, but not in the cage. The latter was made by Louis XI and still existed in 1651: Raynal, iii. 162-6.

<sup>2</sup> The notice from Varennes, p. 36, except the incident with the Jesuit. The town-house, now the Petit Lycée, a late Gothic building, was for a time used as an annexe by the Jesuits, who occupied the Collège de Ste-Marie from 1573 to 1594 and from 1603 to 1762. The site of the amphitheatre is now the place de la Nation; there were no visible remains in Evelyn's time: Raynal, iii. 458-63, iv. 160, 228; Buhot de Kersers, ii. 274-8, 284-5, 24-5.

<sup>3</sup> Varennes, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> From *ibid.*, p. 37. The archbishops still retain the title of primate of Aquitaine.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 136.

<sup>6</sup> Dun-le-Roy, now Dun-sur-Auron. Varennes advises travellers not to take this road: p. 41. Gölnitz, who took it, gives an excellent account of his journey from Bourges to Lyons, including the difficulties due to heavy rains; he omits Bourbon but otherwise took the same route as Evelyn: pp. 309-14.

<sup>7</sup> 'Pont de Chargy' in Mayerne Turquet, and in Gölnitz, p. 309.

<sup>8</sup> Couleuvre. Mayerne Turquet gives the distance from Bourges as fifteen leagues.

<sup>9</sup> 'Franchesse' in Mayerne Turquet.

<sup>10</sup> Saint-Menoux; 'Sainte Menehoust' in Mayerne Turquet. Evelyn must have visited Bourbon-l'Archambault between these two places: see above, p. 151 n.; below, p. 155.

<sup>11</sup> The whole account from Varennes, pp. 42-4.

<sup>12</sup> It was the principal seat of the dukes of Bourbon from c. 1379 until the confiscation of the duchy in

Garden: After dinner came many who offer'd knives & Cisars to sell, it being a Towne famous for those trifles: This Dutchy of Bourbon is ordinarily assignd to the dowry of the Queenes of France:

Hence we tooke horse for Varenne,<sup>1</sup> an obscure Village where we lay that night; The next day we deviated some what out of the way to see the towne of Bourbon l'Archambaut,<sup>2</sup> from whose antient & ragged Castle is deriv'd the name of the present Royal Family of France. The Castle stands on a flinty rock, over looking the Towne:<sup>3</sup> In the middst of whose streetes are some Bathes<sup>4</sup> of medicinal Waters, some of them excessive hott, but nothing so neatly wald, & adornd as ours in Sommersetshire;<sup>5</sup> & indeede they are chiefly usd to drinke off, our Queene<sup>6</sup> being then lodg'd there for that cause: After dinner I went to see the St. Chapel,<sup>7</sup> a prime place of devotion, where is kept one of the Thornes of our Saviors Crowne, & a piece of the real Crosse; excellent paintings in glasse, some few statues of stone &

1521; it was almost entirely burnt down in 1755: J. Locquin, *Nevers et Moulins*, 1913 ('Les Villes d'Art célèbres'), pp. 102-6, 126.

<sup>1</sup> Varennes on the Allier. It was at Varennes-en-Argonne that Louis XVI was arrested in 1791.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 151 n. Evelyn follows Varennes, pp. 41-2, with some additional matter. For the town see F. Deshoulières, *Souigny et Bourbon-l'Archambault*, 1935; Locquin, *Nevers et Moulins*, pp. 146-56, 172.

<sup>3</sup> 'Un chasteau, d'où le pays & la famille Royale ont pris nom. . . . Le chasteau est assis sur un rocher eslevé & de difficile accez, avec quelques fortifications.' It is now ruined but there are considerable remains. See P. Gélis-Didot and G. Grassoreille, *Le Château de Bourbon-l'Archambault*, 1887, which includes a traveller's account in 1646: pp. 90-9. View by Silvestre.

<sup>4</sup> See J. Auberi, *Les bains de Bourbon Lancy et Larchambaut*, 1604,

ff. 61-6. View by Silvestre, reproduced in Deshoulières.

<sup>5</sup> Evelyn had been to Bath twice already: above, pp. 23, 25; he was there again in 1654.

<sup>6</sup> Henrietta Maria arrived on 25 August. On 17 September she wrote that she had 'already drunk the waters ten days, and shall continue five more, and then I shall bathe, and take the *douche* bath, which is in English, "*pump*".' She wrote later that she had bathed for a week. She left probably about 18 October, and arrived in Paris on 5 November: *Letters*, ed. M. A. Everett Green, 1857, pp. 253-9; Lefèvre d'Ormesson, *Journal*, i. 224.

<sup>7</sup> The notice from Varennes, p. 42, except 'a prime place of devotion'. The chapel was built 1485-1508, sold in 1792, and destroyed c. 1806: Gélis-Didot and Grassoreille, pp. 22-5, 33; see also the Abbé (J.) Richard, *Hist. de l'insigne relique, &c.*, 1891, which also contains an account of both relics.



Wood, which they shew for curiosities: Hence we Went forward to Palisse<sup>1</sup> a Vilage that lodg'd us that night.

On the 26<sup>t</sup> we ariv'd at Rouanne, where we quitted our Guide,<sup>2</sup> and tooke Post for Lions:

Roan<sup>3</sup> seemd to me one of the pleasantest & agreeable places for a retyr'd Person imaginable; for besides the situation, which is on the Loire, there are excellent provisions, cheape & abundant: It being late e're we left this Towne, we rod no farther than Tarrara<sup>4</sup> that night (passing St. Saforin<sup>5</sup>) a little desolate Village, standing in a Vally neere a very pleasant streame encompass'd with fresh meadows, & Vineyards: The Hills, which we rod over before we descended, and after on Lions side, are so high & mountainous, that fir & pine grow frequently on them; and the ayre mithought<sup>6</sup> was much alterd, as well as houses, built flatter, & more after the Easterne manner: Before I went to bed, I tooke a Landskip of this pleasant Terrace: But there followd so greate a Tempest of thunder & lightning, as I never in my life had then observ'd the like.

The 27<sup>th</sup> we rod post by Pont-Charu<sup>7</sup> to Lions which being but 6 leagues we soone accomplish'd, having made 85 leagues from Toures in 7 dayes:

Here at Lions at the Lion d'or,<sup>8</sup> rüe de Flandre I encounter'd divers of mine acquaintance who comming from Paris, were design'd for Italy: We lost no time in se(e)ing the City, because of being ready to accompany these Gentlemen in their journey: Lions<sup>9</sup> is incomparably situated upon a Con-

<sup>1</sup> La Palisse.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 152. Evelyn had joined the main road from Paris to Lyons already at Moulins. For the post see Sincerus, introd.

<sup>3</sup> Varennes, p. 45. Roanne. The notice is original. Evelyn was here again in 1646.

<sup>4</sup> Tarare. The notice is original.

<sup>5</sup> Now Saint-Symphorien; as 'S. Saphorin de Lay' in Mayerne Turquet.

<sup>6</sup> This spelling is not recorded in *O.E.D.* and is perhaps peculiar to

Evelyn. It occurs again several times below.

<sup>7</sup> Pontcharra, the birthplace of Bayard.

<sup>8</sup> Gölnitz stayed at the Lion d'Or de la lanterne: p. 314. The rue de Flandre was on the right bank of the Sâone, near the modern Quai de Bondy.

<sup>9</sup> Evelyn's account of Lyons is almost entirely derived from Varennes, pp. 159-69. There are more extended notices in Sincerus, pp. 270-309, and in Gölnitz

fluence of Rivers Saone & Rhodanus, which washes the Walls of the Citty in a very rapid streame:<sup>1</sup> Each of these has its bridg; that over the Rhone consists of 28 Arches.<sup>2</sup> But what appeares most extravagant, & very stately are the two high Cliffs, cal'd St. Just & St. Sebastian, upon one of which stands a strong fort, guarisond: We visited the Cathedrall St. Jean,<sup>3</sup> and there one of the fairest Clockes<sup>4</sup> for art & buisy invention that ever I had seene: The fabrique of the Church is Gothic; as is likewise that of St. Estienne, & St. Croix<sup>5</sup> joyning to it: On the top of one of the Towres of St. Jeans (for it has 4) we beheld the Whole Citty, & Country with a prospect reaching even to the very Alpes themselves many leagues distant. The Archbishops Palace<sup>6</sup> is fairely built: The Church of St. Niser<sup>7</sup> is the greatest: That of the Jacobins<sup>8</sup> well built: Here are divers other fine Churches, and very noble buildings, which we had not time to visite, onely that of the Charite, or greate Hospital<sup>9</sup> for the poore

(annotated French translation by A. Vachez, 1877). Some of the older works are listed by J. Spon, *Recherche des antiquités, &c.*, 1673. The most useful modern works are A. Kleinclausz, *Lyon de ses origines à nos jours*, 1925; M. Audin, *Bibliog. icon. du Lyonnais*, 3 vols., apparently incomplete, 1909–13; see also H. d'Hennezel, *Lyon ('Les Villes d'Art célèbres')*, 2nd ed., 1927. A number of views, some of them apparently original, are given by Zeiller, *Topog. Galliaë*, pt. v.

<sup>1</sup> The situation, &c., from Varennes, p. 159; 'in a very rapid streame' is original.

<sup>2</sup> Varennes gives nineteen large and seven small: p. 159. Now the Pont de la Guillotière, of medieval origin, but much repaired: M.-C. Guigue, *Recherches sur Notre Dame de Lyon*, 1876, pp. 41–93.

<sup>3</sup> The account, except the architectural style and the view, from Varennes, p. 161. See L. Bégule, *Monographie de la cathédrale de*

*Lyon*, 1880.

<sup>4</sup> It dates from 1572; Evelyn saw it as repaired in 1598; it was altered in 1660 and still exists: Bégule, pp. 96–8, with plates. Evelyn refers to the 1660 reconstruction in *Numismata*, p. 281.

<sup>5</sup> From Varennes, p. 161. Both these churches were destroyed in 1796: Audin, iii. 139–44.

<sup>6</sup> From Varennes, p. 161. It was a medieval building with later alterations: Audin, iii. 53–70.

<sup>7</sup> From Varennes, p. 162. St. Nizier. Still existing.

<sup>8</sup> From the description in Varennes, p. 163. The church was destroyed during the Revolution: A. Vachet, *Les anciens couvents de Lyon*, 1895, p. 398.

<sup>9</sup> 'Le grand Hospital de la Charité': Varennes, p. 164. Evelyn's notice is original. The building dates from c. 1613–19 and still exists: see *Institution de l'aumosne generale de Lyon*, 5th ed., 1647, pp. 1–3, with view.

infirmes people, which entertaining about 1500 Soules, with Schoole, Granary, Gardens & all conveniencies is of a wonderful expense, and worthy the seeing. The place of the Belle Court<sup>1</sup> is very spacious, especially observable for the view it affords, so various & agreeable, of hills, rocks, Vineyards, gardens, Precipices, & other extravagant & incomparable advantages<sup>2</sup> abounding in this Citty, and presenting themselves together: The Pall-mall<sup>3</sup> is set with faire trees: In fine this stately, cleane & noble Citty (built all of stone) abounds in Persons of Quality, & rich Merchants: Those of Florence<sup>4</sup> obtaining greate Priveleges above the rest. In the Towne-house<sup>5</sup> they shew two tables d'airain on which is engraven Claudius's Speech pronounc'd to the Senat concerning the franchising of the Towne with the Roman Priveleges;<sup>6</sup> there are also divers other Antiquities to be seene.

Sept: 30 we bargain'd with a Waterman to transport us as far as Avignon upon the River; so we embarqued from Lions, and got the first night to Vienne<sup>7</sup> in Dauphine: This is an Archbishoprick and the Province gives title to the Heyre aparent of France;<sup>8</sup> here we lay, and supp'd; having (amongst other dainties) a dish of Truffles,<sup>9</sup> which is a certaine earth-nut, found out by an hogg, train'd up to it, & for which those

<sup>1</sup> From Varennes, p. 165. The square dates from 1562; for its history see Kleinclausz, pp. 229–51.

<sup>2</sup> Rising grounds, vantage-grounds: *O.E.D.*

<sup>3</sup> Varennes, p. 165. It formed part of the place Bellecour. The reference to the trees is original.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 160. See H. A. S. de Charpin-Feugerolles, *Les Florentins à Lyon*, &c., 1893, pp. 1–11.

<sup>5</sup> Varennes, p. 166. Evelyn saw the second Hôtel de Ville, a Gothic building, now no. 13, rue de la Poulaille. The present Hôtel de Ville was begun in 1646: M. Audin, *La Maison de Ville de Lyon*, 1914, pp. 5–8, 14.

<sup>6</sup> From Varennes, p. 166. The tablets were found in 1529 and are

now in the Lyons Museum. Text in *C.I.L.*, vol. xiii, no. 1668; with translation in Spon, pp. 169–81, and in Gölitz, ed. Vachez, pp. 76–85. The emperor Claudius was born in Lyons.

<sup>7</sup> Varennes, pp. 157–9. Evelyn's notice is mainly original, but one entry is out of place. The principal older works are J. le Lievre, *Hist. de l'antiquité . . . de Vienne*, 1623; N. Chorier, *Les recherches . . . sur les antiquitez . . . de Vienne*, pt. i, 1659; *idem*, *Hist. gén. de Dauphiné*, 1661, reprint 1888.

<sup>8</sup> See Varennes, pp. 155–6.

<sup>9</sup> For Evelyn's later opinion of them see *Acelaria*, pp. 42–4 (*Misc. writings*, pp. 746–7).

Creatures, are sold at a greate price: It is in truth an incomparable meate: We were shewd the ruines of an Amphitheatre,<sup>1</sup> reasonable entire, and many handsome Palaces: especialy that of Pontius Pilat,<sup>2</sup> which we saw, not far from the Towne at the foote of a solitary Mountaine, neere the River, having 4 pinacles: Here 'tis reported he pass'd his exile, and precipitated himselfe into the Lake not far from it: The house is modernly built, & seemes to be the seate of some Gentleman; being in a very pleasant place though somewhat melancholy.

The Cathedral of Vienne is St. Maurice,<sup>3</sup> & there are many other pretty buildings worth the seeing, but nothing more then the Mills where the(y) hammer & polish the Sword-blades, which is a greate Curiosity:<sup>4</sup>

Henc the next Morning we Swam (for the river runns so exceedingly rapid, that we were onely steerd) to a small Vilage call'd Tain,<sup>5</sup> where we dynd; Over against this is another Towne nam'd Tournon<sup>6</sup> where is an exceeding strong Castle under a very high precipice; To the Castle joynes the Jesuits Coledge<sup>7</sup> who have a fayre Library: The Prospect was

<sup>1</sup> From Varennes, p. 158. There was very little above ground according to Chorier: *Recherches*, pp. 416-18.

<sup>2</sup> Part of this notice, especially the lake, is derived from Varennes, p. 158; but while Varennes is describing monuments at Vienne, the building described by Evelyn is the castle at Ponsas, near Saint-Vallier, forty miles down the Rhone, which Pilate was also supposed to have inhabited: Gölnitz, p. 451; A. Joanne, *Dict. géog. . . de France*, art. Ponsas. Pilate's suicide appears in Eusebius, *Hist. ecclesiasticæ*, bk. ii, c. vii; the earliest writer to associate him with Vienne is the ninth-century St. Ado: *Chron.*, in Migne, cxxiii. 77; various legends were there current about him and various

buildings were associated with him: le Lievre, pp. 30-44; Varennes, p. 158. Chorier already rejects his association with Vienne: *Hist.*, reprint, 1878, i. 259. See also G. A. Müller, *Pontius Pilatus*, 1888.

<sup>3</sup> Varennes, p. 158. See L. Bégule, *L'église Saint-Maurice*, 1914.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Varennes, pp. 158-9. Gölnitz gives some details of the process: pp. 450-1.

<sup>5</sup> Varennes, p. 157.

<sup>6</sup> The notice expanded from *ibid.* The castle still exists.

<sup>7</sup> Founded in 1536, taken over by the Jesuits c. 1561, and burnt down in 1714; its successor is now a *lycée*: H. Fouqueray, *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus en France (1528-1762)*, i. 288-303; M. Massip, *Le Collège de Tournon*, 1890.

so tempting, that I could not forbear to designe it with my Crayon.

After we had eaten we came to Valence,<sup>1</sup> a Capital City, carr(y)ing the title of a Dutchy; But the Bishop is now sole Lord Temporal of it, & the Country about it: The Towne having an University famous for the Civil Law is much frequented: but the Churches are none of the fairest, having been greatly defac'd in the time of the Warrs: Yet are the Streets full of pretty fountains: The Citadell strong, & Garnisond: Here we pass'd that night, and the next morning by Pont St. Esprit,<sup>2</sup> which is 2412 yards in length & consists of 22 Arches; in the Pillars or piles of the Arches are Windoes (as it were) to receive the Water when it is high and full; here we went on shore, it being very dangerous to passe the bridg with a boate:

Hence leaving our barque, we tooke horse (se(e)ing but at some distance the Towne & Principality of Orange<sup>3</sup>) and lodging one night on the Way ariv'd by noone at Avignon:<sup>4</sup> This Citty has belong'd to the Popes ever since Clem: the 6ts tyme, being Anno 1352, alienated by Jeane Queene of Naples & Sicily.<sup>5</sup> Entring the Gates of this towne the Souldiers at the Guard tooke our Pistols & Carbines from us,<sup>6</sup> and examin'd us very strictly;<sup>\*</sup> after that having obtain'd the Governors

---

\* Semicolon supplied.

---

<sup>1</sup> The notice from Varennes, p. 156. The university was founded in 1452/1459 and dissolved in 1790-2: J. C. Nadal, *Hist. de l'université de Valence*, 1861.

<sup>2</sup> From Varennes, pp. 153-4. Built 1265-1307; considerably altered since 1854: C. Lenthéric, *Le Rhône*, 1892, ii. 160-8; Lenthéric also describes the medieval bridge-builders in France.

<sup>3</sup> Varennes, pp. 151-3.

<sup>4</sup> Mainly from *ibid.*, pp. 148-51. There appear to be no important works on Avignon; see A. Hallays, *Avignon*, 1909 ('Les Villes d'Art célèbres'); T. Okey, *Avignon*,

1911 ('Mediaeval Towns'); J. Girard, *Avignon*, 1923. It belonged to the Papacy until it was annexed by the French in 1791.

<sup>5</sup> From Varennes, p. 148, who gives 1352 and 1348 as alternative dates. The latter is correct. Joanna I, 1327-82, queen of Naples 1343. Avignon had formed part of the county of Provence, which had descended to her from her ancestor Charles of Anjou, king of Naples and brother of St. Louis.

<sup>6</sup> So Philip Skippon in 1665: p. 712. It was a regular precaution in some Italian towns: cf. *ibid.*, p. 568.

leave, & Vice-Legat to tarry for 3 dayes, we were civily conducted to our lodging.<sup>1</sup>

The City is plac'd on the Rhodanus, and divided from the newer part, or Towne<sup>2</sup> (which is situate on the other side of the River) by a very faire bridge of stone, which has been broken,<sup>3</sup> at one of whose extreames is a very high rock on which a strong Castle well furnish'd with Artillery.<sup>4</sup> The Walls of the Citty<sup>5</sup> (being all square huge free stone) are absolutely the most neate and best in reparaire that in my life I ever saw: It is full of well built Palaces: Those of the Vice Legats<sup>6</sup> & Archbish:<sup>7</sup> being the most magnificent: Many sumptuous Churches, especialy that of St. Magdalene<sup>8</sup> & St. Martial,<sup>9</sup> wherein the Card: d'Amboise<sup>10</sup> is the most observable: That of the Celestines<sup>11</sup> where Clement the 8th lies buried,<sup>12</sup> the Altar whereof is exceeding rich; but for

<sup>1</sup> Gölnitz, having declared that he would not attend mass, was similarly allowed to stay for three days; he was taken to his inn by a soldier, who informed the inn-keeper how long he would be staying there: p. 478.

<sup>2</sup> Villeneuve: see Varennes, p. 151. It was French territory, and not part of Avignon.

<sup>3</sup> From *ibid.*, p. 148. Built in 1177–88, it was constantly in need of repair, and piers were destroyed in 1603 and 1633; all attempts to repair it or to make it passable were abandoned after 1679; a portion still exists: Lenthéric, *Le Rhône*, ii. 318, 338.

<sup>4</sup> From Varennes, p. 148, as 'au bout du pont'. Presumably the tower of Philippe le Bel at Villeneuve, on the French bank of the Rhone.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*; the description is mainly original. These walls still exist.

<sup>6</sup> From *ibid.* The vice-legate appears to have occupied the palace of the popes, not a separate palace, as Varennes here implies.

<sup>7</sup> From *ibid.* The medieval build-

ing now known as the Petit Palais.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149. Now destroyed.

<sup>9</sup> From *ibid.* Parts of the building survive.

<sup>10</sup> 'Un superbe epitaphe du Cardinal d'Amboise.' Amboise is Varennes's error for the 'Ambianus' of Sincerus; the monument commemorated Jean de la Grange, bishop of Amiens 1373–1402; cardinal 21 Dec. 1375; Sainte-Marthe, *Gallia Christiana*, x. 1193–5. Parts of the monument are preserved in the Musée Calvet at Avignon.

<sup>11</sup> From Varennes, p. 149; but Evelyn has merged two churches into one, Laura's tomb being elsewhere (see below). The Celestines monastery is now used for military purposes; for it see L.-H. Labande, articles in *L'Art*, 1903, 1904.

<sup>12</sup> Clement VIII (1592–1605) is a misprint in the 1643 edition of Varennes for Clement VII: Varennes, 1641, p. 149; the tomb is that of Clement VII, anti-pope 1378–94, whose remains were buried here in 1401; it is now destroyed: *L'Art*, 1904, pp. 20–2.

nothing I more admir'd it than the Tomb of Madona Laura Petrarchs celebrated Mistris.<sup>1</sup>

We were in the Arsenale,<sup>2</sup> Popes Palace,<sup>3</sup> and in the Synagogue<sup>4</sup> of the Jewes, who are in this towne distinguish'd by their red hats:<sup>5</sup>

Vaucluse<sup>6</sup> so much renound for the solitude of the learned Petrarch, we beheld from the Castle; but could not goe to visite it, for want of time; being now taking Mules, & a guide for Marcelles:

Sep: 30<sup>7</sup> we lay at Loumas,<sup>8</sup> the next morning came to Aix; having pass'd that most dangerous & extreamely rapid river of Durance:<sup>9</sup> In this tract all the Heathes or Commons are cover'd with Rosemary, Lavander, Lentiscs & the like sweete shrubbs for many miles together, which to me was then a very pleasant sight:<sup>10</sup>

Aix<sup>11</sup> is the chiefe City of Province, being a Parliament &

<sup>1</sup> The supposed tomb was in the church of the Cordeliers: Varennes, p. 149; for it and its destruction see Labande in *L'Art*, 1904, pp. 524-7. Gölnitz gives the epitaph and an account of the opening of the tomb by Francis I and of its contents: pp. 482-5. Parts of the church are incorporated in the Collège Saint-Joseph.

<sup>2</sup> Varennes, p. 149. It was near or formed part of the palace of the popes.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* It was used by the vice-legates.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* The Jews were excluded from France but were allowed to live, with the usual restrictions, in Avignon and the Comtat-Venaissin, as being papal territory. For those of Avignon see Grangier de Liverdis, pp. 72-3.

<sup>5</sup> The normal colour was yellow, which was worn here in 1660: *ibid.* For the use of red and its suppression, see below, p. 400.

<sup>6</sup> 'La fontaine de Vaucluse où le docte Petrarche avoit accoustumé de se retirer, & qui l'a celebrée par

ses vers': Varennes, p. 151.

<sup>7</sup> This date is wrong: Evelyn states that he left Lyons on 30 September. Assuming that date and the date 7 October below to be correct, this date should be 5 October; this allows Evelyn a day and a half at Avignon.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147. The name occurs only in Sincerus and in writers deriving from him; it is not a place-name but the Provençal *loumas*, the farm. From the distances, however, it is clearly an error for Lambesc.

<sup>9</sup> The Durance flows between Avignon and Lambesc, not between Lambesc and Aix. Varennes describes the journey as from Aix to Avignon; Evelyn has read him carelessly.

<sup>10</sup> 'Dans les bois on ne void que thim, rosmarin & meurtes': *ibid.*, p. 136 (on Lower Provence in general). All travellers, from Felix Platter onwards, notice the vegetation.

<sup>11</sup> The whole notice is taken from *ibid.*, pp. 146-7. For Aix see:

Presidial towne, with other royal Courts & Metrapolitan jurisdiction:<sup>1</sup> It is well built, the houses exceeding high, & Streetes ample: The Cathedrall St. Sauveurs<sup>2</sup> is a noble pile, adorn'd with innumerable figures (especialy that of St. Michael). The Baptistarie, the Palace, the Court, built in a most spacious Piazza are very faire:<sup>3</sup> The Duke of Guizes house<sup>4</sup> is worth the seeing, being furnish'd with many Antiquities in, and about it. The Jesuites have also here a royal Colledge,<sup>5</sup> and the City is an University. From hence Octob: 7 we had a most delicious journey to Marselles throug(h) a Country, sweetely declining to the South & Mediterranean Coasts, full of Vine-yards, & Olive-yards, Orange trees, Myrtils, Pomegranads & the like sweete Plantations, to which belong innumerable pleasantly situated Villas, to the number of above 15 hundred;<sup>6</sup> built all of Free-stone, and most of them in prospect shewing as if they were so many heapes of snow dropp'd out of the clowds amongst those

J. S. Pitton, *Hist. de la ville d'Aix*, 1666; P. J. de Haitze, *Les curiositez . . . de la ville d'Aix*, 1679; and Roux-Alphéran, *Les rues d'Aix*, 1846-8, reprinted 1918. Plans in [J. de Galaup de Chasteuil], *Discours sur les arcs triomphaux dressés . . . à l'heureuse arrivée de . . . Louys XIII*, 1624, and in Pitton.

<sup>1</sup> 'C'est la ville capitale de la Provence, ornée d'un Parlement, d'une Cour des Comtes, Aydes & Finances, & d'un siege Metropolitain.'

<sup>2</sup> From Varennes, p. 146. The statue has apparently been destroyed. The baptistery is an important part of the building; Evelyn uses the word as a synonym for font (above, p. 59; below, p. 266), so that it is uncertain what he means here.

<sup>3</sup> 'Le Palais où se tient la Cour est magnifique, avec une place fort spacieuse au devant.' It was the old palace of the counts of Provence, where were born the four daughters of Raymond Berengar IV, queens of England, France, Naples, and the

Romans. It was destroyed in 1786; the Palais de justice occupies its site: Roux-Alphéran, 1918, i. 8-14.

<sup>4</sup> From Varennes, p. 146. Charles of Lorraine, 1571-1640, duke of Guise (*Nouvelle biog. gén.*), was governor of Provence from 1595 to 1631. This house was bought for him by the town in 1600; it was situated in the rue du Séminaire: Roux-Alphéran, i. 419-21. Varennes mentions collections of antiques belonging to other persons, not to Guise; Evelyn probably read him carelessly.

<sup>5</sup> From Varennes, p. 147. The Jesuits were in charge of the Collège Royal-Bourbon from 1621 to 1763: Roux-Alphéran, ii. 24-6. The university still exists.

<sup>6</sup> 'La campagne voisine est tellement remplie de mestairies & granges, que les Marseillois appellent Bastides assorties de leurs jardins, que l'on croit y en avoir jusques à 1600': Varennes, pp. 144-5. Sincerus gives the number as 1,800: p. 241.



perennial greens: It was almost at the shutting in of the Gates that we got in at

Marcelles:<sup>1</sup> This Towne stands on the Sea-Coast upon a sweete rising;<sup>2</sup> tis well wall'd, & has an excellent Port for Ships, & Gallys, securd by an huge Chayne of Yron which drawrosse the harbour at pleasure; & there is a well fortified tower:<sup>3</sup> besides this, there are also three other Forts or small Castles, especialy that cald the If built on a rock: Ratonneau, & that of St. John strongly garnison'd.<sup>4</sup> But the Castle commanding the Citty, is that of Nostre dame de la Guard:<sup>5</sup> In the Chapel hang up divers Crocodiles Skinns: We went then to Visite the Gallys<sup>6</sup> being about 25 in number.<sup>a</sup> The Captaine of the Gally royal gave us most courteous enter-

<sup>a</sup> Followed by comma in MS.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's account of Marseilles is taken from Varennes, pp. 142-5, except for the account of the galley-slaves. See: A. de Ruffi, *Hist. de la ville de Marseille*, 2nd ed., 1696; A. Fabre, *Hist. de Marseille*, 1829; idem, *Notice hist. sur les anciennes rues de Marseille*, 1862, and *Les rues de Marseille*, 1867-9, a continuation of the *Notice*. For its condition at this time see A. Crémieux, *Marseille et la royauté . . . 1643-1660*, 1917, with reproduction of a view by Maretz, 1640.

<sup>2</sup> From Varennes, p. 142. It occupied the hill to the north of the old harbour; the Cannebière was immediately outside the southernmost part of the walls. But the city was growing and the circuit of the walls was enlarged in 1666-94: Fabre, *Rues*, i. 83-93.

<sup>3</sup> From Varennes, p. 143. The harbour is the present old harbour. The chain is clearly shown in old views. The tower is the Tour Saint-Jean at its north end.

<sup>4</sup> From Varennes, p. 143. The Château d'If and Ratonneau are situated on the islands of those names; the fort Saint-Jean on the

island of Pomègues, adjoining Ratonneau: Zeiller, *Topog. Galliae*, xii. 22.

<sup>5</sup> From Varennes, pp. 143-4. The fort still exists; the old chapel was replaced by the existing church in the nineteenth century: G. Arnaud d'Agnel, *Marseille: Notre-Dame de la Garde*, 1923.

<sup>6</sup> They were one of the sights of Marseilles: Varennes, p. 144. Evelyn's is one of the best of the travellers' accounts; see also below, pp. 183-4. For European galleys and galley-slaves in modern times see: Pantero Pantera, *L'armata navale*, 1614; Jurien de la Gravière, *Les derniers jours de la marine à rames*, 1885, in part based on Pantera. For the French galleys: E. Lavissee, art. in *Revue de Paris*, Nov. 1897, pp. 225-62, based in part on A. Laforêt and the memoirs of J. Marteilhe; P. Masson, *Les galères de France (1481-1781)*, 1938; see also Lavissee, *Hist. de France*, vii. ii. 255-8. Of the other travellers' accounts the most noteworthy appear to be those of the Platters: *Félix et Thomas Platter à Montpellier*, 1892, pp. 115, 300-3.

tainment in his Cabine, the Slaves in the interim playing both on loud & soft musique<sup>1</sup> very rarely: Then he shew'd us how he commanded their motions with a nod, & his Wistle, making them row out; which was to me the newest spectacle I could imagine, beholding so many hundreds of miserab(ly) naked Persons, having their heads shaven cloose, & onely red high bonnets, a payre of Course canvas drawers, their whole backs, & leggs starke naked, doubly chayned about their middle, & leggs, in Cupples, & made fast to their seates: and all Comanded in a trise, by an Imperious & cruell sea-man: One Turke amongst them he much favourd, who waited on him in his Cabine, but naked as he was, & in a Chayne lock'd about his leg; but not coupled.

Then this Gally, I never saw any thing more richly carv'd & Gilded (the Sovraigne<sup>2</sup> excepted) and most of the rest were exceeding beautiful: Here, after we had bestow'd something amongst the Slaves, the Cap: sent a band of them to give us musique at dinner where we lodged.<sup>3</sup> I was amaz'd to contemplate how these miserable Catyfs lye in their Gally, considering how they were crowded together; Yet was there hardly one but had some occupation or other: by which as leasure, in Calmes, & other times, permitts, they get some little monye; in so much as some have after many Yeares of cruel Servitude been able to purchase their liberty: Their rising forwards, & falling back at their Oare, is a miserable spactacle, and the noyse of their Chaines with the roaring of the beaten Waters has something of strange & fearfull in it, to one unaccostom'd. They are ruld, & chastiz'd with a bulls-pizle dry'd upon their backs, & soles of their feete upon the least disorder, & without the least humanity: Yet for all this they are Cherefull, & full of vile knavery: We went after dinner to see the church of St. Victoire,<sup>4</sup> where that Saints head is reserv'd in a shrine of silver which weighs 600 lbs:

<sup>1</sup> This probably means playing different kinds of instruments, on the one hand trumpets, &c., on the other flutes, violins, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *The Sovereign of the Seas*: above, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> This was a regular practice: Varennes, p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> From *ibid.* The church still exists. St. Victor was martyred c. 290: *Acta Sanctorum*, 21 July, pp. 135-62.

Thence to Nostre Dame,<sup>1</sup> exceedingly well built: This is the Cathedrall: Then the Duke of Guizes Palace;<sup>2</sup> The Palais of Justice; the Maison du Roy.<sup>3</sup> But there is nothing more strange than the infinite numbers of slaves, working in the Streets, & carying burthens with their confus'd noises, & gingling of their huge Chaynes: The Chiefe negoce of the Town is silkes & drougs out of Africa, Syria and Egypt: Also Barbara-horses which come hither in greate numbers:<sup>4</sup> The Towne is governd by 4 Captaines, & has 3 Consuls, and one Assessor: Three Judges royal; The Marchants have also a Judge for ordinary causes:<sup>5</sup> Here we bought Umbrellos<sup>6</sup> against the heate, and consulted of our jorney to Canes by Land, for feare of the Pickaron<sup>7</sup> Turkes who make prize of many small Vessells about these parts, finding never a Gally bound for Genöa whither we were design'd:<sup>8</sup> so on Octob: 9<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *company*.

<sup>b</sup> Substituted for 3.

<sup>1</sup> From Varennes, p. 144. The building, which is unimportant, still exists, near the new cathedral.

<sup>2</sup> From *ibid.* For Guise see above, p. 163 n.; the house is not traceable.

<sup>3</sup> From *ibid.* The Palais de justice was rebuilt in 1743-7; it was near the Maison du roi, a medieval palace belonging to the town and used for lodging kings and governors of Provence, which fronted on the rue de la Prison and the harbour and was destroyed in 1710: Fabre, *Rues*, ii. 201-14.

<sup>4</sup> Summarized from Varennes, p. 145. See P. Masson, *Hist. du commerce français dans le Levant au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1896; *Hist. des établissements et du commerce français dans l'Afrique barbaresque*, 1903. *Negoce* is the French word anglicized (it occurs in the present passage in Varennes). Evelyn uses it again in *Navigation and Commerce*, p. 41 (*Misc. writings*, p. 648). See also *O.E.D.*

<sup>5</sup> From Varennes, p. 145. The

consuls governed the city, with the assessor as their chief administrative officer; the captains were apparently only the heads of the four companies of the watch: Crémieux, pp. 55-63.

<sup>6</sup> Coryat describes the umbrellas in use in Lombardy: 'These are made of leather something answerable to the forme of a little canopy, & hooped in the inside with divers little wooden hoopess that extend the *umbrella* in a pretty large compasse. They are used especially by horsemen, who carry them in their hands when they ride, fastening the end of the handle upon one of their thighs, and they impart so large a shadow unto them, that it keepeth the heate of the sunne from the upper parts of their bodies': p. 112. See also the quotations in *O.E.D.*

<sup>7</sup> *Picaroons* were originally rogues, but more particularly pirates or their vessels: *O.E.D.*

<sup>8</sup> Lassels travelled on a Genoese galley: i. 44-5.

we tooke our Mules, passing the first night very late in sight of St. Baume,<sup>1</sup> & the solitary Grott, where the(y) affirme Mary Magdalen did her pennance:<sup>2</sup> the next day we lay at Perigeux;<sup>3</sup> which is a Citty built on an old foundation, witnessse the ruines of a most stately Amphitheater, which I went out to designe, being about a flight-shoote from the towne: They call it now the Rolsies: There is also a very strong towre neere the Towne calld the Visone:<sup>a</sup> But the towne and Citty are built at some distance from each other: It is a Bishoprick, & has a Cathedral, with divers noble-mens houses all in sight of that sea: The place formerly cald (and well knowne by Antiquaries) Forum Julij:

Oct: 10,<sup>4</sup> as we proceeded on our way we passd by the ruines of a stately Aquæ-duct;<sup>5</sup> the soile about the Country being rocky; yet full of Pines, & rare simples:

On the 11th we lay at Canes,<sup>6</sup> which is a small port on the Mediterranean; here we agree'd with a Sea-man to transport us to Genōa, so having procurd a bill of Health<sup>7</sup> (without

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *neer* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> The notice is original; Varennes gives nothing east of Marseilles except Toulon.

<sup>2</sup> For her presence in Provence see E. M. Faillon, *Monuments inédits*, 1859. Evelyn's route from Marseilles to Fréjus is not clear.

<sup>3</sup> This is Evelyn's most striking error. The place that he has reached is Fréjus, the ancient Forum Julii. The whole of the notice, except 'which I went out to designe' and 'all in sight of that sea . . . Forum Julij', is taken from the account of Périgueux in Varennes, p. 107. The confusion may have arisen from Evelyn's bad writing; searching for something in Varennes to improve his rough notes on Fréjus, which clearly included the amphitheatre, he found Périgueux, which fitted tolerably; the appearance of the names in Evelyn's writing would not be altogether dissimilar. Périgueux was Vesuna in antiquity. It

is extremely unlikely that Evelyn ever visited it.

For the amphitheatre at Fréjus see C. Lenthéric, *La Provence maritime*, 2nd ed., 1880, pp. 351-2.

<sup>4</sup> This date should be 11 October; the night of 9 October was spent near the Saint-Baume, that of 10 October at Fréjus.

<sup>5</sup> Lenthéric, pp. 340-2; view in Zeiller, *Topog. Galliæ*, pt. xii.

<sup>6</sup> Cannes. Mortoft calls it a village: p. 35.

<sup>7</sup> Skippon prints a number of those given to him in 1663 and 1664: pp. 483, 596, 609, 616, 628. Their object was to prevent the dissemination of plague, &c.; the bearer's appearance is described in order to prevent their transference. An office in Rome for their issue is mentioned in 1690: F. Deseine (F.D.P.), *Descr. de la ville de Rome*, 1690, ii. 358.

which there is no admission at any Towne in Italy) we embarq'd on the 12 of Octob: touching at the Ilands of St. Margaret, & St. Honore,<sup>1</sup> lately retaken from the Spanyards with so much bravery by Prince Harcourt: here, having payd some small duty, we bought divers trifles offerd us by the Souldiers but without going on Land: Thenc we Coasted within 2 leagues of Antibo<sup>2</sup> which is the utmost towne of France: Thence by Nice<sup>3</sup> a Citty in Savoy, built all of brick, which gives it a very pleasant aspect towards the sea, having a Castle built very high that commands it: Thus we also sail'd by Morgus now cald Monaco<sup>4</sup> (having passd Villa Franca, heretofore Portus Herculis);<sup>5</sup> where ariving after the Gates were Shut we were forc'd to abide in our Barque all night, which was put into the haven, the wind comming contrary; In the morning we were hastned away having no time permitted us (by our avaritious Master with whom we had made a bargaine) to goe up to see this strong and considerable Place:<sup>6</sup> it now belongs to a Prince of the family of

<sup>a</sup> Closing bracket supplied.

<sup>1</sup> The Îles de Lérins. They were taken by the Spaniards in 1635 and retaken in 1637 by the French under Henri de Lorraine, comte d'Harcourt ('Cadet-la-Perle'; 1601-66; *Nouvelle biog. gén.*): H. Bouche, *La chorographie ou description de Provence*, 1664, ii. 899-909; C. Bourel de la Roncière, *Hist. de la marine française*, 1899-1920, v. 13-32.

<sup>2</sup> 'Antibe the utmost City of France': Raymond (see note on Evelyn's sources for Italy), p. 2. The county of Nice belonged to the house of Savoy from 1388 to 1792 and from 1814 to 1860, when it was ceded to France.

Evelyn's sources for his account of Italy, and the general topographical literature for its elucidation, are described in a note printed at the end of this volume.

<sup>3</sup> In part from Raymond, p. 2; the brick and the general appearance of the town are original.

<sup>4</sup> Raymond has Morgues, apparently the principality, Monaco as the port: pp. 3-4. Bouche has Mourguez as the name originally of the port, later of the principality: *Chorographie*, i. 154-6. The name is post-classical.

<sup>5</sup> From Raymond, p. 3; the identification already occurs in Biondo da Forli, *Italia illustrata* (ed. 1510, f. 50). But Portus Herculis is now identified as Monaco (so already in Bouche); Villefranche is not on an ancient site. There may, however, have been a second Portus Herculis in its harbour; the coastal mountains are called the 'colles Herculei' by Silius Italicus, but scarcely as a place-name: Lenthéric, *La Provence maritime*, pp. 490-4, 508-12.

<sup>6</sup> The notice is from Raymond, pp. 4-6. There is a notice of the town, as 'Morgues', in Monconys, i. 100.

the Grimaldi<sup>1</sup> of Genoa, who has put both it & himselfe under protection of the French: The situation (for that I could contemplat at pleasure) is on such a promontory of solid stone & rock, as I never beheld the like: The towne-Walls very fayre: Within it we were told was an ample Court,<sup>2</sup> and a Palace<sup>3</sup> furnish'd with the most princly & rich moveables imaginable,<sup>a</sup> also collection of Statues, Pictures, & especially of Massie plate to an infinite value: Next we saild<sup>b</sup> by Menton,<sup>4</sup> and Vintimiglia,<sup>5</sup> being the first City of the Republique of Genöa; supp'd at Onela<sup>6</sup> where we ankerd and lay on shore, The next morning we coasted in view of the Ile of Corsica,<sup>7</sup> then passd St. Remes,<sup>8</sup> all whose rivage is incomparably furnish'd with Ever-greens Orange, Citron, & even Date-trees: Port Mauritio,<sup>9</sup> Where we also lay; The next morning by Drano,<sup>10</sup> Araisso<sup>11</sup> famous for the best Corral fishing, which here growes in abundance upon the rocks, deepe, & continually coverd with the Sea: By Albenga,<sup>12</sup> & Finale<sup>13</sup> a very faire & strong Towne belonging to the K: of Spayne, for which reason a Monsieur in our Vessell was extremely afraide, as likewise the Patron of our Barke (for

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *with* deleted.    <sup>b</sup> Altered from *cam*.

<sup>1</sup> Honorato II, reigning from 1604 to 1664; he placed himself under French protection by treaty in 1641: G. Saige, *Documents hist. relatifs à . . . Monaco*, 1888-91, vol. iii, introd., p. cc.

<sup>2</sup> A square: Raymond.

<sup>3</sup> For it and its contents see L.-H. Labande, *Inventaires du palais de Monaco (1604-1731)*, 1918.

<sup>4</sup> Raymond, p. 7. Mentone.

<sup>5</sup> From *ibid.*, pp. 7-8. Vintimiglia.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8, as Oneille. Now Oneglia. Evelyn is wrong in placing it apparently west of San Remo; it lies between Porto Maurizio and Diano. This error makes it impossible to determine the chronology of the journey from

Cannes to Genoa; Evelyn fails to account for one night.

<sup>7</sup> So *ibid.*, between Vintimiglia and San Remo. Corsica is about ninety miles distant.

<sup>8</sup> From *ibid.* San Remo.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* Porto Maurizio.

<sup>10</sup> Raymond gives the name correctly as Diano: p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> From *ibid.*, p. 9. Alassio. In this period the name frequently occurs in the form given by Raymond and Evelyn, or in similar forms.

<sup>12</sup> In Raymond as Albengue.

<sup>13</sup> The description from *ibid.* It belonged to Spain from 1598 (1602) to 1713. Raymond also mentions the danger of an attack by the Spaniards.

that they frequently catch a French Prize, as they creepe by these shores, to go into Italy) who ply'd both sayles & Oares to get under protection of a Genoeze-Gally that passd not farr before us, and in whose company we sayld a Lee as far as the Cape of Savona: a Towne<sup>1</sup> built at the rise of the Apennines; for all this Coast (except a little at St. Remes) is an high and steepe mountainous ground, consisting all of rock-marble, without any grasse, tree, or rivage, most terrible to looke on: A strange object it is to consider how some poore cotages stand fast on the declivities of these precipices, & what steps they ascend to them; but they consist of all sorts of most precious marbles:

Here on the 15, forsaking our Gally we encounterd a little foule Weather, which made us creepe Terra, Terra as they call it; and so a Vessell that encounter'd us advis'd us to do: But our Patron, striving to double the point of Savona, making out into the Wind, put us all into an incredible hazard; for blowing very hard from Land 'twixt those horrid gapps of the Mountaines, it set so violently, as rais'd on the suddaine a(n) over growne Sea, so as we could not then by any meanes recover the Weather shore for many houres, inso much that what with the Water already enterd, & the confusion of fearfull Passengers (of which one was an Irish Bishop & his Bro: a Priest, confessing some as at the Article of Death) we were almost uterly abandon'd to despaire; Our Pilot himselfe giving us for gon: But so it pleas'd God on the suddaine (and as now we were almost sinking downe right, wearied with pumping, & laving out the Water) to appease the Wind, that with much adoe & greate perill we recover'd the Shore, which we now kept within lesse then halfe a league, in view & sent of those pleasant Villas, & fragrant Orchards which are situated on this Coast, full of Princly retirements for the Sumptuousnesse of their buildings & noblenesse of the plantations; especialy those at St. Pietro d'Arena,<sup>2</sup> from

<sup>1</sup> Its site from Raymond, p. 9. The cape, not mentioned by him, is the Capo di Noli. The general description of the coast is original.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 10, as '*San Pietro d'Arania*', with a rather similar description of the country. Sampierdarena.

whence (the wind spiring<sup>1</sup> as now it did) might perfectly be smelt the peculiar joys of Italy, in the natural perfumes of Orange, Citron, & Jassmine flowres, for divers leagues to seaward.<sup>2</sup> <So on><sup>a</sup>

Octo: 16 we got to Anker under the Pharos or Watch-towre erected on an high rock, at the mouth of the Mole of Genoa;<sup>3</sup> the weather being yet so fowle, that for two houres at least we dast not stand in to the haven: Towards the evening adventur'd and came on shore by the Prattique-house,<sup>4</sup> where after strict examination of the Syndics, we were had to the Ducal Palace, and there our names beeing taken, we were conducted to our Inne, which was at one Zacharias an Englishmans, where we were almost amazd at the consideration of the danger we had escaped, never thinking to have seene that

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Son.*

<sup>1</sup> i.e. breathing or blowing gently; the latest occurrence in this sense given in *O.E.D.* is dated 1535.

<sup>2</sup> This observation is scarcely original. Richard Flecknoe, in a letter dated Genoa, 1645, writes: 'All the strand of *Genoa* for more than a hundred mile seeming but one continued Town, allowing the interjacent Mountains and Valleys for Gardinage, planted with all sorts of delicious fruit, Oranges and Limmons amongst the rest, in so great abundance, as their flowers perfume the Sea all the way you passe along': *A Relation of ten Years Travells*, n.d., published c. 1654, p. 22. There was probably an Italian source; G. Gualdo Priorato writes that the odour of the flowers at San Remo is perceptible six miles out to sea: *Relationi* (see below, p. 172 n.), [ii]. 98. Evelyn uses the observation in *Fumifugium*: 'The Sent of the Orange-flowers from the Rivage of *Genōa*, and *St. Pietro dell' Arena* . . . many Leagues off at Sea': dedication (*Misc. writings*, p. 208). The idea goes back to Diodorus Siculus and Pliny, who both write of the

perfumes of Arabia being perceptible far out atsea: *Notes and Queries*, clxxv (1938), 434–5, where further quotations are given.

<sup>3</sup> By the mouth of the Mole Evelyn presumably means the entrance to the harbour, between the old and new moles; the latter was building from 1637 to 1651; but there may have been a gap by the lighthouse at this time: *Descrizione di Genova* (see below), iii. 257–8. Both Pflaumern, p. 571, and Raymond, p. 12, following Pflaumern, call the lighthouse a 'pharos'; but Evelyn was capable of employing the word for himself: cf. above, p. 153.

For Pflaumern see note on Evelyn's sources for his account of Italy; Evelyn bought a copy of the 1628 edition at Rome on 14 November; all references here are to this edition.

<sup>4</sup> 'Pratique' is permission granted to a ship to hold intercourse with a port after quarantine or on showing a clean bill of health: *O.E.D.* De la Boullaye-le-Gouz gives an account of his difficulties in landing at Genoa: *Voyages*, 1653, pp. 5–6.



evening alive: I shall never forget a story of our host Zacharye, who upon the relation of our perill, quitted us with another of his owne, being ship-wrack'd as he affir⟨m⟩'d solemnly, in the middle of a greate sea some where in the West-Indies: That he swam no lesse then 22 leagues to another Iland, with a tinder-box wraped up in his hayre, which was not so much as wett all that way: That picking up the Carpenters tooles with other provisions in a Chest, he & the Carpenter, that accompany'd him (good swimmer⟨s⟩ it seemes both) floated the Chest before them, and ariving at last in a place full of Wood, they built another Vessell, and so escaped; the rest being all cast away: After this story we no more talk'd of our danger, for Zachary put us quite downe, though we were all Travellers.

Octob: 17, accompany'd with a most courteous Marchand, who had long liv'd in the Towne, calld Mr. Tomson, we went to vieue the rarities:<sup>1</sup> The Citty is built in the hollow, or boosome of a Mountaine, whose ascent is<sup>a</sup> very steepe, high & rocky; so as from the Lanterne, & Mole, to the hill it represents the Shape of a Theater; the Streetes & buildings so ranged one above the other; as our seates are in Play-houses:<sup>2</sup> but by reason of their incomparable materials, beauty & structure: never was any artificial scene<sup>3</sup> more beautifull to the eye of the beholder; nor is any place cer-

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for &.

<sup>1</sup> Pflaumern, pp. 571-8; Raymond, pp. 10-15. The most important seventeenth-century account of Genoa is by G. Gualdo Priorato, *Relazioni delle città di Bologna, &c.*, 1675, [ii]. 83-176; although largely political, it includes notices of the churches and public buildings. The earliest guide-book appears to be C. G. Ratti, *Istruzione di quanto può vedersi di più bello in Genova*, 1766 (one or more later editions). The *Description des beautés de Génes*, 1768, gives a plan and some views; additional views in the edition of 1781. The most important of the

more recent works appears to be *Descrizione di Genova*, by various authors, 1846; see also W. Suida, *Genua*, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> This comparison is derived from Pflaumern, p. 572; Raymond also makes it, but in a simpler form: p. 12. Both writers notice the beauty of the buildings.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn passes from the general aspect of the town to the appearance of particular streets, which he compares to scenes in the theatre; those showing lines of palaces in perspective were evidently much admired. This comparison is original.

tainely in the World, so full for the bignesse of well designed & stately Palaces; as may easily be concluded by that rare booke in a large folio, which the greate Virtuoso & Painter Paule Rubens has publish'd, that containes but one onely Streete & 2 or 3 Churches.<sup>1</sup>

The first Palace of note that we went to Visite was that of Hieronymo del Negros, to which we pass'd by boate crosse the harbour; here I could not but observe the suddaine & devlish passion of a sea-man who plying us,<sup>a</sup> was intercepted by another fellow, that interposd his boate before him, & tooke us in; for the teares gushing out of his eyes, he put his finger in his mouth & almost bit it off by the joynt, shewing it to his antagonist, as an assurance to him of some bloody revenge, if ever he came neere that part of the harbour any more: And indeede this beautifull Citty is more stayn'd with such horrid acts of revenge & murthers, than any one place in Europ, or haply the World besides where there is a political government; which renders it very unsafe to strangers: This makes it a gally matter to carry a knife about one whose poynt is not broken off.<sup>2</sup>

This Palas of Negros<sup>3</sup> is richly furnish'd with the rarest Pictures, & other collections & moveables: but nothing which more delighted me then the terrac, or hilly Garden, where there stands a grove of stately trees, furnish'd with artificial Sheepe, Shepherds, & Wild beasts, so naturally cut in a grey-stone, fountaines, rocks, & Piscina's, that casting your eyes one way, you would imagine your selfe in a Wildernesse &

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *and* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> *Palazzi di Genova*, two parts, [1622-6]; new eds. 1652, 1708. Pflaumern refers to the work in his edition of 1650, ii. 175.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Gilbert Burnet was told that the Genoese were 'the worst People of all *Italy* . . . and the most generally corrupted in their Morals, as to all sorts of Vice': *Some letters*, Amsterdam, 1686, p. 178; cf. Mortoft, p. 41 and n.

<sup>3</sup> In part from Raymond, p. 12,

but mainly original. Now the Villa Rolla-Rosazza; see *Descr. di Genova*, iii. 335-6 (as Giardino Durazzo dello Scoglietto). Evelyn calls it a 'pensile garden' in his letter to Sir Thomas Browne, 28 Jan. [1660], Browne, *Works*, ed. Keynes, vi. 303. The Dinegros were an important Genoese family; Giovanni Gironimo was one of the 'governatori' in 1626-7: *Saggi cronologici, ò sia Genova . . . ricercata*, 1692, p. 39.

silent Country, side-ways in the heart of a greate Citty, & backwarde in the middst of the Sea ; and that which is most admirable, all this within one Aker of ground, and I thinke the most stupendious & delightfull in the whole World: In this house I first tooke notice of those red plaster flores,<sup>1</sup> which are made so hard, and kept so polite, that for some time, one would take them for whole pieces of Porphyrie: I have frequently wonderd, we never practis'd it in England for Cabinets, & romes of state, for it appeare(s) to me beyond any invention whatev(e)r of that kind ; but by their carefull covering them with Canvas, & fine mattresses, where there is much passage, I suppose them not so lasting in their glory, & happily they are often repaired.

There are in this Citty innumerable other Palaces of particular Curiositys, for the Marchands being prodigiously rich, have like our neighbours the Hollanders, little or no extent of ground to employ their Estates in ; & therefore, as they on Pictures & hangings ; so these on Marble houses, & rich furniture.<sup>2</sup> One of the greatest remarke for Circuit, is that of the Prince d'Orias,<sup>3</sup> which reaches from the very Sea, to the Summit of the Mountaines: The House without is most magnificently built, nor lesse gloriously furnish'd, having whole tables, & beadsteads of massy silver, besides many of them set with Achates, Onyxes, Cornelians, Lazulis, Pearle, Turquizes, & other precious stones: The Pictures & Statues innumerable: To this Palace there belongs three Gardens, the first whereoff is beautified with a tarrac supported by

<sup>1</sup> There were such floors at Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire: note to *Diary*, 2nd ed. Burnet writes disparagingly of the brick floors in Rome: *Some letters*, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 39. Pflaumern notes the profuseness of the Genoese, but suggests only a general moral cause: pp. 574-5.

<sup>3</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 572-4, and Raymond, p. 11; some of the details about the vegetation, &c., and the reference to Bacon are

original. The Palazzo Doria is Fássolo. It was built in 1522-8 the greater part of the garden has been destroyed. See L. T. Belgranc in Soc. ligure di storia patria, *Atti* x (1874), 1-118; plan made in 183: reproduced by H. Inigo Triggs, *The art of garden design in Italy*, 1906 pl. 17. There are many description: of the villa ; that by Lassels, i. 91-4 was used by John Wilson in his *Belphegor: Rev. of English Studies* viii (1932), 76-7.

pillars of Marble: There is also a fountaine of Eagles, and one of Neptune with other Sea-Gods,<sup>1</sup> all of the purest white marble that ever myne eyes beheld: These stand in a most ample basine of the same stone; and at the side of this Garden is such an Aviary as Sir Fra: Bacon describes in his *Sermones fidelium* or *Essays*,<sup>2</sup> where in grow trees of more then 2 foote diameter, besides, Cypresse, Myrtills, Lentiscs & other rare shrubs,<sup>3</sup> which serve to nestle & perch all sorts of birds, who have ayre, & place enough under their wyrie Canopy, supported with huge Iron Worke very stupendious to consider, both as to the fabrick, & the Charge.<sup>3</sup> The other two Gardens are full of Orange-trees, Citrons & Pomegranads, Fountaines, Grotts & Statues; amongst which one of Jupiter<sup>4</sup> of a Colossal magnitude, under which is the Sepulchre of a beloved dog, for which one of this family receivd of the King of Spaine 500 crownes a yeare during the life of that faithfull animal.<sup>5</sup> The Conserve of Water here is a most admirable piece for art, and so is likewise that incomparable grotto over against it.

We went hence to the Palace of the Dukes,<sup>6</sup> where is also the Court of Justice; Thence to the Marchants Walke<sup>7</sup> rarely covered: Neere the Ducal Palace we saw the publique Armory,<sup>8</sup> which was almost all new, and one of the neatest kept & order'd that I had ever seene, for the quantity, being sufficient for 30000 men: Here we were shew'd many rare inventions & engines of Warr peculiar to that Armory, as in

---

<sup>a</sup> Or *skrubs*.

---

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn is mistaken; Neptune and the eagles belong to a single fountain, the work of Taddeo Carlone, &c., c. 1599: Belgrano, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> In the essay 'Of Gardens', near the end. 'Sermones fidelium' is Evelyn's error for *Sermones fideles*, the title of the Latin translation of the essays, published in 1638.

<sup>3</sup> This aviary was 130 paces long, 22 wide, and more than 20 feet high: Monconys, i. 101. See also Bel-

grano, p. 70 n.

<sup>4</sup> This still exists on the hill-side above the palace.

<sup>5</sup> See Pflaumern, p. 573; the epitaph is given by Skippon, p. 588.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 576-7. Raymond, p. 14. The building has been reconstructed.

<sup>7</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 578. Raymond, p. 14. The Loggia dei Banchi in the Piazza Banchi.

<sup>8</sup> From *ibid*.

whose state gunns were first put in use:<sup>1</sup> The Guarnison of the Towne consists chiefly of Germans & Corsicans:<sup>2</sup>

We went the next day to see the famous Strada Nova,<sup>3</sup> which is the same I formerly mentioned to have ben designd<sup>4</sup> by the famous Rubens: It is for statlinesse of the buildings, paving & evenesse of the Streete, certainly far superior to any in Europ for the number of houses: That of Don Carlo d'Orias<sup>5</sup> is a most magnificent & proud structure: Here in the Gardens of the house of the old Marquis Spinola<sup>6</sup> I saw such huge Citrons hanging on the trees, applyd like our Abricotts to the Walles,<sup>a</sup> that one would have believd incredible should have been supported by so weake branches: This whole Streete is built of polish'd Marbles &c:<sup>7</sup>

Having thus spent the tyme in seeing the Palaces we went next to see the Churches which are nothing lesse splendid then the Palaces; That of St. Francis<sup>8</sup> being totaly built of Parian marble: St. Laurenzo<sup>9</sup> in the navil (as it were of the City) of white and black polish'd stone, the inside wholy

<sup>a</sup> Or *Walees*?

<sup>1</sup> I do not know Evelyn's authority for this statement.

<sup>2</sup> Carelessly derived from Pflaumern, who states that there are Italian and Corsican troops, but that the Germans are the most trusted: p. 577; cf. Gualdo Priorato, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> In part from Raymond, pp. 13-14. Pflaumern, p. 577. Now the Via Garibaldi; it has scarcely changed since Evelyn's time. How he arrived at 'the number of houses' is not clear.

<sup>4</sup> In the older sense, drawn: cf. above, p. 160.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 577-8. Now the Municipio.

<sup>6</sup> This notice is original. The palace is not identifiable. Spinola is perhaps the general: above, p. 74.

<sup>7</sup> This is an exaggeration; most of the façades are of painted stucco.

<sup>8</sup> 'Ecce Franciscanorum . . . templum quot habet è pario mar-

more constructas aras?': Pflaumern, p. 575. The Franciscans had a church called S. Francesco di Castelletto, unimportant except for some monuments by Giovanni Bologna, and now destroyed; Pflaumern may have confused it with the Annunziata (see below), which he does not mention by name, and which had been dedicated to St. Francis from 1509 to *c.* 1547, when it belonged to the Franciscan Conventuals; it was then given to the Observants, another branch of the order, who gave it its existing dedication: Gualdo Priorato, p. 116; *Descr. di Genova*, iii. 118-19. Parian in Pflaumern is probably only a generic term for any fine white marble.

<sup>9</sup> The whole notice from Pflaumern, pp. 575-6. Mentioned by Raymond, p. 14. The church and its contents remain much as Evelyn saw them.

incrusted with marble, and other precious materials; where, on the Altar of St. John stand those 4 sumptuous Columns of Porphyrie; here we were shew'd that prodigious Emerald<sup>1</sup> so greatly esteem'd by the Friars; being it may be one of the largest in the world.

But it is the Church of Santo<sup>a</sup> Ambrosio<sup>2</sup> belonging to the Jesuites which when finish'd will exceede all the rest; and that of the Anunciada<sup>3</sup> founded at the Charges of one family, a piece in the present & future designe never to be out done for cost & art, though a kingdome should joyne in the expense & intention.

From the Churches we walked to the Mole,<sup>4</sup> a worke of solid huge Stones Stretching it selfe for neere 600 paces into the maine Sea; this secures the Harbour, which was heretofore of no safty: doubtlesse of all the wonders of Italy, for the art, & nature of the designe nothing dos parallel this: hence we pass'd over to the Pharos or Lanterne,<sup>5</sup> which is a towre of incredible height; here we tooke horses, & made the circuite of the Citty, as far as the new Walles<sup>6</sup> (built of a prodigious height & herculean industry; witnesse those vast pieces of whole mountaynes, which they have hew'n away, & blowne up of gunpowder to render steepe & inaccessible) would suffer us: These Wales, are besides their height of a wonderfull extent beyond the utmost building of the City, not much lesse then 20 English miles;<sup>7</sup> Upon one of these

<sup>a</sup> MS. S<sup>to</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Sacro Catino, a glass vessel supposed to have been used by Christ and the apostles for the Last Supper: see *Antiquaries journal*, iv (1924), 11-17.

<sup>2</sup> Raymond, p. 14; Pflaumern, p. 577. See Mortoft, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> From Raymond, pp. 14-15. The SS. Annunziata. It was built by the Lomellini family; the façade is still unfinished: Gualdo Priorato, pp. 117-18; see also Mortoft, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 571. Raymond gives the length of the mole incorrectly as 200 paces. It is in-

corporated in the existing Molo Vecchio. Raymond and Evelyn ignore the new mole which was being built at this time on the western side of the harbour: above, p. 171 n.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 171. The existing lighthouse.

<sup>6</sup> In part from Raymond, p. 15, but mainly original. The new wall towards the land was constructed in 1626-32; towards the harbour, in 1638: *Descr. di Genova*, iii. 279.

<sup>7</sup> The correct length is 19,560 metres, about 12 miles: *ibid.*

promontories we could easily discern the Iland of Corsica which is many leagues off at Sea; & from the same precipice east-ward we saw a Vale having a most violent torrent running through a most desolate & barren Country,<sup>1</sup> & then turning your eyes more northward those pleasant & delicious Villas of St. Pietro d'Arena<sup>2</sup> which presents another Genoa to you, the ravishing retirements of the Genoezi nobility: thence with much paine we descended towards the Arsenale, where all the Gallys lie in excellent order.<sup>3</sup>

They are much affected to the Spanish mode & stately garbe in this Citty,<sup>4</sup> where (by reason of the narrownesse of their Streetes)<sup>a</sup> they passe onely in their Sedans & Litters, & not in Coaches.<sup>5</sup>

Octob: 19, we agreed with a Filuca<sup>6</sup> and embarqud towards Ligorne; but the sea being this day very high (but not very dangerous, in regard the billows did not breake) we resolv'd for feare of a storme to put in at Porta Venere,<sup>7</sup> which we made, betweene two such narrow & horrid rocks, as the waves dashing with extraordinary velocity against them, put us in no small perill; but we were soone deliverd into as greate a Calme, & a most ample harbor, being the Golpho di Specia;<sup>8</sup> whence we could see Plinies Delphini Promontorium, now cald Cap fino:<sup>9</sup> Here stood that famous City of Luna,<sup>10</sup> whenc

<sup>a</sup> Closing bracket supplied; MS. has comma.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Bisagno; the view is apparently from the Forte Castellaccio or some similar point.

<sup>2</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 578. Above, p. 170.

<sup>3</sup> 'Within the Haven is a place where the Gallies lay, every one in a particular Classis': Raymond, p. 13. It was to the west of the Darsena.

<sup>4</sup> From Raymond, p. 15. Cf. Lassels, i. 95–8.

<sup>5</sup> Raymond mentions the absence of coaches: p. 13. Cf. Gualdo Priorato, p. 94.

<sup>6</sup> i.e. a felucca, a small coasting-vessel with oars or lateen sails or

both.

<sup>7</sup> Porto Venere. Raymond, p. 16; Pflaumern, p. 569.

<sup>8</sup> The Golfo della Spezia. Raymond, p. 16, as '*Golfe of Aspecia*'. Pflaumern, pp. 568–9.

<sup>9</sup> Pflaumern, travelling from Pisa to Genoa, states that, after leaving Porto Venere, the Portofino promontory is visible from the sea: p. 569; it is invisible from any point of the coast south-east of Porto Venere. Pflaumern also supplied Evelyn with the reference to Pliny: *Nat. hist.*, bk. iii, ch. 5 (7).

<sup>10</sup> Pflaumern states that the modern Lerici ('*Ericis castellum*')

the port, was namd Lunaris,<sup>1</sup> being about 2 leagues over, more resembling a lake, than an haven; yet bravely defended both with Castles, and excessive high mountaines: Here at Lerici<sup>2</sup> (a towne where we landed) being Sunday<sup>3</sup> was a greate procession carr(y)ing about the Streetes together with the Sacrament, in solemne devotion: After dinner we tooke post-horses that caryd us bravely through whole groves of Olive-trees; the way somewhat rugged & hilly, at first; but afterwards pleasant: thus we pass'd through the townes of Sarazana,<sup>4</sup> Massa & the vast Marble quarries of Carrara where we lodg'd in an obscure Inn at a place cald Viregio:<sup>5</sup> The next day by morning we ariv'd at Pisa, where I met with my old friend Mr. Tho: Henshaw,<sup>6</sup> who was then newly come out of Spaine, & from whose Company I never parted till more then a yeare after:

Pisa,<sup>7</sup> for the famous mention thereof in History, whiles it contended with Rome, Florence, Sardinia, Sicily, & even Carthage herselfe,<sup>8</sup> is as much worthy the seeing as any city in Italy:

The Palace & Church of St. Stephano<sup>9</sup> (where the order of

occupies the site of Luna: p. 566. Luni, to the south of Sarzana, is now believed to occupy the site.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's error for Lunensis, probably due to reading Pflaumern carelessly.

<sup>2</sup> Raymond, p. 16, as Lerizi; Pflaumern, pp. 565-6, as Erycis (Ericis) castellum.

<sup>3</sup> 19 Oct. 1644, N.S., fell on a Wednesday; o.s. on a Saturday. I have been unable to trace any festival here at this time of the year.

<sup>4</sup> Sarzana. Raymond also made the journey by post and the description of the journey as far as Pisa is taken from him, pp. 16-18.

<sup>5</sup> Viareggio.

<sup>6</sup> 1618-1700: *D.N.B.*; *I.H.R.*, *Bull.* xiii (1936), 114-15. Evelyn dedicated to him his translation of *Le Jardinier François* by N. de Bonnefons, *The French Gardiner*, 1658: Keynes, pp. 46-55. From the

variant dedication in the second and later editions it appears that Evelyn first met him while travelling, either now or earlier. Further notices below.

<sup>7</sup> Pflaumern, pp. 555-61; Raymond, pp. 18-23. See A. da Morrona, *Pisa illustrata nelle arti del disegno*, 2nd ed., 1812; R. Grassi, *Descr. storica e artistica di Pisa*, 1836-8; and R. Papini, *Pisa*, in *Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di antichità d'Italia*, ser. 1, fasc. ii, pts. i-ii, 1912-14.

Evelyn paid another visit to Pisa in May 1645.

<sup>8</sup> Carelessly taken from Pflaumern, p. 555, who does not mention any conflict with Rome.

<sup>9</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 555-6, with additional matter from Raymond, p. 21. The palace is now a school; the church, S. Stefano dei Cavalieri, had no aisles until about



Knighthood called by that name was instituted) drew first our curiosity, the outside thereof being altogether of polish'd marble; It is within full of tables relating to their Order, over which hang divers banners & pendants, with severall other Trophies taken by them from the Turkes, against whom they are particularly oblig'd to fight; being, though a religious Order; yet permitted to marry: At the front of the Palace stands a fountaine, & the Statue of the great duke Cosimo.<sup>1</sup>

The Campanile<sup>2</sup> or Settezonio, built by one John Oenipont<sup>3</sup> a German, consists of severall orders of pillars; 30 in a row, design'd to be much higher: It stands alone, on the<sup>a</sup> right side of the Domo or Cathedrall, strangely remarkable for this, that the beholder would expect every moment when it should fall; being built exceedingly declining by a rare adrese of the imortal Architect: and really I take it to be one of the most singular pieces of workmanship in the World; how it is supported from immediately falling would puzzle a good Geometrician.

The Domo<sup>4</sup> standing neere it is a superbe structure beautified with 6 Colomns<sup>5</sup> of great antiquity; & the gates are of brasse<sup>6</sup> of admirable workmanship: Here is the Cemitere call'd

---

<sup>a</sup> Followed by s- deleted.

---

1680: da Morrona, iii. 18; for the whole group of buildings, iii. 1-45. The order existed from 1562 to 1859: see G. G. Guarnieri, *Cavalieri di Santo Stefano*, 1928.

<sup>1</sup> Both monuments from Raymond, p. 21. Both still exist. The statue represents Cosimo I; it was designed by Giovanni Bologna and executed by P. Francavilla.

<sup>2</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 558-9, and Raymond, p. 19. Both writers state or imply that the inclination was intentional. Settezonio is original.

<sup>3</sup> So Pflaumern, probably following *Itinerarium Italiae totius*, 1602, p. 109, where he appears as 'Johannes de Inspruck'; 'Oenipons' is the medieval Latin for Innsbruck. There

is no adequate documentary evidence for him, still less for William of Innsbruck, an attempt to identify him with the Maestro Guglielmo of Vasari (ed. Milanesi, i. 273-4). See Thieme, *Lexikon*, art. Guillelmus, Pisan architect. The inscription given by M. de Lamberg, *Le memorial d'un mondain*, 1774, p. 138, is worthless.

<sup>4</sup> From Raymond, p. 19. Pflaumern saw it soon after the fire of 1596: pp. 557-8. For the church see G. Martini, *Theatrum Basilicæ Pisanæ*, 1705-23.

<sup>5</sup> A slip for Raymond's 'three-score'.

<sup>6</sup> Those of the west front, designed by Giovanni Bologna.

Campo Santo,<sup>1</sup> made of divers Gally ladings of earth, brought formerly from Jerusalem, which being of a Carcofagus nature consumes dead bodys in the space of<sup>a</sup> fourty houres. Tis clo(i)stred about with marble Arches, & here lyes buried the learned Philip Decius<sup>2</sup> who taught in this University.

At one side of this Church stands an ample & well wrought Marble Vessell,<sup>3</sup> that heretofore containd the Tribute of the City payd yearely to Cæsar: it is plac'd as I remember on a Pillar of Opite<sup>4</sup> stone with divers other antique Urnes: Neere to this & in the same feild is the Baptisterie of San Giovanni<sup>5</sup> built of pure white marble, and coverd with so artificial a Cupola, that the voice or word utter'd under it seemes to breake out of a Clowd: The Font & Pulpit<sup>6</sup> supported with 4 lyons is of inestimable value for the preciousnesse of the materials: The Place where all these buildings stand they call the Area:<sup>7</sup> Hence we went to see the Colledge<sup>8</sup> to which joynes a Gallery so furnish'd with natural rarities, stones, minerals, shells, dryd Animals, Scelletos &c, as is hardly to be seene the like in Italy: to this the Physique-Garden lyes, where is a noble Palme tree from which I gatherd a long branch: It has also very fine Waterworkes in

<sup>a</sup> Followed by 41 deleted.

<sup>1</sup> From Raymond, pp. 19–20, and Pflaumern, pp. 559–60. The latter gives the time as twenty-four hours.

<sup>2</sup> 1454–1535, jurisconsult: *Encic. italiana*. The notice from Pflaumern.

<sup>3</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 560. The celebrated neo-Attic vase, a figure from which was imitated by Niccolò Pisano. It stood on a column of oriental granite outside the south transept of the cathedral from 1313 to 1810, when it was moved into the Campo Santo: da Morrona, i. 319–20; ii. 271–6; *Bollettino d'arte*, 1915, pp. 173–6, where the medieval inscription is given.

<sup>4</sup> Ophite, i.e. serpentine.

<sup>5</sup> From Raymond, p. 20. Pflaumern, p. 559. Neither writer mentions the echo.

<sup>6</sup> The font is relatively unimpor-

tant. Only three of the columns supporting the pulpit are borne by lions; that in the centre, by a group of figures, including a lion.

<sup>7</sup> 'Leaving the *Area* where these things stand together': Raymond, p. 20. It is not a place-name; the square is always called the Piazza del Duomo.

<sup>8</sup> This may mean the Collegio Ferdinando, scarcely the Sapienza; but probably simply the buildings in the botanical gardens. Evelyn's source for the description of the gallery and the gardens is Raymond, pp. 21–2. Pflaumern, pp. 560–1, where the university buildings are also mentioned. The gardens still exist: da Morrona, iii. 368–71; list of the plants by T. Belluccio, 1662 (below, May 1645).

it. The River Arno it is which runs quite through the middle of this stately Citye, whenc that Streete is nam'd Longarno,<sup>1</sup> so ample that even the Greate Dukes Gallys (built in the Arsenale here) are easily conveyd to Livorno;<sup>2</sup> but what is most worth observeing is that incomparable sole Arch which stretches from banke to banke, the like of which (serving for a bridge) is no where in Europe; That which renders it so famous is the extreame flatnesse of it.<sup>3</sup> The Duke has also in this Towne a Stately Palace, before which Ferdinando the 3ds statue is plac'd:<sup>4</sup> over against it, is the Exchange all built of Marble.<sup>5</sup> Since this Citty came to be under the Dukes of Tuscany (it) is extreame depopulated & thinn of Inhabitants; though there be hardly in Italy, any which exceeds it for stately Edifices: Yet the situation is very low & flat; which accommodates it with Spacious Gardens & even feilds within the Wales of it.<sup>6</sup>

Octob: 21 we tooke Coach<sup>7</sup> to Livorno (where I furnish'd my selfe with a bill of Exchange) through the Greate Dukes new Parke,<sup>8</sup> full of huge Corke-trees, the under wood all Myrtils: amongst which were many Buffolos<sup>9</sup> feeding which

<sup>1</sup> From Raymond, p. 22; the river is also mentioned by Pflaumern, p. 561. The street along the north bank.

<sup>2</sup> Based on Raymond, p. 22; cf. Pflaumern, pp. 556-7.

<sup>3</sup> The bridge, built c. 1641-3, collapsed on 1 Jan. 1644; this date is probably Tuscan style, corresponding to 1 Jan. 1645, n.s., so that Evelyn would have seen it. It was replaced by a wooden bridge by 1646; the Ponte di Mezzo, completed in 1660, now occupies the site: C. R. Borghi, *L'oplomachia pisana*, 1713, pp. 73-4; da Morrone, iii. 355-6; Monconys, i. 106. Evelyn does not mention the wooden bridge in 1645; he describes the new stone bridge in his 'Account of Architects', 1707, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Raymond, p. 22; Pflaumern, p. 560. The statue, designed by

Bologna and executed by Franca-villa, represents Ferdinand I reviving Pisa. Raymond misunderstood the inscription, which describes Ferdinand as third grand-duke of Tuscany, not as third of the name: da Morrone, iii. 345-6.

<sup>5</sup> From Raymond, p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> These general remarks are derived mainly from *ibid.*, pp. 18-19. Pisa was continuously subject to Florence from 1509, when many of its inhabitants went into exile: L. Alberti, f. 30.

<sup>7</sup> There was an hourly service: Raymond, p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> Raymond notes the fens and the grand-duke's forest: p. 23. Evelyn refers to the latter in *Sylva*, 1664, p. 62. His account of this journey is mainly original.

<sup>9</sup> For this spelling see Raymond, *introd.*; on p. 163 he has '*Bufferos*'.

is (a) monstrous kind of wild Ox, short-nosd, and with hornes revers'd; those who worke with them, command them as our Beare-Wards do the Beares, with a ring through the nose & a Coard: Much of this Parke, as well as a greate part of the Country about it, is very fenny and of very ill ayre.<sup>1</sup>

Ligorne<sup>2</sup> is the prime port belonging to all the Dukes Territories; heretofore a very obscure towne, but since Ferdinando at present<sup>3</sup> has so strongly fortified it (after the moderne way) draind the marches,<sup>a</sup> by cutting that Channell thence to Pisa, navigable for 16 miles,<sup>4</sup> & raised a Mole, emulating that of Genoa to secure the shipping; it is becom a Port of incredible receipt; Strengthend with divers fanales<sup>5</sup> & Skonces:<sup>6</sup> It has also a Place for the Gallys where they lye very safe: Just before the sea is an ample Piazza for the Market, where are erected those incomparable Statues, with the fowre slaves of Copper much exceeding the life for proportion; & in the judgment of most Artists one of the best pieces of modern Worke that was ever don.<sup>7</sup>

Here is in Ligorne, & especialy this Piazzo, such a con-course of Slaves,<sup>8</sup> consisting of Turkes, Mores and other

<sup>a</sup> Or *marshes*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Raymond, pp. 26–7.

<sup>2</sup> Pflaumern, pp. 552–4; Raymond, pp. 24–7. Leghorn, Italian Livorno. As a result of the policy of the grand-dukes it was one of the most flourishing of the Italian ports; Mortoft in 1658 notices the large number of English merchants here: pp. 48–9. The principal works on the town are G. Vivoli, *Annali di Livorno*, 1842–6 (unfinished); G. G. Guarnieri, *Origine e sviluppo del porto di Livorno*, 1911; see also P. Vigo, *Livorno* ('Italia artistica', no. 78).

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn has confused Ferdinand II, 1621–70, with Ferdinand I, 1587–1609, who, with Cosimo I and Francis, created the modern Leghorn. This passage is altogether derivative.

<sup>4</sup> So Pflaumern, p. 552; Raymond

gives fifteen miles: p. 23. Cosimo I completed it in 1573–6.

<sup>5</sup> In Raymond as 'fanalls': p. 24. Beacons or small lighthouses; the word is also used for a ship's lantern.

<sup>6</sup> Here either lanterns or small forts.

<sup>7</sup> 'That best of moderne Statues, the Duke *Ferdinand* in Marble, and the *Colosses* of foure slaves under him, in brasse in divers Postures, so lively represented, that if the Statuary could have fram'd a voice as well as those bodies, he might have conquerd nature': Raymond, p. 25. The duke is by Giovanni Bandini (1540–99), the slaves by Pietro Tacca.

<sup>8</sup> The present account, except for the tent for gambling, is imitated from Pflaumern, pp. 553–4. For galley-slaves see above, pp. 164–5.

Nations, as the number & confusion is prodigious; some buying, others selling; some drinking, others playing, some working, others sleeping, fighting, singing, weeping & a thousand other postures & Passions; yet all of them naked, & miserably Chayn'd, with a Canvas onely to hide their shame: Here was now a Tent erected, where any idle fellow, weary of that trifle, might stake his liberty against a few Crownes; which if lost (at Dice or other hazard) he was immediately chaynd, & lead away to the Gallys, where he was to serve a tearme of Yeares, but whence they seldome returnd; and many sottish persons would in a drunken bravado trye their fortune.<sup>1</sup> The houses<sup>2</sup> of this neate Towne are very uniforme, and excellently paynted a fresca on the out wales, being the representation of many of their Victories against the Turkes: The houses though low (in regard of the Earth-quakes which frequently happen here to their greate terror, as did one during my being in Italy) are very well built; and the Piazz,<sup>3</sup> with the Church,<sup>4</sup> whose 4 Columns at the Portico are of black marble Polish'd, is very fayre & commodious; and gave the first hint to the building both of the Church & Piazza in Covent-Garden with us, though very imperfectly pursu'd.<sup>5</sup>

From Livorno Octo: 22 I tooke Coach againe to Empoly,<sup>6</sup> where we lay, & the next day ariv'd at Florence, being reccommended to the house of one Sig: Baritiere in the Piazza dal Spirito Santo, where I was exceedingly well treated:

Florenc<sup>7</sup> is situated at the foote of the Apennines, the west

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pantera, *L'armata navale*, p. 140. Such a tent is shown in the view of Cadiz in G. Braun and F. Hohenberg, *Urbium praecipuarum mundi theatrum*, vol. v, c. 1600, pl. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Both notices of the houses are from Raymond, pp. 25-6. Pflaumern mentions the painted façades: p. 554.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Raymond, p. 25, and Pflaumern, p. 554.

<sup>4</sup> The Duomo. Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> This statement is questionable; the square at Leghorn does not

appear to have been built regularly; there is no good authority for associating Inigo Jones (1573-1652: *D.N.B.*; *Notes and Queries*, clxxviii (1940), 290-2, 312-15), the architect of Covent Garden, with Leghorn.

<sup>6</sup> Empoli. The same journey in Raymond, pp. 27-8.

<sup>7</sup> Pflaumern, pp. 130-62; Raymond, pp. 28-48. The principal older works on the city are F. Bocchi, *Le bellezze della citta di Fiorenza*, 1591, which was used by Pflaumern

part full of stately Groves, & pleasant Meadows, beautified with more then a thousand houses & country Palaces of note, appertaining to Gentlemen of the Towne:<sup>1</sup>

The river Arno, which glids in a broad, but very shallow channell, runs through this Citty, dividing it as 'twere in the middle, and over this passe fowre most sumptuous bridges: of Stone:<sup>2</sup> On that which was neerest our quarter<sup>3</sup> stands in white marble the 4 seasons; on another,<sup>4</sup> are the Goldsmiths shops; at the head of the former stands a Columne of Opite upon which a Statue of Justice<sup>5</sup> with her balances & Sword cut all out of Porphyrie, and for this the most remarkable, that 'twas the first which (after<sup>a</sup> many yeares that art was utterly lost), had ben carv'd out of that hard material & brought to perfection; which they say was don by hardning the tooles in the juice of certayne herbs: This Statue was

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *d* deleted.

(references here to 'Bocchi' are to this edition); reprinted with additions by G. Cinelli, 1677 (references here to 'Cinelli' are to the additions in this edition); F. L. del Migliore, *Firenze città nobilissima*, bk. i (all published), 1684; G. Richa, *Notizie istor. delle chiese fiorentine*, 10 vols., 1754–62; see also G. Gualdo Priorato, *Relazioni delle città di Bologna, &c.*, 1675 (above, p. 172 n.). The most interesting modern works for Florence at this period are G. Imbert, *La vita fiorentina nel seicento secondo memorie sincrone (1644–1670)*, 1906, and H. Acton, *The Last Medici*, 1932. Illustrated bibliography of plans and views by G. Boffito and A. Mori, *Piante e vedute di Firenze*, 1926. For Florentine mosaics, &c., see A. Zobi, *Notizie stor. sull' origine e progresso dei lavori di commesso in pietre dure*, 2nd ed., 1853.

Florence was now little more than the capital of the grand duchy of Tuscany; there was still some intellectual and artistic life, but it was

declining with the city's relative economic importance; the Chapel of the Princes at S. Lorenzo is the typical product of the period. Evelyn was here again in May 1645.

<sup>1</sup> These remarks are derived from Pflaumern, p. 130, and Raymond, pp. 28, 45–6.

<sup>2</sup> From Raymond, p. 28, including the following details. Pflaumern, pp. 130–1.

<sup>3</sup> The Ponte S. Trinità. The sculptures are by T. Landini, G. B. Caccini, and P. Francavilla: Cineilli, p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> The Ponte Vecchio.

<sup>5</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 131, who follows Bocchi, pp. 93–4; see also Raymond, pp. 28–9. The figure is by F. Ferrucci and is of porphyry with bronze drapery and accessories: Zobi, pp. 105–7; for the working of porphyry, pp. 87–100. Evelyn mentions the statue again in *Numismata*, p. 283; he there ascribes it to Francesco Tadda; Bocchi gives Romolo di Francesco del Tadda.

erected in that corner, for that there Cosimo was first saluted with the newes of Siennas being taken.<sup>1</sup> Neere this is the famous Palazzo di Strozzi<sup>2</sup> consisting of a rustique manner, a Princly piece of Architecture if any in the World be. Hence we went to the Palace of Pitie<sup>a 3</sup> built by that<sup>b</sup> family, but of late infinitely beautified by Cosimo, with huge Square stones, [with a terrace at each side rustic uncut balustradoed,<sup>c</sup> with a fountain that ends in a Cascade seene from the greate gate and so a vista to the Gardens<sup>4</sup>]<sup>d</sup> of the Dorique, Ionic & Corinthian Order,<sup>5</sup> in which nothing is more admirable than the vacant Stayre-case,<sup>6</sup> Marbles, Statues, Urnes, Pictures, Court, Grotto & Water-workes:<sup>e</sup> In the Quadrangle [where is a huge jetto of Water in a Volto of 4 faces, & noble statues at each Square, especially the *Diana* of Porphyrie above the

---

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *Pithie*.      <sup>b</sup> Followed by *formerly* deleted.      <sup>c</sup> Last letters doubtful.      <sup>d</sup> Marginal note.      <sup>e</sup> Here belongs a deleted marginal note: *the Hall is exceeding large*.

---

<sup>1</sup> Siena surrendered to Cosimo I in 1555; but the column commemorates Cosimo's receiving the news of the Florentines' victory over the Sienese at Marciano in 1554: Zobi, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pflaumern, p. 131, and Raymond, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> This notice is taken mainly from Pflaumern, pp. 133-5; a small part from Raymond, pp. 36-7; part is original. The inserted passages are mainly from Monconys, i. 111-12, 129, but in part original. The Pitti palace (in Raymond '*Palazzo de Pitih*'). The exterior of the main block is as Evelyn saw it, but the projecting wings on the north or town front are more recent. The interior has been much altered. For the gardens see G. Cambiagi, *Descr. dell' imperiale giardino di Boboli*, 1757.

<sup>4</sup> This inserted passage and the next are taken from Monconys: 'Piti . . . est une face de bastiment avec une terrasse à chasque costez

tout de gros quartiers de pierres sans estre taillées: en entrant on trouve une cour quarrée, au fond de laquelle est une voûte à 8. faces, où est un tres-beau ject d'eau, il y a de belles figures de marbre à chasque face, & à celle du fond une Danaë de porphyre: au dessus de la dite grotte est une terrasse balustrée, ou est aussi une fontaine qui finit en cascade & qui est veuë de la grande porte, & au dela de laquelle on voit les jardins avec les parterres.' In the present passage Evelyn has confused the lower wings at either end of the north front of the main block with the terrace on the south side of the court.

<sup>5</sup> This refers to the south or garden front, which was designed by Bartolomeo Ammanati (1511-92; architect and sculptor); it was the part most admired in the seventeenth century and was imitated in the Luxembourg.

<sup>6</sup> A spiral stair with no central newel: Pflaumern, p. 134.

grotto:1]<sup>a</sup> I remember we were shew'd a monstrous greate Load-stone:<sup>2</sup> The Garden is full of all Variety, hills, dales, rocks, Groves, aviaries, Vivaries, fountaines, [Especialy on(e) of 5 Jettos, the middle basin being one of the longest stones that ever I saw:<sup>3]</sup><sup>a</sup> & what ever may render such a Paradise deligh(t)full; & to this the Duke has added an ample Laboratorie,<sup>4</sup> over against which a fort<sup>5</sup> standing on a hill, where they told us his highnesse Treasure is kept [I saw in this Garden a rose grafted on an Orange Tree:<sup>6</sup> much topiarie work & Columns in Architecture about the hedges]:<sup>b</sup> In this Palace it is the Duke ordinarily resides, living with his Swisse Guards after the frugal Italian way, and even Selling what he can spare of his Wines, at the Cellar under his very house: [& which was odd, wicker bottles dangling over the very chiefe Entrance into the Palace; serving for a Vintners bush.]<sup>c7</sup>

Next we went to see the Church of Santo Spirito<sup>8</sup> where the Altar & Reliquary is most rich, & full of precious stones,

<sup>a</sup> Part interlined; continued in marginal note.  
<sup>c</sup> Inserted at end of paragraph.

<sup>b</sup> Marginal note.

<sup>1</sup> This is badly mangled; see the quotation from Monconys, p. 186 n. The quadrangle is the principal court of the palace, the volto the grotto on its south side. The porphyry Diana is a Danaë in Monconys, probably a mistake for the Moses of Raffaello Curradi (*fl.* 1634): Cinelli, p. 132; Zobi.

<sup>2</sup> So Raymond, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> From Monconys, i. 129. It refers to the fountain of Oceanus in the Isolotto; the circular granite tazza is 12 *braccia*—about 22 ft.—in diameter: Bocchi, p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently the 'Apoticaiererie' of Monconys: i. 129.

<sup>5</sup> The Forte di Belvedere. Skippon also heard that the grand-duke's treasure was kept there: p. 640.

<sup>6</sup> Monconys mentions 'ce beau berceau de limons, parmy lesquels il y en a qui sont moitié orangers & moitié citrons': ii. 476.

<sup>7</sup> 'No Country-man is suffered to sell any Wine but by Wholesale; Retailing being reserved as proper only for the Nobility and Gentry: And to signify the same, you shall not see a Gentleman's House any where, without an empty Flask, and there the People go and fetch their Wine Flask by Flask; and in *Florence*, he, that hath a Flask hang longest at his Door, is counted the richest Man': Sir Dudley North, c. 1660, in Roger North, *The life of . . . Sir Dudley North*, 1744, p. 23. See also Ray, *Observations*, p. 336.

<sup>8</sup> Pflaumern, pp. 135–6, including a long account of the altar, which is by Giovanni Battista Caccini (1556–c. 1612): Zobi, pp. 214–16. Evelyn's reliquary (the word is not here used by Pflaumern) is presumably an error for the ciborium; for the probable meaning of the word see below, p. 262 n.



especialy 4 pillars of a kind of Serpentine, & some of blew:<sup>1</sup> Hence to another of the Dukes Palaces cal'd Palazzo Vecchio,<sup>2</sup> before which is the statue of David, & Hercules killing of Cacus, the worke of Baccio Bandinelli, the other of Michael Angelo.<sup>3</sup> The quadrangle about this<sup>4</sup> is of the Corinthian order, & in the hall<sup>5</sup> many rare marbles; as those of Leo the tenth, and Clement the viith, both Popes of the Medicean family:<sup>6</sup> also the Acts of Cosimo in rare Painting.<sup>7</sup> In the Chapell is conserv'd, (as they would make us believe) the Original Gospel of St. John, writen with his owne hand;<sup>8</sup> together with the so famous Florentine Pandects;<sup>9</sup> here are likewise divers precious stones; & neere it another pendent towre<sup>10</sup> (like that at Pisa) always threathning ruine: Hence we goe to the Publique Court of Justice,<sup>11</sup> under which is a stately Arcade for men to walke in; & over that the shops of divers rare Artists,<sup>12</sup> who continually worke for the Greate Duke; and above this that so renowned *Ceimeliarcha*<sup>13</sup> or Repository

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *Ceimeliarcham*.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently lapis lazuli.

<sup>2</sup> The entire notice is from Pflaumern, pp. 136-7; cf. Raymond, pp. 31-2. The interior of the palace had been decorated for Cosimo I; for it see C. Conti, *La prima reggia di Cosimo I*, 1893; A. Lensi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 1911. The later grand-dukes lived in the Pitti palace.

<sup>3</sup> The David is now in the Accademia di belle arti, being replaced here by a copy; the group by Bandinelli remains *in situ*. Baccio Bandinelli, 1493-1560.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. the court of the palace; 'about this' is an error.

<sup>5</sup> The great hall, now known as the Sala dei Cinquecento.

<sup>6</sup> Both statues are by Bandinelli and are still here.

<sup>7</sup> The frescoes in the hall, by Giorgio Vasari (1511-74) and his contemporaries, represent episodes in the history of Florence; Cosimo I appears in three of the largest.

<sup>8</sup> So Bocchi, p. 42. Description in J. G. Keysler, *Travels*, 1756-7, i. 423. It was one of two eleventh-century Greek manuscripts; they were transferred to the Laurentian Library in 1783 (or 1786?): N. Anziani, *Della Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, 1872, p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> The principal manuscript of the *Digesta (Pandecta)* of Justinian, brought to Florence from Pisa in 1406 and transferred to the Laurentian Library in 1786 (1783?): *Digesta*, ed. Mommsen, 1868-70, vol. i, pref., p. xii.

<sup>10</sup> The tower of the palace; Pflaumern calls it 'pensilis' because it overhangs its base.

<sup>11</sup> From Raymond, p. 32, where, however, the law-courts and the arcades are placed on the same level. The ground-floor of the Palazzo degli Uffizi.

<sup>12</sup> From Raymond, p. 32.

<sup>13</sup> i.e. treasure-houses. Evelyn found the word in the form *ceime-*

where in are divers hundreds of admirable Antiquities, Statues of Marble & Mettal, Vasas of Porphyrie &c<sup>1</sup> but amongst the statues none so famous as the S(c)ipio,<sup>2</sup> the boare<sup>3</sup> &c: the Idol of Apollo<sup>4</sup> brought from the Delphic Temple, & two Triumphant Columnes:<sup>5</sup> Over these hang the Pictures to the life of the famous Persons & Illustrious men, whither excelling in Arts or Armes to the number of 300, taken out of the Musæum of Paulus Jovius;<sup>6</sup> Then they lead us into a large Square roome, in the middle whereoff stood a Cabinet of an octangular forme so adorn'd and furnish'd with Christals, Achat,<sup>a</sup> Sculptures &c as certainly exceeds any descrip-

<sup>a</sup> Comma supplied.

*liarchum* (sing.) in the margin of Pflaumern: p. 137. He has '*Cimeliarcha* and *Repositories*' in *Numismata*, p. 244, but generally preferred the shorter *cimelia* or *cimelium*. For both words see *O.E.D.*, and for *cimelia* above, p. 105.

The present account of the ducal collection is in part original, in part taken from Raymond and Pflaumern; the inserted passages are from Monconys. Apart from the confusion due to conflation, Evelyn's sources are unreliable as regards detail; further they differ widely in date and describe the collection in various stages of its growth: Pflaumern follows Bocchi (pp. 45-56), who wrote in 1591; the principal account in Monconys and that in Raymond belong to 1646; the later notices in Monconys belong to 1664. Evelyn adds to the confusion by using the word cabinet in two senses, as a small room and as a standing cupboard; he once fails to distinguish in which sense he is using the word. His later account of the collection (below, May 1645) is taken entirely from the principal account in Monconys.

There is a fairly clear account of the collection in Lassels, i. 160-77. For its history see G. Pelli (Bencivenni), *Saggio istor. della Real*

*Galleria di Firenze*, 1779; A. Gotti, *Le gallerie e i musei di Firenze*, 2nd ed., 1875; H. Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien*, vol. iii, 1878, introd.; and E. Müntz in Institut national de France (Acad. des Inscriptions), *Mém.* xxxv (1893), ii. 85-168.

Keysler gives the charge for seeing the whole gallery, with the contents of the cabinets, &c., as about forty *paoli*, in his time (c. 1750) equivalent to a guinea: *Travels*, i. 443.

<sup>1</sup> This general statement is original.

<sup>2</sup> From Raymond, p. 33, or Pflaumern, p. 138. The Arringatore, now in the Archaeological museum in Florence.

<sup>3</sup> Still in the Uffizi: Dütschke, vol. iii, no. 44.

<sup>4</sup> From Raymond, p. 33. The Idolino, now in the Archaeological museum: R. Kekulé von Stradonitz, *Über die Bronzestatue, &c.*, 1889.

<sup>5</sup> From Raymond, p. 33. Still in the Uffizi: Dütschke, vol. iii, nos. 54-5.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 138. Paulus Jovius (Giovio), 1483-1552, the historian: *Encic. italiana*. The portraits did not all come from this source; for them see Gotti, pp. 39-42.

tion:<sup>1</sup> Upon it is a globe of Ivory rarely carv'd,<sup>2</sup> Hercules his Labours in Massy Silver,<sup>3</sup> & many incomparable Pictures in small:<sup>4</sup> Likewise another which had about it 8 oriental Columns of Alabaster, on each whereof was plac'd an head of a Cæsar, cover'd with a Canopy so richly beset with precious Stones, that they resembled a firmament of Starrs:<sup>5</sup> This Cabinet<sup>6</sup> was valued at 2 hundred thousand crownes: Within was our Saviours Passion, & 12 Apostles of incomparable Amber. In another<sup>7</sup> with Calcidon Pillars was a Series of Golden Medaills. [In this Cabinet is call'd the *Tribuna*,<sup>8</sup> in which<sup>a</sup> is a pearle as big as an haizel nut:<sup>9</sup> The Cabinet<sup>10</sup> is of Ebonie, Lazuli & Jasper: Over the doore a round of *M: Angelo*,<sup>11</sup> on the Cabinet Leo the tenth<sup>12</sup> with other paintings of Raphaels, *del Sartos*, *Perugino*, & *Corregio* viz. a *St. John*,<sup>13</sup> a *Virgin*,<sup>14</sup> a *boy*, two Apostles & 2 heads of *Durer*,<sup>15</sup> rar(e)ly

<sup>a</sup> Followed by a table of inlayd precious stones representing *Ligorn*: here, deleted.

<sup>1</sup> This is badly taken from Pflaumern, pp. 138–9, who is describing the *Tribuna*: Bocchi, pp. 51–4. The room was octagonal, the windows of oriental crystal. Evelyn has apparently confused it with the octagonal cabinet, the *Studiolo*, which stood in its centre, for which see below.

<sup>2</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 138. Probably of German workmanship: Bocchi, pp. 52–3. It was not placed on one of the important cabinets.

<sup>3</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 138. By Giovanni Bologna: Bocchi, p. 53. There were several groups, some of which still exist: A. Desjardins, *La vie et l'œuvre de Jean Bologne*, 1883, pp. 139–40. They were apparently on the walls of the room.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Lassels, i. 171.

<sup>5</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 139. The *Studiolo*: Bocchi, pp. 54–5.

<sup>6</sup> From Raymond, p. 34. A different cabinet; Evelyn is wrong in identifying it with the preceding; for it see notice below, May 1645.

<sup>7</sup> From Raymond, p. 35. The

*Studiolo* again.

<sup>8</sup> This note, except the last sentence, is from Monconys, i. 110. Monconys places the *Studiolo* in another room, a 'cabinet d'Allemagne' in the *Tribuna*; he makes the great pearl part of the decoration of this second cabinet. Lassels places the *Studiolo* in this room, making the pearl part of its decoration: i. 172–3.

<sup>9</sup> 'Une noix verte.'

<sup>10</sup> i.e. the 'cabinet d'Allemagne'.

<sup>11</sup> The Holy Family, still in the Uffizi.

<sup>12</sup> 'Sur le cabinet est Léon X. avec deux chambriers de *Raphaël*, & plusieurs autres du dit *André*, & *Pietro Perugin*.' The Leo X is now in the Pitti palace.

<sup>13</sup> This was a head of St. John by Correggio. It is not traceable.

<sup>14</sup> The Madonna by Correggio, still in the Uffizi. The boy was also by him.

<sup>15</sup> 'Deux Apostres d'*Albert*, & deux testes du mesme qui sont extrêmement finies.' The Uffizi possesses

carved.\* Here is also another rich Ebony Cabinet<sup>1</sup> Cupola'd with a tortois shell<sup>2</sup> & containing a Collection of gold Medails esteemd worth 50000 crounes, a wreathed Pillar of Oriental Alabaster,<sup>3</sup> divers Paintings<sup>4</sup> of *da Vinci*, *Pontorno*,<sup>5</sup> *del Sarto*, an *Ecce homo* of Titian,<sup>6</sup> a *boy* of *Bronzini* &c.:<sup>7</sup>

They also shew us a branch of Corall fix'd on the rock which they affirme dos still grow.<sup>8]</sup><sup>b</sup>

In another roome is kept the Tabernacle appointed for the Chapel of St. Laurence, about which are placed divers small statues of Saints of precious materials, a piece of that Art & Cost, as having been these 40 yeares in perfecting, is certainly one of the most curious & rare things in the World.<sup>9</sup>

Here were divers incomparable tables of *Pietra Commessa*,<sup>10</sup> which is<sup>c</sup> a marble ground inlayd with severall sorts of marbles & stones of divers colours, in the shapes of flowers, trees, beasts, birds & Landskips like the natural: In one is represented the Towne of *Ligorne*,<sup>11</sup> by the same hand who inlayes the Altar of St. Laurence, *Domenico Benotti*<sup>12</sup> of whom I purchas'd 19 pieces of the same worke for a Cabinet.<sup>13</sup>

\* Followed by *an huge Candle stick of Amber, &c.*: deleted.      <sup>b</sup> The relation of this marginal note to the text is uncertain; I have followed V as far as possible.      <sup>c</sup> Followed by *of* deleted.

heads of SS. James and Philip by Dürer. 'Carved' is an error.

<sup>1</sup> From Monconys, i. 110. The Studiolo again.

<sup>2</sup> A mistranslation: 'la copule est en escailles'; cf. Bocchi, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below, p. 192.

<sup>4</sup> 'Plusieurs tableaux de Vierge.'

<sup>5</sup> Jacopo Carucci called Jacopo da Pontormo, 1494-1557.

<sup>6</sup> Probably Titian's half-length of the Saviour, now in the Pitti, brought to Florence in 1631: Gotti, p. 382.

<sup>7</sup> 'Un jeune garçon vestu d'une casaque rouge'; Don Garzia de' Medici in the Uffizi, by Agnolo Bronzino (1503-72).

<sup>8</sup> From Monconys, ii. 483. Monconys saw it in 1664, when it was

apparently a recent acquisition.

<sup>9</sup> In part from Raymond, p. 34. This ciborium, designed by Bernardo Buontalenti (1536-1608), was begun 1599-1610; it was never finished or taken to the chapel (below, pp. 198-9); its materials were ultimately dispersed: Zobi, pp. 194-5, 200-1; D. Moreni, *Delle tre sontuose Cappelle Medicee*, 1813, pp. 221-2.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Raymond, p. 34. *Pietra commessa* is Florentine mosaic; for it see the work by Zobi cited above.

<sup>11</sup> Formerly, if not still, in the Sala del Baroccio in the Uffizi.

<sup>12</sup> Not traceable in Zobi or in Thieme, *Lexikon*; in 1664 he was helping Monconys to buy pictures: Monconys, ii. 481.

<sup>13</sup> Still preserved at Wotton.

In a Presse neere these they shew'd us an Yron-naile,<sup>1</sup> one halfe whereof being converted into gold by one Thurnheuser a German Chymist, is look'd on as a greate rarity [but it plainly appears to have ben but sother'd:]<sup>a 2</sup> There is a curious Watch,<sup>3</sup> a monstrous Turcois as big as an Egge, on which is engraven an Emperors head:<sup>4</sup> From hence we went into the Armory,<sup>5</sup> where is conserved many antique habits, as that of the Chineze Kings, the Sword of *Charlemain*: an Italian lock for their wanton Wives or jealous Husbands: Hanibals headpiece;<sup>6</sup> & a [huge]<sup>a</sup> Load-stone [of a yard long]<sup>a</sup> of that Vertue as it beares up 86 pounds<sup>7</sup> weight very well: [in a chaine of 17 links, such as the slaves<sup>8</sup> are tied to.]<sup>b</sup> In the Presse of another roome they shew'd us such rare tourneries in Ivory, as are not to be describ'd for their curiosity:<sup>9</sup> likewise a faire Pillar of Oriental Alabaster,<sup>10</sup> and 12 vast, & compleate Services of Silver plate, & one of Gold,<sup>11</sup> all of them

<sup>a</sup> Interlined.      <sup>b</sup> Marginal note.

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 139. Thurnheuser is Leonhard Thurneisser zum Thurn, 1530-c. 1595: *Allgemeine deutsche Biog.* The nail may have been a specimen of his skill as a goldsmith rather than as an alchemist; the process of plating iron with gold was apparently first published in 1620: J. C. W. Moehsen, *Beiträge*, &c., 1783, pp. 181-2.

<sup>2</sup> From Monconys, ii. 477. The notice dates from 1664.

<sup>3</sup> 'Horologium . . . Solis siderumque stas circumvolutiones exhibens': Pflaumern, p. 139. Bocchi describes a dial here showing the direction of the wind, the solstices, &c.: p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> From Raymond, who, however, describes the turquoise merely as 'bigger than a Walnut': p. 35. Bocchi states that the emperor is Julius Caesar: p. 52; Lassels, *Tiberius*: i. 167.

<sup>5</sup> From Raymond, p. 35. It appears to have occupied rooms opening out of the west corridor. It was dispersed in 1776, most of

its contents being sold: R. Museo Nazionale di Firenze, *Catalogo*, 1898, pp. 19-21.

<sup>6</sup> Identifiable as a grotesque sixteenth-century burgonet, now or lately preserved at Tsarskoje-Selo: Sir G. F. Laking, *A record of European armour and arms*, 1920-2, iv. 134-8.

<sup>7</sup> Raymond writes 'fourescore'; '86' occurs in Monconys, i. 111. Evelyn perhaps altered the figures when altering the passage.

<sup>8</sup> i.e. galley-slaves.

<sup>9</sup> From Raymond, p. 36. They were brought from Germany: Lassels, i. 168; they are highly praised by Sir Dudley North: R. North, *Life of Sir Dudley*, p. 25.

<sup>10</sup> From Raymond, p. 36. Mentioned above in the notes from Monconys.

<sup>11</sup> These and the saddle from Raymond, p. 36. They were kept in the wardrobe in the Palazzo Vecchio, which communicates with the Uffizi by a bridge: Monconys, i. 111.

of (incomparable)<sup>a</sup> workmanship; besides a rich embrodred Saddle [of pearls]<sup>b</sup> sent by the Emp: to this Duke [& here is that embrodred chaire set with precious stones, that he sits in when on St. *Johns* day he receives the Tribute of the Citties:]<sup>c</sup><sup>1</sup>

On the 25, we went to see the Portico<sup>2</sup> where the famous Statues of Judith & Olofernes<sup>3</sup> stand; also that of the Medusa,<sup>4</sup> all of Copper; but what is most admirable the rape of a Sabine<sup>5</sup> [of Jo. de *Bologna*]<sup>b</sup> with another man under foote, the confusion & twining of whose members, consisting of one entire White marble, is most stupendious; this stands directly against the<sup>d</sup> greate Piazza, where to adorne one fountaine<sup>6</sup> are erected 4 marble statues, & 8 of brasse representing Neptune & his family of Sea Gods &c of a Colossean magnitude with 4 Sea horses in parian marble [of *Lamardati*,]<sup>b</sup><sup>7</sup> & in the midst of a monstrous basin, a worke I thinke hardly to be paralleld in the World. [Here is also that famous Statue of David of M: Angelo, of Hercules & Cacus of *Baccio Bandinelli*, the *Persius* in Coper of *Benvenetos*<sup>e</sup> & the *Judith*

<sup>a</sup> MS. *incomparably*.    <sup>b</sup> Interlined.    <sup>c</sup> Inserted at end of paragraph.  
<sup>d</sup> Followed by *Palace* deleted.    <sup>e</sup> Altered from *Benevenetos*.

<sup>1</sup> From Monconys, ii. 477-8. The St. John's Day ceremony, the most important in the Florentine year, is fully described by G. Cambiagi, *Mem. istor. riguardanti le feste solite farsi in Firenze per la natività di San Gio. Batista*, 1766, pp. 117-54; see also Aerssen, p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> The Loggia dei Lanzi. The account of the statues here and in the square is from Pflaumern, pp. 139-40, with additional matter from Raymond, pp. 29-31; the inserted passages from Monconys, as noted.

<sup>3</sup> The group by Donatello (c. 1386-1466). It was placed beneath the arch at the west end of the Loggia in 1504: Vasari, ed. Milanesi, ii. 405 n.; it has recently been moved to a position near the fountain of Neptune.

<sup>4</sup> The Perseus of Benvenuto  
3811.2

Cellini (1500-71); still *in situ*.

<sup>5</sup> The title of the work from Raymond; the description from Pflaumern; the sculptor's name from Monconys, i. 110. Still *in situ*.

<sup>6</sup> Evelyn has mistranslated Pflaumern's description: 'quem [i.e. the fountain] circumlocatæ sunt quatuor candidi marmoris statuæ, & apud singulas æreæ duæ, sed minores. tota Neptuni familia est: ipse medius, ingenti magnitudine è Pario marmore formatus, quatuor equis dominatur.' But all the figures about the margin of the basin are of bronze: cf. Bocchi, p. 36. Evelyn's remarks are also influenced by Raymond. Two of the horses are of white, two of variegated marble.

<sup>7</sup> From Monconys, i. 110. There is no sculptor of this name; the fountain is by Ammanati.

of Donatelli, which stand publicly before the old Palace:<sup>1</sup> The *Centaure* of *Bologna* huge Collossean figures:<sup>2</sup> Neere this<sup>3</sup> stands Cosimo di Medici<sup>4</sup> on horse-back in brasse on a Pedistal of Marble [& 4 Copper Bassrelievi of Jo. *Bologna*]<sup>5</sup> with divers Inscriptions: [But the *Ferdinando* on horsback is of *Pietro Tacca*:]<sup>6</sup> Then we beheld with admiration the brazen boare<sup>7</sup> which serves for another publique Fountaine.

After dinner we went to Visite divers Churches, And,<sup>d</sup> in regard the Duke & Court were there at devotions, first to the *Annunciata*,<sup>8</sup> being a place of extraordinary repute for Sanctity; for here is a shrine that dos greate Miracles, as they pretend, by innumerable Votive Tables & other trinkets, which almost quite cover the Wales of the whole Church: This is the Image of Gabriel who saluted the B: Virgin, and which the Artist having finish'd so well, as in despaire of performing so well on the Virgins face, they report was miraculously don for him whilst he slept. Others say 'twas long since painted by St. Luke himselfe:<sup>9</sup> Who ever it was, infinite is the devotion of all Sexes to it, the Altar set off with

<sup>a</sup> Marginal note or notes.    <sup>b</sup> Interlined.    <sup>c</sup> Marginal note.    <sup>d</sup> First word of new page.

<sup>1</sup> All from Monconys, i. 110. For the statues see above, pp. 188, 193.

<sup>2</sup> From Monconys, i. 116, where, however, Monconys writes incorrectly, as if there were a figure of a centaur and near it a group of Hercules and a centaur by Bologna. The group at this time stood in the Canto de' Carnesecchi, where the Via de' Cerretani joins the Via dei Banchi; it is now, after various removals, in the Loggia dei Lanzi: Cinelli, p. 211; Desjardins, *Jean Bologne*, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. the Neptune fountain in the square. Evelyn is still following Pflaumern.

<sup>4</sup> Cosimo I; still *in situ*. The statue, as well as the reliefs, which are only three in number, is by Bologna.

<sup>5</sup> From Monconys, i. 110.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* i. 115. Ferdinand I in the

Piazza dell' Annunziata. Raymond (p. 43) correctly states that it is by the same sculptor as the Cosimo: Cinelli, pp. 414-15; Desjardins, p. 78 n.

<sup>7</sup> From Raymond, p. 29. A copy by Pietro Tacca of the antique marble boar in the Uffizi; it still remains in place beside the Mercato Nuovo: Cinelli, pp. 216-17.

<sup>8</sup> The whole notice from Pflaumern, pp. 153-5, who in part follows Bocchi, pp. 216-20. Raymond, p. 43. The SS. Annunziata. See the further notice below, May 1645.

<sup>9</sup> The first version of the legend is that usually given: see F. Bocchi, *Opera . . . sopra l'immagine miracolosa, &c.*, 1592, pp. 24-9. The attribution to St. Luke is contradicted by Pflaumern; it occurs, however, in Raymond.

4 Columns of Oriental Alabaster, and lightnd by 30 huge silver lamps (especialy two of them) and innumerable other Pictures drawne by rare Masters; as the Story of our Saviours Passion in brasse tables inserted in Marble the worke of Jo: de Bologna,<sup>1</sup> & Baccio Bandinelli &c:<sup>2</sup>

To this Church joynes a Convent,<sup>3</sup> whose Cloister is painted in fresca very rarely: There is also neere it, an Hospital<sup>4</sup> for 1000 persons, with Nurse Children & severall other charitable accommodations.

From this place we went to see the Dukes Cavalerizzo,<sup>5</sup> where the Prince has a stable of incomparable Horses of all Countries, Arabs, Turks, Barbs, Gennets, English &c: which are continually exercisd in the menage. Nere this is the Place where are kept several Wild-beasts,<sup>6</sup> as Wolves, Catts, Bares, Tygers, & Lions: I tooke greate pleasure to see what an incredible height one of the Lyons would leape, for which I caused to be hung downe a joynt of mutton: They are loose in a deepe, Walld-Court, & therefore to be seene with much more delight than at the Tower of Lond, in their grates.<sup>a 7</sup>

[st. *Crosse*<sup>8</sup> is the chiefe Cathedrall<sup>9</sup> & its Altar-Piece is

<sup>a</sup> A leaf of K is here missing (or perhaps two leaves). It is here supplied from V.

<sup>1</sup> The chapel in which Bologna is buried contains six bronze reliefs and some bronze, marble, and stucco statues by him and his pupils: Cinelli, pp. 444-5.

<sup>2</sup> A group of God supporting the dead Christ, and other works: Bocchi, pp. 223-4.

<sup>3</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 155, who refers to the frescoes in the forecourt. The convent belonged to the Servites.

<sup>4</sup> Crudely summarized from Pflaumern, pp. 155-6. The Spedale degli Innocenti.

<sup>5</sup> From Raymond, p. 43; but Evelyn is fuller. Pflaumern, p. 158. The stables and the zoo (see below) occupied the site of the university.

<sup>6</sup> The notice is original. Raymond, p. 43; Pflaumern, pp. 158-9.

The *serraglio delle fiere*, one of the principal sights in Florence and at this time probably the best zoo in Europe. It is mentioned by almost all travellers from Montaigne onwards; it disappeared in 1777 after existing for five centuries. For its history see G. Loisel, *Hist. des ménageries*, 1912, i. 149-53, 198-201; ii. 10-11; del Migliore, pp. 242-8.

<sup>7</sup> For the London lions see James Howell, *Londinopolis*, 1657, p. 24; for the history of the Tower collection at this time Loisel, ii. 12-15.

<sup>8</sup> The notice appears to be taken from Pflaumern, pp. 159-60, with additions as noted, but is in part badly transcribed. Raymond, pp. 44-5. S. Croce. Its façade was still unfinished.

<sup>9</sup> 'S. Crucis templum, si Cathe-



painted with the Miracles of S. Francis and rare sculpture,<sup>1</sup> & so is the Sepulchre of the famous *Mich: Angelo*,<sup>2</sup> wrought & design'd by his owne hand, being Painter, Sculptor, Architect, Poet: Here is also buried *Galileo*:<sup>3</sup> To this joyns a large Covent of Franciscans,<sup>4</sup> and the House where in Pope Urban VIII was born, but no considerable fabrick save for the painted out-side:<sup>5</sup> st. Michaels Church,<sup>6</sup> the Altar of the B. Virgin curiously Carved, in w(h)ite Marble, within full of statues.

St. Mary Florida,<sup>7</sup> built by Arnulpho Lupo,<sup>8</sup> with a vast Cupola of octogon forme—154 yards high,<sup>9</sup> besids the Pinnacle<sup>10</sup> 36 yards higher: a globe of Gilt Copper: diameter 20. foote.<sup>11</sup> The Pillars marble, and one of that bignesse as contains<sup>a</sup> a pair of stayers which leads into the Borle:<sup>12</sup> The whole structure of this Church is built of white, black Polished marbles even the very out-side,<sup>13</sup> with a Gallery round it of stone, so as consider'd alltogether, tis reputed one of the

<sup>a</sup> Abbreviated in MS.; perhaps *contain*.

drale excipias, quodlibet aliud mole superat.'

<sup>1</sup> Pflaumern praises the architecture of the altars in the aisles and the reliefs of the life of St. Francis decorating the pulpit; it is to the latter that Evelyn's remarks apply. The high altar was unimportant.

<sup>2</sup> Probably in part from Raymond, p. 44; poet added by Evelyn. The monument is by various sculptors; Michelangelo had desired to make a tomb here for himself; hence its attribution to him: Cinelli, p. 320.

<sup>3</sup> Probably from Monconys, i. 116. Galileo died in 1642.

<sup>4</sup> Pflaumern, p. 160.

<sup>5</sup> From Monconys, i. 116, but there as the pope's house, not his birthplace. Maffeo Barberini, pope as Urban VIII from 1623 to 1644, was born in Florence in 1568. The house here described appears to be the Palazzo dell' Antella.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 140-1. Or San Michele, with Orcagna's taber-

nacle.

<sup>7</sup> The whole notice from Pflaumern, pp. 141-4. Raymond, p. 39. S. Maria del Fiore, the cathedral. The façade was at this time a rough brick wall: see C. J. Cavallucci, *S. Maria del Fiore e la sua facciata*, 1887; plates in B. S. Sgrilli, *Descr. . . di S. Maria del Fiore*, 1733.

<sup>8</sup> Vasari's name for Arnolfo di Cambio (d. c. 1302): see Thieme, *Lexikon*.

<sup>9</sup> 'Ulnae', in Bocchi 'braccia': p. 20. The Florentine *braccio* was 0.583 m. or 22.95 inches long.

<sup>10</sup> The lantern, excluding the ball and cross.

<sup>11</sup> 'Amplitude est pedum xx. metiendo non diametron solam, sed peripheriam totam.' Bocchi gives its height as four *braccia*: p. 20.

<sup>12</sup> Evelyn means one of the piers of the lantern of the cupola, containing the stairs leading to the ball: cf. Pflaumern.

<sup>13</sup> The interior is not lined with marble.

nobl(e)st building(s) in Europe: The Volto of the Domo<sup>a</sup> is painted by Vasari & Zuchari:<sup>1</sup> The Altar is of Bandinella,<sup>2</sup> adorn'd with the statues of the Apostles. *Dantes* the Poet lys here interred,<sup>3</sup> *Marsilius Ficinus*<sup>4</sup> & Ph: *Brunelesius*:<sup>5</sup> who built the Cupala: By this church stands a Toure<sup>6</sup> of the same Material, neere 400 f. high:<sup>7</sup> so artific(i)aly that a man standing in a place call'd Canta della Pagl(i)a<sup>8</sup> may *Uno intuito* see every square of the sides, all rarely beautified with Carving: In the same *Arëa* is the *Baptistary* or Church of st. *John*,<sup>9</sup> 8 square of White & Bl: marble without, & incrusted within: The floore of divers Coloured stones, & the Cupola of rare Mosaick after the Greeke manner.<sup>10</sup> In the Midst is the *Font* of one intire Alabaster exquisitly sculptur'd:<sup>11</sup> but what transcends all description (& by many look'd-on as one of the worlds Wonders) are 3 paire of Brasen Gates, cast with the storys of the Bible: The Paving is Mosaick & so the Roofe & Domo: & in the Church the 12 Apostle marble<sup>12</sup> before the

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *by* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> Federico Zuccari, *c.* 1543–1609.

<sup>2</sup> The altar was decorated with several figures by Bandinelli, but with no apostles among them; they have now been removed elsewhere: Cavallucci, pp. 190–1; figured in Sgrilli, pl. xv. The apostles are by various sculptors, but Bandinelli is not among them; they stand, as they have always done, about the piers of the dome. The error is due to Evelyn.

<sup>3</sup> Pflaumern states that his effigy is here, i.e. the picture by Domenico di Michelino (1417–91). Dante is buried in Ravenna.

<sup>4</sup> 1433–99; philosopher: *Encic. italiana*.

<sup>5</sup> i.e. Filippo Brunelleschi, 1377–1446.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 144–5. Raymond, pp. 39–40. The Campanile.

<sup>7</sup> 144 'ulnae', 'braccia': cf. above, p. 196.

<sup>8</sup> '[Turris] habet quattuor latera aperta, & muro templi nulla ex parte immissa: sita eo artificio, ut

qui ad angulum straminis (locus est vulgo *canto della paglia* vocitatus) constiterit, unico intuito omnia videat.' This refers to the open windows in the upper part of the tower. The Canto della Paglia was the corner where the Borgo S. Lorenzo joins the Via de' Cerretani. From it one can presumably see parts of the two further windows through the two nearer ones.

<sup>9</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 145–6, with additional matter from Raymond, p. 40, and Monconys, i. 112–13, as noted.

<sup>10</sup> 'The old *Grecian* Pieces at the top': Raymond.

<sup>11</sup> 'Alabastrinum baptisterium bellissimè elaboratum.'

<sup>12</sup> These statements relating to the paving, the mosaic roof, and the apostles are taken from Monconys. The last were twelve papier mâché figures made by Ammanati: Richa, vol. v, p. xxxix. 'Before the Entrance' belongs with the porphyry columns.

Entrance: 2 Imperfect Columns of Porphyrie, (brought)<sup>a</sup> from Pisa.

On the 17th<sup>1</sup> I purchased the Pietra Comm(e)ssa Pieces for my Cabinet;<sup>2</sup> bespoke 4. rare small statues of stucci made onely by that rare Artist *Vincetio Brocchi*:<sup>3</sup> Collecting some Prints & drawings I went to see the renowned Church, Chapell & Library of St. *Laurences*<sup>4</sup> in which the *Medicean* Family are buried, with Banners over them:<sup>5</sup> The Church is wholly of White-marble<sup>6</sup> in which a statue of the B.V. of *Parian* stone,<sup>7</sup> with the Sepulcre of *Paulus Jovius*<sup>8</sup> & the figures of *Cosmas & Damianus*<sup>9</sup> Tutelares of the Medicean Family: Above is the Bibl(i)otheca,<sup>10</sup> onely of Manuscripts, most in the Gr: & Oriental, & divers Latine Languages & (they) shewed us The Comedys of *Terrence*,<sup>11</sup> interlined they say by his owne hand: Hence we were conducted to the third<sup>b</sup> heaven if any be on Earth, the famous *Mausoleum* or Chapel<sup>12</sup>

<sup>a</sup> MS. *bro*:/ought (break of line).

<sup>b</sup> Substituted for *second*.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently an error for 27 October.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> Not traceable in Zobi or in Thieme, *Lexikon*. He is mentioned again below, May 1645.

<sup>4</sup> The notice of the church from Pflaumern, pp. 148-9. S. Lorenzo.

<sup>5</sup> Some of the earlier Medici, including Cosimo 'Pater Patriae', are buried in the church, where the banners were, and in the old sacristy; the most important tombs artistically are those by Michelangelo in the new sacristy.

<sup>6</sup> 'Sacellum candido intus marmore opertum'; i.e. the new sacristy.

<sup>7</sup> By Michelangelo; in the new sacristy.

<sup>8</sup> It is in the cloister to the south of the church. For Jovius see above, p. 189.

<sup>9</sup> By followers of Michelangelo; in the new sacristy.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Pflaumern, p. 149; Raymond, p. 41.

<sup>11</sup> This MS. is mentioned in *Itin. Italiae totius*, 1602, p. 98. It dates from the ninth or tenth century and

is still in the library (xxxviii. 24); it bears a note stating that it is said to have been written by Terence himself: F. Umpfenbach, preface to the *Comoediae*, 1870, p. xviii.

<sup>12</sup> Apparently from Raymond, pp. 40-1, with additions from Monconys, i. 114, and Pflaumern, pp. 149-50; see also Lassels, i. 156-8. The Chapel of the Princes. Pflaumern describes the project for building the chapel, which was begun only in 1604; but he notes that two millions in gold had been allotted to it. Evelyn has another description of it below, May 1645. For it see D. Moreni, *Delle tre sontuose Cappelle Medicee*; same author, *Descr. della gran cappella delle pietre dure*, &c., 1813; and Zobi.

The enthusiasm of almost all seventeenth-century travellers was due to the value of the materials of the chapel, and, to a less extent, to the skill shown in working them. Monconys is exceptional in noting the poverty of the design, but had praised it without reserve when he first saw it: ii. 476; i. 114. The

where the *Dukes* are Inhum'd, it having now ben an hundred yeares<sup>1</sup> building & not yet quite finished, for which a Million of Crowns of Gold is design'd: The Model is Octagonal, a figure much affected here, Every Square over-layed with various Colour'd Marble, Achat, Serpentine, Porphyrie, Lazuli, Amethysts, Cornelians &c: perfect Jewels in their kind & in Each quarter the Armes of the Chiefe Towns of the Duke-dom,<sup>a</sup> inlayed in their proper Blazoning,<sup>b</sup> over them are Nices of black Touch<sup>2</sup> for the statues of the Dukes; and (twixt the Escuchions & *Nices*) 8. huge Chests or Urnes of antique Forme of the most precious Marbles of various Coulers, the Ducal Cor'net & Scepter on a Cushion: The whole is cover'd with a *Domo* of rich Lapis Lazuli full of vaines of gold exceeding rich & stellified with mother of Pearle: And when the new Altar<sup>3</sup> is finish'd, it will doublesse be one of the most magnificent pieces of Art in the World: We concluded this day with st. Maria Novella & Monastery, which has in the Court 2 Pyramids of Marble upon Tortoises of Copper:<sup>4</sup> In this church<sup>5</sup> lies peter Martyr,<sup>6</sup> the Pillars on which he was decapitated standing in the Towre. Here is also buried<sup>c</sup> *Salernius*<sup>7</sup> *Remigius*<sup>8</sup> & others; and in the Splendid Chapell<sup>9</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Spelling uncertain.

<sup>b</sup> Last letters uncertain; perhaps *Blazontry*.

<sup>c</sup> Followed by *Sansovinus* deleted.

eighteenth-century travellers were more critical: cf. Edward Wright, *Some observations*, 1730, p. 422. For the third Heaven see 2 Corinthians xii. 2, and for a seventeenth-century definition below, 17 May 1702, 9 May 1703.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. in c. 1700.

<sup>2</sup> In Monconys 'parangon'. Touchstone is a fine-grained dark schist or jasper.

<sup>3</sup> For the tabernacle see above, p. 191.

<sup>4</sup> From Raymond, p. 42. The two obelisks in the piazza before the church; they were used for the chariot-races on the eve of St. John's Day: Bocchi, p. 98; Cambiagi, *Mem. istor.*, pp. 104-5.

<sup>5</sup> Mainly from Pflaumern, pp. 150-2. See James Wood Brown, *The Dominican Church of Santa Maria Novella*, 1902.

<sup>6</sup> St. Peter Martyr, 1206-52, was not decapitated, but was murdered in a wood between Como and Milan; he is buried at Sant' Eustorgio in Milan. The present monument was a tabernacle enclosing a picture: Richa, iii. 79; Brown, p. 120. Pflaumern gives the dedicatory inscription.

<sup>7</sup> The Blessed Giovannida Salerno, one of the first Dominicans to come to Florence, in 1216; the tomb, erected in 1571, is near the sacristy: Richa, iii. 49-50.

<sup>8</sup> The Blessed Remigius, d. 1319, theologian; the tomb, erected in 1577, is in the Gaddi chapel in the left transept: Richa, iii. 53.

<sup>9</sup> Pflaumern is apparently describing the Gaddi chapel; it contained the tombs of two cardinals of that family, besides that of Remigius: Bocchi, pp. 120-1.

Jo. *Boccatius*,<sup>1</sup> & Joseph Patriark of Constantinople:<sup>2</sup> Neere this is st. Marks<sup>3</sup> church & Library, belonging to the *Jacobites*, but infinite is the beauty & cost of the Chapel, designed by the famous J. de Bologne:<sup>4</sup> In the Church lies *Angelus Politianus* and the Pious Earle of *Mirandula*:<sup>5</sup> 2 famous s(c)holars: Thus having run thro the most memorable buildings & Curiositys of this noble City: we went to see the Manufactors of Silke, Damask, Velvet &c, which they report brings a yearly Revenu of two Millions of Gold;<sup>6</sup> the streetes are most of the(m) spacious, strait, & pav'd with flat broad Coarse Marble: which makes them very Cleane & faire; the Houses unive(r)saly well built of stone exceeding high, and of good Order;<sup>7</sup> But the Inhabitans very thinn in them.<sup>8</sup>

29 We tooke Horse for *Sienna*, alighting at *Poggio Imperiale*<sup>9</sup> a house of Pleasure of the Duke, little distant from Florence, but having little time to Consider it, we refer'd it for our coming back from Rome:<sup>a</sup>

We lay this night at st. *Cassiano*,<sup>10</sup> & I think next day at *Barbarini*,<sup>11</sup> a small Town, whence P. *Urbans* family: Then at

<sup>a</sup> Catchword *This* at foot of page.

<sup>1</sup> Not in the Gaddi chapel but in the church, according to Pflaumern, who probably took the inscriptions on the tomb from L. Schraderus, *Monumentorum Italiae . . . libri quatuor*, 1592, f. 83 v. But Boccaccio is buried at Certaldo in the Val d'Elsa; Cinelli expressly contradicts Pflaumern's statement: p. 238. The principal connexion of the church with Boccaccio is that it was in it that the ladies of the *Decameron* decided to retire to the country.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph II, patriarch from 1416, had come to Italy for the Council of Ferrara, which met in 1438, and was later transferred to Florence. He died here in 1440. The monument still exists.

<sup>3</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 152-3, and Raymond, p. 42. The latter gives the church as 'S. *Maries* Church belonging to the *Jacobins*', i.e. the Dominicans.

<sup>4</sup> The chapel of St. Antoninus in

the left transept.

<sup>5</sup> 'Pious' is presumably Evelyn's slip for Pico. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, 1463-94; Angiolo Poliziano, 1454-94: *Encic. italiana*.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 162.

<sup>7</sup> These remarks in part from Raymond, p. 45.

<sup>8</sup> See Burnet's remarks on the depopulation of Tuscany: *Some letters*, pp. 175-8.

<sup>9</sup> See below, May 1645.

<sup>10</sup> Raymond, p. 49; Pflaumern, p. 162. S. Casciano. The total distance by this route being about forty-five miles, Evelyn is unlikely to have spent more than one night between Florence and Siena. Raymond slept at Poggibonsi.

<sup>11</sup> '*Barbarino*, from whence the mighty stirring family of the Cardinals tooke their originall': Raymond, p. 49. Now Barberino; the family may have originally come from here: see *Encic. italiana*.

*Poggio Bunci*<sup>1</sup> famous for Snuff *Tabacco*, which the *Italians* of both sexes take excessively, we dined, & that night arrived at Siena: (Note, that Snuff was not taken in England at this time nor some yeares after:)—this famous City<sup>2</sup> stands on several rocky<sup>a</sup> Hills, which makes it uneven, has an old ruin'd Wall<sup>3</sup> about it, over-grown with *Caper* shrubbs: but the Air is incomparable, whence divers passe the heates of Summer there; Provisions cheape, the Inhabitans Courteous, & the Italian purely spoken.<sup>4</sup> The City at a little distance presents the Traveller with an incomparable Prospect,<sup>5</sup> occasion'd by the<sup>b</sup> many playne brick Towers, which (whilst it was a Free state) were erected for defence,<sup>6</sup> the tallest where off is call'd the Mangio,<sup>7</sup> standing at the foote of the Piazza, which we went first to see the next day after our arrival: At the entrance of this Tower is a Chapel<sup>8</sup> (open towards the Piazza) of marble well adorn'd with Sculpture: On the other side is the Signioria or Court of Justice,<sup>9</sup> this is

<sup>a</sup> Spelling doubtful.

<sup>b</sup> K now resumes.

<sup>1</sup> '*Poggio Bonci*, a place noted for the perfum'd *Tobacco* compos'd there; which the *Italians* through custome take in powder, as profusely, as we in *England* doe in the pipe': Raymond, p. 49. Pflaumern, p. 164. Poggibonsi. The earliest mention of snuff in *O.E.D.* dates from 1683.

<sup>2</sup> Pflaumern, pp. 165–84; Raymond, pp. 49–57, 174–6. The principal older works are: G. A. Pecci, *Ristretto delle cose più notabili della città di Siena*, 1752; references here to 2nd ed., 1759; G. Faluschi, *Breve relazione delle cose notabili della città di Siena*, 1784. Modern works generally ignore the period after the fall of the republic in 1555; the most important is C. Chledowski, *Siena*, German trans., 3rd ed., 1918, containing a good bibliography.

In his first edition (1625) Pflaumern reproduces a beautiful bird's-eye view taken from the north.

<sup>3</sup> From Raymond, p. 56. Pflaumern, p. 174; the site, p. 166.

<sup>4</sup> These general remarks mainly

from Raymond, pp. 49–50; but see also Pflaumern, pp. 166, 177. Siena was famous for the purity of its language: so J. Howell, *Instructions for Forreine Travell*, 1642, p. 104; see also Moryson, i. ii. 163.

<sup>5</sup> Raymond is praising the view from outside the Porta Romana, not that from outside the Porta Camollia, by which Evelyn would have first entered Siena: pp. 50–1. See also Pflaumern, p. 175.

<sup>6</sup> From *ibid.*, p. 174, and Raymond, p. 51. Pflaumern notes that they were already being destroyed; he mentions bricks when describing the Palazzo Pubblico: p. 169.

<sup>7</sup> From Raymond, p. 51. Pflaumern, pp. 169–70. The Mangia or Torre del Mangia.

<sup>8</sup> Probably from *ibid.*, p. 170. Raymond, p. 51. The Cappella di Piazza.

<sup>9</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 168–9, and Raymond, p. 52. The Palazzo Pubblico. Raymond's notice, like Evelyn's, is composite, being taken from various remarks in Pflaumern.

very well built, a la Moderna,<sup>1</sup> of brick; and indeede the Brick of Sienna is so rarely made, that it lookes almost as well as Porphyrie it selfe, having a kind of naturall politure.<sup>2</sup> There is in this Senate-hous a very faire hall, where they sometimes recreate the People with publique Shews and Operas, as they call them.<sup>3</sup> Towards the left hand stand the statues of Romulus & Rhemus with the Wolfe, all of brasse, plac'd on a Columne of Ophite stone, which they report was brought from the renowned Ephesian Temple;<sup>4</sup> and these Ensignes, being it seemes the Armes of the Towne, are set up in divers of the Streetes, publique Wayes both within & far without the City:<sup>5</sup>

The Piazza<sup>6</sup> compasses the faciata of the Court and Chapel, and being made with descending steps, much resembles the figure of an Escalop-shell, with the white ranges of Paving intermix'd with the incomparable brick we described, & with which generally the towne is well paved, which renders it marvailously cleane: About this Market place (for so it is) are many faire Palaces, though not built with excesse of elegance;<sup>7</sup> Onely there stands an Arch<sup>8</sup> (the Worke of Baltazar di Sienna)<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Closing bracket supplied; MS. has comma.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Gothic. Raymond applies this expression to the houses of Siena in general; the senate-house, he says, was 'built by the *Goths*, as some conceive from the manner of the Architecture'.

<sup>2</sup> This notice is apparently original.

<sup>3</sup> From Pflaumern; Evelyn had not yet seen an opera. This room, the former Sala del Consiglio, was first adapted for use as a theatre in 1560; it was refitted in 1647, when the Accademia de' Filomati gave an opera, *Statira*, at which Raymond was present (p. 174); and was rebuilt after a fire in 1742. Since 1670 it has belonged to the Accademia degl' Intronati: Pecci, pp. 77-8; M. Maylender, *Storia delle accademie d'Italia*, 1926-30, iii. 360.

<sup>4</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 170, who, however, writes that the column is said to have stood 'in veteri Dianæ fano', presumably in Siena itself. It stood 'ad sinistrum Curiaë angulum', i.e. at the western end, where it still remains.

<sup>5</sup> From *ibid.*, p. 165, or Raymond, p. 52. Ensignes, meaning tokens or emblems, is perhaps taken from Pflaumern's 'signa'.

<sup>6</sup> This notice is taken from Pflaumern, pp. 170-3, but the language is influenced by Raymond, pp. 52-3.

<sup>7</sup> Pflaumern states that they are mainly Gothic: p. 170.

<sup>8</sup> From *ibid.*, pp. 172-3. It formed part of the buildings at the western end of the piazza; it is described by Pecci, who gives as builder

built with wonderfull diligence, no man being able to conceive how it is supported; yet has it some imperceptable contignations<sup>1</sup> which do not betray themselves easily to the Eye.

On the edge of the Piazza is a goodly Fountaine<sup>2</sup> beautified with Statues, the water issuing out of the wolves mouth, being the Worke of Jacopo Quercei,<sup>3</sup> a famous Artist: There are likewise divers other publique Fountains in the City of good designe.<sup>4</sup> After this we walk'd to the Sapienza,<sup>5</sup> which is the University or Coledge rather, where the high Germans enjoy many particular priveleges, who addict themselves to the Civil Law: And indeede this Place has produc'd divers excellent Scholars; besides those three Popes Alex: 3,<sup>a</sup> Pius the 2d & the 3d of that name,<sup>b</sup> the learned Æneas Silvius, both of that antient house of the Piccolomini.<sup>6</sup>

The Chiefe streete is calld Strada Romana. Pius the 2d has built a most stately Palace of Square stone, with that incomparable Portico joyning neere to it.<sup>7</sup>

This Towne is commanded by a Castle,<sup>8</sup> which hath to it 4

<sup>a</sup> Comma supplied.

<sup>b</sup> Comma supplied.

Guerrino dal Borgo S. Sepolcro: p. 75. Baltazar is presumably Baldassarre Peruzzi, 1481-1536.

<sup>1</sup> A contignation here is a joining together; it is properly used of timber, not, as here apparently, of stone: *O.E.D.*

<sup>2</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 173, and Raymond, p. 53. The Fonte Gaia, in the centre of the piazza, now replaced by a copy; the original is in the Palazzo Pubblico.

<sup>3</sup> 'Opera Iacobi Quercei', that is, of Jacopo della Quercia, *c.* 1367-1438.

<sup>4</sup> Pflaumern notes the water-supply: p. 173.

<sup>5</sup> From *ibid.*, pp. 175-6, 177, badly summarized. Pflaumern, who was made a *doctor iuris utriusque* of Siena in 1607 (A. Fischer, *Die literarische Tätigkeit*, p. 2), notes

the decline of the university. The building was situated near S. Domenico.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 167. Alexander III, 1159-81; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, b. 1405, pope as Pius II, 1458-64; Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, b. 1439, pope as Pius III, September-October 1503. By 1644 there was a fourth Sienese pope, Camillo Borghese, b. 1552, pope as Paul V, 1605-21; and by 1660 a fifth, Fabio Chigi, b. 1599, pope as Alexander VII from 1655 to 1667.

<sup>7</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 168. The Palazzo Piccolomini and the Portico del Papa. Evelyn's praise of these early renaissance buildings is due to his translating Pflaumern.

<sup>8</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 178. The Forte S. Barbera, built by Cosimo I to dominate Siena.



bastions, and a Garison of Souldiers, neere which a list to ride horses in, much frequented in summer by the Gallants.<sup>1</sup>

Not far hence is the Church and Convent of the Dominicans,<sup>2</sup> where in the Chapel of St. Catharine of Sienna, they shew her head, the rest of her body being translated to Rome:<sup>3</sup> Then we went up to the Domo or Cathedral,<sup>4</sup> which is both without and within of large square stones of black & white marble polish'd, of inexpressable beauty; as likewise is the front, being much adorn'd with Sculpture and rare statues: In the middle is a stately Cupola bearing two other Columns of sundry streaked Colour'd marble;<sup>5</sup> about the body of the church on a Cornic within are inserted the heads of all the Popes; the Pulpit infinitely beautified with marble figures, a piece of exquisite worke;<sup>6</sup> but what exceeds all description is the Pavement,<sup>7</sup> where (besides the various Emblemes & other figures in the nave of the Cathedral) the Quire is wrought with the History of the Bible, so artificialy express'd in the natural Colours of marble, that few painters are able to exceede it with the Pensil: Here stands a Christo rarely cut in marble,<sup>8</sup> and on the high Altar, a large brasen Vessell of admirable invention & Art.<sup>9</sup> The Organs are exceeding sweete & well tun'd. On the lef(t) side of the Altar is the

---

<sup>a</sup> Or *workes*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Raymond, p. 56. The Lizza, a name which perhaps suggested Evelyn's word list, on the site of the modern Viale Curtatone; the whole area was altered and improved in 1777-8: Faluschi, pp. 189-93.

<sup>2</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 177-8.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn's error. St. Catherine (1347-80) died and was buried in Rome; her head was subsequently cut off and brought hither: *Acta sanctorum*, 30 April, p. 977.

<sup>4</sup> The notice is almost entirely taken from Pflaumern, pp. 178-81, and Raymond, pp. 53-5. Except for the Cappella del Voto, added c. 1661, and for some additions to the pavement and some restoration, the cathedral is much as Evelyn saw it.

<sup>5</sup> This is unintelligible; Pflaumern describes the changes in the striation of the columns about the cupola.

<sup>6</sup> If 'works' is the correct reading, for its meaning see below, p. 296 n.

<sup>7</sup> Part of the pavement beneath the cupola is modern in design and execution; the rest is preserved intact, except for a few panels replaced by copies: R. H. Hobart Cust, *The pavement masters of Siena*, 1901.

<sup>8</sup> The relief of the Crucifixion forming part of the pulpit: Pflaumern, p. 180.

<sup>9</sup> The ciborium.

Library where in are Painted the Acts of Æneas Sylvius & others by Raphael:<sup>1</sup> and here they shew'd us an Arme of st. Jo: the Baptist, wherewith they say he baptis'd o(u)r B: Saviour in Jordan; given by the King of Peloponesus to one of the Popes, as an inscription testifies:<sup>2</sup> also St. Peters Sword wherewith he smote of Malchus's Eare. Just against the Cathedral we went into the Hospital<sup>3</sup> where they entertaine & refresh such Pilgrimes as goe to Rome, 3 or 4 dayes gratis:<sup>4</sup> In the Chapell belonging to it lye(s) the body of St. Susorius<sup>5</sup> their founder as yet uncorrupted though dead many hundreds of yeares; they also shew one of the Nailes that pierced our Saviour; and st. Jo: Chrisostomes Comment on the Gospel written by his owne hand:<sup>6</sup> below the hill stands the poole cal'd Fonte Brande, where fish are nourish'd for Pleasure more then foode.<sup>7</sup>

St. Francis Church is a large pile, neere which (yet a little without the Citty) growes a tree which they report in their Legend grew from the Saints Staff, which going to sleepe he fix'd in the ground, and found it miraculously a huge growne-tree at his waking; they affirme that the wood of it in decoc-tions cures sundry diseases.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Raphael is from Raymond; Aeneas Sylvius from Pflaumern; 'and others' is due to mistranslation. The frescoes are by Bernardino Pintoricchio, *c.* 1454-1513.

<sup>2</sup> It is kept in the Cappella di S. Giovanni. It is said to have been given to the cathedral by Pius II in 1464, having been given to him by Thomas Palaeologus, despot of the Morea: O. Fratini and A. Bruni, *Descr. del duomo di Siena*, 1818, pp. 44-5; but there appears to be no reference to it in the accounts of Pius II's life.

<sup>3</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 181-2, and Raymond, p. 55. The hospital of S. Maria della Scala. See *Siena: i R.R. spedali uniti di S. Maria della Scala* ('Il piccolo cicerone moderno', no. 9), [1913].

<sup>4</sup> Raymond says that the pilgrims

'may come and take two or three meales gratis'.

<sup>5</sup> The Beato Sorore, 832-98: life by G. Lombardelli, 1585.

<sup>6</sup> Identifiable as a tenth-century MS. of the Gospels, now in the Biblioteca Comunale: Faluschi, pp. 49-50; *Siena: i R.R. spedali*, pp. 16-18. Chrysostom was said to have written it; Pflaumern is responsible for making it contain his Homilies on the Gospels.

<sup>7</sup> From Raymond, p. 55. Pflaumern, p. 173. Fontebranda. Raymond is the only authority for the fish and is probably wrong.

<sup>8</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 176. The church was burnt down in 1655 and has since been rebuilt. The tree grew beside the Pieve of S. Francesco all' Alberino; it or one of its successors survived until *c.* 1800. It is

Nov: 2d<sup>1</sup> We went from Sienna, desirous to be present at the Cavalcad of the new Pope Innocentio decimo, who had not as yet made the grand Procession to st. Jo: de Laterano:<sup>2</sup> We set out by Porto Romano, the Country all about the towne being rare for hunting and Game; so as Wild-Boare and Venison is frequently sold in the shops in many of the Townes about it:<sup>3</sup> And first we pass'd neere Mont Oliveto,<sup>4</sup> where the monastrie of that Order is pleasantly situated, and worth the seeing: Passing over a bridg<sup>5</sup> (which by the Inscription shews it to have been built by Prince Matthias) we went through Buon-Convento<sup>6</sup> famous for the Death of the Emperor Hen: 7th who was here poyson'd in the holy Eucharist: Thence we came to Torniero<sup>7</sup> where we din'd. This Village lyes in a

---

\* Altered from *Torr-*.

---

not mentioned in the *Fioretti*. See L. de Angelis, *Dell' albero di S. Francesco*, 1827.

<sup>1</sup> This date is perhaps wrong. Evelyn gives 4 November as the date of his arrival in Rome, probably correctly. He accounts for two days from Siena to Acquapendente, about 58 miles; although he says that he left Acquapendente on 4 November, the distance from there to Rome, about 80 miles, appears excessive for a single and apparently short day's journey. But he gives too little detail between Viterbo and Rome for his movements to be satisfactorily followed.

He uses Pflaumern and Raymond for the journey; from the latter he took his spelling of the place-names.

There is a good short account of the journey in *Itinerarium Italiae totius*, 1602, pp. 121-3. For the road see E. Martinori, *Le vie maestre d'Italia: Via Cassia*, 1930. The most important of the old descriptions is given by de Blainville, who travelled from Rome to Siena in December 1707: *Travels* (English trans.), 1743-5, iii. 558-93.

<sup>2</sup> Giambattista Pamfili was elected

pope on 15 September and took the name of Innocent X. For the conclave see E. Chinazzi, *Sede vacante*, &c., 1904; for the procession to the Lateran, below, pp. 279-81.

<sup>3</sup> From Raymond, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 194-6. The Olivetans, a branch of the Benedictines, were founded in 1313 and received papal recognition in 1324; the order still exists. The monastery lies at some miles from the direct road from Siena to Buon-convento; Evelyn apparently did not visit it himself.

<sup>5</sup> From Raymond, who prints the inscription: p. 57. The bridge over the Ombrone: de Blainville, iii. 593. Matteo de' Medici, 1613-67, general, a younger brother of the reigning grand-duke Ferdinand II.

<sup>6</sup> From Raymond, p. 58, or Pflaumern, pp. 196-7. Henry VII died here from natural causes in 1313; reports of his having been given poison in the chalice when communicating were in circulation soon afterwards: see *Encic. italiana*.

<sup>7</sup> From Raymond, p. 58, or Pflaumern, p. 197. Both give the name as Tornieri; now Torrenieri.

sweete Vally in view of Mount Alcini<sup>1</sup> famous for the rare Muscatello; twas heretofore Mons Ilicinus. After 3 miles more we goe by St. Querico,<sup>2</sup> and lay at a Privat Osteria neere it, where, after we were provided of Lodging, in came Cardinal Donghi<sup>3</sup> a Genoeze by birth, now come from Rome; He was so civil as to entertaine us with greate respect, hearing we were English, for that he told us he had been once in our Country; amongst other discourse, he related how a Dove was seene to sit upon the Chayre in the Conclave, at the Election of Pope Innocent,<sup>4</sup> which he magnified as a greate good Omen, with several other particulars which we enquir'd of him, till our Suppers parted us: I remember he came in great state, with his owne Bed-stead, & all the furniture; yet would by no meanes suffer us to resigne the room we had taken up in the Lodging, before his arival.

We rod next morning by Monte Pientio, or as vulgarly Monte Mantumiato,<sup>5</sup> which is of an excessive height, ever & anon peeping above any Clowds with its snowy head; till we had climed<sup>a</sup> to the Inn at Radicofany,<sup>6</sup> built by Ferdinando the Greate Duke for the necessary refreshment of travellers in so inhospitable a place: as we ascended, we enter'd a very thick, soled and darke body of Clowds, which look'd like rocks

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *climbed*.

<sup>1</sup> Montalcino. Mons Ilicinus is apparently an invention of Pflaumern's.

<sup>2</sup> So Raymond, who evidently slept at the same inn as Evelyn: p. 58. Pflaumern, pp. 197–8. S. Quirico d'Orcia. The inn probably at La Poderina.

<sup>3</sup> Gianstefano Donghi, d. 1668; created cardinal 13 July 1643. Dr. J. Bargrave gives him a favourable character: *Pope Alexander VII*, p. 60. His presence in England is not traceable.

<sup>4</sup> A dove bearing an olive-branch forms part of the coat of arms of the Pamfili, to which family Innocent X belonged; when a dove settled on his cell during the conclave, it was considered a presage of his election: F.

Cancellieri, *Storia de' solenni possessi*, 1802, p. 208. His arms were considered a favourable omen for a peaceful reign: A. Taurellus, *De novissima electione Innocentii X*, 1644, pp. 4–5. The papacy had just emerged from the war of Castro.

<sup>5</sup> Pflaumern, p. 198; Raymond, pp. 58–9. Monte Amiata. It is 5,689 ft. high. Monte Pientio is a slip; Pflaumern describes Pienza ('Pientia') as placed on its mountain, with Monte Amiata opposite it.

<sup>6</sup> Pflaumern, p. 198, who mentions Ferdinand, for the inn and the fort; Raymond, p. 58. The description of the place is almost entirely original. The inn building still exists, but is now a villa: de Blainville, iii. 588; Martinori, p. 138 n.

at a little distance, which dured<sup>1</sup> us for neere a mile going up; they were dry misty Vapours hanging undissolved for a vast thickness, & altogether both obscuring the Sunn & Earth, so as we seemed to be rather in the Sea than the Clowdes, till we having pierc'd quite through, came into a most serene heaven, as if we had been above all human Conversation, the Mountaine appearing more like a greate Iland, than joynd to any other hills; for we could perceiue nothing but a Sea of thick Clowds rowling under our feete like huge Waves, ever now & then suffering the top of some other mountaine to peepe through, which we could discover many miles off, and betweene some breaches of the Clowds, Landskips and Villages of the subjacent Country: This was I must acknowledge one of the most pleasant, new & altogether surprizing objects that in my life I had ever beheld: On the summit of this horrid rock (for so it is) is built a very strong Fort Garnisond and somewhat beneath it, a small Towne, whose Provisions are drawne up with ropes & Engines, the Precipice being otherwise inaccessible. At one End of the Towne lye heapes of Rocks so strangely congested, & broaken, which have been broaken off from the ragged Mountaine, as would affright one with their horror and menacing postures. Just opposite to the Inn gushed out a plentifull & most usefull fountaine which falls into a great trough of stone, bearing the Duke of Tuscany's Armes.<sup>2</sup> Here we din'd, and I with my blacklead pen tooke the Prospect:<sup>3</sup> it being also one of the utmost confines of the Etrurian State towards the St. Peters Patrimony, since the gift of Matilda to Greg: the VIIth,<sup>4</sup> as is

<sup>1</sup> So: 'The *wood* being preserv'd dry will dure a very long time': *Sylva*, 1664, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> de Blainville, iii. 588.

<sup>3</sup> According to Bray there is an etching of this view at Wotton.

<sup>4</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 198-9, including the donation; Raymond, p. 59. The frontier was some miles farther on, just before Centeno. St. Peter's Patrimony, the name originally given to the whole papal terri-

tory, was from the fourteenth century restricted to Roman Etruria, which was separated from Latium by the Tiber. This was later believed to have formed part of the lands bequeathed to the Church by the Countess Matilda of Tuscany (1046-1115): F. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, 1906, iv. 342 n. Gregory VII (Hildebrand) reigned from 1073 to 1085.

pretended: Here we passe a bridge of stone built by Pope Greg: XIIIth<sup>a</sup> and thence immediately to Aquapendente,<sup>2</sup> a Towne situated on a very raged rock, downe which precipitates an intire river of Water, which gives it the denomination with a most horrid roaring noise. We lay at the Post-house<sup>3</sup> wher I could not choose (but) to observe the Capriccio of the Masters Motto under it

L'Insegna della Posta, è posta a Posta  
In questa posta, fin che habbia à sua posta  
Ogn' un Cavallo a Vetturi in Posta.

Before 'twas darke we went to see the Monastery of the Franciscans,<sup>4</sup> famous for 6. learned Popes, & sundry other greate Scholars, especialy the renown'd Physitian and Anatomist<sup>b</sup> Fabritius de Aquapendente,<sup>5</sup> who was bred & borne here.

On the 4th of November being next morning after a little riding we descend towards the Lake of Bolsena,<sup>6</sup> which from hence (being above 20 miles in circuit) yeilds a most incomparable Prospect: neere the middle of it are 2. small Ilands, in one of which is a Convent of melancholy Capucines,<sup>7</sup> & where those of the Farnezian family are interr'd: Pliny, calls it Tarquiniensis Lacus, and talkes of divers floting Ilands about it,<sup>8</sup> but they appeard not to us, The Lake is invironed with mountaines; at one of whose sides we pass'd towards the

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *XIIIth*.    <sup>b</sup> Followed by *Aqua* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 199. Raymond states that it is built of brick, apparently correctly. The Ponte Gregoriano, built 1578–80, and still existing: de Blainville, iii. 586–7; Martinori, pp. 133–4.

<sup>2</sup> The situation expanded from Pflaumern, p. 200. Acquapendente.

<sup>3</sup> From Raymond, pp. 59–60, including the inscription.

<sup>4</sup> Original notice. The convent of S. Giuseppe: Casimiro, *Mem. istor. delle chiese . . . dei frati minori della provincia romana*, 1744, pp. 1–13. The six learned popes is probably an

error.

<sup>5</sup> Girolamo Fabrici d'Acquapendente, 1533–1619: *Encic. italiana*.

<sup>6</sup> From Raymond, p. 60, and Pflaumern, pp. 203–4, who gives the reference to Pliny. Raymond gives the circumference of the lake as 30 miles, Pflaumern as 'quinque & viginti'; Baedeker as 26½ miles.

<sup>7</sup> On Bisentina; the Capuchins appear to have occupied it only from c. 1602 to 1631: Casimiro, as above, pp. 32, 35. For the Farnese tombs here, *ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>8</sup> *Nat. Hist.*, bk. ii, ch. 95 (96).

Towne Bolsena,<sup>1</sup> antiently Vulsinium, very famous in antiquity, as testifie divers rare sculptures in the Court of st. Christianas Church, the Urne, & Altar & Jasper Columns. After 7 miles riding (passing through a certaine Wood heretofore sacred to Juno)<sup>2</sup> we came to Mount Fiascone,<sup>3</sup> the head of Falisci, a famous people in old tyme, & heretofore Falerum, as renown'd for the excellent Wine, as now for the story of the Dutch Bishop, who lyes buried in Favionos Church<sup>4</sup> with this Epitaph:

Propter Est, Est dominus meus mortuus est:

because he had drunke too much of the Wine; for it seemes he had commanded his Servant, to ride before, and (enquiring where the best liquor was,) to write Est upon the Vessells.

From Monte Fiascone we travell a plain and pleasant Champion<sup>5</sup> to Viterbo,<sup>6</sup> which presents it selfe with much state a farr off, in regard of her many lofty pinacles and Towres; neither dos it deceive the expectation; for it is so exceedingly beautified with publique fountaines, especialy that at very entrance of the Port<sup>7</sup> (being all of brasse, & adorn'd with many rare figures) as salutes the Passenger with a most agreable object, & refreshing waters. There are divers Popes buried in this Citty, and in the Palac this odd Inscription<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From Raymond, pp. 60-1. Pflaumern, pp. 200-3. The ancient town was Volsinii. There were outside the church a large antique vase and an urn with Bacchic reliefs: A. Adami, *Storia di Volseno*, 1737-34, ii. 210-25. The columns are probably those of the Altar of the Miracle.

<sup>2</sup> From Raymond, p. 61, or Pflaumern, pp. 206-7.

<sup>3</sup> From Raymond, pp. 61-2. Pflaumern, pp. 204-6. Montefiascone. Pflaumern discusses its identification with the ancient Falerium (or Falerii), and rightly rejects it; Evelyn appears to have used Pflaumern carelessly, apparently accepting the identification but confusing Falerium with the

Ager Falernus, which is near Capua: below, p. 323. The marriage of James Edward, the Old Pretender, took place here in 1719.

<sup>4</sup> S. Flaviano. The tomb still exists; the identity of its occupant and its date have not been established; the available information is unreliable.

<sup>5</sup> A frequent seventeenth-century variant for champaign, an expanse of level, open country, a plain: *O.E.D.*

<sup>6</sup> From Raymond, pp. 63-4, and Pflaumern, pp. 207-9.

<sup>7</sup> In the Piazza della Rocca; it is attributed to Vignola: F. Bussi, *Ist. della città di Viterbo*, 1742, p. 317.

<sup>8</sup> Text from Raymond. This is presumably one of the forgeries of

Copyright © 1955. Oxford University Press. All rights reserved.



1644

9

Nice: the Town is a Sulphurous fountain which  
 continually boils; but having visited some other of  
 the Antiquities I did not wish to tarry by the new  
 way of Capranica, and so passing near Mount  
 Ciminius and the Lake we began to enter the pla-  
 ynes of Rome, at which sight I confest my thong-  
 hts were strangely elevated, but in some alley  
 by such a dismal shew of ruine which fell on  
 us, just as we were contemplating that proud  
 Mistress of the World, and descending by the Velu-  
 can (for at that street we entered) I was before we  
 got into the City. I was well to skin.

I came to Rome on the 14<sup>th</sup> of Novem<sup>r</sup>: 1644  
 about mid night, and being greatly surprised for a  
 convenient lodging, wandered up and down on horse  
 back, till one conducted to one Moni: Cabito a French  
 man, who understood strangers, being of the very vt-  
 most house on the left hand as one ascends Monte Trin-  
 ita, formerly Mons Sacerius, near the Piazza Spagna.  
 Here I alighted, delivered my horse to the Veterinario, and

having layd out mine best for 20 councils a month  
I could a good fire be made in my Chamber, and so went  
to bed being very wet.

The very next morning (for solidity was to spend  
no moment idly here) I got acquaintance w<sup>th</sup> several  
persons that had long lived in Rome; being especially  
recommended to Father John a Benedictine Monk, and  
Superior of his Order for the English Colledge of Douay  
a Professor (to say truth) of singular Learning, Religion  
and humanity; also went to Mr. Patrick Grey, an  
Abbot, and brother to a Learned D. Falkland, a  
pretty witty young priest; but one yet afterwards came  
out to a Church: Dr. Bacon, and Gith. Physicians  
who had dependance of Cardinal Capon; the latter  
an incomparable Doct; w<sup>th</sup> Father Corbice the  
Chiefe of Jesuits in the English Colledge. My Lord  
Stomwell; Ar. to y<sup>e</sup> Marquis of Worcester, and some  
others; from whom I receivd instructions, how to  
behave at Solus in Town, w<sup>th</sup> diversions, Mathers, and

Copyright © 1955. Oxford University Press. All rights reserved.

Osiridis victoriam in Gigantes Litteris Historiographicis, in hoc antiquissimo Marmore Inscriptam, ex Herculis olim, nunc Divi Laurentij Templo translata, ad (conservan:)\* Vetustiss: Patriæ monumenta, atque decora hic locandam statuit. S.P.Q.V. & under

	Sum Osiris Rex	
Sum Osiris Rex	Qui ab Italis in	Sum Osiris Rex
Jupiter Universo	Gigantes exercitus	Qui terrarum
in terrarum Orbe	Veni, Vidi, et Vici	Pacato Italiam
		decem annos (incolui,
		docens) quorum
		inventor fui.

Neere the Towne is a sulphurous fountaine which continually boiles;<sup>1</sup> but having visited some other of the Antiquities & din'd, we tooke horse by the new way of Capranica,<sup>2</sup> and so passing neere Mount Ciminus and the Lake<sup>3</sup> we began to enter the Playnes of Rome, at which sight I confesse my thoughts were strangely elevated; but as soone allayed by such a dismal showre of raine which fell on us just as we were contemplating that proud Mistriss of the World,<sup>4</sup> and

---

<sup>a</sup> MS. *conversam*:

---

Annius of Viterbo, for whom see A. Augustinus, *Dialogos de medallas*, &c., 1587, pp. 447-8; for bibliography *Encic. italiana*. Annus, 1432-1502, brought to light and published a number of inscriptions proving the antiquity of Viterbo. Augustinus believed that he had forged them himself and produced their discoloration artificially; his fellow Dominicans, that he was only a dupe.

<sup>1</sup> From Raymond. The Bull-came: Martinori, pp. 48-50.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn's account is unreliable; apart from a short account in Raymond, p. 174, his guide-books do not describe the new route in detail. It formed part of the antique Via Cassia and passed to the west

of the Lago di Vico; its object was to avoid the Farnese territories about Ronciglione, through which passes the modern Via Cassia, in Evelyn's time the old route, Urban VIII having been at war with Odoardo Farnese, duke of Parma, from 1641 to 1644: Raymond, p. 64; Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, xiii. 866-75; Martinori, p. 38. The two routes join again at Monterosi.

<sup>3</sup> The Lago di Vico. These names apparently from Pflaumern, p. 210; Evelyn's route goes round the foot of the Monti Cimini; the lake is never in view.

<sup>4</sup> This phrase from Raymond, p. 67. Rome becomes visible soon after Baccano is passed.

descending by the Vatican (for at that Port we enterd)<sup>1</sup> so as before we got into the City, I was wett to the skin.<sup>2</sup>

I came to ROME on the 4th of November 1644 about 5 at night, and being greatly perplex't for a convenient lodging, wandred up and downe on horse back, till one conducted us to one Monsieur Petits,<sup>3</sup> a French mans, who entertaind strangers, being the very utmost house on the left hand as one ascends Monte Trinità, formerly Mons Pincius, neere the Piazza Spagnola.<sup>4</sup> Here I alighted, delivered my horse to the Veturino,<sup>5</sup> and having bargain'd with mine host for 20

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's route was apparently by the Via Triumphalis over Monte Mario; the road entered Rome by the Porta Angelica, just to the east of the Vatican. The name Porta Vaticana is given on Pflaumern's map to the Porta S. Spirito, the gate leading from the Borgo into the Via della Lungara; it is not one of the gates of the city.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn's sources for his account of Rome, and the materials for its elucidation, are described in a note at the end of this volume.

Evelyn gives a fairly complete account of Rome in the sense that there were few ancient or modern monuments or art-collections of importance that he fails to notice, or at least to mention. The inhabited part of the city included all the lower ground between the Palatine Hill, the Porta del Popolo, and the Tiber; the Capitoline; the Borgo and Trastevere; and it was extending up the hills towards the Palazzo Barberini, the Baths of Diocletian, and S. Maria Maggiore. The population in 1639 is said to have been 114,256, including nearly 8,000 priests, monks, and nuns: R. Lanciani, *The ruins and excavations of ancient Rome*, 1897, p. 94. In its external appearance the city was much as Fontana and Maderna had left it. The more recent buildings of any artistic interest were baroque,

but mainly belonged to the severe phase of the style; the free phase had now begun but, as is shown by the chronology of the works of Bernini and Borromini, its chief exponents at this time, had so far made little progress. As regards painting, despite the visible decline of the Italian artists, the Roman ranked for contemporaries as the most important existing school, that in which the highest branch of the art was most successfully practised.

<sup>3</sup> On 26 May 1664 Monconys went to see the pictures of 'Messieurs Petit': ii. 457. I have found no other possible references to Evelyn's Petit.

<sup>4</sup> This neighbourhood was already an important area for strangers: see [de Robias d'Estoublon], *Lettres de Monsieur le Marquis de \* \* \**, 1676, pp. 98-9; Grangier de Liverdis, p. 334; for the inns in 1661, *ibid.*, p. 251; see also E. Zaniboni, *Alberghi italiani e viaggiatori stranieri*, sec. xiii-xviii, 1921, pp. 128-9.

The site of the Scala di Spagna was a bank of earth with a winding path ascending it.

<sup>5</sup> The *vetturino* as a rule provided the transport and paid all expenses on the journey, in return for a lump sum: see W. Brockedon, *Road-book from London to Naples*, 1835, pp. 76-7, and compare the incidental notices in the earlier travellers.

crownes<sup>1</sup> a moneth, I causd a good fire to be made in my Chamber, and so went to bed being very wet.

The very next morning (for resolv'd I was to spend no moment idly here) I got acquaintance with several persons that had long lived in Rome; being especialy reccommended to Father John<sup>2</sup> a Benedictine Monke, and Superior of his Order for the English Colledg of Doway; a Person (to say truth) of singular learning, Religion and humanity; also<sup>a</sup> to Mr. Patric Cary,<sup>3</sup> an Abbot, and brother to our Learned Lord Falkland, a pretty witty young priest; but one that afterwards came over to our church: Dr. Bacon,<sup>4</sup> and Gibbs,<sup>5</sup> Physitians who had dependance of Cardinal Caponi,<sup>6</sup> the latter an incomparable Poet; with Father Cortnèe<sup>7</sup> the Chiefe of the Jesuites in the English Coledge, My Lord of Somerset:<sup>8</sup> Bro: to the Marquis of Worcester, and some others:

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *with* deleted. \*

<sup>1</sup> The crown (*scudo*) was worth about 5s. 4d. of English money of the time.

<sup>2</sup> He is later described as provincial of the Benedictines: p. 251. He is identifiable as Father John Wilfrid or Wilford, otherwise Dom Richard Wilfrid Selby *alias* Reade, d. 1657; entered the Benedictine order 1619; procurator at Rome for the English province 1629–45; president-general of the English province 1645–9; author, as 'Joannes Rubeus'; engaged in royalist correspondence: T. B. Snow, *Obit book of the English Benedictines, 1600–1912*, ed. H. N. Birt, 1913, p. 37; for his presence in Rome about this time H. Foley, (*Jesuit records*, 1877–83, vi. 624–5, 627; for his association with Patrick Cary (see below) (Elizabeth Cary), *The Lady Falkland her life*, 1861, p. 107; *Cal. Clarendon S.P.* ii. 75. The English college at Douai was St. Gregory's.

<sup>3</sup> c. 1624–56; poet: *D.N.B.*; K. Weber, *Lucius Cary, second Viscount Falkland*, 1940, pp. 301–26. His brother Lucius, c. 1610–43; second

Viscount Falkland (Scotland) 1633; the royalist statesman and man of letters: *D.N.B.*; Weber.

<sup>4</sup> Identifiable from the various entries in the Venerable English College pilgrims' book as Matthew Bacon of Norfolk; presumably the man of this name who was M.D., Padua, 1642, and honorary fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1664. He apparently spent some years in Rome: Foley, (*Jesuit records*, iv. 659; vi. 625, 633, 645, 647, 648; Munk, i. 333.

<sup>5</sup> James Alban Gibbs, 1611–77: *D.N.B.* Lassels calls him 'the Horace of this age': ii. 231.

<sup>6</sup> Luigi Capponi, d. 1659; created cardinal 24 Nov. 1608.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Courtney *veré* Leedes, c. 1594–c. 1650–5; elder brother of Edward Courtney (*D.N.B.*). He was made rector of the Venerable English College in 1640 and was superseded in September of this year: Foley, (*Jesuit records*, vi. 121–4, 273–4.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Somerset, 1579–c. 1650, third son of Edward Somerset,

from whom I receiv'd instructions, how to behave our selves in Towne, what directions, Masters, and bookes<sup>1</sup> to take in search and view of the Antiquities, Churches, Collections &c: and accordingly, the next day, being November 6<sup>t</sup>, I began to be very pragmatial.

And in the first place (as our Sights-man,<sup>2</sup> for so they name certaine Persons in Rome, who get their living onely by leading strangers about to see the Citty) we first went to see the Palace of Farnezi,<sup>3</sup> which is a most magnificent square structure, built by Michael Angelo of the 3 Orders of Columns, after the antient manner, & in a time when Architecture was but newly recovered from the Gothic barbarity:<sup>4</sup> The Court,

fourth earl of Worcester; created Viscount Somerset of Cashel (Ireland) 1626: G.E.C. His brother Henry, the fifth earl, was created marquis of Worcester in 1642. He visited the English College on 7 October: Foley, (*Jesuit records*, vi. 626.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn bought his copy of Pflaumern on 14 November.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot trace any Italian source for this word. Guides had long been established in Rome. At the Spada on Monte Giordano, an inn patronized by Germans, there were always guides available among the servants of the house: *Paradisus deliciarum Italiae*, 1625, pp. 121-2. The best-known guide at this time was Hans Gross of Lucerne, alias Giovanni Alto, c. 1577-1660, who belonged to the Swiss guard: T. Ashby in *La Bibliofilia*, xxix (1928), 361-4, and references there; a reference to him, as 'il suizzero', in Totti, *R.A.*, p. 161, is derived from G. Lauro, *Antiquae urbis splendor*, 1612, legend to the plate of the Meta Sudans; in the plate he appears with a party of seventeenth-century tourists.

<sup>3</sup> The building and part of its contents expanded from Totti, pp. 202-5; some of the other statues, especially the Toro, from Pflaumern,

pp. 339-40. Raymond, pp. 98-9 (derived from Totti). The Palazzo Farnese. The building is well preserved; the more important antiques have been transferred to the museum in Naples. For the construction of the building see: F. de Navenne, *Rome, le palais Farnèse et les Farnèse*, n.d. (c. 1914); for its later history, same author, *Rome et le palais Farnèse pendant les trois derniers siècles*, 1923; for the collections see also Richard Symonds in B.M., Egerton MS. 1635, ff. 14v-19; 'Le palais Farnèse d'après l'inventaire de 1653' in *École française de Rome, Mélanges*, xxix (1909), 145-98; and the inventories of various dates printed in *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei musei d'Italia*, published by the Ministero della pubblica istruzione, 1878-80. Further notice below, pp. 308-11.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn attributed to Michelangelo an important part in reviving classical architecture: *Idea of the Perfection of Painting*, To the Reader (*Misc. writings*, pp. 560-1); and below, p. 238. This view is wrong: the classical renaissance had reached its golden age before Michelangelo became an architect; he transformed it into a style similar to, but not identical with, the baroque. The Palazzo Farnese was begun by

being square is tarrass'd, having two payre of staires which leade into the upper roomes; which conducted us to that famous Gallery painted by Caraccio,<sup>1</sup> and then which nothing is certainly more rare of that Art in the whole world, so deepe, & well studied are all the figures, that it would require more judgment than,<sup>a</sup> I confesse, I had, to determine whether they were flat, or emboss'd: Thence we pass'd into another painted in Chiaro e Scuro, representing the fabulous History of Hercules,<sup>2</sup> then we went out on a Tarrace where was a pretty garden even on the leads, for it is built in a place of the Citty, that has no extent of grow(n)d backwards: The greate Sale<sup>3</sup> is wrought by Salviati, and Zuccharo; furnish'd with statues, one of which being modern is the figure of a Farnese, in a triumphant posture of white marble, worthy of Admiration.<sup>4</sup>

Here we were shew'd the Musæum of Fulvius Ursinos,<sup>5</sup> repleate with innumerable collections: But the Major Domo, being absent we could not at this time see all that we had a

<sup>a</sup> Altered in pencil from *that*, by Evelyn?

Antonio da Sangallo the younger; Michelangelo found the façade complete except for the great cornice, which he added, as well as altering the central window of the first story; in the court the first two stories were almost complete; he added the third story with the very free Corinthian pilasters. The loggia on the garden front is by Giacomo della Porta. On the principal façade the three orders appear only in the window-frames.

<sup>1</sup> The gallery of the Carracci, by Annibale Carracci (1560–1609) and his assistants: de Navenne, *Rome et le palais Farnèse*, i. 76–98.

<sup>2</sup> The room is the Camerino, on the north-west side of the courtyard; the paintings are by Annibale Carracci: *ibid.*, pp. 72–6.

<sup>3</sup> 'La sala grande', Totti's mistake for the Salotto dipinto (Anti-camera) on the main front; the frescoes, representing the history of

the Farnese, were finished by Taddeo Zuccari (1529–66) after the death of Francesco Salviati (1510–63): de Navenne, *Rome, le palais Farnèse, &c.*, pp. 596–606.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, 1545–92, crowned by Victory, and with Flanders and the Scheldt at his feet, by Simone Moschino (c. 1560–1610): de Navenne, *Rome et le palais Farnèse*, i. 21–2. The group, with some other statues, was in the Sala grande and is now apparently in the palace at Caserta. Evelyn's notice is original; see also below, p. 308.

<sup>5</sup> Fulvio Orsini, 1529–1600, philologist and antiquary. For his life see P. de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, 1887; inventory of his collections in *École française de Rome, Mélanges*, iv (1884), 150–231. Most of the objects are now in Naples: *ibid.*, p. 146.



desire to, wherefore descending into the Court, we with greate astonishment began to contemplate those two incomparable statues of the Hercules<sup>1</sup> and Flora;<sup>2</sup> so much celebrated by Pliny,<sup>3</sup> and indeede all Antiquity as two of the most rare pieces of Sculpture in the World: There likewise stands an other moder(n) statue of Hercules,<sup>4</sup> and two Gladiators,<sup>5</sup> not to be despis'd for their worke; from hence we were conducted into a 2d Court, where in a house, or temporary shelter of boards onely we were shewd that most stupendous,<sup>a</sup> and never sufficiently to be admired, Toro<sup>6</sup> of Amphion, and Dirces, represented<sup>b</sup> in 5 figures, much exceeding the life in magnitude; all of purest white marble, being the contending worke of those famous Statuaries Apollonius and Taurisco, which they hew'd in the time of Augustus as now it remains unblemished, out of one entire stone; and certainly, it is to be valued beyond all the marbles of the World, both for its antiquity and workmanship: There are likewise divers other heads, and busts, which I could not take so particular notice of. At the enterance of this stately Palace, there stand two rare, & vast Fountaines of Garnito stone, brough(t) into this Piazza out of Titus's Bathes;<sup>7</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *stupendious*.    <sup>b</sup> Altered from *representing*.

<sup>1</sup> The Farnese Hercules by Glycon, now in Naples: A. Ruesch, *Guida illustrata del Museo nazionale di Napoli*, [c. 1908], no. 280.

<sup>2</sup> Now in Naples: *ibid.*, no. 242.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny does not mention these two works. Pflaumern quotes from him a notice of the Toro Farnese; Evelyn has apparently transferred a reference to this notice from the Toro to these two statues.

<sup>4</sup> An ancient copy of the Hercules with a modern head; it has now disappeared: de Navenne, *Rome, le palais Farnèse*, pp. 439, 441-2. Aerssen also believed it to be modern and tells a curious story of its origin: p. 178.

<sup>5</sup> These are probably the warrior with the head of Commodus, carry-

ing a boy, now in Naples (Ruesch, no. 243), and a gladiator with his right foot on his shield and his cuirass behind him, which has now disappeared: de Navenne, as above, pp. 438, 439, 448-9, 456.

<sup>6</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, bk. xxxvi, ch. 5 (4). Now in Naples: Ruesch, no. 260. The Toro (the Bull) was as much admired in the seventeenth century as the Cappella dei Principi in Florence. The philistine Burnet is one of the few travellers to recognize its defects: *Some letters*, p. 243.

<sup>7</sup> From Totti, p. 206. Raymond, p. 98; Pflaumern, p. 340. Totti is mistaken as to the provenance of the fountain-basins, which come from the Baths of Caracalla: F. Vacca, *Memorie*, no. 23 (appended

here, in summer the Gentlemen of Rome take the fresco in their Coaches, and ⟨on⟩<sup>a</sup> foote: At the sides of this Court we visited the Palace of Signor Pichini, who has a good Collection of Antiquities, especialy that of the Adonis of Parrian Marble which once my L: of Arundel would have purchas'd, if a greate price would have been taken for it.<sup>1</sup>

On the 7th we went into Campo Vacino<sup>2</sup> by the ruines of

<sup>a</sup> MS. *one*.

to F. Nardini, *Roma antica*, 1704). 'Garnito stone' is Totti's 'granito Orientale'.

<sup>1</sup> Totti mentions only the Adonis, not a collection of antiques: p. 206; the reference to Arundel is original. The palace is shown in Falda's and Nolli's plans at the east end of the north side of the square. The statue is now the Meleager in the Vatican; it belonged to the Pichini (Pighini) family from c. 1579 to 1770: W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, 1903-8, ii. 33-8; Helbig, vol. i, no. 128. Arundel attempted to buy it in 1636: Hervey, *Arundel*, pp. 383, 390, 398-9, &c. (sometimes as Meleager or with no name). Evelyn may have heard of the negotiation from Arundel himself, or from his guide or in the palace: cf. de Blainville, *Travels*, iii. 68.

<sup>2</sup> The Forum Romanum. General descriptions of it and its monuments: Totti, pp. 428-30; Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 131-4 (the various temples separately elsewhere; citations below); Pflaumern, pp. 360-2, 365-76; Raymond, pp. 110-11. Modern account by C. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, 2nd ed., 1909; see also Platner and Ashby.

At this time the greater part of the Forum was known as the Campo Vaccino. This was a level field stretching from the arch of Septimius Severus to that of Titus, bounded on the one side by a row of houses

in line with the fronts of S. Adriano and of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, on the other by the houses about the temple of Saturn, by S. Maria Liberatrice, now destroyed, and by the garden wall of the Villa Farnesiana, which covered the Palatine. The ground rose steeply from the arch of Severus and from the temple of Saturn to the Capitol. The temple of Vespasian was buried almost to the capitals of the columns; the arch of Severus to the imposts of the lateral arches; and the temples of Castor and Pollux and of Antoninus to the bases of the columns. The ground rose gradually towards S. Francesca Romana and the arch of Titus; the door of the church was on the ground-level; a road passed through the arch, the roadway being, however, somewhat below the ancient level. The only ancient monuments showing above ground in the centre of the area were the column of Phocas and the temple of Castor; near the latter was a fountain for the cattle, erected in 1593. Among the roads leading into the area was one passing through the westernmost arch of the western bay of the basilica of Constantine.

There are a large number of views. The most important drawings are reproduced by Egger, vol. ii (see its introduction). The most valuable views for this period are those of L. Cruyl; they are, however, not

the Templum Pacis,<sup>1</sup> built by Titus Vespasianus, and thought to be the biggest & most ample as well as richly furnish'd of all the Roman Dedicated places; It is now an heape, rather then a Temple; yet dos the rooffe, & Volto, continue firme, shewing it to have formerly been of incomparable workmanship: This goodly structure was (none knows how) consumed with fire, the very night (by all computation) that our B: Saviour was borne.

From hence we passed by the place, rather then any signs,<sup>a</sup> of the Lake or Vorago into which Curtius is sayd to have precipitated himselfe for the love of his Country.<sup>2</sup>

Neere this stand some<sup>b</sup> Columns of white marble of exquisite worke, supposd to be part of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans,<sup>3</sup> built by Augustus; the worke of the Capitals (being Corinthian) and Architrave is excellent, & full of sacrificing utensiles. There are also 3 other of Jupiter Stator.<sup>4</sup>

The Oratories or Churches of st. Cosmo, and Damiano<sup>5</sup> opposite to these, heretofore the Temples of Romulus, a pretty odd fabrique, with a Tribunal<sup>6</sup> or Tholus within, wrought

<sup>a</sup> Or *signe*; substituted for *place*.

<sup>b</sup> Altered from *three*.

earlier than 1664 and show the avenue of elms between the arches of Severus and Titus, which was not planted until the reign of Alexander VII, 1655-67.

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 369-71, who, however, warns his readers against the error that the temple of Peace was burnt down on the night of Christ's nativity. Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 237-40. Basilica Constantini, wrongly identified as Templum Pacis until 1819.

<sup>2</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 376. Totti gives two accounts: pp. 151, 429. Lacus Curtius.

<sup>3</sup> In part from Pflaumern, p. 365; the description of the carving original. Divus Vespasianus, templum, wrongly identified as Juppiter Tonans, aedes. The 'estituer'

group of columns at the foot of the Capitol.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps from Pflaumern, pp. 374-5. Raymond interchanges the supposed dedications of the two monuments. Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 266-7. Castor, aedes, wrongly identified as Juppiter Stator, aedes.

<sup>5</sup> From Totti, pp. 426-7. Pflaumern, p. 369. SS. Cosma e Damiano. The round part, formerly identified as Romulus Divus (the son of Maxentius), templum, is now identified as Urbis fanum.

<sup>6</sup> Evelyn's translation of *tribuna*, apse; he uses the word several times below, as well as tribune and tribuna; *tholus*, a round building, is not synonymous. The apse contains sixth-century mosaics.

all of Mosaic; the Gates before it are<sup>a</sup> brasse,<sup>1</sup> & the whole adornment much oblig'd to Pope Urban the 8th. In this sacred place lyes the bodies of those Two Martyrs, and in the Chapell at the right hand, a rare Painting of Cavaliero Baglione.<sup>2</sup>

Next this we entered st. Lorenzo in Miranda:<sup>3</sup> The Inscription cut in the Marble or Architrave of its antient Portico (supported by a rang of most stately Columns) shew it to have been the Temple of Faustina; It is now made a faire Church, with an Hospital, which joynes to it.

On the same side we saw st. Adriano, heretofore sacred to Saturne;<sup>4</sup> before this was once placed a Miliary Column, as suppos'd to be set in the Center of all the City; and from whence they Usd to compute the distance of all the Citties & places of note, under the dominion of those Universal Monarchs:<sup>5</sup> To this Church are likewise brasen-gates,<sup>6</sup> and a noble frontspeece: just opposite, they shew'd us the heapes & ruines of Ciceros Palace:<sup>7</sup> Hence we went towards Mons Capitolinus, at foote of which stands Septimius Severus's

<sup>a</sup> Reading doubtful.

<sup>1</sup> The original bronze doors: Huelsen, *Forum*, pp. 232-4.

<sup>2</sup> Giovanni Baglione, 1571-1644, who is buried in the chapel; it contains several works by him. He is best known as the author of a collection of lives of artists working in Rome from 1572 to 1642, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori, et architetti, &c.*, 1642 and later eds.; for his other book, *Le nove chiese*, see note on Evelyn's sources for Rome.

<sup>3</sup> In part from Totti, pp. 425-6. Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 264-5; Pflaumern, p. 368. Antoninus et Faustina, templum; now S. Lorenzo in Miranda. The hospital was for the Arte de' Speziali, the druggists: C. B. Piazza, (*Eusevologio Romano*), 2nd ed., 1698, [i]. 62-3.

<sup>4</sup> From Totti, pp. 422-4, or Pflaumern, pp. 367-8. Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 259-61. Curia Julia, wrongly identified as Saturnus, aedes. See

M. Dattoli, *L'aula del senato romano e la chiesa di S. Adriano*, 1921.

<sup>5</sup> Probably from Totti, p. 423. Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 63-4; Pflaumern, pp. 351-2. The Umbilicus Romae was the centre of the city, the Milliarium Aureum the point at which all the roads converged. The wrong identification of the temple of Saturn led to the wrong placing of the Milliarium. The distances on it were calculated from the gates in the Servian wall, not from the monument itself.

<sup>6</sup> Moved to S. Giovanni in Laterano about 1656: E. Hempel, *Francesco Borromini*, 1924, p. 108.

<sup>7</sup> The site of the ruins pointed out to travellers is shown on the view in Totti, p. 428; they were on the slope of the Palatine and apparently belonged to the Atrium Vestae; cf. Pflaumern, p. 376. See Platner and Ashby for the available data as to the position of the house.

Arch,<sup>1</sup> full, and entire, save where the Pedestal<sup>a</sup> & some of the lower members are chockd-up with ruines & earth: This Arch is exceedingly inrich'd with Sculpture, and Trophies, with a large Inscription: In the terrestrial & naval battailes here graven is seen the Roman Aries; & this was the first Triumphant Arch set up in Rome.

The Capitol, to which we climed, by a very broad ascent of degrees,<sup>2</sup> is built about a square Court,<sup>3</sup> at right hand of which, going up from Campo Vacino gushes a plentiful streame from the statue of Tybur in Porphyrie, very antique, and another representing Rome;<sup>4</sup> but above all is admirable

<sup>a</sup> Or Pedestal.

<sup>1</sup> Put together from Pflaumern, p. 367, who mentions the 'insculpta terrestrium ac maritimorum bellorum trophæa', and Raymond, pp. 110-11, who writes that the arch is 'suppos'd to be the first that was erected in Rome, amongst the worke . . . is to be seen the fashion of the Roman Aries'. Part of this is mistranslated from Totti, p. 422: 'l'Arco di Settimio Severo, dirizzato a lui . . . conforme all' usanza antica: la quale . . . cominciò a tempo di Tito Imp. il cui Arco fù il primo, che fusse fatto in Roma.' Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 166-8. Arcus Septimii Severi. The road through the arch was about 20 ft. above the ancient level.

<sup>2</sup> The steps, now blocked, on the north-east side of the Palazzo del Senatore.

<sup>3</sup> The Piazza del Campidoglio. Descriptions of the square, the surrounding buildings, and their contents: Totti, pp. 402-7; Pflaumern, pp. 351-8; Raymond, pp. 99-102. The principal general work is E. Rodocanachi, *Le Capitole romain*, 1904 (English trans., 1906); it is considered not altogether trustworthy. Summary history of the existing buildings and of the collections in Henry Stuart Jones, ed., *Catalogue of the ancient sculptures*

*preserved in the municipal collections of Rome: Museo Capitolino*, 1912, pp. 1-9. History of the collection prior to 1734, by A. Michaelis (in Italian) in Kaiserlich deutsches archaeol. Institut, *Mittheilungen*, Römische Abtheilung, vi (1891), 1-66. For the contents of the collections see the *Catalogue* cited above and its second volume, *Palazzo dei Conservatori*, 1926 (here cited as 'Jones, *Capitolino*', and 'Jones, *Conservatori*'), and Helbig.

The Palazzo del Senatore and the Palazzo dei Conservatori were both complete; part of the interior of the latter has been altered. Facing it was a long wall, with the statue of Marforio and a fountain in a niche in the middle; there were perhaps already some foundations laid for the Museo Capitolino; but Marforio was not moved, to allow for building operations, until 3 Oct. 1645: Totti p. 407; Pastor, *Geschichte des Pápste*, xiv. 288 n. Above this wall rose S. Maria in Araceli. The two figures of emperors and the milestone at the north-east end had not yet been placed on the balustrade on the fourth side of the square.

<sup>4</sup> As Evelyn came up from the Forum the still-existing fountain beneath the steps of the Palazzo de

the figure of Marforius,<sup>1</sup> casting ⟨water⟩<sup>a</sup> into a most ample Concha. The front of this Court is crown'd with an incomparable fabrique, containing the Courts of Justice, and where the Criminal Notary sitts, and others: In one of the Halls, they shew the statues of Greg: the 13th and Paule the 3d with several others:<sup>2</sup> To this joynes an handsome Towre, the whole faciata adorn'd with noble Statues both on the out side, & battlements, ascended by a double payre of staires and a stately posario.<sup>3</sup> In the center of the Court stands that incomparable Horse bearing the Emp: Marcus Aurelius<sup>4</sup> of Corinthian mettall, as big as the life, placed on a Pedistal of marble, with an inscription, and esteemed one of the noblest pieces of worke now extant in the world, antique, & very rare. There is also a vast head of a Coloseän magnitude fixed in the Wall of white marble:<sup>5</sup> At the stayres descending (on either hand) are set two horses of white marble, govern'd by two naked slaves,<sup>6</sup> taken to be Castor, & Pollux, brought from Pompeys Theatre: On the Balustrade, the Trophies of

---

<sup>a</sup> MS. *wates*.

---

Senatore was on his left. The figure of Rome is of porphyry; the two river-gods (Totti, p. 403, as Tiber and Tigris; so Raymond, p. 100) of marble. Helbig, i. 412.

<sup>1</sup> From Totti, p. 403, including 'conca'. Jones, *Capitolino*, p. 21. The colossal head of Constantine now in the court-yard of the Conservatori was set in the wall above it: Jones, *Conservatori*, pp. 5-6, where also is a list of representations of the two sculptures as set up at this time.

<sup>2</sup> From Totti, p. 404. The statues of the two popes were placed in S. Maria in Araceli in 1876; for them see E. Steinmann in Vatican Library, *Studi e testi*, xxxviii (*Misc. Francesco Ehrle*, vol. ii, 1924), 482-3, 486-7, 503.

<sup>3</sup> Posario is not an Italian word. Evelyn uses it again in his 'Account of Architects and Architecture',

appended to his translation of Fréart's *Parallel*: 'the *Antients* did seldom use *Pedistals* unless where *Railes* and *Balusters* were requisite, and *Parapet* walls for *Meniana*, *Pergolas* and *Balconies*, and where they serv'd for *Podia* or *posaries* of a leaning-height for which they had a slight *Cornice* assign'd them': ed. 1664, p. 124 (*Misc. writings*, p. 375). The description in the text is mainly original.

<sup>4</sup> Helbig, i. 408; for the inscriptions see Forcella, i. 33.

<sup>5</sup> The Constantine: see n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps from Totti, p. 404, and Raymond, p. 100. Pflaumern holds that one figure is Constantine, the other Constantine or Maximian: p. 351. By 'on either hand' Evelyn means on either side of the steps descending to the Piazza d'Araceli. Helbig, i. 408-9.

Marius<sup>1</sup> against the Cimbrians, very antient, & instructive; & at the foote of the stepps, towards the left hand, that (Colomna)<sup>a</sup> Miliaria,<sup>2</sup> with the globe of brasse on it, being the same we mention'd to have formerly ben set in Campo Vacino.

On the same hand is the Palace of the Signiori Conservatori,<sup>3</sup> or 3 Consuls, now the Civil Governors of the Citty, containing the fraternities or Halls & Guilds (as wee name them) of sundry Companys, and other Offices of State: Under the Portico within, are the two statues of Augustus Caesar,<sup>4</sup> a Bacchus,<sup>5</sup> and the so renown'd Colonna Rostrata of Duillius<sup>6</sup> with the excellent Bassi Relievi. In a smaller Court,<sup>7</sup> the statue of Constantine<sup>8</sup> on a Fountaine, A Minervas

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Coloña*, altered from *Coloña*.

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 351. Helbig, i. 409-10; Platner and Ashby, pp. 363-4. The connexion of the trophies with Marius dates from the Middle Ages.

<sup>2</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 351-2, or Totti, p. 404. See above, p. 219. The monument stood on the southern end of the balustrade, and part, a milestone of uncertain provenance, is still there; this was crowned by a gilt bronze ball, now in the Conservatori: Helbig, i. 409; Jones, *Conservatori*, p. 171, no. 2.

<sup>3</sup> From Totti, p. 405, with additional matter. For the *conservatori* or consuls at this time see G. Lunadoro, *Relatione della corte di Roma*, 1635, p. 27; 'Relatione di Roma del Aimaden' (or Almaden; properly T. von Meyden or T. Ameyden), *Li Tesori della corte romana*, ed. 1672, p. 154. For the constitutional history of the city see E. Rodocanachi, *Les institutions communales de Rome sous la papauté*, 1901.

The alterations made inside the palace, especially since the extension after 1870 of the collection of

sculpture, have not affected the principal rooms seen by Evelyn; a few pieces of sculpture have retained or have been restored to their old positions. Composite inventory, 1627-1804, printed in Jones, *Conservatori*, pp. 358-65. Evelyn generally follows Totti for the collection.

<sup>4</sup> Julius Caesar and a Roman admiral, both still here: Jones, *Conservatori*, pp. 1-3.

<sup>5</sup> 'Una Baccante', i.e. a Maenad, still here: *ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Still here. Helbig, vol. i, no. 890. Evelyn mentions it in *Navigacion and Commerce*, p. 36 (*Misc. writings*, p. 646); see also his 'Account of Architects', 1707, p. 48 (*Misc. writings*, p. 412). It appears from Totti that the reliefs were separate objects; the relief of Mettus Curtius was placed here in 1572: Jones, *Conservatori*, pp. 36, 371.

<sup>7</sup> i.e. the court-yard of the palace.

<sup>8</sup> Now in the vestibule of S. Giovanni in Laterano: Jones, *Conservatori*, p. 358; Matz and von Duhn, no. 1346.

head of brasse,<sup>1</sup> and that of Commodus<sup>2</sup> to which belongs an hand, the thumb whereoff is at the least an ell long, and yet proportionable; but the rest of the Colosse is lost. In a Corner of this Court stands the statue of an horse & lyon fighting,<sup>3</sup> as big as the life, in White marble exceedingly valu'd: Likewise the rape of the Sabines, Two cumbent figures of Alex: and Mammea:<sup>4</sup> Two monstrous feete of a certaine Colosse of Apollo:<sup>5</sup> The Sepulchre of Agrippina,<sup>6</sup> and the standard or antique measure of the Roman foote:<sup>7</sup> Ascending by the stepps of the other coine,<sup>8</sup> are inserted fowre basse-relievos, viz. the triumph & Sacrifice of M: Aurelius,<sup>9</sup> which last, for the antiquity and rarenesse of worke, I caused my Painter Carlo Neapolitano,<sup>10</sup> to copy out: Two statues of the Muses,<sup>11</sup> and one of Adrian the Emp:<sup>12</sup> Above stands the figure of Marius,<sup>13</sup> and by the wall Marsias

<sup>1</sup> 'La statua grande del Magno Costantino Imperatore [see above], di una Pallade, di una Minerva, la testa di bronzo di Commodo Imperatore, & una mano di bronzo.' But the two goddesses should be Pallas (Minerva) and Diana; they are marble figures, now moved to the Capitoline: Jones, *Conservatori*, p. 358; *Capitolino*, pp. 26, 43.

<sup>2</sup> Now identified as Constans I: Jones, *Conservatori*, pp. 173-5.

<sup>3</sup> Now in the garden: *ibid.*, p. 249.

<sup>4</sup> The Achilles in Skyros sarcophagus; the identification of the two statues seated on the lid is uncertain. Now in the Capitoline: Jones, *Capitolino*, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> The feet of the statue of Constantine, of which the head is mentioned above, p. 221, nn. 1, 5: Jones, *Conservatori*, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> A marble cyst to contain her urn; still here: Helbig, vol. i, no. 889.

<sup>7</sup> It is or was a modern inscribed tablet: Forcella, i. 39.

<sup>8</sup> Corner. Evelyn uses the word again in *The French Gardiner*: 'the coines or Angles of your Walls': p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> The fourth relief does not refer to Marcus Aurelius; his head was inserted by a restorer; that of Hadrian has been substituted for it more recently. The reliefs are still here: Jones, *Conservatori*, pp. 22-31.

<sup>10</sup> Carlo Maratti, 1625-1713; for the identification see below, p. 247. Thieme, *Lexikon*; life by G. P. Bellori and others in F. Amidei, *Ritratti di alcuni celebri pittori del secolo xvii, disegnati . . . [da] O. Lioni*, 1731, pp. 147-251. There seems to be no reason for Evelyn's calling him Neapolitano. Some copies of old masters and at least one original work by him are preserved at Wotton. For his relations with various Englishmen see Bellori, pp. 176-7.

<sup>11</sup> Still here: Jones, *Conservatori*, pp. 20, 32.

<sup>12</sup> Now in the Capitoline: Jones, *Capitolino*, p. 37 (traceable through reference to Vacca).

<sup>13</sup> Perhaps the statue of a Roman writer, formerly called Marius; now in the Capitoline: *ibid.*, p. 284.



bound to a tree,<sup>1</sup> all of them incomparable & antique: Above in the Lobby is inserted into the Walls those antient Laws of Brasse, call'd the Twelve Tables;<sup>2</sup> a faire Madona of Pietro Peruggino,<sup>3</sup> painted on the Wall; neere which the Archives full of antient records: In the greate Hall are divers excellent Paintings of Cavaliero Gioseppe d'Arpino,<sup>4</sup> statue in brasse of Sixtus V. and Leo X of marble:<sup>5</sup> In another hall<sup>6</sup> there are many modern statues of their late Consuls and Governers, set about with incomparable heads very antique; the rest are painted by the hands of excellent Masters representing the Actions of M: Scevola, Horatius Cocles &c:<sup>7</sup> In the roome where the Conservatori now feast upon solemn dayes,<sup>8</sup> 'tis tapisred with crimson damasque embrodred with gold, having a state or baldaquino of Crimson Velvet, very rich; the freeze<sup>9</sup> above rarely painted: Here is Romulus, & Rhemus sucking the Wolfe of brasse<sup>10</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> 'Marmoreus Satyr(u)s capripes, ad arborem religatus': Pflaumern, p. 355. Not mentioned by Totti; apparently lost before 1627, as it is not mentioned in the inventories in Jones, *Conservatori*, pp. 358-65; Pflaumern presumably took his notice from J. J. Boissard, *Romanæ urbis topographia*, 1597-1602, i. 50, or from Schott's version of Boissard (ed. 1610, ii. 104). See Michaelis, in *Römische Mittheilungen*, vi. 27, Boissard was in Rome in 1555-61: *ibid.*, p. 13 n.

<sup>2</sup> 'La tavola di bronzo con le leggi antiche'; 'a Table of Brasse with the old Lawes': Raymond, p. 102. Pflaumern gives what appears to be an incorrect description of the same monument: p. 355. Evelyn has wrongly added the identification with the law of the twelve tables; the tablet gives part of the law relating to the imperial power of Vespasian: *C.I.L.*, vol. vi, no. 930.

<sup>3</sup> So Totti. Attributed to Antonio da Viterbo by B. Berenson, *Italian*

*pictures of the Renaissance*, 1932, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> The Horatii and Curiatii in the Salone; by Giuseppe Cesari, called the Cavaliere d'Arpino, 1568-1640.

<sup>5</sup> Sixtus V was melted down in 1798; Leo X was transferred to S. Maria in Aracœli in 1876: Steinmann, in *Studi e Testi*, xxxviii. 480-2, 487-90, 500-3.

<sup>6</sup> Now the Sala dei Capitani. It contained four statues of modern generals, three of them being antiques restored with modern portrait heads: Jones, *Conservatori*, pp. 41-2, 360 (where, however, the room containing these statues is said to be the Salone). These statues are still here, as well as the antique heads.

<sup>7</sup> The frescoes are by T. Laureti.

<sup>8</sup> Now the Sala dei Trionfi di Mario.

<sup>9</sup> Attributed to Daniele da Volterra.

<sup>10</sup> The twins are a renaissance addition; now moved into the next room: Jones, *Conservatori*, p. 56.

the life, with the shepheard Faustulus<sup>1</sup> by them: Also that boy, plucking the thorne out of his foote<sup>2</sup> (so much admir'd by Artists) of brasse, very antique, with some other holy statues & heads of Saints.<sup>3</sup> In a Gallery neere adjoyning<sup>4</sup> are the names of the antient Consuls, Prætors, & Fasti Romani &c<sup>5</sup> so celebrated by the Learned: Also the figure of an old Woman, and two other representing Poverty,<sup>6</sup> with some more in fragments. In another Large roome furnish'd with velvet<sup>7</sup> is the statue of Adonis<sup>8</sup> very rare, and divers antique heads: In the next chamber<sup>9</sup> an old statue of Cicero,<sup>10</sup> and another Consul, also an Hercules of brasse,<sup>11</sup> two womens heads of incomparable worke, six other statues, and over the Chimny, a very rare basse-relievo,<sup>12</sup> & other figures.

In a little Lobby before the Chapell,<sup>13</sup> the statue of Hanibal the Carthaginian,<sup>14</sup> & a Bacchus<sup>15</sup> very antique: Two bustos, a

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Evelyn's name for the Camillus, in his time called 'la Zingara' and kept in this room, where it remains: *ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> The Spinario; still in this room: *ibid.*, p. 43. It is highly praised by Pflaumern. 'Very antique' probably refers to the style rather than to the age of the work; so again the Bacchus below; 'very antient and good', below, p. 234; cf. 'antique', below, 2 March 1655.

<sup>3</sup> Totti mentions the picture, still here, of the dead Christ with St. Francis, by Paolo Piazza (Fra Cosimo).

<sup>4</sup> Now the Sala della Lupa; in 1627 'la loggia o Galleria': Jones, *Conservatori*, p. 361.

<sup>5</sup> The Fasti consulares and the Acta triumphorum: *C.I.L.* i. 1-54; for the history of their discovery, pp. 1-3.

<sup>6</sup> 'Statue di una Vecchia in piedi, due statue grandi, che sedono rappresentando provintie.' The old woman is probably the statue now in the Salone of the Capitoline: Jones, *Capitolino*, p. 288; the two provinces perhaps two of the three figures transferred to the Sala delle

3811.2

Guerre puniche by 1641; two of the three are now on the Pincio: Jones, *Conservatori*, pp. 361, n. 6, 365.

<sup>7</sup> From its position, the Sala delle Oche.

<sup>8</sup> Probably the so-called Endymion, now in the Capitoline: Jones, *Capitolino*, p. 26; *Conservatori*, p. 362, where the heads also are mentioned.

<sup>9</sup> From its position, the Sala degli Arazzi. The tapestries are more recent.

<sup>10</sup> The ownership of this statue and presumably the next is no longer known: Jones, *Conservatori*, p. 363.

<sup>11</sup> Now in the corridor on the second floor: *ibid.*, p. 282.

<sup>12</sup> The sarcophagus-front with the Four Seasons, now in the Sala dei Trionfi: *ibid.*, p. 49. The busts, &c., are not identifiable.

<sup>13</sup> The 'saletta . . . avanti la cappella', now the Sala delle Guerre puniche.

<sup>14</sup> Evelyn is careless: Totti writes 'pitture varie dell' historie di Hannibale Carthaginese', i.e. the frescoes by J. Ripanda.

<sup>15</sup> Of 'selce' or black Egyptian

Pan,<sup>1</sup> & Mercury<sup>2</sup> with other old heads. All these noble & indeede incomparable statues &c, belong to the Citty, and cannot be disposed of to any privat Persons, or remov'd hence, but are preserv'd for the honor of the Place; though very greate summes have been offerd for them by divers greate Princes, lovers of Art, & Antiquity.

We now left the Capitol, certainly one of the most renowned places in the World; even as now built by the designe of the famous M: Angelo.<sup>3</sup> Returning home by Ara Cœli,<sup>4</sup> we mounted to it by more then 100 marble steps, not in devotion, as some I observd to do on their bare knees;<sup>5</sup> but to see those two famous statues of Constantine in White marble plac'd there out of his Bathes:<sup>6</sup> In this Church is a Madona reported to be painted by st. Luke,<sup>7</sup> also a Culumn, on which we saw the print of a foote, which they affirme to have been the Angels, seene on the Castle of st. Angelo:<sup>8</sup>

Here the feast of our B: Saviours Nativity being yearely celebrated, with divers pageants, they began to make the

stone: Jones, *Conservatori*, p. 364. Not traceable.

<sup>1</sup> 'Un Dio Pane a sedere antico.' Presumably the Polyphemus with a Greek, formerly called Pan and a child, now in the Capitoline: Jones, *Capitolino*, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> 'Un Mercurio in termine antico.' Not traceable.

<sup>3</sup> See Totti, p. 407. Michelangelo is responsible for the general design of the square, for the ground floor and stairs, but not the fountain, of the Palazzo del Senatore, and for the façades of the two lateral palaces, except for the central window of the first floor in each. His design is shown in two engravings after Dupérac: Ashby, *Topog. Study in Rome in 1581*, figs. 42, 43.

<sup>4</sup> From Totti, pp. 408–11. Pflaumern, pp. 350–1; Raymond, pp. 102–3. S. Maria in Aracœli. Evelyn would surely have gone to the church by the short flight of steps from the Piazza del Campidoglio, beside which stood the two statues

of 'Constantine' (see below), not by the long flight from the Piazza d'Aracœli. For the church see F. Casimiro, *Mem. istor. della chiesa e convento di S. Maria in Araceli*, 1736.

<sup>5</sup> 'Con le ginocchia': Totti, p. 411. Evelyn may not have seen the devotees.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 357. Constantine the Great and his son Constans; for their position see note 4 above; they are now on the balustrade of the Piazza del Campidoglio: Helbig, i. 411.

<sup>7</sup> For the older literature relating to it see Casimiro, pp. 130–8; the picture is now believed to date from the tenth century: J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, 1916, ii. 1145–9.

<sup>8</sup> It is a votive offering to Isis; it was removed under Alexander VII and is now in the Capitoline Museum: Casimiro, p. 241; *C.I.L.*, vol. vi, no. 351.

preparation;<sup>1</sup> But thus having view(ed) the Palace, & fountaine at the other side of the stayres,<sup>2</sup> we returned weary to our Lodgings.

On the Tuesday, being the 7th,<sup>3</sup> we went againe (towards)<sup>a</sup> the Capitol towards the Tarpeian rock,<sup>4</sup> where it has a goodly prospect towards the Tybur; thence descending by the Tullianum,<sup>5</sup> where they told us st. Peter was imprison'd [St. Pietro da Vincoli],<sup>b</sup> they shew'd us a Chapell, in which a rocky side of it, beares the impression of his face.<sup>6</sup> [The painting of the *Ascention* is of *Raphael*.]<sup>b</sup><sup>7</sup> In the nave of the Church gushes a fountaine, which they say was caus'd by the Apostles prayer, when, having converted some of his fellow Captives, he wanted water to make them Christians:<sup>8</sup> Then we walked about the Mount Palatinus, which with the Aventine we viewed very atentively, and from thence the once famous Circus Maximus,<sup>9</sup> capable of holding 40000

<sup>a</sup> MS. *towardis*.

<sup>b</sup> Marginal note.

<sup>1</sup> The preparations seen by Evelyn were presumably not for Christmas but for the Possesso of Innocent X: below, pp. 279–81.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn perhaps refers to the palaces and fountain in the Piazza d'Aracœli: Totti, p. 411.

<sup>3</sup> The date 7 November has already been given for the preceding day's sightseeing: above, p. 217. It fell on a Monday.

<sup>4</sup> 'Sasso, o Rupe Tarpeia vien detta quella parte [of the Capitoline hill], che guarda verso 'l fiume': Totti, p. 400; cf. p. 416, where he refers to the executions. Pflaumern, pp. 359–60. Neither writer states clearly what was shown as the place of execution. Raymond, p. 106. Tarpeius, Mons. In the seventeenth century it was identified as the high ground to the west of the present Museo Mussolini: see G. B. Falda, *Nuova pianta*; cf. Nolli, who places it just south of S. Orsola.

<sup>5</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 360–2, and Totti, pp. 419–20. Raymond,

p. 110. S. Pietro in Carcere; Platner and Ashby, art. Carcer. It is not mentioned as a church until the fourteenth century: Huelsen, *Chiese*, pp. 421–2.

<sup>6</sup> This was destroyed in 1600: Totti, p. 420.

<sup>7</sup> The two marginal notes wrongly inserted from Monconys, ii. 440, where they form a single and incorrect notice. The church should be S. Pietro in Montorio, the picture Raphael's Transfiguration, which hung there until 1797; it is now in the Vatican Pinacoteca. It is identifiable from the description in Monconys.

<sup>8</sup> The spring is in the lower story of the building, which according to one theory was originally a well-house.

<sup>9</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 298–9, where, however, three estimates are given of the number of spectators: 150,000; 260,000; and 400,000. Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 326–8; Totti, p. 155; Raymond, p. 107. Circus

spectators; It is now wholly converted into Gardens, and an heape of ougly ruines: Then we pass'd by the Forum Boarium, where they have a tradition Hercules slew Cacus;<sup>1</sup> some ruines of his Temple remaining.<sup>2</sup> Here they also shew'd us the Temple of Janus quadrifrontis,<sup>3</sup> having 4 ports or arches importing the 4 Seasons, and at each side six niches for the annual monethes; it still remains a very substantial & pretty intire antiquity. Neere to this is the Arcus Argentariorum.<sup>4</sup> Bending now towards the River Tyber, we step'd into the Theater of Marcellus,<sup>5</sup> capable once of 80000 persons, built by the greate Augustus, & dedicated to his Nephew, a piece for Architecture (as much as remaines) inferior to none; but now wholly converted into the house of the Savelli, one of the old Roman families.

They were now generally buisie in erecting temporary Triumphs & Arches, with statues, and flatering Inscriptions, against his Holinesse's grand Procession to st. Jo: de Lateran, amongst which the Jewes also began one in testimony of gratitude for their protection under the Papal state.<sup>6</sup> We walked hence to see the Palazzo Barberini,<sup>7</sup>

Maximus. Modern estimates of the number of spectators range between 140,000 and 385,000.

<sup>1</sup> Pflaumern, p. 362; Totti, p. 157; idem, *R.A.*, p. 170. Both writers state, not that Hercules slew Cacus here, but that after slaying him he sacrificed to Jupiter here.

<sup>2</sup> The remains of his temple here were destroyed under Sixtus IV: *ibid.*, pp. 245-6. Hercules Victor, *aedes*.

<sup>3</sup> From Raymond, p. 106; cf. Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 268-9. Pflaumern, pp. 362-3; Totti, p. 156. Janus Quadrifrons. The theory of its symbolism given by these authors is valueless.

<sup>4</sup> Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 169-71; Pflaumern, p. 363; Totti, p. 157; Raymond, p. 106. Arcus Septimii Severi in Foro Boario.

<sup>5</sup> From Totti, pp. 165-6. Idem, *R.A.*, pp. 164-5; Pflaumern, p. 341,

364. *Theatrum Marcelli*. The modern estimate of its seating is from 10,000 to 14,000 spectators. The Savelli occupied it from 1368 until they died out in the eighteenth century; their palace is built into the arches towards the Piazza Montanara: Commissione archeol. comunale di Roma, *Bullettino*, xxix (1901), 59-63.

<sup>6</sup> See below, pp. 279-81. The senate and the duke of Parma erected arches; the Jews decorated both sides of the processional way between the arch of Titus and the Coliseum: L. Banck, *Roma triumphans*, 1645, pp. 172-81.

<sup>7</sup> From Totti, pp. 272-3 (views, pp. 274, 275), and Raymond, pp. 103-4. See H. Tetius (G. Teti), *Ædes Barberinæ ad Quirinalem*, 1642; new ed., 1647. The existing palace, already completed. The eulogy is also found in Raymond; most of the information about the

design'd by the now Pop(e)s Architect Cavaliere<sup>a</sup> Bernini,<sup>1</sup> & which I take to be as superbe, and princely an object, as any moderne building in Europ for the quantity: There is to it a double Portico, at the end of which, we ascended by two paire of Oval Stayres<sup>2</sup> all of stone, & voide in the well; one of these landed us into a stately Hall, the Volto whereoff was newly painted a fresca by that rare hand of Pietro Berettieri, il Cortone:<sup>3</sup> To this is annexed a Gallery compleately furnish'd (with) whatsoever Art can call rare & singular, & a Library full of worthy Collections, Medails, Marbles, and Manuscripts; but above all, for its unknowne material, and antiquity an Ægyptian Osyris:<sup>4</sup> In one of the roomes neere this hangs the Sposaliccio of St. Sebastiano, the original of Hanibal Caraccio,<sup>5</sup> of which I procured a Copy, little inferior to the prototype; a table in my judgment Superior to anything I had seene in Rome. Descending into the Court we spied a Vast Gulio, or Obelisque, broaken, having divers hieroglyphics cut on it:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Or *Cavaliere*.

architecture and its contents is from Totti.

<sup>1</sup> Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini, 1598–1680: S. Frascchetti, *Il Bernini*, 1900; F. Baldinucci, *Vita des Gio. Lorenzo Bernini*, with commentary by A. Riegl, 1912.

Bernini was out of favour in the early part of the reign of Innocent X, the date of this notice; but at the height of his reputation in 1660, about the time when this part of the text was written. This palace was commenced by Carlo Maderna and completed by Bernini; Francesco Borromini also contributed to the design.

<sup>2</sup> The details of the stairs are original.

<sup>3</sup> Pietro Berettini da Cortona, 1596–1669. Engravings in Tetius. The ceiling was painted between 1633 and 1639: *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xl (1919), 99–102.

<sup>4</sup> Figured by Raymond, p. 104, from whom the notice is taken. The figure is now identified as Horus; it was bought by the Munich Glyptothek in 1815: A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwig's I*, ed. Wolters, 1910, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> The Marriage (*sposalizio*) of St. Catherine, with the figure of St. Sebastian, by Correggio. It was presented to Mazarin in 1650 and is now in the Louvre: J. Meyer, *Correggio*, 1871, pp. 322–5; C. Ricci, *Antonio Allegri da Correggio*, 1896, pp. 171–6. The copy, attributed to Maratti, is still preserved at Wotton. The whole notice is original.

<sup>6</sup> Obeliscus Antinoi. Now on the Pincio. Gulio is from Totti's 'guglia'; the more common modern Italian form is *aguglia*. For the history of the word see J. Capgrave, *Ye solace of pilgrimes* (c. 1450), ed. C. A. Mills, 1911, p. 22 n.

November 8: We gave a visite to the Jesuites Church,<sup>1</sup> the front whereoff, esteem'd as noble a piece of Architecture as any in Europe, the designe of Giacomo della Porta, & the famous Vignola: In this Church lyes the body of their renown'd Ignatius Liola, an arme of Xaverius their other Apostle:<sup>2</sup> and at the right end of the high Altar their Champion Card: Bellarmine:<sup>3</sup> Here Father Kercherus<sup>4</sup> (Mathematical Professor, and of the Oriental Tongues) shew'd us many singular courtesies, leading us into their Colledge,<sup>5</sup> and car(ry)ing us into their <Refectory>,<sup>a</sup> Dispensatory, Laboratory, Gardens; & finally (through an hall hung round with the pictures of such of their Order as had been executed for their pragmatial & buisy adventures) into his owne study, where he with Dutch patience shew'd us his perpetual motions, Catoptrics,<sup>6</sup> Magnetical experiments, Modells, and a thousand other crotchets & devises, most of them since published, either by himselfe, or his industrious Scholar Schotti.<sup>7</sup> Returning home, we had time to view the Palazzo de Medici,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Refactory*.

<sup>1</sup> From Totti, pp. 391–5. Pflaumern, p. 349. The Gesù. The body of the church is by Vignola (Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, 1507–73), the façade by Giacomo della Porta (1537–1602). Most of the decoration of the interior is later than Evelyn's visit; for its appearance in 1639 see the picture by Sacchi reproduced in A. Muñoz, *Roma barocca*, 2nd ed., 1928, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. SS. Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier.

<sup>3</sup> Roberto Bellarmino, 1542–1621; cardinal 1599: *Encic. italiana*. The tomb has been altered; Fraschetti reproduces an engraving showing its original appearance: *Bernini*, pp. 33–5.

<sup>4</sup> Athanasius Kircher, 1602–80: *Allgemeine deutsche Biog.*; *Encic. italiana*. He was appointed mathematical professor here about 1635.

<sup>5</sup> The notice apparently refers to the Casa Professa of the Jesuits,

adjoining the church: cf. Grangier de Liverdis, pp. 289–90; according to Lassels, however, Kircher kept his instruments at the Collegio Romano: ii. 212. Evelyn may have conflated notices of the two buildings. For the Collegio Romano see below, pp. 282–3.

<sup>6</sup> Properly that part of optics which treats of reflection, but here used for the apparatus for producing effects by reflection.

<sup>7</sup> Gaspar Schott, 1608–66: *Catholic Encyc.*; lists of his and Kircher's writings in A. de Backer, &c., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, ed. Sommervogel, 1890–1909.

<sup>8</sup> Notice mainly from Totti, pp. 339–40; part is original and the whole confused. Pflaumern, p. 327. Villa Medici. There is no good work on it. It was begun in 1564 by Annibale Lippi (Nanni Lippi; fl. 1560–81) for Cardinal Giovanni Ricci or his nephews. It was bought

which was an house of the Duke of Florence neere our Lodging upon the brow of Mons Pincius: having an incomparable Prospect towards the Campo Marzo.<sup>1</sup> This is a very magnificent strong building, having a substruction very remarkable, and a Portico supported with Columns towards the Gardens with two huge Lions of marble at the end of the Balustrads:<sup>2</sup> The whole out side of this facciata<sup>3</sup> is (incrusted)<sup>a</sup> with antique & rare Basse-relievis & statues: Descending into the Garden is a noble fountaine govern'd by a Mercury<sup>4</sup> of brasse, and a little distance on the Left hand, a Lodge<sup>5</sup> full of incomparable Statues, amongst which the Sabines, antique & singularly rare: In the Arcado<sup>6</sup> neere this stand 24 statues of infinite price; and hard by a Mount planted with Cypresses, representing a fortresse, with a goodly fountaine in the middle:

<sup>a</sup> MS. *inscrusted*.

in 1576 by Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, later grand-duke of Tuscany as Ferdinand I, who may have extended or altered the building. The collections, which had been begun by the Ricci, were greatly extended by Ferdinando. The villa belonged to the grand-dukes until 1801; in 1803 it was acquired by the French government for the École française de Rome, which still occupies it. Most of the sculpture not built into the walls was transferred to Florence in 1677 and in 1769-88. See: R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma*, 1902-12, iii. 103-22, especially pp. 103-4, 109-10; V. Baltard, *Villa Médicis à Rome*, 1847; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 4<sup>e</sup> pér., ii (1909), 163-76; *Bollettino d'arte* (1<sup>a</sup> ser.), v (1911), 205; Pastor, ix. 158-60, 859. Views by D. Butius (H. van Schoel exc.), c. 1600; G. B. Falda, *Giardini di Roma*, c. 1680; and G. F. Venturini in G. G. de' Rossi, *Fontane di Roma*, vol. iii, c. 1691, pl. 9. Account of the collections in Institut national de France (Acad. des Inscriptions), *Mém.* xxxv (1893), ii. 109-14, 165-6. See

also Lanciani, as above, and the works on the Uffizi listed above, p. 189 n. Evelyn gives another notice of the villa below, pp. 286-7.

<sup>1</sup> The modern 'region' occupying the northern part of the ancient Campus Martius.

<sup>2</sup> This part of the notice is original. The lions, of which one is antique, the other a pendant to it by F. Vacca, are now in front of the Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence: H. Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien*, vol. iii, no. 565.

<sup>3</sup> On the garden side.

<sup>4</sup> By Giovanni Bologna; now in the Bargello in Florence: Desjardins, pp. 61-5.

<sup>5</sup> 'Alla prima salita è una Loggia con otto colonne, e vi sono alcune Sabine di pietra fatte da ottimi Maestri.' The portico on the garden front. The Sabines, simply female figures, are now in the Loggia dei Lanzi: Dütschke, vol. iii, nos. 558-63.

<sup>6</sup> 'Una Galleria di gran valore.' On the south-east side of the parterre.



Here is also a row balustr'd with white marble,<sup>1</sup> on which are erected divers statues and heads, covered over with the natural shrubbs, Ivys & other perennial Greenes, as in nices: At a little distance Those fam'd statues of the Niobe & her family,<sup>2</sup> in all 15<sup>a</sup> as big as the life, of which we have ample mention in Pliny,<sup>3</sup> being certainly to be esteemed amongst the best pieces of worke in the world, for the passions they expresse, & all other perfections of that stupendious art. There is likewise in this Garden a faire Obelisque<sup>4</sup> full of Hieroglyphics: At our going out, I tooke notice of the fountaine before the front,<sup>5</sup> which cast water neere 50 foote in height, receiving it into a most ample basin of marble: Here they usuaily rod the greate-horse every morning, which gave me much diversion from the Tarrace of my owne Chamber, where I could see all their motions.<sup>6</sup> This Evening I was invited to heare rare musique at the Chiesa Nova,<sup>7</sup> a building

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *st-* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> 'Vi è medesimamente un bosco circondato da una balaustrata di marmi con nicchie, dove è posto a ciascheduna la sua statua.' The *bosco* occupies the higher ground south-east of the gallery; it includes a circular mound which covers the ruins of a nymphaeum of the Horti Aciliorum.

<sup>2</sup> The statues now in the Uffizi: Dütschke, vol. iii, nos. 253-69, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> They were identified with the statues placed in the temple of Apollo by C. Sosius: *Nat. Hist.*, bk. xxxvi, ch. 5 (4). The reference here is apparently original.

<sup>4</sup> See Platner and Ashby, p. 369. It was removed to the Boboli Gardens in 1787.

<sup>5</sup> Totti describes a fountain before the garden front, which cast its waters 'cento scalini' high (the dictionaries do not give *scalino* as a measure of length). Evelyn has confused this with the fountain before the street front, of which the

jet has apparently always been slight. There appears to have been another fountain on the summit of the circular mound in the *bosco*: Lanciani, iii. 118, 119.

<sup>6</sup> The riders on the terrace outside the villa are shown in a view by A. Specchi: *Il nuovo teatro . . . di Roma moderna*, published by G. J. (G. G.) Rossi, pt. iv, 1699, f. 11.

<sup>7</sup> The notice from Totti, pp. 225-8. Pflaumern, pp. 341-2. S. Maria in Vallicella, always known as the Chiesa Nuova. The Oratorians were founded by St. Philip Neri c. 1554 and obtained papal recognition in 1575; they were specially famous for their music: see L. Ponnelle and L. Bordet, *Saint Philippe Néri*, 1928. The building of the church began in 1575; it was consecrated in 1599. When Evelyn saw it the ceilings were still unpainted. He does not mention the three pictures by Rubens; they are mentioned by Totti, but only as by a 'Fiamengo'. Most of the pictures

of incomparable ordinance; the black marble Pillars within lead us to that most precious Oratory<sup>1</sup> of Philipus Nerius their founder: They being of the Oratory, secular Priests, & under no Vowe: There are in it divers good Pictures; as the Assumption,<sup>2</sup> of Girolamo Mutiano; The Crucifix,<sup>3</sup> the Visitation of Eliz: the Presentation of the B: Virgin,<sup>4</sup> Christo Sepolto<sup>5</sup> of Guido Rheno;<sup>6</sup> Caravaggio, Arpino<sup>7</sup> and others. This faire Church consists of 14 Altars; and as many Chapells; there is buried in it (besides their Saint) Cæsar Baronius the greate Annalist.<sup>8</sup> Through this we went into the Sacristia,<sup>9</sup> where the tapers being lighted, one of the Order, preach'd, after him stepp'd up, a Child, of about 8, or 9 years old, who pronounc'd an Oration, with so much grace as I never was better pleased in my life, then to heare Italian so well spoken, & so intelligently: This course it seemes, they frequently use them to, to bring their scholars to an habit of speaking distinctly, & forming their action & assurance which none so much want, as ours in England. This being finish'd began their motettos, which (in a lofty Cupola richly painted)<sup>10</sup> were sung by Eunuchs, and other rare Voices, accompanied with Theorbas,<sup>11</sup> Harpsicors, & Viols; so as we were even ravish'd with the entertainement of that Evening.<sup>12</sup> This

are still preserved in the church. For it see Mrs. E. Strong, *La Chiesa Nuova*, [1923], which reproduces a view of the interior before 1647.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's slip; what he describes here is the chapel dedicated to the saint.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn's error; an Ascension; by Girolamo Muziano (1528-92).

<sup>3</sup> A Crucifixion, by Scipione Pulzone da Gaeta, called Gaetano (c. 1550-98).

<sup>4</sup> Both these by Federico Baroccio (1526-1612).

<sup>5</sup> The Deposition from the Cross, by Caravaggio, now in the Vatican Pinacoteca; replaced here by a copy.

<sup>6</sup> Guido (Guido Reni, 1575-1642) painted a portrait of St. Philip Neri; it is now in the convent and is

replaced here by a mosaic copy.

<sup>7</sup> The church contains a Circumcision and a Coronation of the Virgin by him.

<sup>8</sup> Cesare Baronio, 1538-1607; cardinal 1596; his *Annales Ecclesiastici* were first published in 1588-1607: *Encic. italiana*.

<sup>9</sup> Evelyn's mistake for the Oratory, built 1637-40, to which his description applies: Hempel, *Borromini*, pp. 69-70; Strong, pp. 145-8.

<sup>10</sup> By G. F. Romanelli: Hempel, p. 70.

<sup>11</sup> See below, p. 287.

<sup>12</sup> On all ferial days except Saturdays there were four sermons, each lasting half an hour, 'alla fine de' quali si canta qualche mottetto spirituale'. In the evenings from the beginning of November until

room<sup>1</sup> is painted by Cortona, & has in it two figures in the Niches:<sup>2</sup>

Before this Church passes one of the most stately streets of Rome.<sup>3</sup>

November the 10th We went to see Prince Ludovio's Villa,<sup>4</sup> where was formerly the Viridarium of the Poet Sallust:<sup>5</sup> The house is very magnificent, and the extent of the Ground exceeding Large, considering it is in a City: This Garden is in every quarter beset with antique statues, and Walkes planted with Cypress, at the extreame of one, stands a Bassrelievo of white marble very antient & good:<sup>6</sup> To this Garden<sup>a</sup> is also a house of retirement, built in figure of a

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *re*.

Easter 'fanno devoti Oratorii con buoni sermoni, e musica per lo spatio d'un' hora, e meza': so Totti, pp. 227, 228. These statements appear to be too general; the principal musical performances took place on the Sundays and festivals in the winter months: Lassels, ii. 228; cf. Grangier de Liverdis, pp. 328-9. See also Strong, p. 146, and Mortoft, *passim*. It was from the performances here that the musical form, the oratorio, derived its name.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's error for the sacristy. The confusion is due to the alterations made since Totti's description, which dates from 1638 or earlier, before the Oratory was built. Pietro da Cortona painted the ceiling in 1633. He painted the ceilings of the church between 1647 and 1669.

<sup>2</sup> Totti mentions the statue of St. Philip Neri by Algardi; the bust of Gregory XV by the same sculptor was probably made at the same time. Both are still preserved here.

<sup>3</sup> Totti, p. 228. Now the Via Larga, shortened when the square before the church was enlarged.

<sup>4</sup> The notice in part from Raymond, pp. 72-3, with much additional matter, apparently original.

Totti, p. 302. The Villa Ludovisi. It was laid out by Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi in 1621-3; after undergoing various alterations it was sold in 1886, and most of its site has been built over; the Casino dell' Aurora alone survives. The collection of antiques, after various gains and losses, was acquired by the Museo delle Terme in 1901. Evelyn apparently confuses the contents of the principal palace and those of the casino. See T. Schreiber, *Die antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi in Rom*, 1880, with inventory of 1633, pp. 28-38. Good descriptions in Mortoft, pp. 124-8, and Grangier de Liverdis, pp. 449-52. For the destruction of the villa see Lanciani, *Ruins and excavations*, pp. 418-19.

<sup>5</sup> Sallust was an historian, not a poet. The site of his gardens (Horti Sallustiani) lay rather to the west of the villa. See Totti, pp. 269-71.

<sup>6</sup> Probably the sarcophagus with the battle between Romans and barbarians, now in the Terme: Schreiber, no. 186; R. Paribeni, *Le terme di Diocleziano e il museo nazionale romano*, 2nd ed., 1932, no. 178.

Crosse<sup>1</sup> after a particular Ordonance; especially the stayre-Case, The whit(e)nesse & smothnesse of the excellent pargeting<sup>2</sup> was a thing I much observed, being almost as even & polite as if it had been of marble: Above is a faire Prospect of the City: In one of the Chambers hang 2 famous Pieces of Bassano, the one a Vulcan, the other a Nativity:<sup>3</sup> also they shewd us a German Clock full of rare & extraordinary motions; and in a little salett<sup>4</sup> below are many precious Marbles, Columns, Urnes, Vasas & noble statues, of Porphyrie, Oriental Alabaster and other rare materials. About this fabrique is an ample Area, environ'd with 16 vast & huge Jarrs or Vasas of red Earth, wherein the Romans were wont to preserve their oyle; or Wine, rather, which they burried; & such as are properly called Testæ.<sup>5</sup> In the Palace I must never forget that famous statue of the Gladiator,<sup>6</sup> spoken of by Pliny, and so much followed by all the rare Artists,<sup>a</sup> as the many Copies and statues testifie, now almost dispers'd through all Europ, both in stone & metall. Also an Hercules,<sup>7</sup> an head of Porphyrie,<sup>8</sup> & another of M: Aurelius.<sup>9</sup> There is likewise in the Villa-house a mans body flesh & all Petrified, and even converted to marble, as it was found in the Alps, and sent by the Emp: to the Pope; It lay in a Chest or Cofin lined with black velvet; where one of the armes being broken; you may see the perfect bone from the rest of the flesh, which remains intire.<sup>10</sup> There is here also the rape of

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *I-*.

<sup>1</sup> The Casino dell' Aurora.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. plastering.

<sup>3</sup> They are not mentioned in C. Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell' arte*, 1648.

<sup>4</sup> Italian *saletta*, a little room.

<sup>5</sup> *Testae* are jars or potsherds.

<sup>6</sup> The Dying Gaul, now in the Capitoline Museum: Jones, *Museo Capitolino*, p. 338. The reference to it in Pliny is not identifiable; the alternative passages now held to apply were inadmissible so long as it was regarded as a gladiator. It was placed in the palace, not the casino of the villa.

<sup>7</sup> Now in the Terme: Schreiber, no. 45; Paribeni, no. 169.

<sup>8</sup> 'The Oracles head of *Porphyre* with the mouth open, whereby the Priests spake': Raymond. It is a colossal red marble tragic mask, pierced for emitting steam or water, and is now in the Terme: Schreiber, no. 46; Paribeni, no. 200.

<sup>9</sup> Presumably Schreiber, no. 85, a modern bronze bust that formerly passed for an antique.

<sup>10</sup> This, one of the great attractions of the villa, has disappeared: Mortoft, p. 127; Lassels, ii. 180; &c.

Proserpine, cutt in a marble so exquisitely white, as unlesse the driven snow, I never saw any thing approach it, it is the worke of Ca: Bernini;<sup>1</sup> and in the Cabinet neere it are an innumerable many brasse figures in little, with divers other exotique curiosities:<sup>2</sup> But what some looke on as exceeding all the rest, is a very rich bed-stead (which sort of grosse furniture, the Italians much glory in, as formerly our Gra⟨n⟩d-fathers in England, in their inlay'd wodden ones) inlayed with all sorts of precious stones, & antique heads, both Onyx's, Achates, & Cornelian; esteemed to be worth 80, or 90000 Crownes:<sup>3</sup> Here are also divers Cabinets, & Tables of the Florence worke,<sup>4</sup> besides Pictures in the Gallery, especialy the Apollo.<sup>5</sup> [A Conceited Chayre to sleepe in with the Leggs stretch'd out with hooks & pieces of wood to draw out longer & shorter:<sup>6</sup> &c.]<sup>a</sup>

From this Villa, we went to see Signor Angelonis study,<sup>7</sup> who very courteously shew'd us such a Collection of rare medaills, as hardly is to be Parallel'd: Here were divers good Pictures, many outlandish & Indian Curiosities & things of nature. [Amongst other Curiosities the *Labarum*<sup>8</sup> of Constantine: dive⟨r⟩s *Amulets* & *periaptas*,<sup>9</sup> one of Gold like a ring,

---

<sup>a</sup> Marginal note.

---

<sup>1</sup> Now in the Villa Borghese. It had been given to Cardinal Ludovisi by Cardinal Scipione Borghese (below, p. 251 n.) in 1622: Frascchetti, *Bernini*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Mortoft mentions 'a little case full of Indian gods': p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> This was in the casino: *ibid.*, pp. 124-5.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. *pietra commessa*.

<sup>5</sup> The villa contained two statues of the seated Apollo with the lyre, both now in the Terme: Schreiber, nos. 65, 116; Paribeni, nos. 164, 167.

<sup>6</sup> Not traced, but Evelyn may have inserted the notice in the wrong place; Aerssen notes such a chair in the Villa Montalto: p. 181. Evelyn mentions a similar chair,

also in a marginal note, at the Villa Medici; below, p. 286.

<sup>7</sup> Totti, p. 303. Francesco Angeloni, c. 1590-1652, author: *Encic. italiana*. His principal work is *La historia augusta da Giulio Cesare infino à Costantino il Magno illustrata con la verità delle Antiche Medaglie*, 1641; new ed., 1685. For his collection see Richard Symonds (1651), B.M., Egerton MS. 1635, ff. 50v.-54v.; further notice below, pp. 356-7.

<sup>8</sup> The standard used by Constantine after his conversion: see below, p. 383 n. The object here mentioned was a pierced bronze disk, with the XP monogram; it is described and figured by Angeloni, *Hist. augusta*, p. 369.

<sup>9</sup> Charms or amulets.

one of copper like a heart, both with the *Membrum Virile*: An antient *Talus*<sup>1</sup> of brasse: &c:]<sup>a</sup>

From him we walked up to Monte Cavallo, heretofore called Mons Quirinalis, where we beheld those two rare horses,<sup>2</sup> made by the æmulous and famous Phidias & Praxiteles, as they were sent to Nero out of Armenia: They are planted on Pedistals of white Marble by Sixtus V, by whom I suppose their injuries were repaired; and are govern'd by two naked slaves, like those at the foote of the Capitol:<sup>3</sup> Here runs a most noble fountaine regarding fower of the most stately streetes, for building, & beauty, to be seen in any City of Europ.<sup>4</sup>

Opposite to these statues is the Popes Summer Palace,<sup>5</sup> built by Greg: XIII, and in my opinion it is for largenesse, & Architecture one of the most conspicuous in Rome, having a stately Portico, which leads round the Court under Columns, in the center of which there runs a beautifull Fountaine: The Chapell is incrusted with such precious materials, that certainly nothing can be more rich & glorious; nor are the other ornaments & moveables about it at all inferior: The Hall before it is excellently painted by Lanfranci<sup>6</sup> & others: The garden in an incomparable ayre & prospect, is (for the

---

<sup>a</sup> Marginal note.

---

<sup>1</sup> A knuckle-bone or die.

<sup>2</sup> Probably from Totti, pp. 280-2. Idem, *R.A.*, pp. 361-2; Pflaumern, pp. 389-90; Raymond, p. 74. The two groups were in line, the horses parallel to and next to one another; in front in the middle was a small fountain erected by Sixtus V, who was also responsible for the arrangement of the statues. The obelisk was added and the groups were rearranged at an obtuse angle in 1786; a new and larger antique basin was substituted for the old fountain in 1818: Matz and von Duhn, no. 959; Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, iv. 155-7. View in Totti. See also below, p. 405 n.

<sup>3</sup> The groups on the balustrade

of the Piazza del Campidoglio: see above, p. 221.

<sup>4</sup> Totti mentions the fountain (see above) and some improvements to the street: p. 282. I cannot explain Evelyn's four streets. He may have confused this fountain with the Quattro Fontane: below, pp. 241-2.

<sup>5</sup> From Totti, pp. 277-9. Pflaumern, pp. 390-1; Raymond, p. 76. The Quirinal palace. It has been occupied by the kings of Italy since 1870, when new furnishings were introduced; otherwise it is well preserved. Description of the garden in Grangier de Liverdis, pp. 482-4; view by J. Maggius, 1612. Further notice below, p. 287.

<sup>6</sup> Giovanni Lanfranco, 1582-1647.

exquisitenesse of the fountaines, close-walkes, Grotts, Piscinas or stews of fish, planted about with venerable Cypresses, and refresh'd with water-musique,<sup>1</sup> Aviaries & other rarities) cal'd the Belvedere di Monte Cavallo, in emulation to that of the Vaticane.

The 12th, I walked up to Dioclesians Bathes,<sup>2</sup> whose ruines testifie the vastnesse of its original foundation and magnificence, as well as what M: Angelo tooke from the ornaments about it (by which 'tis sayd he restored the then almost lost art of Architecture)<sup>3</sup> the excelency of the structure. This monstrous Pile was built by the Sweate of the Primitive Christians then under one of the 10 famous Persecutions.<sup>4</sup>

Made out of one of these ruinous Cupolas onely, of incomparable worke, is the Church cald st. Bernardo:<sup>5</sup> which is built in the just forme of an Urne with a Cover. Opposite to this is the Fontana delle Therme, otherwise cal'd Fons Felix,<sup>6</sup> which has a (basse-relievo)<sup>a</sup> in it of white-marble, representing Moses striking the rock which is adorn'd with Camels, Men, Women, Children drinking, as big as the life; a worke for the designe & vastnesse truely magnificent: the Water being conveyed no lesse then 22 Miles in an Aquæduct by Sixtus quintus, ex Agro Columnæ by the way of Præneste, as the Inscription testifies.<sup>7</sup> Thus it gushes forth into 3 ample

<sup>a</sup> MS. *basse-relievo*.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. hydraulic organs: Pflaumern, p. 390.

<sup>2</sup> This first notice is largely original; for the literature see below, p. 240 n. *Thermae Diocletiani*.

The monuments visited on this day are fairly near one another, but the order in which they are described is not perhaps that in which Evelyn visited them.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 214.

<sup>4</sup> It was the tenth: Evelyn, *Hist. of religion*, ii. 123-4.

<sup>5</sup> The notice apparently original. Totti, pp. 513-14; Raymond, p. 105 (not named). See S. Ortolani,

*S. Bernardo alle Terme*, [c. 1924].

<sup>6</sup> Partly from Totti, pp. 512-13, Pflaumern, p. 325, and, perhaps, Raymond, p. 105. Totti, *R.A.*, p. 189. The Fontanone dell' Acqua Felice, erected by Domenico Fontana for Sixtus V (Felice Peretti). The central figure is Moses striking the rock; the relief to the left is Aaron with the children of Israel; that to the right, Gideon and his army.

<sup>7</sup> 'Ex agro Columnae via Praenest. sinistrorsum': i.e. to the left of the Via Praenestina. The source of the aqueduct is near the road but their

Lavors,<sup>a</sup> raild about with stone, before which are plac'd two Lions<sup>1</sup> of a strange black stone very rare & antique: Neere to this are the store-houses for the Cittys Corne;<sup>2</sup> and right over against it the Church of st. Susanna,<sup>3</sup> where were the Gardens of Salust.<sup>4</sup> The facia<sup>5</sup> of this Church is extraordinary noble, the Soffito within guilded & full of Pictures;<sup>6</sup> especialy famous is that of Susanna by Baldasser di Bologna.<sup>7</sup> Also the Tribunal of the high Altar of exquisite worke, from whose incomparable stepps of marble you descend<sup>8</sup> under grownd the repository of divers saints. The Picture over this Altar is the worke of Jacomo siciliano.<sup>9</sup> And the foundation Bernardine Nunns.

From hence we went to Santa Maria della Vitoria,<sup>10</sup> which presents us with such a front as would even ravish the beholder with astonishment. In this Church was sung the Te Deum by Greg: XVth, after the signal victory of the Emperor at Prage,<sup>11</sup> the standards then taken, still hung up, and the Impresse<sup>12</sup> waving with this motto over the Popes Armes, Exterpentur: I observed that the high Altar here, was

<sup>a</sup> Altered from B-.

routes diverge considerably; Paestrina (Praeneste) lies some miles beyond the source.

<sup>1</sup> Now in the Vatican; here replaced by copies: O. Marucchi, *Museo egizio vaticano*, 1899, pp. 32-42.

<sup>2</sup> Raymond, p. 105. They stretched from the modern Via Venti Settembre to S. Maria degli Angeli. Part of the buildings still exists.

<sup>3</sup> From Totti, pp. 269-72. Pflaumer, pp. 325-6. The church and its contents, as described by Totti, remain intact and undisturbed. It is now used by the Paulist Fathers of New York.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 234.

<sup>5</sup> By Carlo Maderna (1556-1629); it is praised by Totti.

<sup>6</sup> The builder 'fece il soffitto in-

dorato, adornò le mura di pitture'.

<sup>7</sup> Baldassare Croce, c. 1558-1628; he painted the walls with the history of the Susanna of the Apocrypha.

<sup>8</sup> There is no parallel for this use of 'descend' in *O.E.D.*; Evelyn has perhaps omitted a word.

<sup>9</sup> Totti's error for Tommaso Laureti (c. 1530-1602), also a Sicilian: Titi, *Ammaestramento*, p. 266.

<sup>10</sup> From Totti, pp. 268-9, and Raymond, p. 105. Although praised by Totti, the façade (designed by G. B. Soria) is a very ordinary baroque work. The decoration of the interior is largely later than 1645; Bernini's St. Theresa was begun in 1644: Frascchetti, *Bernini*, p. 176.

<sup>11</sup> The battle of the White Hill, 8 Nov. 1620.

<sup>12</sup> Italian *impresa*, device.



infinitely frequented for an Image of the Vergine.<sup>1</sup> It has some rare statues; as Paule ravish'd into the 3d heaven, by Ger: Fiamengo,<sup>2</sup> & other good Pictures:

From this, we bent towards Dioclesians Bathes<sup>3</sup> againe, never satisfied with contemplating that moles, in which, after an hundred & fifty (Thousand)<sup>a</sup> Christians were destined to burthens, building 14 yeares; he murdered them all; so as there had neede be a Monastery of Carthusians in memory of the cruelty: It is called Santa Maria degli Angeli,<sup>4</sup> the Architecture M: Angelos, & the Cloister encompassing, walls in an ample Garden:

Hence we walked to Mont Alto's Villa,<sup>5</sup> which enters by a stately Gate of stone: Tis built on the Viminalis, & is no other then a spacious Parke full of Fountaines, especialy that which salutes us at the front; stews for fish at the left hand: The Cypresse-Walkes are so beset with Statues, Inscriptions, Relievos, and other antient Marbles, as nothing can be more solemn & stately: But that which much surpriz'd me, were the monstrous Citron-Trees: In the Palace joining to it, are innumerable Collections of value: Returning, we step'd into st. Agneses Church<sup>6</sup> where there is a Tribunal of antique Mosaique: and on the Altar a most rich Ciborio of Brasse,

---

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Thousans*.

---

<sup>1</sup> See Totti. It was burnt in 1833: A. Nibby, *Roma nell' anno MDCCCXXXVIII*, 1838-41, pte. i moderna, p. 529.

<sup>2</sup> Gerard Honthorst (1590-1656). The work is a picture and is still preserved here. For the third heaven see note above, p. 199.

<sup>3</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 324. Totti, p. 508; idem, *R.A.*, pp. 309-10; Raymond, p. 105. *Thermae Diocletiani*. Pflaumern gives 40,000 and 160,000 as alternatives for the number of Christians.

<sup>4</sup> From Totti, pp. 508-9, and Pflaumern, pp. 324-5. The church has been altered since Evelyn's time. The monastery forms part

of the Museo delle Terme.

<sup>5</sup> Expanded from Raymond, pp. 105-6. Pflaumern, p. 324; Totti, p. 507. The Villa Montalto, later Massimo, on the site of the present railway station; destroyed c. 1870. See V. Massimo, *Notizie istor. della Villa Massimo alle Terme Diocleziane*, 1836; good description in Mortoft, pp. 110-15.

<sup>6</sup> From Totti, pp. 509-10. Pflaumern, p. 409. S. Agnese fuori le Mura. It is more than a mile outside the Porta Pia. The monuments mentioned by Evelyn still exist. See F. Jubaru, *Sainte Agnès*, 1907; C. Cecchelli, *S. Agnese fuori le Mura e S. Costanza*, [c. 1924].

with a Statue of st. Agnese<sup>1</sup> of Alabaster oriental. Hence to santa Constanza<sup>2</sup> which has a noble Cupola: In this Church they shewd us a stone-ship<sup>a</sup> borne upon a Columne, heretofore sacred to Baccus, as the relievo intimates, by the drunken Emblemes & instruments wrought upon it: The Altar<sup>3</sup> is of rich Porphyrie as I remember. At our looking back, we had the intire view of the Via Pia, which downe to the two horses, before the Monte Cavallo before mention'd, I thinke to be one of the most glorious sights for state & magnificence that any City in the Earth can shew a Traveller: Thus we return'd by Porta Pia, and the Via Salaria, neere Campo Scelerato in whose glomy Caves the wanton Vestals were heretofore immur'd alive:<sup>4</sup> Thenc<sup>b</sup> into Via Felix,<sup>5</sup> a strait & noble streete, but exceeding precipitious, till we came to the 4 Fountaines of Lepidus:<sup>6</sup> These are built at the

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *-step*.

<sup>b</sup> Followed by *to* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> The oriental alabaster torso is antique; the bronze head, hands, and feet were added by Nicholas Cordier (il Franciosino; 1567-1612): Cecchelli, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> From Totti, pp. 510-11, mostly wrongly translated. Pflaumern, p. 409. S. Costanza. Totti writes: 'Vi resta ancora una nave, che sopra colonne in giro di dentro lo circonda, e perche i Gentili lo dedicarono a Bacco, in molti luoghi della volta, che è sopra la detta nave, si veggono l'antiche sue pitture, che rappresentano varii stromenti di vendemmie.' 'There still remains an aisle which, supported by a ring of columns, surrounds it within, and because the pagans dedicated it to Bacchus, ancient pictures relating to him are to be seen in many parts of the vault above the said aisle, representing various instruments of the vintage.' The church was built as the mausoleum of Constantia, the daughter of Constantine. See C. Cecchelli, *S. Agnese*, &c.; R. Michel, *Die Mosaiken von Santa*

*Costanza in Rom*, 1912, pp. 1-7.

<sup>3</sup> The former sarcophagus of Constantia; removed by Pius VI to the Vatican: Helbig, vol. i, no. 309.

<sup>4</sup> Probably from Pflaumern, p. 326. Totti, pp. 271, 509; idem, *R.A.*, pp. 148-9. Via Salaria; Campus Sceleratus. Evelyn returns by the Via di Porta Pia (now Via Venti Settembre); the Via Salaria (now Via Piave) was a branch road to his right. The Via di Porta Pia ran between fields and garden walls until it reached the granaries mentioned above: cf. Totti, p. 511.

<sup>5</sup> The name from Pflaumern, p. 326. Evelyn's error: he would have followed the Via di Porta Pia to the Quattro Fontane (see below), where it is crossed by the Strada Felice, running from the Trinità dei Monti to S. Maria Maggiore and on to S. Croce in Gerusalemme; now the Via delle Quattro Fontane, &c.

<sup>6</sup> From Raymond, p. 74, and Totti, p. 515. The Quattro Fontane. Raymond has apparently no authority for the name Lepidus. It

abbuttments of 4 stately Wayes, making an exact Crosse of right angles, and the fountaines are as many Cumbent figures of Marble under very large niches of stone, the water powring into huge Basins: Here we enter'd the Church of st. Carlo,<sup>1</sup> a singular fabrique for neatnesse as built all of a new white stone, & of an excellent oval designe: It has under it also another Church of a structure nothing lesse admirable: The Columns in the Superiour Church are worth the notice.

Next we came to santa Maria Maggiore,<sup>2</sup> built upon the Esquiline Mountaine, which gives it a most conspicuous face to the streete at a great distance.<sup>3</sup> The designe is mixt, partly antique, partly moderne:<sup>4</sup> Here they affirme that the B: Virgine appearing, shewed where it should be built, 300 yeares since:<sup>5</sup> The first Pavement is rare & antique, & so is the Portico built by PP: Eugenius The 2d:<sup>6</sup> The Ciborio is the worke of Paris Romano,<sup>7</sup> and the Tribunal of Mosaic. We

occurs again in Lassels, ii. 166; there it is presumably derived from Raymond.

<sup>1</sup> From Totti, p. 515. S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, by Borromini, built 1638-41. Titi describes it as 'fatta con disegno capriccioso e bizzarro': *Ammaestramento*, p. 269. The façade, also by Borromini, was built between 1665 and 1682: Hempel, *Borromini*, pp. 37-43, 179-80.

<sup>2</sup> From Totti, pp. 486-92, with additional matter from Pflaumer, pp. 318-21, and Raymond, p. 82. Baglione, pp. 157-204. The chief alteration in the interior since Evelyn's time has been the erection of the new *baldacchino* over the high altar, out of scale with the church; two tabernacles on either side of the choir have been destroyed and the *confessio* and the decoration of the aisles are new. The central portions of the front and rear façades and the façades at the south corner are new. See P. de Angelis (degli Angeli), *Basilicae S. Mariae Majoris de urbe . . . descriptio et delineatio*, 1621, with important illustrations;

bibliography in E. Lavagnino and V. Moschini, *Santa Maria Maggiore*, [1923].

<sup>3</sup> It can be seen from the Quattro Fontane, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Gothic elements still appeared in the front and rear façades, but possibly all the early Christian parts are to be regarded as modern in design, the Sistine and Pauline chapels as antique.

<sup>5</sup> 'Doppo 300. anni in circa si compiacque la Beatissima Vergine della cima di questo monte. . . .' Totti gives no antecedent for 'doppo'. The church is said to have been founded by a patrician named John in the time of Pope Liberius, 352-66. No part of the existing building is older than the restoration of Sixtus III, pope from 432 to 440.

<sup>6</sup> 'Il pavimento . . . fu opera sotto papa Eugenio III. che fece il portico.' The pavement is cosmatesque; the portico has been replaced by that of F. Fuga.

<sup>7</sup> i.e. Paris Nogari, called Paris Romano, c. 1536-1601. Totti is

were shewed in the Church a Concha of Porphyrie wherein they say Patricius the founder lyes:<sup>1</sup> This is one of the most famous of the 7 Roman Churches; and absolutely (in my opinion at least) after st. Peters the most magnificent;<sup>2</sup> very greate are the stations,<sup>3</sup> & Indulgences: but above all for incomparable glory & materials, are the two Chapels of Sixtus V: and Paulus Quintus.<sup>a</sup> That of Sixtus was designed by Dom: Fontana,<sup>4</sup> in which are two rare greate statues,<sup>5</sup> some good Pieces of Painting: and here they pretended to shew us some of the holy Innocents bodyes slaine by the cruelty of Herod;<sup>6</sup> as also that renown'd Tabernacle of metall gilt, sustained by 4 Angels, holding as many tapers, which is placed on the Altar: In this Chapel is likewise the statue of Sixtus in Copper, with basse-relievos of most of his famous acts in parrian marble.<sup>7</sup> But that of P: Paulus, which we next enter'd, opposite to this, is beyond all imagination glorious, & therefore not to be describ'd; for tis so incircl'd with Achates & other most precious materials, as even altogether dazles & confounds the beholders: the Bassi relievos are for the most part of pure snowy marble intermixed with figures of molten brasse double gilt on Lapis Lazuli:<sup>8</sup> The

<sup>a</sup> MS. V<sup>12</sup>.

here mistaken. Nogari and G. B. Ricci (da Novara) painted the ceiling above the ciborium: Titi, *Ammaestramento*, p. 232.

<sup>1</sup> 'Il sepolcro di quel Patritio, fondatore di detta chiesa'; i.e. of John: see above, p. 242, n. 5. The concha is the bath now forming the high altar: E. Platner, &c., *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, 1829-42, III. ii. 285.

<sup>2</sup> The church is 'for beauty the second in Rome': Raymond. Evelyn had not yet seen St. Peter's.

<sup>3</sup> Stations were originally services at which the clergy of the city of Rome assembled; they took place at certain churches, which had their fixed days in the year for them. Later they became services held at

the various churches on set days, when the relics of the churches were exposed; certain indulgences were granted to those attending them. The station indulgences still survive: G. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, 1840-79, art. Stazioni sagre; *Catholic encyc.*, art. Station days.

<sup>4</sup> Domenico Fontana, 1543-1607, architect and engineer.

<sup>5</sup> Those of Pius V and Sixtus V.

<sup>6</sup> Totti, p. 488.

<sup>7</sup> Pflaumern describes both statue and reliefs as being of Parian marble; cf. above, p. 176. The tomb of Pius V was executed in the same material.

<sup>8</sup> The chapel of Paul V. The reliefs above the altar are of gilt

Altar a most stupendous<sup>a</sup> piece ; but most incomparable is the Cupola painted by Cavaliero Gioseppe, Rheni, and the present Baglioni,<sup>1</sup> full of exquisite Sculptures: a most Sumptuous Sacristia, and the Piece over the Altar esteemed of the hand of st. Luke<sup>2</sup> if you will believe it. Paule the 5t, hath here likewise built two other Altars, under the one lye the bones of the Apostle Matthias;<sup>3</sup> In another Oratory is the statue of this Pope,<sup>4</sup> and the head of the Congo Ambassador<sup>5</sup> who dy'd, and was converted at Rome: In a 3d, design'd by M: Angelo lyes the body of Platina, and the Cardinal of Toledo;<sup>6</sup> besides Honorius the 3d: Nicephorus the 4th:<sup>7</sup> st. Hieroms Ashes and many others:

In that of Sixtus V (before mention'd) was shewed us part of the Crib, wherein Christ was swadl'd at Bethlem:<sup>8</sup> There

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *stupendious*.

bronze on a ground of lapis lazuli; the remaining reliefs are of white marble.

<sup>1</sup> For the work here of Giuseppe d'Arpino, Guido Reni, and Baglione, see Baglione, pp. 182-93, Titi, *Ammaestramento*, pp. 235-9, or G. Mancini, *Viaggio*, p. 76 n.; the cupola itself is painted by Cigoli. The 'present' Baglione died on 28 December of this year: O. Lioni, *Ritratti di alcuni celebri pittori del secolo xvii*, 1731, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Reproduced in *Bollettino d'Arte*, x (1916), 232 (facing). Now regarded as a thirteenth-century work: Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, ii. 1134-8. The altar is that of the chapel.

<sup>3</sup> Mistranslated from Pflaumern: 'Geminum [sacellum] huic è regione Paullus V. erigit. Templi ipsiusmet tria præ ceteris memoranda altaria videntur: Summum, sub quo D. Matthiæ Apostoli ossa; alterum ad dexteram columnatum . . . tertium item ornatum columnis, ferentibus notam illam DEIPARÆ effigiem,' &c. The second and third altars are the two tabernacles mentioned above, p. 242 n.; Pflaumern gives the

picture of the Madonna in its earlier position.

<sup>4</sup> The bronze statue by P. Sanquirico formerly in the present baptistery of the church: Baglione, pp. 166-7; now in the corridor adjoining the baptistery.

<sup>5</sup> Antonio Emmanuele, known as Nigrita; he died in 1608 almost immediately after his arrival in Rome; the monument, in what is now the baptistery, was made by Bernini and his followers: Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, xii. 260-1; xiii. 773; Frascchetti, *Bernini*, pp. 77-9.

<sup>6</sup> The Cappella Sforza in the left aisle is attributed to Michelangelo: Titi, *Ammaestramento*, p. 239. Platina (1421-81: *Encic. italiana*) is buried in the left aisle, near the tribuna; Cardinal Francesco Toletto, 1532-96, theologian, is buried at the other end of the same aisle: Forcella, xi. 31, 55.

<sup>7</sup> Evelyn's error for Nicholas IV: Pflaumern. For St. Jerome see de Angelis, pp. 112-15.

<sup>8</sup> See F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dict. d'archéologie chrétienne*, 1907, &c., art. Crèche.

is also Pius Quintus<sup>a</sup> his statue;<sup>1</sup> and going out at the farther end, the resurrection of Lazarus by a very rare hand;<sup>2</sup> and in the Portico this late Inscription

Cardinali Antonio Barberino Archipresbytero, (Arcam)<sup>b</sup> marmoream, quam Christianorum pietas exculpit, laborante sub Tyrannis Ecclesia, ut esset loci sanctitate venerabilior, Franciscus Gualdus Ar(i)min: Eques S. Stephani è suis ædibus huc transtulit, et ornavit. 1632.<sup>3</sup> Just before this Portico stands a very sublime and stately Corinthian Column<sup>4</sup> of white marble, translated hither for an ornament, from the old Temple of Peace built by Vespasian; having on the Plinth of the Capital the Image of our Lady gilt on mettal: and at the Piedistal runs a fountaine.

Thus going downe the hill,<sup>5</sup> we contemplat the as stately Obelisque,<sup>6</sup> taken from the Mausoleum of Augustus, and erected in this place by Domenico Fontana, with this Epigraphe.

Sixtus V. Pont. Max. Obeliscum Ægypto advectum, (Augusto)<sup>c</sup> in (eius) Mausoleo dicatum, eversum deinde, et in plures confractum partes, in via ad S. Rochum jacentem, in pristinam faciem restitutum salutiferæ Cruci felicis hic erigi jussit. Anno. (M.D.LXXXVII).<sup>d</sup> Pont: III. And so we came weary to our Lodging: At the foote of this hill is St. Pudencias Church<sup>7</sup> in which is a Well, filled with the blood & bones of severall, Martyres, but grated over with yron; & visited

---

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Pi<sup>o</sup> V<sup>o</sup>*.    <sup>b</sup> MS. *Aream*.    <sup>c</sup> MS. apparently *Augusti*, altered from *Augusto*.    <sup>d</sup> MS. *M.D.LXXXVIII*.

---

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 243 n.

<sup>2</sup> By G. Muziano: Totti, p. 490.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. It refers to the early Christian sarcophagus of SS. Simplicius and Faustinus, now preserved on the stairs of the canons' house adjoining the church: Forcella, xi. 71. For Gualdo see below, p. 314.

<sup>4</sup> From Totti, pp. 491-2. The temple of Peace is the basilica of Constantine: above, p. 218.

<sup>5</sup> Evelyn returns to the rear of the church.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 321, and Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 352-3. Totti, p. 492. One of the Obelisci Mausolei Augusti. The inscription from Pflaumern.

<sup>7</sup> This part of the notice from Pflaumern, pp. 321-2. Totti, pp. 492-3. S. Pudenziana. Pflaumern gives two wells, one, here, for the blood, the other, in S. Prassede, for the bodies of the martyrs.

by many devotas:<sup>1</sup> Neere this stands her sisters st. Praxedes's<sup>a</sup> Church,<sup>2</sup> a place of greate frequentation, for the same reason; and here on the next day we saw in a little obscure place, cancell'd in with yron Worke, the Pillar, or stump, at which they relate, our B: Savior was Scourged, being full of bloody spotts, at which the devout sex are always rubbing their Chaplets, and convey their kisses, by<sup>b</sup> a stick having a tassle on it;<sup>3</sup> Here besides a noble Statue of st. Peter,<sup>4</sup> is the tombe of the famous Cardinals Cajetan<sup>c</sup> <sup>5</sup> in a Chapel, a most incomparable piece; and here they hold st. Peter sayd his first Masse at Rome:<sup>6</sup> with the same Altar, & stone he kneeled on; as having been first lodged in this house, as they compute about the 44th yeare of the Incarnation: They also shew many reliques, or raggs rather of st. Peters mantle; believe it who will.

St. Laurence in Panisperna<sup>7</sup> did next invite us; wher that Martyr was cruelly Broyl'd on the Gridirne, there yet remaining: St. Brigit is buried in this church under a stately monument.<sup>8</sup> In the front of the Pile is the Suffering of St. Laurence painted a fresca on the Wall:<sup>9</sup> but the fabrique is nothing but Gothic:<sup>10</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Or *Praxedeis*.

<sup>b</sup> Altered from *w*-.

<sup>c</sup> Altered from *Cha*-.

<sup>1</sup> This form is apparently peculiar to Evelyn. He uses it encomiastically in *Life of Mrs. Godolphin*, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 322. Totti, pp. 482-3. S. Prassede. Pflaumern interpolates his account of this church in his account of S. Pudenziana; Evelyn confuses the two churches. The column to which Christ is said to have been tied is in S. Prassede.

<sup>3</sup> The account of the worshippers is original.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn now returns to S. Pudenziana. This part of the notice mainly from Totti. The statue is probably the group of Christ giving the keys to St. Peter, by G. B. della Porta.

<sup>5</sup> Enrico Caetani (Gaetani), 1550-99, created cardinal 18 Dec. 1585.

<sup>6</sup> Evelyn has interpolated 'first'. The account of St. Peter here is put together from both sources; Pflaumern uses the relics and traditions of this church as an argument against those who deny St. Peter's coming to Rome: pp. 322-3.

<sup>7</sup> From Totti, pp. 494-5. Pflaumern, pp. 323-4. S. Lorenzo in Panisperna. Only a part of the grid-iron was and is preserved here: Totti, *Ristretto*, p. 149.

<sup>8</sup> St. Bridget of Sweden, c. 1303-73. Only an arm is preserved here; the rest of her remains were taken to Sweden in 1374: *Acta sanctorum*, 8 Oct., pp. 462-4.

<sup>9</sup> 'In capo della chiesa', on the wall above the high altar. By Pasquale Cati.

<sup>10</sup> The church was rebuilt in

On the left hand is the Thermæ Novatij, and on the right Agrippina's Lavacrum.<sup>1</sup>

On the 14th we pass'd againe through the stately Capitol, & Campo Vacino towards the Amphitheater of Vespasianus, but were first stayed to looke (at)<sup>a</sup> Titu's's Triumphal Arch,<sup>2</sup> erected by the people of Rome in honor of his victory at Jerusalem; on the left hand whereof he is represented drawne in a Charriot with 4 horses a breast: On the right hand, or side of the Arch within, is sculptur'd in figures, or basse relievo, as big as the life, (and in one intire white marble) the Arke of the Covenant upon which stands the seaven-branch'd Candlestick, describ'd in Leviticus, as also the two Tables of the Law, all borne upon mens shoulders, by the barrs, as they are describ'd in some of st. Hieroms bibles: Before this goes many crown'd & laureated figures & 12 Roman fasces, with other sacred Vessells;<sup>3</sup> This I must confesse did much confirme the Idea I before had, and therefore for the light it gave to the holy history, I caused my Paynter Carlo to copy it most exactly out:<sup>4</sup> The rest of the worke of the Arch is

<sup>a</sup> MS. *of*.

1575-6; this remark is perhaps due to confusion with S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura: below, p. 381.

<sup>1</sup> From Totti, p. 495. Thermæ Novati; Lavacrum Agrippinae.

<sup>2</sup> The notice is mainly original; but see Raymond, pp. 77-8; Pflaumern, pp. [372]-3; Totti, pp. 433-4; idem, *R.A.*, pp. 172-3. Arcus Titi. At this time there were buildings adjoining on either side; the arch had to be reconstructed when it was isolated in 1822.

<sup>3</sup> The description of the reliefs is incorrect. They are situated on either side of the passage through the arch. That on the north side represents Titus in his chariot with twelve men bearing fasces and some other figures; that on the south side men carrying on staves the table for the shewbread, with the two silver trumpets, and the seven-branched

candlestick, with some other men, three of whom carry tablets. No other relics are represented. The error is due to Evelyn's following Pflaumern, who paraphrases and quotes a fanciful description by N. Chytraeus. Pflaumern adds that Vespasian placed the spoils in the temple of Peace, 'ut D. Hieronymus auctor est'; the passage referred to is in the commentaries on the minor prophets, Joel iii. 4-6 ('Omnia opera', in Migne, *Patrologia*, 1st ser., vol. xxv, 1845, p. 981). Evelyn errs in referring to Leviticus: the candlestick is described in Exodus xxxvii. 17-24.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn refers to this drawing in *Numismata* as by 'Carolo Morotti', who has since become 'the Popes chief Painter': p. 72. This establishes the identification with Carlo Maratti. See above, p. 223.



of the noblest, best understod Composita; and the Inscription is this in capital Letters.<sup>1</sup>

S. P. Q. R.

D: Tito. D. Vespasiani. F. (VESPASIANO)<sup>a</sup> Augusto.

Before we left this Arch, we step'd into santa Maria Nova,<sup>2</sup> where they told us Simon Magus fell out of the ayre, at st. Peters prayer, and burst himselfe to pieces upon a flint:<sup>3</sup> And neere it a rare monument of Marble, erected by the People of Rome in memory of the Popes returne from Avignon.<sup>4</sup> Being now pass'd the ruines of Meta-Sudante,<sup>5</sup> which stood before the Colosseum<sup>6</sup> (so cal'd, because there once stood here the statue of Comodus<sup>7</sup>) and was provided to refresh the Gladiators: we enter into the mighty ruines of the Vespasian Amphitheatre, built by that excellent Prince Titus;<sup>8</sup> it is 830 Roman palmes in length (i) 130 paces, 90 in breadth at the Area:<sup>9</sup> with Caves for the wild beasts which

<sup>a</sup> MS. *VESPASIANI*.

<sup>1</sup> Text from the etching in Totti, *R.A.*, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> From Totti, pp. 432-3. Pflaumern, p. 371. S. Maria Nova, generally called S. Francesca Romana. See P. Lugano, *S. Maria Nova*, [1923?], with bibliography.

<sup>3</sup> For this legend see Lugano in *Nuovo bull. di archeol. cristiana*, vi (1900), 29-66. The stones on which St. Peter knelt, while the demons carried Simon Magus through the air, are still preserved in the church.

<sup>4</sup> The tomb of Gregory XI, 1370-8, erected in 1584; the relief by P. P. Olivieri.

<sup>5</sup> Described by Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 160-1; Totti, p. 434; Raymond, p. 77; Pflaumern, p. 378. Meta Sudans. Evelyn's sources say that it was erected for the spectators, not the gladiators.

<sup>6</sup> Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 153-9; Pflaumern, pp. 378-80; Totti, pp. 434-5; Raymond, pp. 76-7; Evelyn uses all four works. Amphitheatrum Flavium. The ruins were covered

with vegetation; they deteriorated further until the first measures for their preservation were taken in the nineteenth century. For the building see P. Colagrossi, *L'anfiteatro flavio nei suoi venti secoli di storia*, 1913.

<sup>7</sup> From Totti, p. 435. Colossus Neronis. After Nero's death it was altered to represent the sun; again altered by Commodus to represent himself; again after his death to represent the sun. The building was first called the Colosseum about the year 1000: Commissione archeol. comunale di Roma, *Bullettino*, liv (1927), 53-64.

<sup>8</sup> All Evelyn's sources state correctly that it was begun by Vespasian and completed by Titus. Some additions were made by Domitian.

<sup>9</sup> i.e. the area of the whole building: 'Area, quæ & Arena, ovata figuræ, patet in longitudinem DCCCXXX. Romanos palmos, aut passus CXXX. in latitudinem palmos

us'd to be baited by men instead of doggs:<sup>1</sup> The whole oval Peripheria 2888 $\frac{4}{7}$  palmes;<sup>2</sup> and capable to containe 87000 Spectators<sup>3</sup> with ease and all imaginable accomodition; The 3 rowes of Circles are yet entire, the first was for the Senators, & the S(e)cond & middle for the Nobility, the 3d for the people:<sup>4</sup> At the dedication of this place were 5000 wild beasts slayn in 3<sup>a</sup> monethes during which the feast lasted to the expense of 10 millions of Gold:<sup>5</sup> The Moles is all built of Tiburtine<sup>6</sup> stone, a vast height, by 30000 Jewes Captives,<sup>7</sup> with the 5 order(s) of Architecture:<sup>8</sup> It is without of a perfect Circle,<sup>9</sup> and was once adorned thick with statues, remaining intire till of late that some of the stones were caried away to repaire the Citty wales, & build the Farnezian Palace:<sup>10</sup> That which still appeares most admirable is the contrivance of the Porticos, vaults & staires, with the excessive altitude

<sup>a</sup> Altered from 30.

DCC. passus LXXX.'; Pflaumern. The measurements in palms are approximately correct (one palm = 0.224 m.); Pflaumern's measurements in paces are probably both wrong; Evelyn has introduced a further error in the breadth. '(i)' is the earlier equivalent for i.e.

<sup>1</sup> The notice apparently original.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn's error for Pflaumern's 2,388 $\frac{4}{7}$  palms, which is approximately correct.

<sup>3</sup> From Totti, p. 435. The number goes back to the Regionary Catalogue (fourth century). The modern estimate is about 50,000.

<sup>4</sup> 'In questo Anfiteatro chiaramente si vedono distinti in tre cerchi li tre luoghi da sedere alli tre ordini del Senato', &c.: Totti, *R.A.*, p. 154. Totti here gives the senators the highest seats and the *plebs* the lowest.

<sup>5</sup> From Totti, p. 435.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 380; cf. Totti, *R.A.*, p. 155. Evelyn always uses this, the Latin name, for travertine.

<sup>7</sup> Conflated from Totti, p. 435. There appears to be no classical authority for the participation of Jewish slaves in the construction: Colagrossi, p. 32.

<sup>8</sup> There are only four orders; they are named by Totti, p. 435.

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps from Totti, *R.A.*, p. 155; the same mistake occurs in Totti and in Pflaumern.

<sup>10</sup> The statues, Totti, *R.A.*, p. 155. Evelyn means that the building, not the statues, remained entire until of late; this is based on Raymond's statement, that the destroyed part was demolished to build the Palazzo Farnese and the Cancelleria: pp. 76-7. This statement is certainly incorrect as regards the Farnese: Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, ii. 153-4. Evelyn has interpolated the city walls from Totti, p. 435; Totti states that the Romans asked Theodoric for stones for the repairs, the building being already half-ruined. This statement is probably wrong; the building was in use at least until 523.

which certainly well deserves this distic of the ingenious Poet

Omnis Cæsario cedit labor Amphitheatro  
Unum pro cunctis fama loquatur Opus.<sup>1</sup>

Neere it is a small Chapell cal'd santa Maria della Pieta nel Coliseo,<sup>2</sup> which is erected on the steps, or stages very lofty, at one of its sides or ranges within, and where there lives onely a melancho(l)y Heremite: I ascended to the very top of it, and that with wonderfull admiration. From this we walked towards the Arch of Constantinus magnus,<sup>3</sup> which is close by the Meta Sudante, a kind of Fountaine at which the Gladiators were us'd to refresh themselves, at the beginning of the famous Via Appia<sup>a</sup> upon one side of Mont Celio: This Arch is perfectly intire, erected by the People in memory of his Triumph and Victory over Maxentius whom he vanquish'd at the Pons Milvius;<sup>4</sup> now Ponte Mole; The Sculpture consists much of Trophes, and such like Ornaments, In the frontspiece is this Inscription.

Imp: Cæs. Fl: Constantino Maximo: P. F. (Augusto S. P. Q. R. Quod instinctu divinitatis) mentis magnitudine cum exercitu suo tam de Tiranno quam de omni ejus factione, uno tempore justis Rempublicam ultus est Armis. Arcum Triumphis insignem Dicavit. The sides 'twixt the Capitels of the Columns Votis: X. Votis XX and on the other face:<sup>b</sup> XX. Sic. X;<sup>c</sup> within over the Sculptures Liberatori Urbis: Fundatori quietis.

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Via. Appia.* <sup>b</sup> Followed by *sic* deleted. <sup>c</sup> Semicolon supplied.

<sup>1</sup> Martial, *Epigrammaton liber (De spectaculis)*, no. i. Here quoted from Totti, *R.A.*, p. 154; also quoted by Pflaumern, but with a different reading.

<sup>2</sup> In part from Totti, p. 435. The chapel was built into or against the lowest tier of seats, immediately to the north of the eastern entrance: Colagrossi, pp. 186-8. The hermit was its custodian.

<sup>3</sup> Probably from Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 174-6; Maxentius and Pons Milvius

from Raymond, p. 77. Pflaumern, pp. 377-8, where also the inscriptions are given; short description in Totti, p. 140. Arcus Constantini. It is the arch, not the Meta sudante (above, p. 248), that stands at the beginning of the Via Appia.

A fairly accurate view of the arch from the east appears on the frontispiece of Evelyn's small set of etchings; reproduced in H. C. Levis, *Extracts, &c.*, p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> In 312; below, p. 383.

Hence we went up to St. Gregorio in Monte Celio,<sup>1</sup> where are many priveleg'd Altars, & there they shewed us an arme of that Saint, & other reliques: Before this Church stands a very noble Portico.<sup>2</sup>

The 15 was wett, & I stirr'd not out. 16, I went to Visite Father John, Provincial of the Benedictines<sup>3</sup> &c: The 17 I walked to Villa Burghesi,<sup>4</sup> which is an house and ample Garden on Mons Pincius, yet somewhat without the Citty-Wales; circumscrib'd by another wall full of small turrets and banqueting houses, which makes it appeare at a distance like a little Towne, within it tis an Elysium of delight; having in the center of it a very noble Palace (but the enterance of the Garden, presents us with<sup>a</sup> a very<sup>b</sup> glorios fabrick, or rather dore-Case adorned with divers excellent marble statues):<sup>c</sup> This Garden abounded with all sorts of the most delicious fruit, and Exotique simples: Fountaines of sundry inventions, Groves, & small Rivulets of Water: There is also adjoyning to it a Vivarium for Estriges, Peacocks, Swanns, Cranes, &c: and divers strange Beasts, Deare & hares:<sup>d</sup> The Grotto<sup>6</sup> is very rare, and represents among other

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *this* deleted. <sup>b</sup> Followed by *nob-* deleted. <sup>c</sup> Closing bracket supplied. <sup>d</sup> Altered from *haïres*.

<sup>1</sup> From Totti, pp. 140-4. Mentioned by Pflaumern, pp. 297-8. S. Gregorio Magno. See V. Moschini, *San Gregorio al Celio*, [1925].

<sup>2</sup> The existing fore-court and façade, designed by G. B. Soria.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 213.

<sup>4</sup> From Raymond, pp. 94-6, and Totti, pp. 341-2, with some original matter. The Villa Borghese. It was begun by Cardinal Scipione Borghese (c. 1576-1633; cardinal 18 July 1605) in 1606; the casino, designed by Jan van Santen (Giovanni Vasanzio), was in use as an art-gallery in 1612: Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, xii. 636, 638 n. The villa was greatly extended in the early nineteenth century; apart from other alterations the growth of the trees has obscured the design of

the original formal section. It was bought by the Italian government in 1902.

Descriptions by J. Manilli, *Villa Borghese*, 1650; D. Montelatici, *Villa Borghese*, 1700; and A. Brigentius, *Villa Burghesia*, 1716 (in verse); see also von Pastor, xii. 636-41. An early general view (painting) is reproduced by Muñoz, *Roma barocca*, p. 91. Further notice of the villa below, pp. 389-90.

<sup>5</sup> From Totti. Manilli, pp. 3-4; Montelatici, pp. 6-7. It was about 350 yards north-east of the present entrance, along the Via Pinciana.

<sup>6</sup> The only grotto appears to have been that near the Via Pinciana, due south of the casino; some remains survive: Manilli, pp. 22-4; Montelatici, pp. 24-5. But Evelyn's

devices artificial raines, & sundry shapes of Vessells, Flowers &c: which is effected by <changing><sup>a</sup> the heads of the Fountains: The Groves are of Cypresse and Lawrell, Pine, Myrtil, Olive &c: The 4 Sphinxes<sup>1</sup> are very Antique and worthy observation: To this is a Volary full of curious birds: The House is built of a Square fabric, with turrets, from which the Prospect towards Rome, & the invironing hills is incomparable, cover'd as they were with Snow (as commonly they continue even a greate part of summer) which afforded a sweete refreshing: About the house there is a stately Balustre of white Marble, with frequent jettos of Water & adorned with statues standing on a multitude of Bases, rendering a most gracefull ascent: The Wales of the house, are covered with antique incrustations of history;<sup>2</sup> as that of Curtius's precipitation, the representation of Europa's ravishment, & that of Leda<sup>3</sup> &c: The Cornices<sup>4</sup> above them consist of frutages & Festoons; betwixt which are Niches furnishd with statues, which order is observed to the very roofe: In the Lodge<sup>5</sup> at the Entry are divers good statues of

---

<sup>a</sup> MS. *charging*.

---

description of the fountains (taken from Raymond) fits better with those described in another part of the villa by Montelatici: p. 126.

<sup>1</sup> From Raymond. Probably the four sphinxes in the parterre, north-east of the casino: Manilli, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> For the decoration of the façades see the picture by W. Baur (Bauer) still preserved in the casino and the engravings in Manilli, in Montelatici, and in C. Percier and P. F. L. Fontaine, *Choix des plus célèbres maisons de plaisance de Rome, &c.*, 1809. The exterior was altered to its present appearance between 1809 and 1838; for the removal of the incrustated sculpture see Nibby, *Roma nell' anno MDCCCXXXVIII*, pte. ii moderna, p. 908.

<sup>3</sup> The three subjects from Raymond. The first two reliefs were on

the façades, the third was in the loggia: Manilli, pp. 48, 37, 53.

<sup>4</sup> 'Ciascheduno [i.e. each relief] è incorniciato di bellissimi stucchi fatti a festoni.' The Italian word *cornice* means frame as well as cornice.

<sup>5</sup> 'Una nobilissima Loggia con dentro sedili, Statue, artiglierie, & altre cose tali.' The loggia on the entrance front.

The collection of antique sculpture in the casino was sold to Napoleon by his brother-in-law Prince Camillo Borghese in 1806 and is now in the Louvre: for it see Musée du Louvre, *Catalogue sommaire des marbres antiques*, 1922; W. Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique du Musée impérial du Louvre*, vol. i, 1869, mythological subjects (all published). The exist-

Consuls &c, with two Pieces of Field Artillery upon Carriages (a mode much practiz'd in Italy before the Greate-mens houses) which they looke on as a piece of state, more then defence: In the first Hall within are the 12: Rom: Emperors<sup>1</sup> of most excellent marble, twixt them stand Porph(y)ry Columns, & other precious stones of vast height & magnitude, with Urnes of Oriental Alabaster; Tables of Pietra-Com-messa: And here is that renown'd Diana<sup>a</sup> which Pompey worship'd (of)<sup>b</sup> Eastern-marble:<sup>2</sup> The most incomparable Seneca<sup>3</sup> of touch, bleeding in an huge Vasa of Porphyrie ressembling the dropps of his blood: The so famous Gladiator,<sup>4</sup> Hermaphrodite,<sup>5</sup> upon a quilt of stone; from whence that small one of Ivory which I brought out of Italy with me was admirably Copied by that signal Artist Hans Fiammengo,<sup>6</sup> esteemed one of the best statuaries in the World: The new Piece of Daphny,<sup>7</sup> and David,<sup>8</sup> of Cavaliero Bernini, observable for the incomparable Candor of the stone, & art of the

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *of* deleted.      <sup>b</sup> MS. *or*.

ing collection of antique sculpture in the casino was formed in the nineteenth century.

The greater part of the collection of paintings brought together here by Cardinal Scipione Borghese was removed to the Palazzo Borghese apparently before 1638: cf. Totti, p. 354, and below, p. 284; many of the pictures were brought back in 1892: A. J. C. Hare, *Walks in Rome*, 14th ed., 1897, ii. 283; they form the nucleus of the existing Galleria Nazionale.

<sup>1</sup> From Totti. These were busts: Manilli, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> From Raymond, p. 95. Apparently the huntress Diana, Manilli, p. 78; now Louvre, no. 2226: *Catalogue*, p. 76; an antique alabaster body with head, arms, and legs, restored in bronze. Mortoft, apparently writing independently of Raymond, also associates the statue with Pompey: p. 153; Lassels

associates it with Augustus: ii. 172.

<sup>3</sup> From Raymond. Manilli, p. 62. The statue, which was wrongly restored as Seneca, and the bath are now separated; Louvre, no. 1354: *Catalogue*, pp. 75, 77-8.

<sup>4</sup> From Raymond. Manilli, p. 80. The Borghese Gladiator; Louvre, no. 527: *Catalogue*, p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> From Raymond. Manilli, p. 99. Louvre, no. 231: *Catalogue*, p. 11. According to Manilli the mattress was added by Pietro Bernini, 1562-1629.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps a slip for Francesco Fiammingo, i.e. F. Duquesnoy, 1594-1643, who worked in ivory as well as in other materials; many works of this class were attributed to him.

<sup>7</sup> From Raymond. Manilli, pp. 69-70. Apollo pursuing Daphne, by G. L. Bernini; still in the casino.

<sup>8</sup> From Raymond. Manilli, p. 61. David with the sling, still in the casino.

statuary plainely stupendious: We were also shewed a world of rare Pictures of infinite Value, & of the best Masters; huge Tables of Porphyrie, and two exquisitely wrought Vasas<sup>1</sup> of the same; In another chamber divers sorts of Instruments of Musique, amongst other toys, as that of the Satyre which so artificialy express'd an human Voice, with the motion of eyes & head; that would easily affright one who were not prepared for that most extravagant vision:<sup>2</sup> They shew'd us also a Chayre, which Catches fast any who but sitts downe in it, so, as not to be able to stirr out of it, by certaine springs conceiled in the Armes and back theroff, which at sitting downe surprizes a man on the suddaine, locking him in armes & thighs after a true tletcherous Italian guize:<sup>3</sup> The Perspective is also considerable, compos'd by the position of looking-glasses, which renders a strange multiplication of things, resembling divers most richly furnish'd-rooms:<sup>4</sup> Here stands a rare Clock of German-worke, in a word, (<nothing><sup>a</sup> but magnificent is to be seene in this Paradise.

The next day I went to the Vaticane, where in the morning I saw the Ceremony of Pamfilio<sup>5</sup> the Popes Nephew's receiving a Cardinals hatt; which was indeede the first time I had ever beheld his Holinesse in Pontificalibus:<sup>6</sup> The Ceremony was (after the Cardinals & Princes were met in the Consistory) in the Popes Chapell, where he was at the Altar invested with most pompous rites:<sup>7</sup> Thence I pass'd through divers

---

<sup>a</sup> MS. *nothis*.

---

<sup>1</sup> The vases are probably those described by Manilli, p. 74; they were modern; for the tables see *ibid.*, p. 73. This part of the notice is from Totti.

<sup>2</sup> It was a sort of Jack-in-the-box: de Blainville, *Travels*, iii. 33. This part of the notice is original.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the deleted marginal note below, p. 285, obviously describing this chair. There are many descriptions of it: e.g. Mortoft, p. 154. A chair of this sort is used in John Ford's *The Broken Heart*, iv. iv;

see Gifford's note to the passage.

<sup>4</sup> Montelatici, pp. 290-1. It is referred to by J. F. Niceron, *La perspective curieuse*, 1638, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> Camillo Pamphili, d. 1667; created cardinal 14 Nov. 1644. He renounced the purple in 1647 in order to marry: p. 284 n.

<sup>6</sup> In full ceremonial costume. Evelyn uses the phrase again below.

<sup>7</sup> Short account of the ceremonies in F. Sestini, *Il maestro di camera*, 1653, pp. 29-34 (c. 17). The date, 18 November, is presumably correct.

Galleries, Halls, & other Places filld with the rarest paintings; but had not time now to consider them.

On the 19 I went to visite St. Pietro,<sup>1</sup> that most stupendious & incomparable Basilicam,<sup>a</sup> far surpassing any now extant in the World, & perhaps (Solomons Temple excepted) any that was ever built:

The largeness of the Piazza<sup>2</sup> before the Portico is worth observing, because it affords you a noble prospect of the Church; crowded up, for the most part in other places, where greate Churches are erected: In this is a fountaine<sup>3</sup> out of which gushes a river, rather than a streame, which ascending a good height, breakes upon a round embosse<sup>4</sup> of Marble into millions of pearles, which fall into the subjacent bason: making an horrible noise: I esteeme this, one of the goodliest fountaines that ever I saw.

---

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Basilicā*.

---

<sup>1</sup> St. Peter's. Descriptions of the church and square: Totti, pp. 6-17, 22; Pflaumern, pp. 272-83; Raymond, pp. 85-7; Baglione, pp. 5-45. For books on it see L. Schudt, *Le guide di Roma*, pp. 456-70. For the positions of the monuments see P. de Angelis, ed., *Basilicæ veteris Vaticanæ descriptio*, 1646, pp. 157-64; a clear description of the church, c. 1660, in G. Alveri, *Roma in ogni stato*, 1664, ii. 157-217. Plans and sections by M. Ferrabosco, 1620, reprinted as *Architettura . . . di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, with text by G. B. Costaguti, 1684; and in Carlo Fontana, *Templum Vaticanum/Il tempio Vaticano*, 1694. The most important view of the façade and square in Evelyn's time is that reproduced by Egger, *Römische Veduten*, vol. i, pl. 25; the tower (see below) is also shown in views by Silvestre, &c. Old views showing two towers represent only what was projected.

The structure of the church was now complete; the colonnades and

sacristy are later additions. The south end of the front was surmounted by a tower. In the interior the incrustation of the nave and its aisles was not yet begun; many of the monuments are more recent in date and some of the older ones have been moved. Most of the painted altar-pieces were still *in situ*; they have now been replaced by copies in mosaic.

<sup>2</sup> The piazza was an irregular area: see the views cited above. One of the principal features was a clock-tower built by Paul V over the principal entrance to the Vatican; for other features see below. The colonnades were begun in 1656-7: Pastor, xiv. 509-10.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Raymond, p. 86. Paul V's fountain, to the north of the obelisk; its position has been slightly altered. The companion fountain was begun by Clement X and finished in 1677: Frascchetti, *Bernini*, p. 396.

<sup>4</sup> This is the only occurrence of the word quoted in *O.E.D.*



The next which surprizes your wonder is that stately Obelisque,<sup>1</sup> transported out of Ægypt, and dedicated by Octavius Augustus Nepot: to Julius Cæsar, whose Ashes it formerly bore on the sumit;<sup>2</sup> but being since overturn'd by the Barbarians,<sup>3</sup> was re-erected with vast Cost, & a most stupendious invention by Dominico Fontana Architect to Sixtus V. The Obeliske consist(s) of one entire Square stone without Hieroglypic, & is in height 72 foote,<sup>4</sup> comprehending the base & all 'tis 108 foote high, & rests upon 4 Lyons of gilded Copper, so as you may see through twixt the base of the Obelisque, and Plinth of the Piedestal:<sup>5</sup> Upon two faces of the Obelisque is engraven thus:<sup>6</sup>

Divo Cæsari, Divi Julij F. Augusto. Tiberio  
Cæsari. Divi Augusti F. Augusto Sacrum.

It now beares on the top a Crosse, in which Sixtus V. 'tis sayd inclos'd some of the holy wood, and under it is to be read by good eyes

Sanctissimæ Cruci Sacravit Sixtus V. Pont: Max. & e  
Priore sede avulsum (which was a Circus of Neros)  
et Cæsaribus Augusto, et Tiberio. (I).<sup>a</sup>L.Ablatum.

Upon all the fowre faces of the Base below.

Ecce Crux Domini, fugite partes adversæ,  
vicit Leo de tribu Juda.

<sup>a</sup> MS. L.

<sup>1</sup> From Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 348–50, and Raymond, pp. 85–6, with some additional matter. Cf. Pflaumern, pp. 278–83. Totti, p. 22. Obeliscus Vaticanus. It was originally set up in Rome by Caligula to decorate the Circus Gai et Neronis and remained standing until its removal by Fontana. At this time there was a small square balustrade about its base.

<sup>2</sup> 'Eravi in cima le ceneri di Giulio Cesare, era dedicata a Ottaviano Augusto nepote, & adottivo figliuolo del detto Giulio Cesare, & a Tiberio Imperatori.' The bronze ball from its summit, formerly

supposed to have contained Caesar's ashes, is now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori: Jones, *Conservatori*, p. 171, no. 3. For Caesar's connexion with the monument see Capgrave, *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes*, ed. Mills, pp. 22–5.

<sup>3</sup> This statement is original and incorrect.

<sup>4</sup> So Totti, *R.A.*; now given as 83 feet.

<sup>5</sup> The last part of the statement is original; the gilding of the bronze lions is mentioned by Baglione, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> All the inscriptions are from Totti, *R.A.* The first is antique.

on the Second

Christus vicit. Christus regnat. Christus imperat.  
Christus ab omni malo plebem suam defendat.

on the Third

Sixtus V. Pont. Max. Cruci invictæ Obeliscum Vaticanum ab impura superstitione expiatum, justius, ac felicius consecravit Anno. M.D.L.XXXVI. Pont: II.

a little lower

Dominicus Fontana ex pago miliagri Novo comensis transtulit, et erexit.

on the Fourth

Sixtus V. Pont: Max. Obeliscum Vaticanum<sup>a</sup> Disgentium impio Cultu dicatum ad Apostolorum limina

(oporoso)<sup>b</sup> labore transtulit. Anno. M.D.LXXXVI. Pont: II.

[Set up: 16 September:]<sup>c</sup> [tis reported to have cost a yeares time errecting & 37975 Crownes, the labour of 907 men, and 75 horses: this being the first of the 4 *Egyptian Obeliscs* set up at *Rome*, & one of the (42)<sup>d</sup> brought to the Citty out of Egypt, & erected in severall places of it, but thrown down by the Goths, Barbarians and Earthquakes: se(e) Platina in *Vita: Pontiff: p: 315.*]<sup>e 1</sup>

After I had well contemplated these Incriptions, I tooke notice of some Coaches which stood before the steps of the Ascent, of which, one belonging to Card: Medicis<sup>2</sup> had all the metall<sup>f</sup> worke of Massie Silver, viz, the bow behind and other places; & indeede the Coaches at Rome, as well as Covered Wagons, which are also much in use, are generally the richest

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *dilig-* deleted. <sup>b</sup> MS. *oporoso*. <sup>c</sup> Probably added later. <sup>d</sup> MS. 42<sup>d</sup>. <sup>e</sup> Marginal note added later. <sup>f</sup> Substituted for *Yron*.

<sup>1</sup> The passage occurs in the life of Sixtus V by Ciccarelli appended to the later editions of Platina's *Hist. de vitis pontificum Romanorum*; Evelyn owned a copy of the edition printed at Venice in 1608 (not seen); in ed. 1610 see pp. 429-31; Italian trans., ed. 1592, ff. 389-90. The '4 Egyptian Obeliscs' are those set up

3811.2

by Sixtus V; at least two more had been set up by 1644.

<sup>2</sup> Carlo de' Medici, d. 1666, created cardinal 2 Dec. 1615; the other Medici cardinal, Giovanni Carlo, d. 1663, who had been created cardinal on 14 Nov. 1644, did not come to Rome until February 1645: below, p. 390 n.

S

& largest that ever I saw.<sup>1</sup> Before the Faciata of the Church is an ample pavement:<sup>2</sup>

The Church was first began by st. Anacletus, when rather a Chapel, upon a foundation (as they give out) of the Greate Constantines, who in honor of the Apostles 'tis sayd, carried 12 baskets-full of sand to the Worke:<sup>3</sup> After him Julius secundus<sup>a</sup> tooke it in hand, unto which all his since successors, have more or less contributed.<sup>4</sup> The Frontispiece is suppos'd to be the largest, and best studied piece of Architecture in the World: To this we went up by 4 steps of marble:<sup>5</sup> The first entrance is supported with huge Pillasters: The Volto within is certainly the richest in the Earth, overlayd with gold: next I considered the 5 large<sup>b</sup> Anti-Ports, twixt which are Columns of enormous altitude & compass, with as many Gates of brasse, the worke & sculpture of Pollaiuolo the Florentine full of cast figures & histories in a deepe Relievo.<sup>6</sup> Over this runs a tarrac of like amplitude & ornament, where the Pope upon sollemne times bestows his benedictions of the Vulgar.<sup>7</sup> On each side of this Portico are two Campaniles or

<sup>a</sup> MS. 2<sup>ds</sup>.      <sup>b</sup> Altered from *hu-*

<sup>1</sup> Lassels remarks that the Italians in general 'value no bravery but that of *Coache* and *horses* and *Staffiers*': i. 12. Casual notices of the splendour of the coaches are common; there appears to be no satisfactory work on them.

The word *bow* as used here is not given in *O.E.D.*; it is not clear to what part of the coach it refers.

<sup>2</sup> 'Aream . . . quæ ante templum . . . ampla patet': Pflaumern, pp. 277-8.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence is carelessly put together from Totti, p. 7, and Pflaumern, p. 272. St. Anacletus, pope c. 84-95, is said to have built the *memoria* or tomb of St. Peter: *Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, 1886-92, i. 125.

<sup>4</sup> From Totti, pp. 7-8, or Pflaumern, p. 272.

<sup>5</sup> From Totti, p. 8; cf. Raymond, p. 86. The steps are *scalinate*,

flights of steps.

<sup>6</sup> This is a bad condensation, with slight additions, of Totti's account of the vestibule or portico: 'Ha il primo adito in un augustissimo porticale con pilastri, che sostengono la più maravigliosa, e ricca volta del Mondo. Sono in esso particolarmente ammirabili cinque grandissimi antiporti per l'ornamento di quattro nobilissime, e rare colonne per ciascheduno superbissimi, trè de' quali con due altri minori nella facciata, che si chiudono con gran cancellate di metalli, sono alle cinque bellissime porte della Chiesa corrispondenti; la maggior delle quali è di bronzo, opera del Pollaiuolo Scultor celebre Fiorentino': p. 8. The bronze door is by Antonio Filarete (c. 1400-c. 1469), not by either Antonio Pollaiuolo, 1433-98, or his brother Piero, 1443-96.

<sup>7</sup> From Totti, p. 8. The *loggia*.

Towers, whereoff there was but one perfected, of admirable art, & aspect.<sup>1</sup> Lastly on the top of all runs a Balustrade which edges it quite round, and upon this at equal distances, Christ & the 12 Disciples of gigantine bignesse & stature; yet below shewing no greater then the life.<sup>2</sup>

Entering the Church, admirable is the bredth of the Volto or rooffe, which is all carv'd with foliage & roses, overlayd with gold in nature of a deepe bass-relievo, a l'antique:<sup>3</sup> The Nave or body of this Moles (is)<sup>4</sup> in forme of a Crosse, such as the Crucifixes reppresent, whereof the foote part is the longest; and at the internodium of the Transum-part,<sup>4</sup> arises the Cupola, which being all builded of stone, & of that prodigious height, is more in Compasse than that of the Pantheon (which was the largest amongst the old Romans, & is yet intire) or any else knowne in the whole World:<sup>5</sup> The inside or Concave part, is covered with most exquisite mosaïque representing the Celestial Hierarchie, by Cavaliero Giuseppe d'Arpino, full of starrs of gold: The Convex or out side expos'd to the aire is covered with lead, with huge ribbs of metall doubly guilt (as are also the ten other lesser Cupolas,

<sup>a</sup> MS. *in*.

<sup>1</sup> Old engravings, *c.* 1625-40, frequently show the façade with two low towers, which were projected by Maderna but never begun; Totti, however, writes of them as if they were completed: p. 8. In 1637 Bernini began to build a three-storied tower at the south end of the façade; it was completed in 1641, but the top story or part, which was built only in wood, was removed after a few days as being unsatisfactory. Evelyn saw the remaining two stories, which were removed in 1646 because their weight was supposed to be threatening the stability of the vestibule: Frascchetti, *Bernini*, pp. 161-9; Baldinucci, *Vita des . . . Bernini*, ed. Riegl, pp. 124-34; for views see p. 255 n.

<sup>2</sup> From Totti, p. 8, and Raymond, p. 86. The balustrade runs round the top of the façade and its returns, not the rest of the church. The apparent size when seen from below is original.

<sup>3</sup> From Totti, p. 8. Cf. Raymond, p. 87. 'A l'antique' is Evelyn's addition.

<sup>4</sup> This compound of transom is not given in *O.E.D.*; it derives from the transverse member in a cross. 'Internodium' is here used incorrectly; it is properly the part of a stem, &c., intervening between two joints: *O.E.D.*

<sup>5</sup> Mainly original, but see Pflaumern, p. 272. The dome is 138 ft. in diameter, that of the Pantheon 142 ft.

for no fewer adorne this glorious structure) which gives a greate & admirable beauty & Splendor in all parts of the City: On the very Summit of this is fix'd a brasen Globe or Mundo gilt likewise over, & capable of receiving 35 Persons at once:<sup>1</sup> This I entered, & engrav'd my name in, amongst other Travellers: Lastly the Crosse: The accesse to it<sup>2</sup> is betweene the Leaden Covering and the stone or Convex Arch-Worke; a most miraculous, & truely stupendious piece of Art.

On the battlements of the Church (which is also all overlaid with Lead & marble) you would imagine your selfe in a Towne, so many Cupolas, Pinacles, Towers, Juttings; & not a few houses inhabited by men who dwell there, & have enough to do to looke after the vast reparations which continually employs them.

Having seene this, we descended againe into the body of the Church, which is full of Collaterall Chapells & large Oratories, most of them exceeding that of ordinary Churches; but the Principal are fowre, incrusted with most precious marbles, & precious stones of various Colours, & adorn'd with an infinity of Statues, Pictures, stately Altars, & Reliques innumerable, & not indeede to be reckoned:<sup>3</sup> onely the Altar-piece of st. Michael being of Mosaique<sup>4</sup> I could not passe without particular note; because certainly one of the best of that kind in the Earth. The Chapel of Gregory the 13, where he is buried is most splendid:<sup>5</sup>

Under the Cupola, and in the Center of the Church stands

<sup>1</sup> This account of the dome is from Totti, pp. 8-9; the translation of his 'le Hierarchie celesti' perhaps from Raymond, p. 87. The word *mundo* occurs again later both in this and in its English form *mound*, meaning a ball or globe.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the ball. The account of the roof is original.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pflaumern, p. 273; in part from Totti, p. 9. The four chapels are those at the angles between the transepts and the nave and choir.

<sup>4</sup> Original notice. The mosaic after d'Arpino: Baglione, p. 31.

It is now replaced by a mosaic copy of Guido Reni's St. Michael. Evelyn refers to it in his 'Account of Architects', 1664, .p. 142 (*Misc. writings*, p. 423).

<sup>5</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 273. The chapel is between the nave and the north transept. Gregory XIII's tomb was in its present position in the north aisle of the nave; it was decorated with stucco figures by Prospero Antichi, called Prospero Bresciano (d. c. 1592): Baglione, p. 26; they have since been replaced by marble figures.

the high-Altar, consecrated<sup>a</sup> first by Clement the 8th, adorn'd by Paulus V: and lately cover'd by Pope Urban the 8 with that stupendious Canopy of Corinthian brasse, which heretofore was brought from the Pantheon:<sup>1</sup> It consists of 4 Wreath'd Columns partly channel'd & incircl'd with vines, upon which hang little Puti,<sup>2</sup> Birds, & Bees (the Armes of the Barberini) sustaining a Baldachino of the same Mettal:<sup>3</sup> The 4 Columns weigh an hundred & ten thousand pounds, all over gilted with rich gold; and indeede with the Pedistalls, Crowne, & statues about it, a thing of that Art, vastnesse & magnificence beyond all that ever mans industry has produced of this kind & worthy the Celebration, as it is the Worke of Cavaliero Bernini A Florentine Sculptor, Architect, Painter & Poet:<sup>4</sup> who a little before my Comming to the Citty, gave a Publique Opera (for so they call those Shews of that kind) where in he painted the seanes, cut the Statues, invented the Engines, composed the Musique, writ the Comedy & built the Theater all himselfe.<sup>5</sup>

Opposite to either of these Pillars, under those Nices which with their Columnne<sup>b</sup> support the weighty Cupola before described,<sup>6</sup> are placed 4 exquisite statues of Parian Marble,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Followed by (*they say*) deleted.

<sup>b</sup> Or *Columns*.

<sup>1</sup> From Totti, pp. 10-11; the Pantheon added from Raymond, p. 87. For the taking of the bronze see below, pp. 371-2.

<sup>2</sup> The Italian word *putti*, children. Evelyn uses it again below, 15 Feb. 1649, and in his 'Account of Architects', 1664, p. 135 (*Misc. writings*, p. 412).

<sup>3</sup> Mainly original, but see Baglione, p. 37. Urban VIII was Maffeo Barberini: see above, p. 196 n.

<sup>4</sup> Mainly from Totti, p. 11, where Bernini is described as sculptor, architect, and painter; poet is Evelyn's addition.

<sup>5</sup> Evelyn repeats this statement in his preface 'To the Reader' prefixed to his translation of Fréart's *Idea of the perfection of*

*painting* (*Misc. writings*, pp. 561-2). For Bernini's theatrical activities see Baldinucci, ed. Riegl, pp. 242-4, and Frascchetti, pp. 260-72. Unfortunately none of his pieces have survived; they appear to have combined satire on individuals with remarkable spectacular effects. A supposed drawing for a scene is reproduced by M. Brauer and R. Wittkower, *Die Zeichnungen des . . . Bernini*, 1931, pl. xv (text, pp. 33-4).

<sup>6</sup> i.e. in the four great piers supporting the dome. The greater part of the notice of the four statues, with their inscriptions and the relics, is taken from Totti, pp. 12-13.

<sup>7</sup> 'Of Parian Marble' added by Evelyn: cf. pp. 176, 243. Baglione states that the statues are or were to be of Carrara marble.

to which are 4 Altars: viz, that of Santa Veronica made by Fra: Mochi,<sup>1</sup> over which is the Reliquary<sup>2</sup> where they shew'd us the miraculous Sudarium indued<sup>a</sup> with the Picture of our Saviours face<sup>3</sup> with this Inscription

Salvatoris Imaginem Veronicæ Sudario exceptam, ut loci majestas decenter custodiret. URBANUS VIII. Pont: Max. Marmoreum Signum, et Altare addidit, Conditorium extruxit et ornavit.

Right against this is that of Longinus (all of a Colossean magnitude) by the above mention'd Bernini; and over him, the Conservatory of the Iron Lance, inserted in a most precious Christal with this Epigraph

Longini Lanceam, quam Innocentius VIII, à Bajazete Turcarum Tyranno accepit, Urbanus VIII. statua apposita, et sacello substructo, in exornatum Conditorium transtulit. The 3d Chapel has over the Altar the like statue of our Country-Woman st. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Greate; the worke of Boggi<sup>4</sup> an excellent Sculptor, & here is preserved a greate Piece of the pretended Wood of the holy Crosse, which she is sayd to have first detected miraculously in the Holy-land; & placed here by the late Pope with this Inscription

Partem Cruci(s), quam Helena Imperatrix è Calvario in Urbem adduxit, Urbanus VIII. Pont: Max. e Sessoriana Basilica desumptam, additis ara, et statua, hic in Vaticano collocavit.

---

<sup>a</sup> Or *inducd.*

---

<sup>1</sup> Francesco Mochi or Mocchi, 1580–1654. The statue was not finished until 1649.

<sup>2</sup> The current definition was 'a coffin, casket, or shrine wherein Reliques be kept': Cotgrave, 1632, s.v. *reliquaire*; see also *O.E.D.* Evelyn here equates it with conservatory (next paragraph), and uses it below as either a room or repository for, or collection of, relics: pp. 264, 440. Note also the occurrence above, p. 187, where the word is probably used in the present

sense.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn almost certainly was not shown this relic at this time; he apparently saw it on 11 or 12 April 1645, when it was exposed in the usual way: notice below. For it see Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, ii. 1123–5. For the use of indued here see *O.E.D.*; the word is not taken from Totti or Pflaumern.

<sup>4</sup> Andrea Bolgi, 1605–56. For St. Helena's British birth see Camden, *Britannia*, 1607, pp. 51–2, 75, 325; see also below, 8 July 1656.

The 4th hath over the Altar, and opposite to that of st. VERONICA the statue of st. Andrew, the worke of one Fiamingo,<sup>1</sup> admirable for the rarenesse of it above all the other; & above is preservd the head of that Apostle richly inchas'd: It is reported this excellent Sculptor dy'd mad, to see his statue plac'd in a dissadvantageous light, by Bernino the chiefe Architect, who found himselfe out don by this Artist:<sup>2</sup> The Inscription over it is

S. Andreae Caput, quod Pius II ex Achaia in Vaticanum asportandum curavit Urbanus VIII novis hic ornamentis decoratum, sacrisque statuæ ac sacelli honoribus coli voluit. And indeede the vast number of Reliques shew'd and kept in this Church, are without number, as are also the precious Vessells of Gold, Silver, and gemms, with the Vests & other incomparable services to be seene in the Sacristy which were shewed us.<sup>3</sup> Under the high-Altar there is an ample & stately Grott inlayd with Pietra-Commessa, wherein halfe of the bodys of St. Peter and St. Paule are reserv'd,<sup>4</sup> before which hang divers huge lamps of the richest plate that continually burne.<sup>5</sup> About this, and contiguous to the Altar runs a balustrad in forme of a Theatre of black-marble: Towards

<sup>1</sup> Duquesnoy: above, p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> This story is also given by M. van M[erwede], *Uyt-heemsen Oorlog*, 1651, p. 166, together with an alternative version, that Duquesnoy was given poison to make him mad. Its foundation is a change of plan made by the Congregatione de' Riti; the plaster model for the St. Andrew was shown (1629) in the north-west niche, now occupied by St. Helena, but the statue was set up (1640) in its present niche. Duquesnoy regarded this as an attack on himself made by his rivals. He received the final payment for the statue in May 1643, and died, probably of typhoid, in July of that year: Thieme, *Lexikon*.

<sup>3</sup> Mainly from Totti, p. 13. The sacristy occupied the more easterly

of the two circular mausolea to the south of St. Peter's; it was pulled down in 1777 to make room for the present sacristy: F. Cancellieri, *Sagrestia vaticana eretta [da] . . . Pio sesto*, 1784, pp. 41-5.

<sup>4</sup> The relics from Pflaumern, p. 276. The grott is the Confessio; the description here and in the next sentence is original.

<sup>5</sup> For these lamps see F. Bonanni, *Numismata summorum pontificum templi Vaticani fabricam indicantia*, 1696, p. 161. The small lamps on the balustrade of the Confessio probably date from between 1675 and 1695; for them see [Fratelli de' Rossi], *Descr. di Roma moderna*, 1697, p. 24, and the views of the Confessio, &c.



the left, as you goe out of the Church by the Portico, a little be neath the high Altar, sits an old brasse statue of st. Peter,<sup>1</sup> under the Soles of whose feete many devout persons rub their heads, and touch their Chapletts: This was formerly cast from a statue of Jupiter Capitolinus: In another place stands a Columne (grated about with Yron) whereon they report our B: S: was often wont to leane as he preached in the Temple;<sup>2</sup> as likewise (in) the work of the Reliquary under the Cupola there are 8 wreathed Columns which were brought from the Temple of Solomon.<sup>3</sup> In another chapell they shew'd us the Chayre of st. Peter, or (as they name it) the Apostolical Throne:<sup>4</sup> But, amongst all the Chapells one most glorious, having for Altar-piece a Madona bearing a Cristo mortuo in White marble, on her knees, the worke of Mich: Angelo:<sup>5</sup> At the very upmost end of the Cathedral are divers stately Monuments, especialy that of Urban the VIIIth,<sup>6</sup> amongst all which there is one observable for two naked incumbent figures of an old, & a young woman, upon which last, there now lyes a covering, or apern of brasse, to cover those parts,

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 276; the notice of the devotees original; but see Baglione, p. 27. P. Toesca, following Wickhoff, regards the statue as a thirteenth-century work: *Storia dell' arte italiana*, 1927, i. 287, n. 14. Already in its present position.

<sup>2</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 276–7. Already in its present position.

<sup>3</sup> The columns and their provenance from Pflaumern, pp. 275–6. Pflaumern describes them as placed by the high altar; Baglione, p. 40, gives them in their present position, decorating the four balconies in the piers of the dome where the four relics are kept (see above, pp. 262–3). Constantine is said to have brought them (or some of them) from Greece: *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, i. 176 and n. They are Roman work of the third century: see R. Lanciani, notes to A. van Buchel, in *Reale Soc. romana di storia patria*,

*Archivio*, xxiii (1900), 51.

<sup>4</sup> From Totti, p. 13. Pflaumern, p. 276. It was kept in the chapel now containing the font. The setting for it that Evelyn saw was apparently designed by Bernini about 1638–9; the existing setting for it, also by Bernini, dates from 1657–65: Baglione, pp. 20–1; Alveri, ii. 170, 177; Frascchetti, *Bernini*, pp. 331–3.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Totti, p. 15. It stood in the Cappella del Coro: Baglione, p. 23. Evelyn calls it the '*Christo in gremio*' in his preface 'To the Reader' prefixed to his translation of Fréart's *Idea* (*Misc. writings*, p. 560).

<sup>6</sup> Totti, p. 15. The story that follows is also given by Raymond in his introduction; it relates to the tomb of Paul III, facing that of Urban VIII: J. T. Sprenger, *Roma nova*, 1660, p. 232.

which it seemes occasioned a [pigmalian]<sup>a</sup> Spanyard to be found in a la(s)civious posture, so rarely to the life was this warme figure don: Round about the Cupola, and in many other places of the Church are Confession-seates for all Languages as Hebrew, Gr: Lat: Span: Ital: Fr: Engl: Irish, Welch, Sclavonic, Dutch &c, as 'tis writen upon their frezes in Golden Capitals, and there are still at Confessions some of all nations:<sup>1</sup> Towards the (lower)<sup>b</sup> end of the Church, and on the side of a vast pillar sustaining a weighty roofe is the depositum and statue of the Countesse Matilda, a rare & incomparable piece, with basse relievos about it of white marble the worke of Bernini, as also those of Sixtus<sup>c</sup> the 4th, and Paulus III &c:<sup>2</sup> Amongst the exquisite pieces in this sumptuous fabrique that of the Ship, St. Peter held up from sinking by our Saviour, and the emblems about it is the Mosaïque of the famous Giotto who restor'd and made it perfect, after it had by the barbarians been defaced:<sup>3</sup> nor is the pavement under the Cupola<sup>4</sup> to be passed over without observation; which with the rest of the body and wales of the whole Church are all inlayd with the richest of pietra Com-messa in the most splendid & glorious colours of polished marbles, Achats, Serpentine, Porphyrie, Calcedoine &c: wholly

<sup>a</sup> Added later.

<sup>b</sup> MS. *lower*.

<sup>c</sup> MS. *VIs*.

<sup>1</sup> Original notice.

<sup>2</sup> 'Tra li depositi . . . si scorgono, e risplendono quelli della Contessa Matilde, di Sisto IV. di Paolo III. e 'l nuovo . . . di Urbano VIII. fatto dal Cavalier Bernino': Totti, p. 15. Matilda's tomb was designed by Bernini; that of Sixtus IV, at this time in the Cappella del Sacramento and recently removed to the Museo Petriano, is by Antonio Pollaiuolo; for these two see Baglione, p. 22. That of Paul III is by Guglielmo della Porta (active c. 1530; d. 1577), but rearranged by Bernini; for it see above.

<sup>3</sup> From Totti, pp. 16-17, in part mistranslated: 'È opera di Giotto Pittor' egregio Fiorentino, stata

sempre in somma veneratione . . . per la rimembranza dell' artefice, essendo stato il Padre, e rinovator della Pittura, ne' suoi tempi, per l'inondation de' Barbari, totalmente in Italia perduta.' The mosaic was already in its present position, inside the church above the main door: Baglione, pp. 18-19. Pflaumern saw it in its original position, on the wall of the old church: pp. 273-4. Evelyn refers to it in his 'Account of Architects', 1707, p. 57 (*Misc. writings*, p. 423). Giotto, 1266 (or 1276)-1337.

<sup>4</sup> Original notice. Baglione, p. 35. The pavement of the nave is due to Innocent X: Alveri, ii. 160.

incrusted to the very roofe:<sup>1</sup> Comming out by the Portico we entred, we were shew'd the Porto Santo<sup>2</sup> never opned but at the yeare of Jubilee.<sup>3</sup>

This glorious Foundation hath belonging to it 30 Canonics, 36 Beneficiates, 28 Clearkes benefic'd with innumerable Chaplaines &c, a Cardinal being always Arch-priest, as now was Franc: Barberini who also styl'd himsele Protector of the English to whom he was indeede very courteous.<sup>3</sup> Thus I came weary home, and full of admiration at what we had seene for that day:

November 20 I went to visite that antient See, and Cathedral of St. John de Laterana, and the holy places thereabout:<sup>4</sup> This is a church of extraordinary devotion, though for outward forme not comparable to st. Peters, being of Gotique Ordonance:<sup>5</sup> Before we went into the Cathedral the Baptisterie or Fonte of st. Jo: Baptist presented it selfe,

<sup>a</sup> Or Jubilee.

<sup>1</sup> Expanded from Totti, p. 9. Innocent X executed most of the incrustation of the nave; it had not begun in 1644: Frascchetti, *Bernini*, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> From Totti, p. 13. The Porta Santa.

<sup>3</sup> From Totti, p. 15, including Barberini as arch-priest; his being Protector of the English, &c., is original. Francesco Barberini, 1597-1679, created cardinal 2 Oct. 1623. References to his activities as Protector of the English are frequent; there is no good biography. Bargrave praises him for his 'exemplary life and integrity': *Pope Alexander VII*, pp. 14-16.

<sup>4</sup> S. Giovanni in Laterano and the surrounding monuments. General descriptions in Totti, pp. 439-55; Pflaumern, pp. 303-11; Raymond, pp. 78-82; a more detailed account in Baglione, pp. 96-132. For the older books on it see Schudt, *Le guide*, pp. 431-3; general bibliography in Lauer (see

below). The principal older work, C. Rasponi, *De basilica et patriarchio Lateranensi libri IV*, 1656, includes a good account of the old nave, which was already destroyed. The principal modern work is P. Lauer, *Le palais de Latran*, 1911; see also A. Valentini, *La patriarcale basilica lateranense*, 1836, and S. Ortolani, *S. Giovanni in Laterano*, [c. 1925].

The church has been greatly altered since Evelyn's time. The nave was rebuilt by Borromini in 1647-9, and the east (principal) façade dates from c. 1732-5; the choir was enlarged by Leo XIII after 1876; the so-called Portico Leoniano, surrounding the tribuna, was then destroyed.

<sup>5</sup> 'L'architettura di questa fabrica fu alla barbara': Baglione, p. 97. The general appearance of the church was still medieval, the nave early Christian or Romanesque, the high altar and tribuna Gothic. View of the interior in Lauer, p. 330; of the exterior, pl. xxxi.

it being formerly part of the Greate Constantines Palace, & as sayd his chamber, where by st. Silvester he was made a Christian; it is of an Octagonal shape, having before the entrance 8 faire Pillars of rich Porphyrie, the nobles(t) doub(t)less in the world, consisting of one intire piece, their Capitells of divers orders, underpropping divers lesser Columnnes of white-marble that support a noble Cupola, the moulding whereof is incomparably wrought.<sup>1</sup> In the Chapell which they affirme to have been the lod(g)ing chamber of this Emperor all Women are prohibited to enter, for the malice of Herodias who caus'd him to loose his head:<sup>2</sup> Here are deposited divers sacred Reliques of st. James, Mary Magdalen, st. Mathew &c and two goodly pictures:<sup>3</sup> Another Chapel or Oratory neere it, is cald st. Jo: the Evangelist well adorn'd with Marbles and Tables, especialy those of Cavalier Gioseppe, and of Tempesta in fresca.<sup>4</sup>

We went hence into another cald St. Venantius, in which is a Tribunal all of Mosaique in figures of Popes: here is likewise an Altar of the Madona much visited and divers Sclavon-

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn has here merged the baptistery (S. Giovanni in Fonte) and the oratory of St. John the Baptist attached to its south-west side; the latter is the alleged bed-chamber of Constantine (see below). A large part of the notice is taken from Baglione, with an error in translation: '. . . il Tempio di S. Gio. Battista in fonte fabricato nel luogo, doue fu battezzato Costantino da S. Siluestro Papa . . . quiui già era una stanza del Palagio dell' Imperadore. . . . Il Tempio di fuori, e di dentro è di figura a otto faccie; vi sono per entro otto belle colonne di porfido con capitelli d'ordini diuersi che reggono otto altre colonne piccole di marmo bianco, le quali sostengono una cupoletta: v'è bella cornice di marmo diligentemente intagliata . . .': p. 99. Baglione repeats the usual identification of the oratory as 'la camera' of Constantine, p. 100. Totti, pp. 439-

40; Pflaumern, pp. 307-8; Raymond, p. 80. Constantine was baptized at Nicomedia in 337; his baptism here is an incident in the legend of St. Silvester: Lauer, pp. 27-8.

<sup>2</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 308. Totti, p. 440; Baglione, pp. 100-1. The oratory of St. John the Baptist, built by Pope Hilary (pope 461-8): Lauer, pp. 53-7. 'Him' is, of course, the Baptist.

<sup>3</sup> The relics from Totti, p. 440. The two pictures probably from his 'Il s. Gio: è del Donatello, e le pitture di Gio. Alberti.' Donatello is an error for Donato da Formello, a pupil of Vasari; the work, a relief, is now in the sacristy of the basilica: Ortolani, pp. 67, 104.

<sup>4</sup> From Totti, p. 440. Baglione, p. 101. The oratory on the north-east side of the baptistery. Gioseppe is the Cavaliere d'Arpino. Antonio Tempesta, c. 1555-1630.

ish Saints, companions of Pope John the 4th.<sup>1</sup> The Portico of the Church is built with divers materials brought from P: Pilats house in Jerusalem; and here is that famous Porphyrie Chaire where the new created Pope ut Sexus sui periculum fieret, must sit bare, as tis affirm'd confidently.<sup>2</sup> The next sight which drew us was a wonderfull concourse of people at their devotions before a place called Scala Sancta to which is built a most noble frontspiece: Being enter'd the Portico we saw those large stayers of marble, in number 28, which are never ascended but upon the knees, some lip-devotion us'd upon every step, upon which you may perceive divers red specks<sup>a</sup> of blood (under a grate) which they affirme to have been drops of our B: Saviours what time he was so barbarously missus'd by Herods souldiers; for these stayres

<sup>a</sup> Or *specks*.

<sup>1</sup> From Totti, p. 441, mistranslated. Baglione, pp. 102-3. John IV built the oratory in honour of St. Venantius and some other Slavonian saints, whose bodies are preserved here; they are represented in the mosaics with Popes John IV and Theodore: Pflaumern, p. 309. The mosaics are still preserved: Lauer, pp. 81-7.

<sup>2</sup> 'Iam in templi atrio tres marmoreæ portæ spectantur, Pilati quondam in ædibus constitutæ. . . . Nec longè ab his duæ porphyreticæ sedes aberant, ubi recens creatus Pontifex, ut sexus sui periculum fieret, pati debebat. Ita vulgò credita celebrataque res,' &c.: Pflaumern, p. 309; he then attacks the fable. What he means by 'in templi atrio' is uncertain; it is perhaps the portico of the baptistery; it is clearly not the rooms about the Sancta Sanctorum (see below), where Sixtus V had placed the three doorways when he moved the Scala Santa (see below). They come from the Council hall of the old palace: Lauer, p. 321.

There were two antique perforated seats of red marble (*rosso*

*antico*), not porphyry; one is now in the Vatican, Helbig, vol. i, no. 252, the other in the Louvre, no. 1389: Lauer, pp. 158-9; there appears to be no evidence for where they were placed in the Lateran at this time, but it was perhaps in the cloister: F. Cancellieri, *Storia de' solenni possessi*, p. 240 n. The story of the testing of the pope's sex was already in existence in 1405: *ibid.*, p. 37; it is connected with the legendary Pope Joan. For the part played by these seats in the medieval papal enthronements at the Lateran see *ibid.*, *passim*.

The Sedes stercoraria, also used in the enthronements, was a white marble chair preserved in the portico of the basilica; it derived its name from a verse in the Bible (Psalms cxiii. 7, 8) repeated to the newly made popes as they sat in it: *ibid.*, p. 239 n. It was already in the cloisters by 1656: Rasponi, pp. 177-8. There was yet a fourth chair, the papal throne in the apse of the basilica: Lauer, pp. 157-8. The so-called porphyry chairs are often confused with the Sedes stercoraria.

are reported to be transferred hither from his palace in Jerusalem:<sup>1</sup> At the top of these stayres is a chapell whereat they enter (but we could not be permitted) by Gates of Marble, being the same our Saviour passed when he went out of Herods-house,<sup>2</sup> This they name the Sanctum Sanctorum, and over it we read this Epigraphe Non est in toto Sanctor orbe locus.<sup>3</sup> Here, through a grate, we saw that picture of Christ, paynted, as they say, by the hand of st. Luke to the life,<sup>4</sup> and so we descended againe, where the first thinge we took notice of (as indeed most worthy admiration) was the Obelisc<sup>5</sup> before St. J: Laterano: It formerly lay in the Circo Maximo, & was erected here by Sixtus V: 1587 containing 112 foote in height without base, or pedistal:<sup>a</sup> large<sup>6</sup> it is at the foote 9½ one way, & 8 the other: This Pillar or Pyramid rather was brought first from Thebes at the utmost confines of Ægypt to Alexandria, from thence to Constantinople,<sup>7</sup> thence to Rome, & is sayd by Ammianus Marcellinus to have been dedicated to Ramises K: of Ægypt:<sup>8</sup> it was tran(s)ferred

<sup>a</sup> Or *Pedestal*.

<sup>1</sup> Mainly from Pflaumern, p. 310. Totti, p. 455; Raymond, pp. 80-1. The scepticism is Evelyn's, as well as the substitution of Herod for Pilate, with whom the steps are always associated (for Herod's soldiers see St. Luke xxiii. 11). The steps had formed the main staircase of the medieval palace of the Lateran; from 'scala palatii' they were apparently converted into 'scala Pilati'. They were brought here by Sixtus V when he destroyed the medieval palace: Lauer, pp. 185, 321. Evelyn mentions the 'Devota's' here in his notes to his *Essay on the first book of Lucretius*, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> From Totti, p. 455; but Evelyn has substituted Herod for Pilate. The three doorways mentioned in p. 268, n. 2, above.

<sup>3</sup> From Raymond, p. 81, who, however, gives the name correctly. The Sancta Sanctorum.

<sup>4</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 310. The

Achiropita, attributed to a Roman artist, c. 450-550; the earliest surviving reference to it belongs to the eighth century: Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, ii. 1101-13. Lauer suggests a Byzantine origin: pp. 93-5.

<sup>5</sup> From Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 350-2, including the measurements and inscriptions; with additions, in part original, in part perhaps from Pflaumern, pp. 310-11, and Raymond, p. 78. Totti, p. 452. Obeliscus Constantii.

<sup>6</sup> 'Larga.'

<sup>7</sup> Mistranslation. Constantine brought it to Alexandria 'per condurla in Constantinopoli'; it was, however, brought direct to Rome. Raymond makes the same error.

<sup>8</sup> *Res gestae*, xvii. 4, 18. It was actually set up by Thothmes III before the temple of Ammon at Thebes.

to this City by Constantius,<sup>a</sup> the sonne of Const: Magnus: & is full of rare hieroglyphics,<sup>1</sup> serpents, men, owles, falcons, Oxen, Instruments &c, containing, as they affirme (and as Father Kercher<sup>b</sup> the Jesuite will shortly tell us in a booke hee is ready to publish) all the recondite & abstruse learning of that people:<sup>2</sup> It is reported that the Vessell, Gally or floate, that brought this to Rome so many hundred Leagues must needs have been of an infinite bignesse & strange fabrique:<sup>3</sup> The stone is one, & intire, and was erected by the famous Dom: Fontana for that magnificent Pope Sixtus V: as the rest were, 'tis now crack'd in many places, but solidly joynd:<sup>4</sup> The Obelisk is thus Inscribd at the several faciatas

Fl: Constantinus<sup>5</sup> Augustus Constantini Augusti F. Obeliscum à Patre ⟨loco⟩ suo motum diuque Alexandriae jacentem trecentorum remigum impositum navi ⟨mirandæ⟩<sup>c</sup> vastitatis per mare Tiberimque magnis molibus Romam convectum in Circo Max. ponendum S. P. Q. R. D. D.

On the 2 Square:

Fl: Constantinus Max: Aug: Christianæ fidei vindex, et assertor Obeliscum ab ⟨Ægypti⟩<sup>d</sup> Rege impuro voto Soli ⟨de⟩dicatum sedibus avulsum suis per Nilum transferri Alexandriam, ut novam Romam ab se tunc conditam eo decoraret monumento.

On the 3d

Sixtus V. Pontifex Max: Obeliscum hunc specie eximia tem-

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *Constantinus*. <sup>b</sup> Altered from *Kert-*. <sup>c</sup> MS. *mirandi*.  
<sup>d</sup> MS. *Ægyptio*.

<sup>1</sup> Elaborated from Pflaumern.

<sup>2</sup> Original notice. The allusion is presumably to Kircher's *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*. *Hoc est universalis hieroglyphicæ veterum doctrinæ . . . instauratio*, 3 vols. in 4, fol., 1652–4(5). But Kircher may have altered his plans when Innocent XI erected the obelisk in the Piazza Navona in 1647–9, and may have used some of his material in his *Obeliscus Pamphilius, hoc est, interpretatio . . . obelisci hieroglyphici quem . . . in Agonale Forum transtulit . . . Innocentius X*, fol., 1650. For

the character of these works see *Allgemeine deutsche Biog.*, art. Kircher. Evelyn saw copies probably of both books in May 1656.

<sup>3</sup> Totti, *R.A.*, states that the vessel was the largest ever seen at sea. Cf. Raymond and Pflaumern.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn contradicts himself through reading Totti carelessly. The obelisk was 'di un pezzo' at the time of its transportation to Rome, but 'rotto in diversi pezzi' when found.

<sup>5</sup> A slip, copied by Totti from earlier writers, for Constantius.

porum calamitate fractum, Circi Maximi ruinis humo, limoque alte demersum, multa impensa extraxit hunc in locum magno labore transtulit, formæque pristinae accurate (restitutum),<sup>a</sup> Cruci invictissimæ dicavit. Anno M.D.LXXXVIII. Pont: IIII.

On the 4th

Constantinus per Crucem Victor, à Silvestro hic Baptisatus, Crucis gloriam propagavit.

Leaving this miraculous monument (before which is a stately publique fountaine,<sup>1</sup> with a statue of St. John in the middle of it) we visited his Holynesse's Palace,<sup>2</sup> being a little upon the left hand: The designe of Fontana Pope Sixtus's Architect: This I take to be one of (the) best Palaces of Rome; but not sta(y)ing here, we enterd into the Church of St. Jo: de Laterana, which is properly the Cathedral of the Roman See, as I learn'd by these Verses engraven upon the Architrave of the Portico.<sup>3</sup>

Dogmate Papali datur, et simul Imperiali  
 Quod sim cunctarum mater caput Ecclesiarum:  
 Hinc Salvatoris cælestia regna datoris  
 Nomine sanxerunt, cum cuncta peracta fuerunt;  
 Sic Vos ex toto conversi supplice Voto  
 Nostra quod hæc ædes; tibi Christe sit inclyta sedes.

'Tis cal'd Lateran from a noble famely dwelling it seemes hereabout on Mons Celius:<sup>4</sup> The Church is built of Gothic ordonance, & hath a stately Tribunal,<sup>5</sup> the paintings are of Pietro Pisano:<sup>6</sup> 'tis the first Church that ever was conse-

<sup>a</sup> MS. *vestitum*.

<sup>1</sup> From Totti, p. 452.    <sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> The inscription and its position on the architrave 'del portico di fuor della chiesa' from *ibid.*, pp. 442-3. This was the eastern portico, since destroyed; Evelyn's statements show that he entered the church by the northern portico. The inscription was in mosaic: Ortolani, p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> From Totti, p. 443. Raymond,

p. 79; Pflaumern, p. 303. See Platner and Ashby, art. *Domus, Laterani*.

<sup>5</sup> Original notice. For the architecture of the church see above, p. 266 n.

<sup>6</sup> From Totti, p. 443. Apparently an error for Antonio Pisanello (formerly called Vittore Pisanello; 1395-1455): Lauer, p. 274; Baglione, p. 125.



crated with the Ceremonies now introduc'd, and where Altars of stone supplid those of wood heretofore in use & made like large Chests for the better removing in times of persecution: Such an Altar is still the greate one here preserved as a monument, because they hold st. Peter celebrated Masse on it at Rome, for which cause none but the Pope may now presume to make that use of it:<sup>1</sup> The Pavement of the Church is of all sorts of precious Marbles, and so are the very walles of it to a great height, over which 'tis painted a fresca with the life, and Acts of Constantine the Greate by most excellent Masters:<sup>2</sup> The Organs are rare, supported with 4 Columns: The Suffitto is all richly gilded & full of Pictures.<sup>3</sup> Opposite to the Porte is an Altar<sup>4</sup> of exquisite Architecture, with a Tabernacle on it all of precious stones, the worke of one Targoni,<sup>5</sup> on this is a Cena<sup>a</sup> of Plate, the invention of one Curtius Vanni of exceeding value;<sup>6</sup> the Tables<sup>7</sup> hanging over it are of Gioseppe d'Arpino; About this are 4 incomparable Columns formerly transported by the Emp: Titus out of Asia, they are of brasse double gilt, about 12 foote in height, and the Walls betweene them are incrusted with marble & set with statues in Niches, the Vacuum<sup>b</sup> reported to be fill'd with holy earth, which they say st. Helena sent from Jerusalem to her sonn Constantine who set these pillars where they now

<sup>a</sup> Or *Cæna*.      <sup>b</sup> MS. *Vacuū*.

<sup>1</sup> From Totti, p. 444. The altar also in Pflaumern, p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> From Totti, p. 444. The transept, decorated by various artists for Clement VIII. Totti, p. 443, and Pflaumern, p. 304, mention Martin V's pavement in the nave.

<sup>3</sup> From Totti, p. 444, rather carelessly. The paintings mentioned by him are the four Evangelists by Agostino Ciampelli (c. 1577-1642) at the sides of the arches separating the transept from the nave and the apse (before the enlargement of the choir): Valentini, ii. 43-4, 53-4. There are no important paintings on the ceiling.

<sup>4</sup> The notice from Totti, pp. 444-5; the material and height of the columns from Pflaumern, p. 306. The altar of the Sacrament.

<sup>5</sup> Pompeo Targoni, d. c. 1630: Baglione, *Vite*, pp. 329-31.

<sup>6</sup> A silver relief of the Last Supper by Curzio Vanni; removed by the French in 1799 and since replaced by a copy: Ortolani, p. 61. Vanni is described by Baglione as a Roman goldsmith: p. 113. The alleged table used in the Last Supper is preserved in a recess behind this relief: Lauer, p. 326 n.

<sup>7</sup> 'La pittura di sopra', a fresco of the Resurrection.

stand:<sup>1</sup> At one side of this is an Oratory<sup>2</sup> full of rare Paintings & monuments, especially those of the greate Connestable Colonna,<sup>3</sup> out of this we came into the Sacristia<sup>4</sup> full also of good pictures of Albert & others: At the end of the Church<sup>5</sup> is a flat stone erected & supported by 4 pillars which they affirme to have beene the exact height of our B: Saviours stature when he conversed here on Earth, which, they say, never fitted any mortal man that ever tryed it, but he was either taller, or shorter.<sup>6</sup> Two Columns likewise which rent at his Passion of the Vaile of the Temple:<sup>7</sup> The stone on which they threw Lotts for his seamelesse Vesture,<sup>8</sup> and the Pillar on which the Cock crow'd after Peters abnegation<sup>9</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> 'Sotto d'ogn' intorno [the bronze columns] [Clement VIII] coperse le mura di marmi lavorati con alcune statue ne' suoi nicchi . . . Dicono, che da un Tempio in Asia Tito Imperadore portò quelle quattro colonne a Roma, e che nel sudetto luogo le mettesse Constantino, riempiendole di terra santa, e che da Gerusalemme glie le mandò S. Elena sua madre.' Pflaumern gives a different account of the origin of the columns. They are mentioned by Raymond, p. 80. Baglione, pp. 111-12.

<sup>2</sup> From Totti, p. 445. The Cappella del Coro.

<sup>3</sup> Mistranslation. Totti mentions the monument of the wife of the Constable Colonna and a monument relating to some Colonna cardinals. The former commemorates Lucrezia Tomacelli, wife of Filippo Colonna, duke of Paliano; the dignity of Grand Constable of Naples was hereditary in this branch of the Colonna family.

<sup>4</sup> From Totti, p. 445. It contains frescoes by Giovanni Alberti (1558-1601) and Cherubino Alberti (1553-1615).

<sup>5</sup> For the position of the following monuments prior to Borromini's reconstruction of the nave see Rasponi, pp. 62-7, Baglione, pp.

3811.2

119-21, and the description of the old nave printed in Lauer, pp. 585-93. They were at or near the east end of the church. They seem later to have been transferred to the Portico Leoniano, the semicircular corridor formerly surrounding the apse: J. Doubdan, *Le Voyage de la Terre-Sainte*, &c., 3rd ed., 1666, pp. 619-20 (Doubdan was in Rome in August 1652). Those that are recognizable are now in the cloister.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 307, and Raymond, p. 80. Totti, p. 446. The original purpose or significance of the monument is unknown; it bears an inscription 'MESA CHRISTI' which was expanded as 'mensura' instead of 'mensa': Lauer, p. 104.

<sup>7</sup> From Raymond, p. 80. His variant for 'la colonna, che si divide nella sua [i.e. Christ's] morte': Totti, p. 446. Two half-columns with imbricated decoration. If their origin is given, they are usually said to have come simply from Jerusalem, sometimes from Pilate's palace: so Lauer, p. 586; Doubdan. They are also now in the cloister.

<sup>8</sup> From Raymond, p. 80. Pflaumern, p. 307; Totti, p. 446. It is a slab of porphyry.

<sup>9</sup> From Raymond, p. 80. Totti, p. 446, as in the baptistery; Pflaumern, p. 308, as a porphyry

T

to omitt noe fine thing, the just length of the Virgin Marys foote, as her shoemaker, it seems, affirmed.<sup>1</sup> Here is indeede a most sumptuous Crosse besett with preccious stones, & containing some of the very wood of the holy Crosse it selfe:<sup>2</sup> The heads of st. Peter, and St. Paule are conserv'd here under St. Salvators Altar.<sup>3</sup> In this Church were the two famous Oecumenical Councils celebrated by P: Simmachus & Martinus I. Stephanus &c:<sup>4</sup> It is indeede furnish'd with the most magnificent Monuments, especialy that of st. Helens being all of Porphyrie:<sup>5</sup> that of Card: Farneze,<sup>6</sup> Martine the first of Coper:<sup>7</sup> The Pictures of Mary Magdalen, Martine the V: Laurent: Valla &c are of Gaetano:<sup>8</sup> Those of the Nuntiata: design'd by M: Angelo,<sup>9</sup> the greate Crucifix of Sermoneta.<sup>10</sup>

column bearing a bronze cock, also as in the baptistery. By 1639 it was in the nave: Baglione, p. 120. It appears to have been not a relic, but a reminder to the popes that they were liable to err: Rasponi, p. 62. The cock is no longer extant.

<sup>1</sup> Original notice. Not traceable. Presumably a gibe of Evelyn's or of a companion's.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently from Totti, p. 446: the cross of Pope Sergius I; the wood was now kept in the Vatican. Lauer believes that this cross was one of those deposited in the *Sancta Sanctorum*: pp. 90-1.

<sup>3</sup> From Totti, p. 446. Pflaumern, pp. 305-6. The high altar, in the centre of the church.

<sup>4</sup> Martin I and Stephen III held councils here in 649 and 768: Lauer, pp. 88, 97; see also Panvinio, in Lauer, p. 458. Symmachus did not hold a council here; for his struggle to obtain possession of the church see Lauer, pp. 66-7.

<sup>5</sup> Totti, p. 451; Raymond, p. 80. The sarcophagus now in the Vatican; Anastasius IV brought it here from the mausoleum of St. Helena to use as his own tomb; it stood outside the sacristy in the Portico Leoniano: Baglione, pp. 116-17; Helbig, vol. i,

no. 312.

<sup>6</sup> From Totti, p. 451. Ranuccio Farnese, d. 1565; created cardinal 16 Dec. 1545; for the position and sculptors of the tomb see the description of the nave, in Lauer, p. 593; Valentini, ii. 27-8.

<sup>7</sup> From Totti, p. 451. Pflaumern, p. 304. Both, correctly, as of Martin V. For its sculptor see Ortolani, p. 89. The remains of St. Martin I are preserved in S. Martino ai Monti.

<sup>8</sup> Carelessly taken from two sentences in Totti, p. 451. The Magdalene and the Martin V of Gaetano were placed above the altar of the Magdalen in the southwest corner of the nave: Baglione, p. 124; they are now in the sacristy and the Cappella del Coro. The tomb of Lorenzo Valla, the humanist, c. 1406-57, was originally in the transept; only a small fragment, now in the cloister, has been preserved: Lauer, pp. 286-8.

<sup>9</sup> From Totti, p. 451. Painted by Marcello Venusti (c. 1515-79) after Michelangelo's design; now in the sacristy.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. Girolamo Sicciantone da Sermoneta, 1521-c. 1580; the picture was and is in the Massimi chapel.

Under the chiefe Portico is the Porta Sancta, opned but at the Jubilie:<sup>1</sup> In a Chapel at one end of the Porch is a statue of Hen: the 4th of France in brasse,<sup>2</sup> it stands in a darke hole, and so has don many yeares, for what reason I could not learne; perhaps they did not believe him a through Proselyte. Other precious Reliqu(e)s are shew'd here, as the Calix or Cup in which St. Jo: dranke the Poyson, the chayne<sup>a</sup> that ty'd him being led to Rome, & his Coate, which being once put on 3 dead men rais'd them to life, as they report; a robe of the B: Virgins which she gave to Christ, and the towell with which he dried the Disciples feete; the reede, sponge, some of the blood & water of his precious side: some of the Virgins haire, the Table on which the Passover was celebrated, the rods of Aron & Moses, and many such bagatells:<sup>3</sup>

Leaving this Venerable Church (for in truth it has a certaine majesty in it) we pass'd through a faire and large Hospital<sup>4</sup> of good Architecture, and some Incriptions<sup>5</sup> put up by the Barberini the late Popes Nephew, Then by st. Silvia<sup>6</sup> where there is a noble statue of<sup>b</sup> S: Gregory P: began by M: Angelo,<sup>7</sup> a st. Andrea, & here we were shewed the Bath of santa Cicilia: In the Church are divers rare paintings,

<sup>a</sup> Or *chayns*.

<sup>b</sup> Followed by *st. Silvia* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. In the eastern portico.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 445, and Raymond, p. 80; the dark hole and the reason for placing the statue in it original. The porch is the northern portico; the statue has always been in the same place; it is by Nicolas Cordier.

<sup>3</sup> The list of relics is derived from Pflaumern, pp. 304-7. The rods of Aaron and Moses formed part of the spoils brought from Jerusalem by Vespasian and Titus: Lauer, pp. 50-1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Totti, p. 438. Pflaumern, p. 303. The Ospedale di S. Giovanni.

<sup>5</sup> This notice apparently from Totti, pp. 452-3; the inscriptions are those placed on the Triclinium of Leo III when it was restored by Cardinal Francesco Barberini; the monument was afterwards moved

and rebuilt by Benedict XIII: Lauer, pp. 328, 339. Forcella gives no inscriptions set up by the Barberini in the hospital.

<sup>6</sup> From Totti, pp. 144-5. The oratory of S. Silvia, adjoining S. Gregorio Magno. See V. Moschini, *S. Gregorio al Celio*, [c. 1927].

<sup>7</sup> Totti is mistaken: the completed statue was always in the neighbouring oratory of S. Barbara. According to Baglione, Michelangelo had made a sketch (*abbozzo*) for the figure of a pope; this was converted into a St. Gregory by N. Cordier (il Franciosino): *Vite*, 1642, p. 115. The history of the statue and the shares in it of the two artists are investigated by J. Hess, in *Burlington Magazine*, lxxxii (1943), 55-65.

especially that story on the Wall of Guido Rheni:<sup>1</sup> Thence we went to st. Giovanni e Paula<sup>2</sup> where the Friars are reported to be greate Chymists,<sup>3</sup> the quire,<sup>4</sup> rooffe & paintings in the Tribuna are excellent things: hence descending Mont Celius we come against the Vestigia's of the Palazzo Maggiore heretofore the Golden House of Nero;<sup>5</sup> now nothing but an heape of vast & confused Ruines, to shew what time, and the vicissitude of human things doe change from the most glorious & magnificent, to the most deformed, and confused:

We next went into st. Sebastians Church,<sup>6</sup> which has an handsome front: Then we passed by the place where Romulus & Rhemus were taken up by Faustulus:<sup>7</sup> The Forum Romanum, and so by the edge of the Mons Palatinus, where we were shew'd the Ruines of Pompeys-house,<sup>8</sup> the Church of st. Anacletus,<sup>9</sup> and so into the Circus Maximus,<sup>10</sup> heretofore

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn goes astray. The passage is derived from Totti, pp. 145-6. In the oratory of S. Andrea, also adjoining S. Gregorio Magno, 'la storia sù 'l muro a man diritta dell' altare [i.e. the north wall] è di Guido Reni, di cui anco sono i due quadri dentro il Bagno in S. Cecilia', &c., i.e. in the chapel with the bath in S. Cecilia in Trastevere (below, p. 358). Guido's fresco in this oratory represents St. Andrew being led to martyrdom; on the opposite wall his scourging, by Domenichino. There were no paintings by Guido in the main church, S. Gregorio.

<sup>2</sup> From Totti, pp. 147-9. Pflaumern, p. 299. SS. Giovanni e Paolo. The interior has been completely transformed since Evelyn's time. See P. Rondinini, *De sanctis martyribus Johanne et Paulo*, &c., 1707.

<sup>3</sup> 'S'impiegano questi Padri in distillare herbe d'ogni qualità.' They were Gesuati, an order founded in 1367 and suppressed in 1668.

<sup>4</sup> The choir-loft above the main door.

<sup>5</sup> From Totti, pp. 149-50. Evelyn has confused the Domus Aurea with

the imperial palace on the Palatine (Domus Augustiana); in Totti they are distinct. Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 86-90, 99-100; Pflaumern, p. 374. Raymond, p. 107. The reflection is expanded from Totti.

<sup>6</sup> Totti, p. 151. S. Sebastiano alla Polveriera. The reference to its façade, which is unimportant, is perhaps due to confusion with S. Sebastiano on the Via Appia, of which the façade is figured by Totti, p. 125: below, p. 363.

<sup>7</sup> From Totti, p. 152. Pflaumern, pp. 375-6. According to both authors the twins were found on the site of S. Teodoro. The topography is uncertain: see Platner and Ashby, art. Lupercal, and F. M. Torriggio, *Hist. del martirio di S. Teodoro*, 1643, pp. 336-42.

<sup>8</sup> Mentioned by Totti as near S. Anastasia; p. 154. Pompey appears not to have lived on the Palatine: Platner and Ashby, art. Domus, Cn. Pompeius.

<sup>9</sup> There is no saint of this name; the church is presumably S. Anastasia.

<sup>10</sup> Probably from Totti, p. 155, and Pflaumern, pp. 298-9. Above, pp. 227-8.

capable of containing an hundred & sixty-thousand<sup>1</sup> Spectators, now all but one entire heape of rubbish, part of it converted into a Garden of Pot-herbs. We concluded this evening with hearing the rare Voices and musique at the Chiesa nova.<sup>2</sup>

On the 21 I was carried to a great Virtuoso<sup>a</sup> one Cavalliero Pozzo,<sup>3</sup> who shew'd us a rare Collection of all kind of Antiquities, a choice<sup>b</sup> Library, over which are the Effigies of most of our late men of polite literature: That which was most new to me was his rare collection of the Antique Bassirelievos about Rome, which this curious man had caus'd to be design'd in divers folios: he shew'd us also many fine Medails, and amongst other curiositys a pretty folding ladder, to be put in a small compasse, one of wood, another of cord: a number of choyce<sup>c</sup> designs & drawings. [He also shew'd us that stone *Pliny* calls *Enhydrus*<sup>d</sup> [of the bignesse of a walnut: it had plainly in it to the quantity of halfe a sponefull of Water, of a yellow pibble colour] & another in a ring without foile, paler than Amethyst,<sup>d</sup> which yet he affirm'd to be the true *Carbuncle*<sup>e</sup> & harder than the diamond: [twas set in a ring without foile or any thing at the bottome, so as t'was transparant of a greenish yellow, more lustrous than a Diamond.] He had very pretty things painted on Crimson Velvet, designed in black & shaded, hightned with white, I

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Virtuoso*).

<sup>b</sup> Altered from *choise*.

<sup>c</sup> Altered from *choyse*.

<sup>d</sup> Altered from *Amethist*.

<sup>1</sup> A slip for the 260,000 given by Totti and Pflaumern.


<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 232-3.

<sup>3</sup> Cassiano dal Pozzo, *c.* 1590-1657, now remembered chiefly for his patronage of Poussin and for his collection of representations of older works of art. He lived a short distance behind S. Andrea della Valle; 'come versato nelle scienze così oltre famosa libreria ha fatto uno studio di disegni, quadri, bassi rilevi, medaglie d'huomini illustri, & altre cose degne d'esser vedute, & ammirate': Totti, p. 373. See G. Lumbroso, *Notizie sulla vita di*

*Cassiano dal Pozzo*, 1875; A. J. Dumesnil, *Hist. des plus célèbres amateurs italiens*, 1853, pp. 403-543; and Poussin's letters. Part of dal Pozzo's collection of drawings is now at Windsor. The entire notice appears to be original.

<sup>4</sup> *Nat. hist.*, bk. xxxvii, ch. 11 (73). 'Enhydros semper rotunditatis absolutæ, in candore est levis, sed ad motum fluctuat intus in ea veluti in ovis liquor': ed. 1635, vol. iii, p. 561.

<sup>5</sup> For carbuncles see *ibid.*, bk. xxxvii, ch. 7 (25-6); Browne, *Pseudodoxia*, bk. ii, c. 5, § 8.

suppose in oyle, & set in frames:]<sup>a</sup> [Cavaliero Pozzos Carbuncle was of this shape & bignesse  of a yellowish red, & far more sparkling than a diamond, though set transparently without foile:]<sup>b</sup> Hence we went on foote to the Suburra,<sup>1</sup> and Aerarium Saturni,<sup>2</sup> where yet remaine some Ruines and an Inscription: Hence to st. Pietro in Vincoli<sup>3</sup> one of the 7 Churches on the Esquiline,<sup>4</sup> an old & much frequented place of greate devotion for the Reliques there: especialy the bodys of the Seaven Maccabean Brethren,<sup>5</sup> these lye under the Altar: On the Wall is a st. Sebastian of Mosaic after the Græke manner;<sup>6</sup> but what I chiefly regarded was that noble Sepulchre of Pope Julius the Second the worke of M: Angelo, with that never sufficiently to be admired statue of Moses in White marble, those also of Vita Contemplativa & Activa are by the same incomparable hand:<sup>7</sup> Behind these we walked a turne amongst the Bathes

<sup>a</sup> Marginal note with further inserted passages.

<sup>b</sup> Note added at foot of page.

<sup>1</sup> Totti, pp. 474-5. Subura. The ancient name for the district between the Esquiline and the Viminal, traversed by the modern Via Cavour.

<sup>2</sup> Totti states that according to some the Subura began at S. Adriano. Evelyn apparently expanded this statement with matter from Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 259-61, where the Aerarium is said to have been in the temple of Saturn, which is identified with S. Adriano (above, p. 219); the inscription there given is taken from a temple of Saturn near Gaeta (*C.I.L.*, vol. x, no. 6087). The identification of the temple and the Aerarium with S. Adriano occurs in Pflaumern, pp. 367-8, and in Totti, p. 422; Totti also identifies the Aerarium with S. Omobono in the Via della Consolazione: p. 162. The correct identification of Saturnus, aedes, which contained the Aerarium, or state treasury, is with the temple in the

Forum, the eight Ionic columns of whose portico still stand.

<sup>3</sup> From Totti, pp. 477-9, and Pflaumern, pp. 381-3. The interior was considerably altered in 1705: [Fratelli de' Rossi], *Descr. di Roma moderna*, 1707, p. 655.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn's mistranslation: 'Trà i sette monti . . . questo che è dell' Esquilie, avanza gli altri in lunghezza', &c.

<sup>5</sup> See 2 Maccabees vii. Their martyrdom was celebrated by the early Church in Rome on 1 August: *Acta Sanctorum*, 1 August, pp. 5-12.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern. Still preserved.

<sup>7</sup> For the tomb see H. Thode, *Michelangelo*, 1902-13, iii. 243-94. The Moses dates from 1515-16, the Vita contemplativa and Vita activa (or Rachel and Leah) from c. 1542-5. The Madonna, the Prophet, and the Sibyl were all begun by Michelangelo and finished by Raffaello da Montelupo; the figure of the pope is by another follower.

of Titus<sup>1</sup> admiring the strange & prodigious receptacles of water, which the Vulgar call the Setti Sali, places of wonderful amplitude & receipt, but now all in heapes: To this Church belongs a Monastery in the court of whose<sup>a</sup> Cloisters grow two tall and very stately Palme-trees.<sup>2</sup>

The 23d of this Moneth of November was the sollemne, and greatest ceremony of all the state Ecclesiastical, viz, the Cavalcado or Procession of his Sanctity Pope Inn(o)centius X to st. Jo: de Laterano<sup>3</sup> which standing on the steps of Ara Celi neere the Capitoll, I saw passe in this manner.

First went a guard of Swizzers to make way, and divers of the Avantguard of horse Car(ry)ing Lances: next follow'd those who caried the robes of the Cardinals, all two & two: then the Cardinals Mace-bearers, The Caudatari<sup>4</sup> on Mules, The Masters of their horse: The Popes Barber, Taylor, Baker, Gardner & other domesticall officers all on horse back in rich liveries: The Squires belonging to the Guard. Then were lead by 5 men in very rich liverys 5 noble Neapolitan Horses

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *Convent* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 380-1, or pp. 383-4, or Totti, *R.A.*, p. 306. Totti, p. 479. *Thermae Trajani*, formerly incorrectly identified as *Thermae Titi*. The *Sette Sale* originally belonged to the Golden House of Nero, but later served the baths: Platner and Ashby, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 383, who, however, gives only one palm. Only one appears in Falda's plan (1676).

<sup>3</sup> This procession was in order to the taking possession by the newly crowned pope of the ancient episcopal seat of the popes, the Lateran. For the history of the ceremonies and of the processions see F. Cancellieri, *Storia de' solenni possessi*. By the sixteenth century the coronation in St. Peter's appears to have become more important than the taking possession of the Lateran; the ceremonies at the Lateran were cut down while the procession increased in splendour.

The last pope to make the procession was Pius IX (8 Nov. 1846).

There are several accounts of Innocent X's procession. Cancellieri prints three, including that of L. Banck (see above, p. 228, n. 6), and lists five more: pp. 207-56, 244 n.; he has overlooked that in G. Lunadoro, *Relazione della corte di Roma*, 1654, &c. Banck gives plates of the procession; there is also a large engraving published by G. B. Roussi (Rossi) in *Piazza Navona* (copy in B.M., King's Library).

Evelyn probably based his account on an etching, of which he owned a copy, by A. Tempesta of such a procession (before 1630), adding some new matter. It agrees fairly well with the others. For the various officers see Lunadoro, *Relazione*, all editions, and Rodocanachi, *Institutions communales*.

<sup>4</sup> *Caudatario*, a prelate's train-bearer.



white as Snow,<sup>a</sup> coverd to the ground with trappings gloriously embrodered, which is a Service payd by the King of Spaine for the Kingdomes of Naples & Sicily pretended foedatorys to the Pope: 3 Mules of exquisite beauty & price trapped in Crimson Velvet, next followd 3 rich Litters with Mules, the litters were empty: After these the Master of the horse alone, with his Squires: 5 Trumpeters: The (C)amerieri extra muros: The Fiscale & Consistorial Advocates: Cappellani, Camerieri di honore, Cubiculari & Chamberlaines cald Secreti, then followed 4 other Camerieri with 4 Capps of the dignity Pontifical, which were Cardinals hattts carried on staffs: 4 Trumpets, after them a number of Noble Romans & Gentlemen of quality very rich, & follow'd by innumerable Staffieri<sup>1</sup> & Pages: The Secretaries of the Cancellaria, Abbreviatori-Acoliti in their long robes & on Mules: Auditori di Rota, The Deane of the Roti,<sup>2</sup> and Master of the Sacred Palace, on Mules, with grave, but rich foote Clothes, & in flat Episcopal hattts: Then went more of the Roman & other nobility Courtiers with divers pages in most rich liveries on horse-back; After them 14 drums belonging to the Capitol: Then the Marshals with their Staves, The 2 Sindics: The Conservators of the Citty in robs of Crimson damasc; next them the knight Confalonier & Prior of the P. R: in velvet tocqus:<sup>3</sup> Six of his holynesse's Mace-bearers: Then the Captaine or Governor of the Castle of St. Angelo<sup>4</sup> upon a brave prancer: Next the Governor of the Citty, on both sides of these 2<sup>b</sup> long rankes of Swizzers. The Masters of the Ceremonies, The Crosse bearer on horse, with two Priests on each hand a foote,<sup>c</sup> Pages footemen & guards in abundance.<sup>d</sup> Then next the Pope himselfe carried in a Litter, or rather open chaire of

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *wit-* deleted.    <sup>b</sup> Altered from *a*.    <sup>c</sup> Comma supplied.  
<sup>d</sup> Stop supplied.

<sup>1</sup> *Staffiere*, 'a lacquey, that attends the stirrup', a footman: *O.E.D.*, s.v. *Staffier*.

<sup>2</sup> Properly the Rota; the court possessing jurisdiction over all cases relating to benefices and

appellate jurisdiction in cases relating to the laity in Rome and the Papal States.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. toques.

<sup>4</sup> For him and for the Governor of Rome see *Cancellieri*, p. 246.

Crimson Velvet richly embrodred, & borne by two stately Mules; as he went holding up his two fingers, & blessing the people & multitudes upon their knees, looking out of their windoes & houses with lowd viva's & acclamations of felicity to their new Prince: This was follow'd by the Master of his chamber, Cuppbearer, Secretary, Physitian. Then came the Cardinal Bishops, next the Cardinal Priests, Card: Deacons, Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops all in their severall & distinct habits; some in red, others in greene flat hatts with tossles, all on gallant Mules richly trapp'd with Velvet, & lead by their servants in greate state & multitudes: After these the Apostolical Protonotari, Auditor & Tresurer, Referendaries. Lastly the Trumpets of the reareguard, 2 Pages of Armes in Helmets with might(y) feathers & Car(ry)ing Launces, 2 Captaines, Then the Pontifical (Standard)<sup>a</sup> of the Church, The two Alfieri, or Cornets of the Popes light horse who all followed in Armor & car(ry)ing launces, which with innumerable rich Coaches, litters & people made up the Proceeding; but what they did at st. Jo: di Laterano I could not see by reason of the intollerable Crowd; so as I spent most of the day in admiring of the two Triumphal Arches, which had been purposely erected a few days before, and til now covered; the one by the Duke of Parma in the foro Romano;<sup>1</sup> the other by the Jewes in the Capitol<sup>2</sup> with flatering Incriptions, but of rare and excellent Architecture, decor'd with statues, and abundance of ornaments proper for the Occasion, since they were but temporary, & made up of boards, cloath &c painted & fram'd on the suddaine, but as to outward appearance solid and very stately. The night ended with fire-worckes; that which I saw was that which was built before the Spa(n)ish Ambassadors house in the Piazza del

---

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Stonderd*?

---

<sup>1</sup> This arch was still incomplete: Cancellieri, p. 215, &c. The pope went to see it on 7 December; the duke gave it to the Jesuits for their Quarantore services: (*Florence gazette*), Rome, 3 Dec., 10 Dec. 1644.

<sup>2</sup> This arch was set up by the senate; it stood at the head of the *cordona*, in line with the balustrade: Cancellieri, pp. 215, 216. For the decorations provided by the Jews see above, p. 228 n.

Trinita,<sup>1</sup> & another of the French:<sup>2</sup> The first appeared to be a mighty rock, bearing the Popes Armes, a Dragon, and divers figures, which being set on fire by one who flung a Roquett at it, tooke fire immediately, yet preserving the figure both of the rock & statues a very long time, insomuch as 'twas deemed ten thousand reports of squibbs & crackers spent themselves in order: That before the French Ambass: Palace (which, I also saw) was a Diana drawne in a Chariot by her doggs, with abundance of other figures as big as the life which plaid with fire in the same manner; in the meane time were all the windows of the whole Citty set with innumerable Tapers, which put into lanterns or sconces of severall colour'd oyl'd papers, that the win'd may not annoy them, render a most glorious shew, in my conceite, nothing prettier; & besides these,<sup>a</sup> there were at least 20 other glorious fire workes of vast charge & rare art for their invention before divers Ambassadors, Princes & Cardinals Palaces, especialy that on the Castle of st. Angelo, being a Pyramid of lights of an excessive height fastned to the ropes and cables which support the standard-pole; Thus were the streetes this night as light as day, full of Bonfires, Canon roaring, Musique pla(y)ing, fountaines running Wine in all excesse of joy and Triumph.

I went the next day to the Jesuites Colledge againe at Collegium Romanum,<sup>3</sup> the front whereoff gives place to few in Europ for its Architecture; most of its ornaments being<sup>b</sup>

---

<sup>a</sup> The word has been altered; spelling doubtful.    <sup>b</sup> Followed by *most* not deleted.

---

<sup>1</sup> The count of Siruela. He occupied the palace still occupied by the Spanish ambassadors to the Vatican: Cancellieri, pp. 254-5. Accounts of the fireworks, *ibid.*, pp. 253, 254-5.

<sup>2</sup> The marquis de Saint Chamond. He occupied the palace of the duke of Ceri, situated in what is now the Piazza Poli, near the fountain of Trevi: *ibid.*, p. 254; Totti, p. 293.

<sup>3</sup> From Totti, p. 380, who writes of the court: 'Dentro vi è un cortile grande, spatioso, un bellissimo Portico, che vien sustentato da grandissimi pilastri; E sopra di esso Portico vi è medesimamente il secondo . . . per li quali passando si entra in grandissime sale.' Pflaumern, p. 348. The Collegio Romano, the principal Jesuit college; since 1870 a secular school, &c.

of rich marble ; it has within a noble Portico & Court sustaind with stately Columns, as is also the Corridor over the Portico, at the sides of which are the Scholes for the Arts & Sciences, which are here taught as the University: Here I heard Father Athanasius Kercher<sup>1</sup> upon a part of Euclid which he expounded: to this joynes a Glorious & ample Church for the Students,<sup>2</sup> & a second not fully finish'd, & to that two noble Libraries where I was shew'd that famous wit & historian Famianus Strada:<sup>3</sup>

Hence we went to a Virtuoso's house one Hippolito Vitellesco,<sup>4</sup> afterward Bibliothecary of the Vatican Library: who shew'd us certainly one of the best collections of statues in Rome ; to which he frequently talkes & discourses, as if they were living, pronouncing now & then Orations, Sentences, & Verses, somtimes kissing & embracing them: Amongst many he has an head of Brutus scarr'd in the face by order of the Senat for his killing of Julius, this is esteem'd much: Also a Minerva & divers other of greate Value: Tis sayd this Gentleman is so in love with these Antiquities &c, that he not long since purchased land in the Kingdome of Naples in hope by digging the ground to find more Statues, which it seemes so far succeeded, as to be much more worth then the Purchase: We spent this evening at the Chiesa Nova, where was incomparable Musique; but before that began, the

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 230.

<sup>2</sup> S. Maria Annunziata, destroyed to make room for S. Ignazio, the unfinished church mentioned by Evelyn: Totti, pp. 380-1; [Fratelli de' Rossi], *Descr. di Roma moderna*, 1697, p. 518.

<sup>3</sup> 1572-1649: *Nouvelle biog. gén.* Author. His most important work is *De bello Belgico*, 1632-47, frequently reprinted, a history of the Netherlands from 1555 to 1590. He is best known to English readers through Crashaw's 'Music's Duel', a free translation of one of his poems.

<sup>4</sup> He was a brother of Muzio Vitelleschi, general of the Jesuits, c. 1616-45; he died in 1654:

(*Florence gazette*), Rome, 17 Jan. 1654, n.s. His house was at the southern end of the Corso: Totti, p. 287; cf. Lassels, ii. 195, where the Brutus is also mentioned. I have found no other reference to his holding an office in the Vatican Library. Notes on his collection by Richard Symonds, 1651, in B.M., Egerton MS. 1635, ff. 19 v.-21 v.; and by Cassiano dal Pozzo in Königlich-Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, *Berichte*, Phil.-hist. Classe, xxxvii (1885), 103; see also G. P. Rossini, *Il Mercurio errante*, 1693, i. 62-3. Further notice below, p. 365.

Courteous Fathers lead me into a nobly-furnish'd library<sup>1</sup> contiguous to their most beautiful Convent.

On the 28 I went to se(e) the Garden and house of the Aldobrandini, but now Cardinal Burghezes:<sup>2</sup> This Palace is for Architecture and magnificence, pompe & state, having to it 4 fronts, & a noble Piazza before it, one of the most considerable about the Citty: Within the Court under Arches supported with Columns of Marble are divers incomparable Statues; ascending the stayres a rare figure of Diana of white-marble [or a woman in her smock]:<sup>3</sup> The st. Sebastian,<sup>4</sup> & Hermaphrodite<sup>5</sup> are of stupendious art: For paintings, our Saviours head by Carragio, sundry pieces of Raphael;<sup>6</sup> whereof some in little: some of Bassano [Veroneze];<sup>b</sup> The Leda,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Marginal note.

<sup>b</sup> Interlined.

<sup>1</sup> Totti, p. 228. For the church and its music see above, pp. 232, 27.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn has confused two separate buildings, the Villa Aldobrandini at Monte Magnanapoli and the Borghese palace near the Ripetta. The building described is the latter; the notice of it is taken in part from Totti, pp. 353-4; the notice of the court is in part original. All the rest apparently belonged to the Villa Aldobrandini. The two inserted passages, and probably the inserted name Veronese also, are taken from Monconys, ii. 466; the antique painting (see below) is mentioned by Totti, p. 498, in his account of the villa. Raymond, pp. 96, 106. Lassels gives accounts of both buildings and their contents: ii. 149-50, 238-40.

There was no Cardinal Borghese now living. Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini, who died in 1638, bequeathed the family's Roman property to the second son of his niece, Olimpia, princess of Rossano. She married first, in 1631, Prince Paolo Borghese, who died in 1646, and secondly, in 1647, the former Cardinal Camillo Pamphili (above,

p. 254). She had only one son by her first husband; the inheritance therefore passed to the Pamphili family: *Encic. italiana*. Some of the works of art are traceable in the Palazzo Doria-Pamphili. Accounts of the collection: Skippon, p. 678; *Nota delli musei, librerie . . . di Roma*, 1664 (Schudt, no. 279), pp. 6-7; the pictures in S. Tonci, *Descrizione ragionata della Galleria Doria*, 1794; *Catalogo della Galleria Doria-Pamphilj* (19th ed., 1928); the sculpture in Matz and von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*.

<sup>3</sup> Now in the Doria-Pamphili collection: Matz and von Duhn, no. 675. It is a copy of the Artemis of Gabii now in the Louvre (Fröhner, *Notice*, no. 97).

<sup>4</sup> According to Lassels the chapel contained a picture of St. Sebastian by Raphael.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly the statue now in the Doria-Pamphili collection, Matz and von Duhn, no. 845.

<sup>6</sup> Presumably the double portrait, formerly believed to represent Bartolo and Baldo, and now Beazzano and Navagero: *Nota*, p. 6; Tonci, p. 72; *Catalogo*, no. 403.

<sup>7</sup> Tonci, p. 146.

and two admirable Venus's are of Titians Pensill [the Chamber of Nudities];<sup>a</sup> so is the Psyche & Cupid,<sup>1</sup> the head of st. John borne by Herodias:<sup>2</sup> Two heads of Albert Durer<sup>3</sup> very exquisite: We were shew'd here a glorious Cabinet, and Tables of Florence-worke in stone: In the Garden are a world of fine fountaines, the wales all coverd with Citron trees which being rarely spread invest the stone worke intirely; and towards the streete at a back gate the port is so handsomly cloath'd with Ivy, as much pleas'd me: About this Palace are divers noble & antique Bassirelievi; two especialy are placed on the ground, representing Armor, & other military furniture of the Romans; beside these stand about the Garden an infinity of rare statues, Altars, and Urnes; above all for antiquity and curiosity (as being the onely rarity of that nature now knowne to remaine in the World) is that piece of old Roman Paynting, representing the Roman Sponsalia or celebration of their Marriage,<sup>4</sup> judged to be 1400 yeares old; yet are the Colours very lively, and the designe very intire (tho found deepe in the ground); for this morcell of paintings sake onely 'tis sayd Burghesi purchas'd the house, because being on a wall in a kind of banqueting-house in the Garden it Could not be removed, but passe with the inheritance.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Marginal note. <sup>b</sup> Here a marginal note, added later and deleted: *in one of the roomes stands a Chayre, that with certaine unsuspected Springs hid in the wood catches a man that sits down by the thighs & armes so as he cannot stir till those who know the devise let one loose: They say it was the invention of Paulus 5tus. For the chair see above, p. 254.*

<sup>1</sup> '... di Annibale Carracci . . . la Psyche con la lucerna in mano, che contempla Amore sopra il letto, della prima maniera . . .': *Nota*, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Alternatively called Judith and Holofernes. Possibly the picture by or attributed to Titian now in the Doria-Pamphili collection: Tonci, p. 225; *Catalogo*, no. 388.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the picture of two tax-collectors attributed by Tonci to Manescalco d'Anversa, i.e. Quinten Massys (1465/6–1530): p. 170; now as by Massys: *Catalogo*, no. 173. A

poor work of the Marinus van Reymerswaele group. The attribution to Dürer persists into the nineteenth century: 'Zwey Geitzige, welche Geld zählen; meisterhaft charakterisiert und vorzüglich ausgeführt': J. Heller, *Das Leben und die Werke Albrecht Dürer's*, vol. ii, 1827, p. 241.

<sup>4</sup> The Nozze Aldobrandini, preserved at the villa from when it was found, c. 1600, until 1818, when it was moved to the Vatican: Helbig, vol. i, no. 416.

29: I a second time visited the Medicean Palace<sup>1</sup> being neere my Lodging, the more exactly to have a view of the noble Collections that adorne it; especialy the Bassrelievi & antique frezes, inserted about the stone-worke of the house: The Saturne<sup>2</sup> of mettal standing in the Portico is a rare piece; so is the Jupiter & Apollo in the Hall, and now we were lead above into those romes we could not see before; full of incomparable Statues & Antiquities, above all, & happily preferrable to any in the World are the two Wrestlers,<sup>3</sup> for the inextricable mixture with each others armes & leggs plainely stupendious; In the great Chamber is the naked *Gladiator* whetting a knife;<sup>4</sup> but the *Venus*<sup>5</sup> is without parallel, being the master piece of<sup>a</sup> whose name you see graven under it in old Greeke characters, certainly nothing in Sculpture ever aproched this miracle of art. [To this<sup>6</sup> add *Marcus*,<sup>7</sup> *Ganymede*,<sup>8</sup> the two wrestlers,<sup>9</sup> a little *Apollo* playing on a pipe;<sup>10</sup> some *Relievi* incrusted on the palace walles & an Antique *Vasa*<sup>11</sup> of Marble neere 6 foote high: I saw in one of the Chambers, a Conceited *Chayre*, which folded into so many varieties as to turne into a *bed*, a *bolster*, a *Table*, a *Couch*.]<sup>b</sup><sup>12</sup> The Cabinets & Tables of Pietra Commessa, I passe

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *Apelles* deleted.

<sup>b</sup> Marginal note.

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 230–2. The present notice, apart from the inserted passage, appears to be original.

<sup>2</sup> This was a modern copy of the Silenus with the infant Bacchus, at this time in the Villa Borghese (Manilli, p. 87), now in the Louvre (Fröhner, no. 250). It stood in front of the loggia, with a companion statue of Mars: see the view by Venturini, above, p. 231 n. This copy is probably the one now on the staircase of the Uffizi.

<sup>3</sup> Now in the Tribuna of the Uffizi: Dütschke, vol. iii, no. 547.

<sup>4</sup> The knife-grinder, now in the Tribuna of the Uffizi: *ibid.*, no. 549.

<sup>5</sup> The Medicean Venus, now in the Uffizi: *ibid.*, no. 548. It was on an antique base bearing an inscrip-

tion, that it was made by Cleomenes son of Apollodorus; this base may not have belonged with the statue; it has now been replaced by a modern base: Thieme, *Lexikon*; &c.

<sup>6</sup> The first part of this addition, the statues, reliefs, and vase, from Monconys, ii. 453; the notice of the chair is original.

<sup>7</sup> i.e. Marsyas. Now in the Uffizi: Dütschke, vol. iii, no. 251.

<sup>8</sup> Presumably the statue in the Uffizi, *ibid.*, no. 115.

<sup>9</sup> See above.

<sup>10</sup> The Apollino in the Tribuna of the Uffizi: *ibid.*, no. 550.

<sup>11</sup> Now in the Uffizi: *ibid.*, no. 557.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. above, p. 236.

over, being the proper invention of the Florentines; Of Pictures, I observed, the Magdalen, st. Peter weeping, excellent paintings; & so refreshing my selfe with another walke about the Gardens, where I tooke special notice of those two huge Vasas or Bathes of stone,<sup>1</sup> I went<sup>a</sup> farther up the hill, to the Popes Palace at Monte Cavallo,<sup>2</sup> where I now saw the Garden more exactly, and found it to be one of the most magnificent & Pleasant in Rome: I am told the Gardener is annually allow'd 2000 scudi for the keeping it: Here I observ'd the glorious hedges of myrtle above a mans height; others of Laurell, Oranges, nay of Ivy, & Juniper: The Close walkes and Rustic Grotto, and (another)<sup>b</sup> admirable Crypta whereof the Laver or Basin is of one vast intire Porphyrie,<sup>3</sup> the fairest that ever I beheld, antique: Below this falls a plentiful Cascad of Water; the stepps of the Grott being all of rich Mosaique, as is also the rooffe: Here are hydraulic Organs;<sup>4</sup> a Fish-pond in an ample Bath: From hence we went to tast some rare Greco,<sup>5</sup> and so home.

After this to the 6 of December I kept within for the most part, being pretty weary of my continual walkings; so I entertain'd one Signor Alessandro who shew'd me upon the Theorba:<sup>6</sup>

The next excursion was over the river Tiber which I cross'd in a Ferry-boate to see the Palazzo de Ghisi<sup>7</sup> standing in

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *wal*?      <sup>b</sup> MS. *a nother*.

<sup>1</sup> One of these is now in the Boboli gardens in Florence.

<sup>2</sup> The Quirinal: above, pp. 237-8. The present notice appears to be mainly original.

<sup>3</sup> Also mentioned by Grangier de Liverdis, p. 482. Its origin is apparently unknown.

<sup>4</sup> So Pflaumern, p. 390.

<sup>5</sup> Wine made from grapes of Greek origin. The word is still in use in Tuscany and southern Italy; cf. below, p. 336.

<sup>6</sup> Generally theorbo, Italian *tiórba*, a large kind of lute with two

necks and two sets of tuning-pegs; it was played with a plectrum. Alessandro is not identifiable.

<sup>7</sup> In part from Totti, p. 46, but mainly original. The Farnesina. It was built for Agostino Chigi in 1509-11 and sold in 1579 to the Farnese, to whom it belonged until their extinction in the male line in 1731. Evelyn saw it prior to the restoration of the frescoes by Carlo Maratti. Both the loggie on the ground floor were still open; a number of alterations were made in the decoration in the course of



Transtevere, and fairely built, but famous onely for the painting a fresca on the Volto of the Portic towards the Garden, the story is the Amours of Cupid & Psyche, by the hand of the celebrated Raphael d'Urbini:<sup>1</sup> Here you shall always se(e) Paynters designing, and Cop(y)ing after it, it being esteem'd one of the rarest pieces of that Art in the world, & certainly with greate reason; not to omit that other incomparable fable of Galateo (as I remember) so carefully preserved in the Cuppord, at one of the ends of this walke to protect it from the aire, because it is a most stupendious lively painting: Here are likewise excellent things of Baldassarre<sup>2</sup> & others: [Here at st. Crysogonos,<sup>3</sup> the pillars at the high Altar, seeming of oriental Alabaster, the Friers assur'd us they were of Congeal'd water found in an old Aquæduct.]<sup>a</sup> Thenc we went to the noble house of the Duke of Bracciano<sup>4</sup> fairely built with a stately court & fountaine: Next we walked to st. Marys Church,<sup>5</sup> here was that Taberna

<sup>a</sup> Marginal note; in MS. it is placed opposite the first lines of this paragraph.

restoration and two or three of the figures are completely new: P. R. Förster, *Farnesina-Studien*, 1880, pp. 9, 35-6, &c. Further notice below, p. 357.

Evelyn's enthusiasm for the frescoes here is perhaps due to Maratti: cf. below, p. 299 n.

<sup>1</sup> These frescoes were executed mainly by Raphael's followers; the Galatea was painted by Raphael himself.

<sup>2</sup> Baldassare Peruzzi, who painted the ceiling of the portico containing the Galatea and the Salone on the first floor. Evelyn found his name in Totti.

<sup>3</sup> The notice apparently original. Totti, pp. 74-6; Pflaumern, p. 288. S. Crisògono. Donatus gives an account of the origin of the sort of material used for the pillars: *Roma vetus ac recens*, pp. 291-2; they are also described by Lassels: ii. 78. Evelyn refers to them again

in the notes to his translation from Lucretius: 'Not to omit those stately pillars of the high Altar in St. *Chrysogono's* Church at *Trastevere* in *Rome*, which seeming to have been formed of the purest *oriental alabaster*, the *Friers* assured us were made of congealed water, accidentally found in an old *Aquæduct*, amongst whose ruines they were digging': p. 130.

<sup>4</sup> Original notice. Totti, p. 46. The palace, near the north end of the Via della Lungara, was once the Palazzo della Corgnia and later belonged to the Salviati: [M. A. Rossi], *Ritratto di Roma moderna*, 1689, p. 52. It is now a military academy.

<sup>5</sup> From Totti, pp. 64-9. Pflaumern, pp. 286-7; Raymond, p. 166. S. Maria in Trastevere. Some information about the church is given in P. Moretti, *De S. Callisto PP. et M. ejusque basilica S. Mariae*

Meritoria where the old Roman<sup>a</sup> souldiers receiv'd their Triumphal Garland which they ever after wore: They report that in this holy place, there did rise a fountaine of Oyle for one whole day in the 3d yeare of Augustus, not long before our B: Saviours birth:<sup>1</sup> The high-Altar is very faire, adorn'd with Columns of Porphyrie, here is also some Mosaic Worke about the Quire, & the Assumption<sup>2</sup> an esteem'd peice: 'Tis sayd that this Church was the first that was dedicated to the Virgin at Rome.<sup>3</sup> In the opposite Piazza is a very sumptuous Fountaine:<sup>4</sup>

12 I went againe to st. Peters<sup>5</sup> to see the Chapells, Churches, & Grott,<sup>b</sup> under ground, viz, under the whole Church (like our st. Faiths under Paules,)<sup>6</sup> in which lye interr'd a world of Saints, Martyrs, & Popes; amongst the rest Hadrian the 4th,<sup>7</sup> our Country-man, in a chest of Porphyrie: st. Jo: Chrysostom, Petronella; the heads of st. Jacobus minor, st. Lukes, st. Sebastians, and our Thomas of Becket:<sup>c</sup><sup>8</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *Romans*.    <sup>b</sup> Or *Grotts*.    <sup>c</sup> Or *Beaket*.

*trans Tyberim nuncupata*, 1767 (earlier ed. 1752).

<sup>1</sup> 'Transtiberim ubi nunc est sancta Maria, fuit templum Ravenantium, ubi terra manavit oleum tempore Octaviani imperatoris, et fuit ibi taberna meritoria, ubi merebantur milites qui gratis serviebant in senatu': *Mirabilia* (twelfth century) in C. L. Urlichs, *Codex urbis Romae topographicus*, 1871, p. 112. The fountain of oil is first mentioned in Eusebius, *Chronici canones*, 184th olympiad, third year of Augustus (ed. J. K. Fotheringham, 1923, p. 240); it broke out 'e taberna meritoria trans Tiberim'. The explanation of *taberna meritoria* in the *Mirabilia* and all the derivative works is wrong; it means only an inn. Evelyn adds his own error, translating as 'Triumphal Garland' Totti's 'vitto', victuals.

<sup>2</sup> By Domenichino, on the ceiling of the nave.

<sup>3</sup> It is said to have been founded 3811-2

by Calixtus I, pope 218-22.

<sup>4</sup> Totti, p. 69. It was out of order, owing to the lack of water.

<sup>5</sup> Above, pp. 255-66. The present notice is taken mainly from the list of saints' bodies, &c., in St. Peter's given by Pflaumern, p. 277; Hadrian IV is from Raymond, p. 109; the '134 more Bishops', &c., from Totti, p. 17, but there as popes in the church generally (Totti barely mentions the crypt, pp. 9, 13). Most of the relics were in fact preserved in the church itself or the sacristy. For the crypt see F. M. Torriggio, *Le Sacre Grotte Vaticane*, 1635.

<sup>6</sup> The crypt beneath the choir of old St. Paul's was dedicated to St. Faith.

<sup>7</sup> Nicholas Breakspear (?), pope 1154-9: *D.N.B.* (as Adrian IV).

<sup>8</sup> '[Caput] Thomæ Conturbienis Episcopi ac Martyris.' I have not traced Pflaumern's source for this error; there is nothing to account

U

A shoulder of st. Christopher, an Arme of Joseph of Arimathea: Longinus; besides 134 more Bishops, Souldiers, Princes, Scholars, Cardinals, Kings, Empp: and their wives to(o) long to particularize.

Hence we walked into the Cemetary (called)<sup>a</sup> Campo Santo,<sup>1</sup> the earth consisting of severall ship Loads of mould transported from Jerusalem, which has the vertue to consume a Carcasse in 24 houres: To this joynes that rare Hospital,<sup>2</sup> where was once Neros Circus,<sup>3</sup> & next to this the Inquisition house and Prison<sup>4</sup> the inside whereoff, I thanke God, I was not curious to see. To this joynes his Holinesse's Horse-Guards.<sup>5</sup>

On Christmas-Eve at night I went not to bed, by reason that I was desirous to see the many extraordinary Ceremonyes perform'd then in their Churches, as mid-night Masses, & Sermons; so as I did nothing all this night but go from Church to Church in admiration at the multitude of sceanes, & pageantry which the Friars had with all industry & craft set out to catch the devout women & superstitious sort of people with, who never part from them without dropping some mony in a vessell set on purpose: But especialy observable was the puppetry in the Church of the Minerva,<sup>6</sup> representing the nativity &c:<sup>b</sup> thenc I went & heard a Sermon at the Apollinare<sup>7</sup> by which time it was morning.

<sup>a</sup> MS. *cold.*

<sup>b</sup> Colon supplied.

for it in his probable source, M. A. Serranus, *De septem urbis Romæ ecclesiis*, 1600, pp. 113-17; Becket's head was destroyed in 1538 with most of his other relics. For 'Conturbia' as an Italian form of Canterbury see G. D. Franzini, *Descr. di Roma antica e moderna*, 1643, p. 20.

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 283-4. Campo santo dei Tedeschi. For its origin see Totti, who gives three days as the time for consuming dead bodies: p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 284. It was apparently a small institution for Flemish women: Piazza, *Eusevologio*, [i]. 83. It was also used for German women.

<sup>3</sup> Circus Gai et Neronis.

<sup>4</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 284. The building still exists.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. The building still exists.

<sup>6</sup> S. Maria sopra Minerva: below, pp. 377-8.

<sup>7</sup> S. Apollinare; it belonged to the Jesuit Collegio Germanico: Totti, pp. 261-3.

On Christmas day his holynesse sa(y)ing Masse,<sup>1</sup> the Artillery at st. Angelo went off: and all this day was exposd the Cradle of our Lord:<sup>2</sup>

27. A great Supper is given the poore at the Hosp: of s: Jo: Laterano.<sup>3</sup>

29 We were invited by the English Jesuites to dinner being their greate feast of Tho: of Canturbury: We din'd in their common Refectory, and afterward saw an Italian Comedy Acted by their Alumni before the Cardinals.<sup>4</sup>

<1645> Jan: We saw passe the new Officers of the People of Rome, especialy for their noble habit most conspicuous were the 3 Consuls, now call'd Conservators, who now take their places in the Capitol, having been sworne the day before betwene the hands of the Pope:<sup>5</sup> We ended the day with the rare Musique at the Chiesa Nova.

6: Was the Ceremony of our Saviou(r)s Baptisme in st. Athanasius,<sup>6</sup> and at Ara Celi a greate procession del Bambino<sup>7</sup> as they call it, where was all the Magistrates & a wonderfull concourse of people:

7 A Sermon was preach'd to the Jewes at Ponte Sisto,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the Sistine Chapel: (*Florence gazette*), Rome, 31 Dec. 1644.

<sup>2</sup> At S. Maria Maggiore: above, p. 244.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 275. December 27 is St. John's Day; there was a plenary indulgence at the Lateran: F. A. Tani, *Guida angelica perpetua*, 1668.

<sup>4</sup> This was at the English College; there were about fifty guests at dinner: Foley, (*Jesuit records*), vi. 626.

<sup>5</sup> For works on the government of Rome see above, p. 222 n. The *conservatori* held office for periods of three months at this time: Rodocanachi, p. 336. List of them from 1640 in the *Fasti consulares Capitolini*: Forcella, i. 1-24.

<sup>6</sup> S. Atanasio, the church for the Greek College, where the Greek rite is used. For the ceremonies on 6 January see Grangier de Liverdis,

pp. 342-3.

<sup>7</sup> The Bambino, a figure of Christ as an infant, is first mentioned in 1629; it is exhibited in a crib in S. Maria in Aracœli from Christmas to Epiphany, when the procession is held; it was already given jewels in 1647: Casimiro, *Mem. istor.*, pp. 168-9.

<sup>8</sup> This was at the oratory of the Compagnia della Santissima Trinità, in the Via delle Zoccollette: Totti, pp. 186-8. There was a weekly sermon, which a fixed number of Jews, or proportion of the Jewish population of Rome, was obliged to attend. The sermons were first regularly established by Gregory XIII in 1577; they stopped finally in 1847; at that time they were delivered in S. Angelo in Pescheria. Despite attempts to maintain order, the congregations behaved very much

who are constrain'd to sit, till the houre is don; but it is with so much malice in their countenances, spitting, humming,<sup>a</sup> coughing & motion, that it is almost impossible they should heare a word, nor are there any converted except it be very rarely:

14 St. Peter & s: Paules heads are expos'd at st. J: Laterano:<sup>1</sup>

15 The Zitelles or young Wenches which are to have portions given them by the Pope, being poore, and to marry them, walked in Procession to s: Peter, where the(y) were shew'd the Veronica.<sup>2</sup>

I went to the Ghetto,<sup>3</sup> where the Jewes dwell, as in a suburbs by themselves; being invited by a Jew of my acquaintance to see a Circumcision: here I passed by the Piazza Judea<sup>4</sup> (where their Serraglio begins) for being invironed with wales, they are lock'd up every night: in this place remains yet part of a stately fabric; which my Jew told me had been a Palace of theirs, for the<sup>b</sup> Ambassador of ther Nation in former times, when their Country was Subject to the Romans. There was a large Inscription on it, that I could not stay to reade.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Followed by & deleted.      <sup>b</sup> Altered from *ther*.

as they pleased. See H. Vogelstein and P. Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, vol. ii, 1895 (by Rieger alone; cited below as Rieger), pp. 172-3, 319-21 (description of a congregation in 1663), 370.

<sup>1</sup> This was an annual ceremony: Tani, 1668, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> These were the *zitelle* of S. Spirito; they were shown the Volto Santo on the Sunday nearest to St. Anthony Abbot (17 January): Piazza, *Eusevologio*, [i]. 10. Some of the *zitelle* became nuns; they were largely maintained in charitable institutions: see Piazza, *passim*; cf. below, p. 378. Evelyn's date is correct.

<sup>3</sup> For the history of the Ghetto see Rieger, as above; and E. Rodonachi, *Le Saint-Siège et les Juifs*,

1891; the best general account is by F. Gregorovius, 'Der Ghetto und die Juden in Rom', in his *Figuren: Geschichte, Leben und Scenerie aus Italien*, 1856 (reprinted in his *Wanderjahre*). The Ghetto was bounded approximately by the modern Via del Progresso, the Via del Portico d'Ottavia, and the river; the whole area has been transformed. It is clearly shown on Falda's and Nolli's maps, &c.

<sup>4</sup> It was a square at the north end of the modern Via del Progresso (Piazza del Pianto).

<sup>5</sup> Evidently the house of Lorenzo de' Manili in the Piazza del Pianto, of which the façade is decorated with a fine inscription dated A.U.C. MMCCXXI (A.D. 1467): Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, vi. 287-8.

Being lead through the Synagogue<sup>a</sup> into a privat house, I found a world of people in a Chamber: by & by came an old man who prepar'd & layd in order divers Instruments brought by a little child of about 7 yeares old in a box, These the man layd in a silver bason: The knife was much like a short Razor to shut into the haft: Then they burnt some Insense in a Censor, which perfum'd the rome all the while the ceremony was doing: In the basin was also a little cap made of white paper like a Capuchins-hood, not bigger then my finger, also a paper of a red astringent powder, I suppose of bole:<sup>2</sup> a small Instrument of Silver cleft in the midst, at one end to take up the prepuce withall, clowtes of fine linnen wrap'd up &c: These all in order the Women from out of another Chamber brought the Infant swadl'd, and deliver'd it to the Rabbie, who caried, and presented it before an Altar or Cupbord dress'd up, on which lay the 5 bookes of Moses, and the Commandments a little unrowled: Before this with profound reverence, and mumbling a few Words he waved the Child to & froo a while; then he delivered it to another Rabbie, who sate all this time upon a Table, he taking it in his hands put it betweene his thighs, whilst the other Jew unbound the blankets that were about it to come at the flesh: at this action all the company fell a singing of an hebrew hymn, and in as barbarous a tone, waving themselves to & fro, a ceremony they observe in all their devotions: The Infant now strip'd from the belly downwards, the Jew tooke the yard of the child and Chaf'd it within his fingers till it became a little stiff, then with the silver Instrument before describ'd (which was held to him in the basin) he tooke up as much of the Præputium as he could (possibly)<sup>b</sup> gather, and so with the Razor, did rather Saw, then cutt it off; at which the miserable babe cry'd extreamey, whiles the rest

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *Sinagogue*.      <sup>b</sup> MS. *possible*.

<sup>1</sup> For the building see Rieger, reddish colour; here perhaps short for bole armeniac, an astringent

<sup>2</sup> The name given to several earth: *O.E.D.*  
kinds of fine clay, generally of a

continu'd their odd tone, rather like howling then singing: then the Rabby lifting the belly of the child to his face, & taking the yard all bloody into his mouth he suck'd it a pretty while, having before taken a little V(i)negar, all which together with the blood he spit out into a glasse of red-wine of the Colour of french wine: This don he stripp'd downe the remainder of the fore-skin as farr and neere to the belly as he could, so as it appeared to be all raw, then he strew'd the read powder on it to stanch the bleeding and coverd it with the paper-hood, & upon all a Clowte,<sup>a</sup> and so swath'd up the Child as before: All this while the(y) continue their Psalme: Then two of the Women, and two men, viz, he who held the Child, and the Rabbin who Circumcis'd it (the rest I suppose were the Wittnesses) dranke some of the Wine mingl'd with the Vinegar, blood & spittle: so ended the slovenly ceremony, and the Rabbin cryes out to me in the Italian tongue perceiving me to be a stranger: Ecco Signior mio, Un Miracolo di dio; because the child had immediately left crying:<sup>1</sup> The Jewes do all in Rome we(a)re yellow hatts,<sup>2</sup> and live onely upon brokage & Usury, very poore and despicable beyond what they are in other territories of Princes where they are permitted.

Jan: 18. I went to see the Popes Palace [the Vaticane<sup>b</sup>]<sup>3</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *Clowd*.

<sup>b</sup> Or *Vaticano*; the two words interlined.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's description of the ceremony is inaccurate. The child is held in position by the godfather, who is not usually a rabbi. The operator, known as the *mohel*, is also not necessarily a rabbi. The sucking of the blood succeeds the removal of the inner membrane. Montaigne gives a good account of a circumcision which he witnessed in Rome in 1581: *Journal du voyage*, ed. d'Ancona, 1895, pp. 246-9; see also L. Modena, *History of the Rites . . . of the Present Jews*, trans. E. Chilmead, 1650, pp. 203-7.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 400.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn's account of the Vatican

is based on Pflaumern, pp. 267-72; Totti, pp. 18-22; and Raymond, pp. 88-92; some marginal notes are inserted from Monconys; and there is much original matter. The description of the rooms is fairly consecutive, but presents some difficulties. Totti gives some further information in his account of the Quirinal: p. 278.

There is no good modern description of the Vatican as a whole. The best works are: A. Taja, *Descr. del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano*, 1750; G. P. Chattard, *Nuova descr. del Vaticano*, 1762-7; E. Pistolesi, *Il Vaticano descritto ed illustrato*, 8

where he for the most part continually keeps his Court: It was first built by P: Simachus,<sup>1</sup> and since augmented to a vast pile of building by the Successors: That part of it added by Sixtus Vtus<sup>2</sup> is most magnificent; this lead us into divers tarraces arched sub dio,<sup>3</sup> painted with the historys of the Bible by Raphel, which are so esteemed, that Workmen come from all parts of Europe to make their studys from these designes;<sup>4</sup> and certainly the whole World dos not shew so much art; the foliage & Grotesque is admirable about some of the Compartiments: In another ro(o)m are represented at large Mapps & plotts of most Countries in the World in very vast tables, with briefe descriptions:<sup>5</sup> The Stayres which ascend out of s: Peters Portico into the first hall, are rarely

vols., fol., 1829; E. Begni, ed., *The Vatican, its history—its treasures*, 1914; C. Cecchelli, *Il Vaticano*, [1927], mainly photographs. The earliest short account of importance to be published is that of Titi, *Ammaestramento*, pp. 405–31. Special literature for the Belvedere and its collections is listed below, p. 303 n.

There is a general bird's-eye view of the Vatican and St. Peter's from the east attributed to G. Maggi, 1615 (reproduced by Cardinal Ehrle, 1914). The British Museum possesses a set of MS. plans and elevations of the Vatican, dating c. 1700–75 (King's Library, shelf-mark 75. k. 1–3; date from position of Belvedere Torso: Michaelis, work cited p. 303 n. below, pp. 53, 57). For plans of the south-west part (Sistine Chapel, &c.) see F. Ehrle and H. Egger, *Piante dei Conclavi*, [c. 1933]. The plan of this part in Baedeker shows rooms on two floors as on one floor. It should be noted that the Cortile di Belvedere is the lower part of the great garden or court (now divided) stretching from the palace proper to the Belvedere; the octagonal court in the Belvedere is sometimes called by this name; it is here distinguished as the court of

the statues.

The chief new features in the southern part of the Vatican since Evelyn's visit are the Scala Regia and the Sala Ducale, both due to Bernini. The expansion of the museums, beginning under Clement XIV, has led to extensive alterations in the northern part.

<sup>1</sup> From Totti, p. 18. See *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, i. 262.

<sup>2</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 268. The block to the east of the Court of St. Damasus, containing the private apartments.

<sup>3</sup> A variant for *sub divo*, in the open air. So Evelyn has '*Subdiales ambulationes* (which were *Porticos* open to the air)': *Sylva*, 1679, p. 117. These loggie were not glazed until the nineteenth century.

<sup>4</sup> From Totti, p. 19; but Evelyn applies to Raphael's Loggie a remark applied by Totti to all Raphael's works in the Vatican. Raphael's Loggie on the second floor. The rest of the notice is original.

<sup>5</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 268. The loggie on the third floor, above Raphael's, and continuing along the north side of the courtyard: *Chat-tard*, ii. 332–56.



contriv'd for ease,<sup>1</sup> These leade into Sala di Gregorio XIII,<sup>2</sup> the walls wherof are halfe to the (roof)<sup>a</sup> incrusted with most precious marbles of various colours, & Workes;<sup>3</sup> so is also the pavement opere vermiculato;<sup>4</sup> but what exceeds description is the Volto or rooff itselfe,<sup>5</sup> which is so exquisitely painted, that 'tis almost impossible for the skillfullest eye to discern whether it be the worke of the Pensil upon a flatt, or of a toole, cutt in a deepe Levati<sup>6</sup> of stone: The Rota dentata in this admirable perspective at the left hand as one goes out, the stella &c are things of art incomparable:<sup>7</sup> Certainly this is one of the most Superb & royall Appartiments in the world, much too beautifull for a guard of gigantesque Swizzers<sup>8</sup> who

<sup>a</sup> MS. *roffe*.

<sup>1</sup> After describing the loggie with the maps Pflaumern proceeds: 'Quid memorem ab imo ædium ad summa eductas scalas adeo molliter, ut vel equo ascendere facile sit ac tutum.' This is the 'Scala Vecchia a cordonata della Floreria' of Chattard (ii. 123-4), situated near the south end of Raphael's Loggie, and leading into the Sala vecchia degli Svizzeri, on the second floor. Evelyn's marginal note (see below) implies that he meant these stairs, but he may have confused them with the stairs leading from the portico of St. Peter's into the Sala Regia (the predecessors of the present Scala Regia). Evelyn further confuses the matter by saying that the stairs, whichever flight he means, lead into 'the 'Sala di Gregorio XIII' (see next note).

<sup>2</sup> Pflaumern's error for the Sala Clementina: p. 269. Evelyn has enlarged the description; for further details see the marginal note, below, pp. 298-9. The present passage appears to be intruded into Evelyn's earlier notes. Totti, p. 19, as Sala Clementina. It is the principal room in Sixtus V's wing.

<sup>3</sup> 'Workes' here apparently means ornamental patterns or kinds of

ornamental workmanship: see *O.E.D.*, s.v. Work, sb., 15. Evelyn uses the word with a similar meaning several times below; cf. the doubtful occurrence above, p. 204.

<sup>4</sup> *Opus vermiculatum* is mosaic so designed as to imitate the sinuous movements of worms.

<sup>5</sup> The ceiling, by Cherubino Alberti, is painted to represent a colonnade, with landscapes seen between the columns. It is one of the best of the earlier specimens of *trompe-l'œil* perspective.

<sup>6</sup> The Italian word *levato* is a past participle meaning 'raised'; it can be used adjectivally, its possible meanings including 'carved in relief'. Raymond describes the reliefs on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius as being 'in *Mezzo levato*' and calls the square coffers in the vault of St. Peter's '*Levati*': pp. 75, 87. Evelyn uses the word again below, p. 310.

<sup>7</sup> The toothed wheel and the star allude to the arms of Clement VIII, for whom the room was decorated.

<sup>8</sup> So Evelyn describes the inhabitants of the Simplon district as 'of gigantic Stature': below, p. 511. The Swiss were probably in the Sala vecchia degli Svizzeri: see note above.

do nothing but drinke, and play at Cards in it: [Going up these stayres there is painted st. Peter walking on the sea towards our Saviour, with this inscription: *ὁ ζήλος οὐ φέρει αναβολήν.*]<sup>1</sup> Out of this I went into another hall just before the chapell, calld the Sala del Conclave,<sup>2</sup> full of admirable paintings, amongst other the Assasination of Colignij the greate French Admiral, murther'd by the D: of Guise in the Parisian Massacre at the nuptials of Hen: 4th with Q: Margarite:<sup>3</sup> Under this is written Coligni et Sociorum Cædes, on the other side Rex Coligni necem probat. And another Picture<sup>4</sup> very large under which:

Alexander Papa III Fredrici primi Imperatoris iram et impetum fugiens abdidit se Venetijs, cognitum et a Senatu perhonorifice susceptum Othone Imperatoris Filio Navali Prælio victo, captoque, Fredericus pace facta supplex adorat; Fidem et Obedientiam pollicitus. Ita Pontifici sua dignitas Venet: Rep: beneficio restituta. M.C.LXXVIII. This Inscription I the rather observed, for that Urban the VIII, had caused it to be blotted out; during the difference betweene him and that State; but was restored and refresh'd by his now Successor to the greate honor of the Venetians:<sup>5</sup> The Battaile of Lepanto<sup>6</sup> is another faire Piece here:

<sup>a</sup> Marginal note.

<sup>1</sup> 'Zeal does not suffer delay.'

This is not from the Bible. The frescoes on this staircase (see above, p. 296 n.) were painted by Donato da Formello (above, p. 267 n.): Chattard, ii. 123-4, &c. They are apparently now destroyed.

<sup>2</sup> The name of the room from Totti, p. 18; the Coligny fresco and its inscriptions from Raymond, p. 92. The Sala Regia. It is on the first floor.

<sup>3</sup> The fresco is by Vasari. Coligni was murdered in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 24 Aug. 1572. The marriage had taken place on 18 August.

<sup>4</sup> The submission of Frederick Barbarossa to Alexander III at Venice in 1177 (below, p. 439); by Giuseppe Porta, also called Salviati,

c. 1520-c. 1575.

<sup>5</sup> The original inscription was identical with that given by Evelyn. In 1632 Urban VIII, whose relations with Venice were already strained, was led by the historical researches of F. Contelori to obliterate it; in 1635 he substituted for it a new inscription more accurately describing the event, but overlooking whatever part Venice played in it. As a result of the protests of the Venetians and of the political situation Urban obliterated the new inscription in 1639. Innocent X restored the original inscription in November 1644: Soc. Romana di storia patria, *Archivio*, iii (1880), 1-17; Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, xiii. 718-19; xiv. 257-8.

<sup>6</sup> By Vasari.

Now we came into the Popes Chapell,<sup>1</sup> so much celebrated for the Judgement painted by M: Angelo Buonaroti, the contemplation of which incomparable Worke tooke up much of our tyme & wonder: It is a painting in fresca, upon a dead Wall at the upper end of the Chapell just over the high Altar of a vast designe and miraculous fantsy, considering the multitude of Nakeds, & variety of posture: The roofe is also full of rare worke: Hence we went into the Sacristia,<sup>2</sup> where we were shew'd all the most precious Vestments, Copes &c, & furnitures of the Chapell, One Priestly Cope with the whole suite had been formerly sent from one of our English Henrys,<sup>3</sup> & is shewn for a greate rarity, as indeede it is: We saw divers of the Popes Pantofles that are Kissed on his foote, having rich jewells embrodred on the instup: they are<sup>a</sup> covered with crimson Velvet: Also his Tyara or Triple Crown, divers Miters, Crosiers, Crosses &c all bestudded with precious stones, gold and Pearle to an infinite value: A very large Crosse carved (as they affirme) out of the holy Wood it selfe:<sup>4</sup> a world of Utensils, of Chrystal, Gold, Achat, Amber and other costly materials for the Altar: [The Sala Clementinas Suffito is painted by *Cherubin Alberti*, with an

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *made* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> The Sistine chapel. The notice is mainly original. Evelyn's sources all mention the Last Judgement; he is unusual among travellers in noticing the ceiling. In his preface To the Reader, prefixed to Fréart's *Perfection of Painting* (1668), Evelyn declares that he concurs in Fréart's denunciation of the Last Judgement (*Misc. writings*, p. 560).

<sup>2</sup> The sacristy lies immediately to the west of the Sistine chapel. Account of its contents in Lassels, ii. 51-4; see also Chattard, ii. 50-2. Many of the jewels were taken away by the French at the end of the eighteenth century; account of the existing contents in D. Sladen, *How to see the Vatican*, 1914, pp. 331-8. For the building, besides Chattard, see E. Steinmann, *Die sixtinische*

*Kapelle*, 1901-5.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably 'the neat *Chasuble* of cloth of tyssue with the pictures of the ministring the *seauen Sacrements*, all embrodred in it in silk and gold so rarely, that the late *Lord Mareshal of England Tho. Earle of Arundel*. got leaue to haue it painted out, and so much the more willingly, because it had been giuen to the *Pope* by *King Henry the VIII* a little before his *Schisme*': Lassels, ii. 51-2. The chasuble was still extant in 1768: Chattard, ii. 50. Arundel ordered a drawing of a cope, in the sacristy of St. Peter's: Hervey, *Arundel*, p. 390; B.M., Add. MS. 15970, f. 52.

<sup>4</sup> Also mentioned by Lassels, ii. 52.

ample Landskep of *Paul Brills*.]<sup>a1</sup> Then we went into those Chambers<sup>2</sup> painted with the historys of burning Rome quenched by the procession of a Crucifix: The victory of Constantine over Maxentius: St. Peters delivery out of Prison, all of them by the hand of the famous Julio Romano,<sup>3</sup> and are therefor cal'd amongst the Virtuosi, the Paynters Academy,<sup>4</sup> because you shall never come into them, but you find some young man or other designing from them, a civility which in Italy they do not refuse them where any rare pieces of the old and best Masters are extant; and which is occasion of breeding up many excellent men in that Profession: From hence we were conducted into a New Gallery, whose sides had painted on them most of the famous Places in Italy Townes & Territories, rarely don; and upon the Roofe the chiefe Acts of the Ro: Church since St. Peters pretended See there;<sup>5</sup> It is doubtlesse one of the most magnificent Galleries this, in Europ: Out of this we came into the Consistory,<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>a</sup> Marginal note.

---

<sup>1</sup> This note is taken from Monconys, ii. 466. The fresco by Brill represents St. Clement being cast into the sea.

<sup>2</sup> Raphael's Stanze, on the second floor.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn's description of the Fire in the Borgo is incorrect. It was probably executed by F. Penni from Raphael's design; the Battle of Constantine was painted by Giulio Romano after Raphael's death; St. Peter's Delivery was probably executed by Raphael himself.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Totti, p. 19, and above. So 'that *School of Raphael* . . . in the Popes Chamber at the *Vatican*': *Sculptura*, p. 41. In the present passage Evelyn may have been influenced by Carlo Maratti, who studied these frescoes assiduously: Bellori, &c., life of Maratti in Amidei, *Ritratti*, pp. 150-1, 203.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Raymond, p. 91. The Galleria

geografica, on the second floor, decorated for Gregory XIII; the ceiling frescoes represent subjects from the history of the Church. Chattard, ii. 250-84.

<sup>6</sup> Probably one of two rooms. (1) The more easterly of the two rooms which were united by Alexander VII to form the existing Sala Ducale, on the first floor. This room is called the Sala del Concistoro publico in plans for the conclave of 1605 (Ehrle and Egger, pls. xiii, xiv) and in one for the conclave of 1655 attached to *Vera dichiarazione della nuova pianta del conclave, 1655* (copy in B.M.); in the text of the *Dichiarazione* it is called the 'Sala de gl'Appostoli' (in this plan, and in some of earlier date, the more westerly of the two rooms is called the Sala Ducale). (2) The more northerly of the existing Stanze dei Paramenti (the room immediately beneath the southern

which is a very noble roome, the Volto painted in Grotesque as I remember: The Upper end of it has a Throne, elevated, and a baldachino or Canopy of state for his holynesse, over it: From hence through a very extraordinary long Gallery<sup>1</sup> (longer I thinke, then the French Kings at the Louvre) but onely of bare wales, we were brought into the Vaticane Library: This passage was now full of poore People, to each of whom the Pope (in his passage to st. Peters) gave a Mezzo grosse; I believe they were in number neer 1500, or 2000 Persons:<sup>2</sup>

This Library is doubtlesse the most nobly built, furnish'd, and beautified in the World, ample, stately, light & cherefull, looking into a most pleasant Garden:<sup>3</sup> The Walls & roofe are painted; not with Antiqu(e)s, & Grotesc's (like our Bodlean at Oxford) but Emblemes, Figurs, Diagramms, and the like learned inventions found out by the Wit, & Industry of famous Men, of which there are now whole Volumes extant:<sup>4</sup> There were likewise the Effigies of the most Illustrious men

part of the Sala dei Chiaroscuro) is called the Concistorio secreto in the plans for 1605 and the Sala del Concistoro in the *Vera dichiarazione*.

The consistory was not bound to meet in any particular room or even in the Vatican. On special occasions it met in the Sala Regia or in the old Sala Ducale: cf. p. 391 n. below.

<sup>1</sup> The gallery on the east side of the Cortile di Belvedere, the first floor; in its more northern part, owing to the rise of the ground, the ground floor; now the Galleria Lapidaria and the Museo Chiaromonti; it was occasionally called the Corridore della Cleopatra from the statue at its northern end: below, p. 303 n. It is apparently 984 ft. long; the Grande galerie of the Louvre 1,284 ft.

<sup>2</sup> This day was the feast of the Cathedra Petri in St. Peter's; the college of cardinals attended the service there: (*Florence gazette*), Rome, 21 Jan. 1644/5. A *mezzo grosso* is a quarter of a *giulio*, 2½

*baiocchi*, worth about three half-pence.

<sup>3</sup> 'Summè hilaris locus est & Musarum digna sedes. lucem amplissimis fenestris copiosam accipit, & è propinquis hortis suavem auram, quæ libros legentésque recreat': Pflaumern, p. 269.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn is original and incorrect in describing the decorations as symbolical. Pflaumern, p. 269, gives the authors who describe them: A. Ciccarelli, in the life of Sixtus V, in his continuation of Platina (ed. 1643, pp. 760-5); A. Roccha, *Bibliotheca apostolica vaticana*, 1591; and L. Schraderus, *Monumentorum Italiæ . . . libri IV*, 1592, bk. ii (for the inscriptions). See also M. Pansa, *Della libreria vaticana ragionamenti*, 1590; and École française de Rome, *Mélanges*, xlviii (1931), 282-307. The central part of the ceiling collapsed in 1931. The most interesting part of the decoration is the scenes from the life of Sixtus V.

of Letters & Fathers of the Church, with divers noble statues in white marble at the entrance, viz. Hippolitus and Aristides: The Generall Councils, are likewise painted upon the side Walls:<sup>1</sup> [The largest room was built by Sixtus Quintus<sup>a</sup> 100 paces long, at the end is the Gallery of printed books: then the Gallery of the D: of Urbans Librarie amongst which are MSS: of incomparable Miniature, & divers China, Mexican, Samaritan, Abyssin & other Oriental books:]<sup>b2</sup> As to the ranging of the bookes, they are all shut up in Presses of Wainscot, & not expos'd on shelves to the naked ayre; nor are the most precious mix'd amongst the more ordinary, which are shew'd to the curious onely;<sup>3</sup> Such as are those two Virgils<sup>4</sup> written in Parchment, of more then a thousand yeares old; the like a Terence:<sup>5</sup> The Acts of the Apostles in Golden Capital Letters:<sup>6</sup> Petrarchs Epigramms written with his owne hand:<sup>7</sup> Also an Hebrew Parchment made up in the

<sup>a</sup> MS. VI. V<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Marginal note.

<sup>1</sup> The notice of the painted single figures is original; the two statues and the councils from Raymond, p. 88. There were only the two statues, the sophist, Aelius Aristides, which is still in the library: Helbig, vol. i, no. 413; and St. Hippolytus, mainly a restoration, and now in the Lateran Christian Museum: J. Ficker, *Die altchristlichen Bildwerke im christlichen Museum des Laterans*, 1890, no. 223.

<sup>2</sup> From Monconys, ii. 443-4. The printed books were kept in the northern part of the western gallery, the present Museo profano; the duke of Urbino's library, which was not brought to Rome until 1657, was kept in the southern part of the same gallery, opposite or beyond the Palatine library (see below): Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, xiv. 498; [Fratelli de' Rossi], *Descr. di Roma moderna*, 1697, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> 'Pretiosissimi ac vetustissimi Codices, separati à reliquo grege,

lignis armariis clausi asservantur: quæhautgravatèrecluduntcustodes, & reconditum thesaurum litteratis hospitibus monstrant.' The MSS. that follow are also taken from Pflaumern's list.

<sup>4</sup> Pflaumern probably means MSS. Vat. lat. 3225 (fragments only) and 3867, both of the fourth or fifth century. For the MSS. of Virgil see O. Ribbeck, *Prolegomena critica ad P. Vergili Maronis opera majora*, 1866, pp. 218-30.

<sup>5</sup> The Codex Bembinus, now MS. Vat. lat. 3226; it dates from the fourth or fifth century; Terence, *Comoediae*, ed. F. Umpfenbach, 1870, preface.

<sup>6</sup> In Greek; said to have been given by a queen of Cyprus to Innocent VIII. Now MS. Vat. gr. 1208.

<sup>7</sup> Probably the MS. giving the definitive text of the *Canzoniere*, partly in Petrarch's own hand, partly in that of an amanuensis;

antient manner from whence they were first cal'd Volumina, with the Cornua,<sup>1</sup> but what we English do much enquire after, the Booke which our Hen: 8, writ against Luther:<sup>2</sup> In another wing of the Edifice [200 paces long]<sup>a</sup> were all the bookes taken from Heide(l)berg,<sup>b3</sup> of which the learned Greuter<sup>4</sup> had been keeper & divers other greate Scholars: These Walls [& volto]<sup>a</sup> are painted with the Machines invented by Domenico Fontana, for the erection of the Obelisque:<sup>5</sup> and the true designe of Mahomets Sepulchre at Meca:<sup>6</sup> Out of this we went to see the Conclave,<sup>7</sup> where (at the Sede Vacante,)<sup>d</sup> the Cardinals are shut up, till they are agreed upon a new Election, the whole manner whereof was describ'd to us: Hence into the Popes Armory;<sup>8</sup> it is under the Library, and over the dore this Inscription Urbanus VIII Litteris Arma, Arma litteris. I hardly believe any Prince in Europ is able to shew a more compleately furnish'd Library

<sup>a</sup> Interlined.    <sup>b</sup> Altered from *Heideburg*?    <sup>c</sup> Altered from *Mecha*.  
<sup>d</sup> Closing bracket supplied.

now MS. Vat. lat. 3195; otherwise probably MS. Vat. lat. 3196, also containing the *Canzoniere*, some of the poems in Petrarch's own hand: see M. Vattasso, *I codici petrarcheschi della Biblioteca Vaticana*, 1908 ('Studi e testi', no. xx), pp. 9-15; Petrarch, *Le rime*, ed. G. Salvo Cozzo, 1904, preface.

<sup>1</sup> See the fuller description in Pflaumern. The cornua are the ends of the sticks round which volumes were rolled.

<sup>2</sup> From Raymond, p. 89. The *Assertio septem sacramentorum*, 1521; the copy seen by Evelyn, one of the copies presented by Henry to Leo X, is still preserved in the Vatican; the note in former editions of the Diary is incorrect: *Notes and Queries*, 1st ser., xii (1855), 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> The description of the Palatine library and the room containing it is expanded from Raymond, pp. 89-90. The Palatine library was

brought here in 1623: Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, xiii. 188.

<sup>4</sup> Janus Gruter (Gruytere), 1560-1627: *Allgemeine deutsche Biog.; Biog. nationale de Belgique*. He was librarian from 1602 until the capture of Heidelberg by the Imperial forces in 1622.

<sup>5</sup> The Vatican obelisk. The frescoes are still preserved.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently a drawing or picture, not a fresco.

<sup>7</sup> Mentioned by Raymond, p. 90. The arrangement of the cardinals' lodgings for the papal elections is shown on a number of plans (see p. 295 n. above); on some occasions they appear to have extended all along the gallery on the east side of the Cortile di Belvedere; cf. Lassels, ii. 59.

<sup>8</sup> From Totti, p. 19; the inscription and position also in Raymond, p. 90. The room now forms part of the library.

of Mars, for the quality, and quantity; which is 40000 compleate for ho(r)se & foote, and most neatly kept.

Out of this we pass'd againe, by the Long Gallery and at the lower end of it, downe a very large payr of stayres, round, without any Stepps or degrees as usualy, but descending with an evenesse so ample & easy, that an horse-litter or Coach may with ease be drawne up: The sides of the Vacuity are set with Columns:<sup>1</sup> Those at Amboise<sup>2</sup> on the Loyer in France, are something of this invention, but nothing so spruce: by these we descended into the Vatican Gardens, cald Belvedere, where entring first into a kind of Court,<sup>3</sup> we were

<sup>1</sup> This is Bramante's staircase (without steps) at the north-east corner of the Belvedere. To reach it from the Library Evelyn would have gone northward along the gallery (through what is now the Museo Chiaramonti) and up a short flight of steps leading into a room decorated with a fountain with the sleeping Ariadne (in his time called Cleopatra; see below, p. 304; the room has been altered, part of it forming the existing Atrio Quadrato). He would then be on the level of the court of the statues (the octagonal court of the Belvedere: see above, p. 295 n.). He might have descended Bramante's staircase to inspect Maderna's fountain with the ship (see below, p. 305).

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn's account of the statues in the court of the statues is taken from Pflaumern, pp. 271-2, with some further matter from Totti, pp. 20-1 (this matter is indicated in the following notes; where no indication is given the source is Pflaumern). Pflaumern's account is compiled from S. V. Pighius, *Hercules Prodicus* (ed. 1587, pp. 393-4), and from Schott (1610, pt. ii, pp. 84-6), or Schott's source, J. J. Boissard, *Romanæ urbis topog.*, pt. i, 1597, pp. 12-14. Short account of the statues in Raymond,

pp. 91-2.

The history of the court and its contents until their absorption into the modern museums is given by A. Michaelis, in *Kaiserlich deutsche archäol. Inst., Jahrbuch*, v (1890), 5-72. Michaelis discusses Evelyn's account and, though unaware of Pflaumern, shows its relation to the earlier works. It contains several errors.

The colonnades round the court were not built until about 1773. At this time it was a square court with truncated corners, medieval in general appearance; it was planted with orange-trees and contained about twelve statues and, let into the walls, thirteen marble masks. The Torso was apparently in the centre, with a fountain; the Nile and the Tiber on either side of the Torso; two fountains with river-gods in the corners of the north side; and the remaining statues in shuttered niches.

A plan and elevations of the walls are preserved in the set of drawings mentioned above, p. 295 n.

Where not otherwise noted, the statues are still preserved in the courtyard. Many of them were taken to the Louvre by Napoleon, but almost all were brought back after 1815.



shew'd those incomparable statues (so fam'd by Pliny & Others) of Laocoan<sup>a</sup> with his three sonns embrac'd by an huge serpent, all of one entire parrian stone, very white & perfect, somewhat<sup>b</sup> bigger then the life, & the Worke of those three celebrated Sculptors Agesandrus, Polidorus, and Artimadorus Rhodians, as it was found amongst the ruines of Titus's Baths, and placed here: Plynie says this Statue is to be esteem'd before all pictures & statues in the World, and I am altogether of his opinion, for in my life I never beheld anything of Art approach it: Here is also Those two famous Images of Nylus<sup>2</sup> with the children playing about<sup>c</sup> him, and that of Tyber.<sup>3</sup> Romulus & Rhemus about the Wolfe, that incomparable figure of the dying Cleopatra;<sup>4</sup> The Venus and Cupid,<sup>5</sup> rare pieces; The Mercury,<sup>6</sup> Cybel;<sup>7</sup> Hercules,<sup>8</sup> Apollo,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *Laocoon*. <sup>b</sup> Or *some what*. <sup>c</sup> Followed by *it* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> 'Artimadorus' and perhaps something more from Totti: 'very white and perfect, somewhat bigger then the life' original. Helbig, vol. i, no. 151; W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, 1903-8, ii. 181-205, with the quotation from Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, bk. xxxvi, ch. 5 (4). Artemidorus should be Athenodorus; Pflaumern gives it correctly. Baglione gives an account of the finding of the group: pp. 45-6.

<sup>2</sup> The statue from Totti; the children perhaps original. Helbig, no. 34; Amelung, i. 124-34; now in the Braccio Nuovo in the Vatican.

<sup>3</sup> From Totti; Romulus and Remus are accessories; their separation from the principal figure is taken from Totti. Since 1802 in the Louvre: Fröhner, *Notice*, no. 449.

<sup>4</sup> 'Incomparable' perhaps for Totti's 'bellissima'; 'dying' from Pflaumern. This figure was not in the court of the statues; from about 1550 it had decorated a fountain in a room at the end of the long gallery: above, p. 303 n., and Michaelis, pp. 37-8. Now generally

identified as Ariadne. It is placed in the Galleria delle Statue: Helbig, no. 208; Amelung, ii. 636-43.

<sup>5</sup> Helbig, no. 139; Amelung, ii. 112-15. The two figures form a group.

<sup>6</sup> This figure had been given to Cosimo I of Tuscany about 1553 and is now in the Uffizi: Michaelis, p. 39; Dütschke, vol. iii, no. 501.

<sup>7</sup> This figure was removed to the Villa Pia in the Vatican garden about 1561 and still forms part of its decoration: Michaelis, p. 40; W. Friedländer, *Das Kasino Pius des Vierten*, 1912, p. 40.

<sup>8</sup> Probably the Belvedere Torso: Helbig, no. 124; Amelung, ii. 9-20; now in the Atrio Quadrato. But possibly the Hercules and Telephos, then more commonly described as Commodus: Helbig, no. 108; Amelung, i. 738-40; now in the Museo Chiaromonti.

<sup>9</sup> The Apollo Belvedere: Helbig, no. 157; Amelung, ii. 256-69. The restored portions have recently been removed.

Antinous;<sup>1</sup> most of which, are for defence against the Weather shut up in their Neeches with dores of Wainscot:<sup>2</sup> We were likewise shew'd those Reliques of the Hadrian Moles; viz. the Pine, a vast piece of Mettall which stood on the summit of that Mausoleum; also a Peacock of Coper, supposed to have been part of Scipios Monument.<sup>3</sup>

In the Garden<sup>4</sup> without this (which containes a very Vast circuit of ground) are many stately Fountaines, especialy two, casting water into Antique lavors brought from Titus's Bathes:<sup>5</sup> some faire Grotts & Water-works, with that noble Cascade where the ship daunces<sup>6</sup> with divers other pleasant inventions, Walkes, Terraces, Meanders, Fruite-trees, and a most goodly Prospect over the greatest part of the City: One Fontaine under the Gate I must not omitt, consisting of three jettos of Water gushing out of the mouthes or proboscis of Bees (the Armes of the Late Pope) because of the Inscriptio<sup>7</sup>

Quid miraris Apem, quæ mel de floribus haurit?  
Si tibi mellitam guttûre fundit aquam:

<sup>1</sup> Now identified as Hermes: Helbig, no. 142; Amelung, ii. 132-8.

<sup>2</sup> The shutters were put up by Pius IV about 1565 to protect the statues from the weather and from wanton damage. The reforming popes approved of them as keeping the statues from general view; in return the shutters preserved the statues from the disapproval of Pius V. They survived until the expansion of the collection in the eighteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> The notice of these objects from Raymond, p. 91, or, less probably, from Totti, p. 21, from which Raymond derives. They occupied their present positions in the niche of the Giardino della Pigna. The pine-cone was almost certainly originally made for a fountain, and had no connexion with Hadrian's tomb (or the Pantheon); the two peacocks (two in 1645 as now)

3811-2

probably come from Hadrian's tomb: Huelsen in Kaiserlich deutsche archäol. Inst., *Mittheilungen*, Römische Abteilung, xix (1904), 87-116; Ashby, *Topographical Study in Rome in 1581*, pp. 37-40; Helbig, vol. i, nos. 120-2; Amelung, i. 894-904.

<sup>4</sup> The notice put together from Raymond, p. 91, and Totti, pp. 21-2, with original matter added.

<sup>5</sup> It was a single fountain, with two inscriptions: *ibid.*; for the basin Platner and Ashby, p. 533. It occupied its present position in the lower part of the Cortile di Belvedere.

<sup>6</sup> The bronze ship by Carlo Maderno, at the foot of Bramante's spiral staircase.

<sup>7</sup> From Totti, p. 22. Fraschetti, *Bernini*, pp. 119-20. In the Cortile di Belvedere.

Thus weary, & sated with fine sights we came to our Lodging this night.

On the 23d, We went without the Walls of the Citty to visite st. Paules;<sup>1</sup> to which place 'tis sayd, the Apostle bore his owne head after Nero had caus'd it to be cut off:<sup>2</sup> The Church was founded by the Greate Constantine;<sup>3</sup> the maine rooffe is supported with no lesse<sup>a</sup> then 100 vast columns of marble,<sup>4</sup> and the Mosaique worke of the greate Arch is wrought with a very antient story Anno 440,<sup>5</sup> as that likewise of the Faciata.<sup>6</sup> The Gates are brasse, made at Constantinople 1070, as you may reade by those Greeke Verses engraven on them.<sup>7</sup> The Church is neere 500 foote long, and 258 in breadth, has 5 huge Iles joyn'd to it,<sup>8</sup> upon the bases of one of whose Columns this old title Fl: Eugenius Asellus CC. Præf Urbis V.S.I. reparavit.<sup>9</sup> Here they shew'd us that Miraculous Crucifix which they say spake to St. Brigit,<sup>10</sup> and just before the Ciborio stand two excellent Statues.<sup>11</sup> Here are buried

<sup>a</sup> Or *nolesse*?

<sup>1</sup> From Totti, pp. 113-18, with additions from Pflaumern, pp. 396-8, 400-2. Baglione, pp. 48-67. S. Paolo fuori le Mura. The church was almost completely destroyed by fire in 1823; the surviving parts are incorporated in the present building. For the old church see N. M. Nicolai, *Della basilica di S. Paolo*, 1815. Bibliography in Schudt, *Le guide*; see also E. Lavagnino, *San Paolo sulla Via Ostiense*, [c. 1924].

<sup>2</sup> St. Paul's carrying his head hither is an invention of Evelyn's. He is generally assumed to have been executed during the reign of Nero.

<sup>3</sup> Pflaumern, p. 400; Totti, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> Totti states that the church is ornamented with a hundred columns: p. 114; Pflaumern, that the roof is supported by eighty: p. 396. The roof of the nave and its aisles was supported by eighty.

<sup>5</sup> From Totti, p. 114. The mosaic has been much injured; the date of

what survives is disputed: M. van Berchem and E. Clouzot, *Mosaïques chrétiennes*, 1924, pp. 87-90.

<sup>6</sup> Evelyn is careless: Totti gives the date of this mosaic as c. 1376: pp. 115-16. It has perished.

<sup>7</sup> From *ibid.*, p. 116. Totti's error: a Greek inscription gives the artist's name, but a Latin one the place and date: Nicolai, pp. 289, 293. The doors still exist in a much-injured condition.

<sup>8</sup> 'La lunghezza . . . è di 447. piedi, e la larghezza di 258. piedi, & è di cinque navi.' The length was about 412 ft.; the width of the transept, about 233 ft.: Nicolai, p. 305.

<sup>9</sup> From Totti, p. 116. See *C.I.L.*, vol. vi, no. 1668.

<sup>10</sup> From Totti, p. 117. Pflaumern, pp. 397-8. It is now preserved in the chapel of the Sacrament: Lavagnino, p. 54.

<sup>11</sup> 'Alli gradini avanti il Ciborio, sopra quali si hanno da porre due esquisite sculture di Francesco

part of st. Paule, & st. Peters bodys:<sup>1</sup> The Pavement is richly interwoven<sup>2</sup> with most precious oriental marbles, about the high-Altar where are likewise 4 excellent payntings, whereof one by the hand of a Woman cald Lavinia, a Bolognian Lady, which is the Lapidation of S. Stephen.<sup>3</sup> The Tabernacle on this Altar is of incomparable Architecture;<sup>4</sup> and the Pictures in the Chapel del Sacramento are of Lanfranchi:<sup>5</sup> Divers other Reliques there be also in this Venerable Church, as a part of st. Anna, the head of the Woman of Samaria: The Chayne which bound st. Paule & the Eculeus us'd in tormenting the Primitive Christians:<sup>6</sup> The Church stands in the Via Ost(i)ensis, about a mile from the Walls of the Citty, separated from any buildings neere it but the Tria Fontana to which (leaving our Coach) we walked, going over the mountaine or little rising upon which story says, an hundred seaventy & 4 thousand Christians had been Martyr'd by Maximianus, Dioclesian and other bloody Tyrants:<sup>7</sup> On this stands st. Vincents & Anastatius,<sup>8</sup> likewise the Church of st. Maria Scala del Cielo,<sup>9</sup> in whose Tribuna is a very faire Mosaique Worke. The Church of the Tre-Fontane<sup>10</sup> (as they are cald) is perfectly well built although but small (where as that of st. Paules is but Gotique) having

Mochi, &c. For the time being there were two statues of stucco: Baglione, p. 63. Those by Mochi were never brought here, but were set up on the exterior of the Porta del Popolo: Thieme, *Lexikon*.

<sup>1</sup> Totti, p. 117; Pflaumern, p. 398. The rest of the bodies is said to be in St. Peter's, the heads in St. John Lateran.

<sup>2</sup> 'Intarsiato', Totti's spelling of *intarsiato*, which is derived from *in + tarsus*.

<sup>3</sup> From Totti, pp. 117-18. Lavinia Fontana, 1552-1614. The picture, now lost, was on the east wall.

<sup>4</sup> The altar in the tribune, by H. Lunghi: *ibid.* Now destroyed.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Two paintings from this chapel are now in the museum attached to the church; the remainder

have been dispersed: Thieme, *Lexikon*.

<sup>6</sup> These relics from Pflaumern, p. 398. The *eculeus* was a kind of rack.

<sup>7</sup> Tre Fontane. The position of the churches from Pflaumern, pp. 396, 398; the martyrs, *ibid.*, pp. 398-9. Baglione describes the three churches: pp. 68-79.

<sup>8</sup> Pflaumern, p. 399; Totti, pp. 118-19. SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio.

<sup>9</sup> From Totti, p. 119, including the mosaic. Pflaumern, p. 399. The mosaic dates from *c.* 1600.

<sup>10</sup> From *ibid.*, pp. 399-400, and Totti, p. 121, with additions. S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane. The account of the architecture is original, as also that of the three altars.

a noble Cupola in the middle: In this they shew the Pillar to which s: Paule was bound when his head was cut off, & from whence it made three prodigious leaps where there immediately brake out the 3 remaining fountaines which gives denomination to this Church; The Waters are reported to be Medicinable, and indeede seeme a little sharp: That most excellent Picture of Peters Crucifixion is of Guido's:<sup>1</sup> Over each of the Fountains is erected an Altar, and a chayned ladle, for the better tasting of the waters.

The 25 I went againe to Palazzo Farneze<sup>2</sup> to see some certaine statues & antiquities, which by reason of the Major domo's not being within, I could not formerly obtaine: In the Hall<sup>3</sup> stands that Triumphant Colosse of one of the Family, upon 3 figures, a modern, but rare piece;<sup>4</sup> about it stood some Gladiators;<sup>5</sup> and at the entrance into one of the first Chambers two cumbent figures of age & youth<sup>6</sup> brough(t) from St. Peters hither to make roome for the Longinus under the Cupola: Here was the statue of a ramm running at a man on horsback, a most incomparable piece of fury, cut in stone;<sup>7</sup> and a table of Pietra Comesse very curious; the next Chamber<sup>8</sup> was all painted a fresca by a rare hand, as was the carving in wood of the Ceiling, which as I remember was in Cedar, as the Italian mode is, and not poore plaster,

<sup>1</sup> From Totti. Now in the Vatican picture-gallery.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 214-16. The present notice is original.

<sup>3</sup> The Sala grande, at the eastern corner, on the first floor.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Farnese: above, p. 215.

<sup>5</sup> There appear to have been six figures, sometimes called the Horatii and the Curiatii: *École française de Rome, Mélanges*, xxix (1909), 175.

<sup>6</sup> A mistake for Peace and Abundance. The figures were brought here in 1628, when the tomb of Paul III was reconstructed and moved to its present position; it seems originally to have occupied the niche now occupied by the St.

Veronica: *École française de Rome, Mélanges*, ix (1889), 61, 66. The figures are still here.

<sup>7</sup> No group or relief corresponding to this description is traceable. There was, however, a statue of a horseman, now at Naples, Ruesch, no. 304; and probably a statue of a ram lying down, figured by S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, 1897-1924, ii. 754; it is apparently first mentioned as being here c. 1721: Wright, *Some Observations*, i. 285; not traceable in Ruesch.

<sup>8</sup> The Salotto dipinto: see above, p. 215 and nn. 3, 4; for the ceiling, de Navenne, *Rome, le palais Farnèse*, pp. 422-3.

as ours are, and some of them most richly gilt. In a third room stood the famous Venus,<sup>1</sup> and the Child Hercules strangling a Serpent of Corinthian brass,<sup>2</sup> Antique, on a very curious Bass relievo: Also the Sacrifice to Priapus,<sup>3</sup> the Ægyptian Isis in the hard black Ophit stone<sup>4</sup> taken out of the Pantheon greatly celebrated by the Antiquaries: likewise 2 Tables of brass containing divers Old<sup>b</sup> Romans Laws:<sup>5</sup> At another side of this Chamber was the statue of a<sup>c</sup> Wounded Amazon<sup>6</sup> falling from her horse in great, a piece worthy the name of the excellent Sculptor who ever the Artist was; and neere this a Bassrelievo of a Bacchanalia<sup>7</sup> with a Silenus most rarely curious: In the 4th Room it was totally invironed with Statues, especialy observable was that so renowned piece of a Venus pulling up her smock, and looking backwards on her buttocks,<sup>8</sup> with sundry other naked figures all cut in marble by the old Greeke masters: Over the doores, are Two Venus's one of them looking on her face in a Glasse by M. Angelo,<sup>9</sup> the other is painted by Caracci:<sup>10</sup> I never saw

<sup>a</sup> MS. has *bras* with full-stop. <sup>b</sup> Altered from *L.*. <sup>c</sup> Altered from *an.*

<sup>1</sup> Not identifiable.

<sup>2</sup> Identifiable as a statue at one time in Naples and figured in S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque, &c.*, i. 462. Not traceable in Ruesch.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the relief described by U. Aldroandi, 'Delle statue antiche', in L. Mauro, *Le antichità ... di Roma*, 1562, p. 151; Aldroandi's description, in spite of differences, apparently refers to the relief of Dionysus visiting a mortal, now in Naples: Ruesch, no. 272.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Ruesch, no. 710.

<sup>5</sup> For the inscribed bronze tablets preserved here see *C.I.L.*, vol. i, pt. ii, 2nd ed., 1918, nos. 583 (with reverse, no. 585), 588, 589. They are all now in Naples.

<sup>6</sup> Now in Naples: Ruesch, no. 305.

<sup>7</sup> Apparently there was one important Bacchanalian relief; de Navanne suggests that it is one now in Naples, Ruesch, no. 598: *Rome*,

*le palais Farnèse*, p. 466; it is, however, more likely to be Ruesch, no. 18.

<sup>8</sup> The Venus Callipige, now in Naples: Ruesch, no. 314. This statue and the two paintings of Venus appear to have been in the same room as the philosophers (see below) in 1653: *Mélanges*, xxix. 179.

<sup>9</sup> Evelyn's description is incorrect: Venus is kissing Cupid; two masks hang from a branch at the other side of the picture (Evelyn may have mistaken one of these for a reflection of Venus's face). The picture is derived from a cartoon by Michelangelo and is now in the Naples Museum; reproduction in Thode, *Michelangelo*, iii. 487. There is an inaccurate but clear description of it by Richard Symonds, c. 1651: B.M., Egerton MS. 1635, f. 17.

<sup>10</sup> It represented Venus, Cupid, and a satyr: *Mélanges*, xxix. 179.

finer faces, especially that under the Masque, whose beauty, & art are not to be describd by words. The next chamber is also full of statues, most of them the heads of Philo(so)phers, very antique, One of the Cæsars, and another of Hanibal cost 1200 crounes:<sup>1</sup> Now I had a 2d view of that never to be sufficiently admired Gallery painted in deepe relievo, the Worke of 10 yeares study for a trifling reward:<sup>2</sup>

In the Wardrobe<sup>3</sup> above they shewd us incomparab(l)y wrought plate, porcelan, Mazers of beaten & solid Gold, set with diamonds, rubies, Emrals, a treasure inestimable, especially the workman ship considerd: This is all the Duke of Parmas:<sup>4</sup> but there was nothing which to me seemed more curious and rare in its kind, then that compleate service of purest Chrystal for the Altar of the Chapell, not so much as the very bell, & cover of a booke, Sprinkler &c but was all of the rock, incomparably sculpturd with the holy Story in deepe Levati: thus was also wrought the Crucifix, Calic, Vasas, Flowr-pots, the greatest, largest & purest Christall that ever my Eyes beheld, truely, I looked on this as one of the rarest curiosities I had<sup>a</sup> seene since my being in Rome:<sup>5</sup> In another place were Presses furnish'd with antique Armes, German Clocks, Perpetual motions, Watches, and severall curiosities of Indian Workes: The Picture of Pope Eugenius very antient: also a st. Bernard, and an head of Marble found

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *be* deleted.

Not traced. The Sleeping Venus now in the Musée Condé at Chantilly hung in another part of the palace: *ibid.*, p. 184; cf. Symonds, f. 19.

<sup>1</sup> There were separate rooms for the philosophers and for the Caesars. Some of the latter were modern: de Navenne, *Rome, le palais Farnèse*, pp. 650-2. The Hannibal is not traceable and is perhaps an error for the Caracalla, which was in the room of the Caesars in 1653 and is now in Naples, Ruesch, no. 979: *Mélanges*, xxix. 178.

<sup>2</sup> The gallery of the Carracci. The allusion to the story that Annibale

was badly underpaid for his work is perhaps based upon G. Baglione, *Vite*, p. 108, where it first appears in print (1642); de Navenne tries to contradict it: *Rome et le palais Farnèse*, i. 95-8.

<sup>3</sup> On the second floor: *Mélanges*, xxix. 156-62.

<sup>4</sup> The Farnese held the duchy of Parma from 1545 until their extinction in the male line in 1731.

<sup>5</sup> Pieces of rock-crystal coming from the Farnese collections are listed in *Documenti inediti*, iv. 228-32; what appear to be the remains of a set for an altar, p. 229.

long since, supposd the true portrait of our B: Saviours face.<sup>1</sup>

Hence we went to Dr. Gibb's<sup>2</sup> a [famous poet &]<sup>a</sup> Countryman of Ours who had some intendency in Christ Hospital:<sup>3</sup> which he shewed us: The Infirmitory where the sick lay was all rarely paved with variously colourd Marbles,<sup>4</sup> and the Walls hung with noble Pieces: The beds are very faire: In the middle is a stately Cupola, under which an Altar decked with divers marble statues, all in sight of the sick, who may both see, & heare Masse as they lye in their beds: The Organs are very fine, & frequently play'd on to recreate the people in paine: To this joyns an Apartiment destind to the Orphans, & there is a Schoole: The Children weare blew like ours in Lond: at an Hospital of the same appellation:<sup>5</sup> Here are<sup>b</sup> 40 Nurses who give suck to such Children as are accidentally found expos'd & abandon'd: In another quarter are Children of bigger Groth<sup>c</sup> 450 in number, who are taught letters, In another 500 Girles under the tuition of divers Religious Matrons, in a Monastery as it were by it selfe:<sup>6</sup> I was assur'd there were at least 2000 more maintain'd in other places: I think one Appartment had in it neere 1000 beds: These are in a very long rome having an inner <passage><sup>d</sup> for those who attend, with as much curiosity, sweetnesse and Conveniency as can be imagin'd, the Italians being generally exquisitely neate: Under this Portico the sick may walke out and take the ayre;<sup>7</sup> Opposite to this are other Chambers

<sup>a</sup> Interlined.

<sup>b</sup> Followed by *of them 2000 maintain'd, and* deleted.

<sup>c</sup> Altered from *birth*.

<sup>d</sup> MS. *passager*.

<sup>1</sup> These three works are not traceable.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> From Totti, pp. 40-2, with some additions from Pflaumern, pp. 284-5; Evelyn's original contributions are slight. The hospital of S. Spirito, still existing. Illustrated account by P. Saulnier, *De capite sacri ordinis Sancti Spiritus dissertatio*, 1649. The parts are clearly shown in Nolli's plan of Rome.

<sup>4</sup> This statement is original.

<sup>5</sup> Christ's Hospital: below, 21 April 1657, 13 March 1687.

<sup>6</sup> According to Totti, p. 43, S. Tecla, now apparently incorporated in the hospital. It is clearly shown by Nolli.

<sup>7</sup> This passage is mistranslated. This apartment 'tiene poi da un fianco verso la strada un portico aperto della stessa lunghezza per lo passaggio de' ministri, i quali tenendo con molta politezza il luogo



for such as are sick of maladies of a more rare & difficult cure, & they have romes apart: At the end of the long Corridore is one of the fairest & well stord Apothecarys shops that ever I saw, neere which chambers for Persons of better quality who are yet necessitous: What ever the poore bring is at their comming in delivered to a Tresurer, who makes the Inventory, and is accoumptable to them, or their heyres if they dye: To this building joynes the Palace of the Com-mendator, who with his Officers attending the sick make up 90 Persons, besides a Convent & an ample Church for the Friers<sup>1</sup> and Priest who daily attend: The Church<sup>2</sup> is extremely neate, and the Sagrestia very rich: Indeede 'tis altogether one of the most pious and worthy Foundations that ever I saw, nor is the benefit small which divers Young Physitians & Chirurgions reape by the experience they learne here amongst the sick, to whom those students have universal accesse:<sup>3</sup> The Hospital is built on the antient Via Trium-phalis.<sup>4</sup> From this we ascended a very steepe hill neere the Port st. Pancratio<sup>5</sup> to that stately Fountaine cal'd Acqua Paula,<sup>6</sup> being the Aquæduct which Augustus had heretofore brought to Rome, now reedified by Paulus V: a rare piece of Architecture, and serves the City after a journey of 35 miles,<sup>a</sup> here powering it selfe into divers ample Lavors, out of the mouthes of Swanns, and Dragons, the armes of this Pope,<sup>7</sup> which for that 'tis situated on a very high mount, makes a most glorious show to the Citty, especialy when the

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *and* deleted.

de gl'infermi, escono tal' hora sotto di quello à pigliare aere'.

<sup>1</sup> They belonged to the Order of the Holy Ghost, a special order for hospital work: see *Catholic Encyc.*

<sup>2</sup> Presumably S. Spirito in Sassia.

<sup>3</sup> This statement is original. See Saulnier, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> See Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 190-1, and Platner and Ashby.

<sup>5</sup> Evelyn follows the legend on Totti's illustration: 'La Facciata dell acqua Paola appresso la Porta di S. Pancratio': p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> From *ibid.*, pp. 50-2, but with original additions, especially in the description of the fountain. Acqua Paola, the ancient Aqua Traiana, but confused with Aqua Alsietina (or Augusta). The flow of water was much increased and the present large basin substituted for the original five smaller ones in 1692: [Fratelli de' Rossi], *Descr. di Roma moderna*, 1697, p. 112.

<sup>7</sup> The arms of Paul V (Borghese) are an eagle and a dragon; two jets issue from the mouths of dragons.

Sun darts on the waters as it gusheth out: The Inscriptions<sup>1</sup> one it are Paulus V. Romanus Pontifex Opt: Max: Aqueductus ab Augusto Cæsare extractos ævi longinqua vetustate collapsos in ampliorem formam restituit. Anno Salutis M. DC. IX. Pont. V. & towards the Feilds Paulus V. Rom: Pontifex Optimus Maximus priori ductu longissimi temporis injuria ⟨plane⟩<sup>a</sup> diruto sublimiorem<sup>b</sup> [firmioremq a ⟨fundamentis⟩<sup>c</sup> extruxit Anno Sal: MDCIX pontif V at the top paulus V pont Max aquam in agro Braccianensi Saluberrimis ⟨e⟩<sup>d</sup> fontibus collectam ⟨veteribus⟩<sup>e</sup> aquæ ⟨Alsietinæ⟩<sup>f</sup> ductibus restitutis, novisq. additis xxxv ab miliario, duxit. ⟨A.⟩<sup>g</sup> D. MDC.XII pont. sui septimo.<sup>h</sup> From hence we had a noble prospect towards the Appenines.

We went next to St. Pietro Montorio,<sup>2</sup> heretofore the M. Janiculas, on which place the tradition goes St. Peter the Apostle was crucified with his head revers'd; and upon that very spot stands a round oratory<sup>3</sup> of incomparable designe by Bramante, the sumit whereoff is incircled with a Crown of Columns.<sup>4</sup> The Church adjoining to it is exquisitly painted by the inimitable hand of Raphel d'Urbin and amongst the rest of the figures his own Effigie to the life: which peice is esteemd one of the rarest in the World:<sup>5</sup> Here had that ingenious Epegramatist Martial his delicious ⟨Gardens⟩<sup>i</sup><sup>6</sup> & N. Pomphilus a fair fountaine.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>a</sup> MS. *pene*. <sup>b</sup> A leaf of K is here missing. It is here supplied from Sir John Evelyn's transcript; I have retained Sir John's spelling, but slightly improved the punctuation. <sup>c</sup> MS. *fundamontis*. <sup>d</sup> MS. *s.* <sup>e</sup> MS. *verteribus*. <sup>f</sup> MS. *alsietinæ*. <sup>g</sup> MS. *4.* <sup>h</sup> MS. *7<sup>o</sup>*: <sup>i</sup> MS. *Gardons*.

<sup>1</sup> The first two inscriptions are not on the fountain but on the arches of the aqueduct outside the city walls. The third is on the front of the fountain: Totti, pp. 50, 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50, and Pflaumern, p. 286, with original additions. Raymond, pp. 165–6. S. Pietro in Montorio. The church has been restored, but is otherwise well preserved. See E. Lavagnino, *San Pietro in Montorio*, [1929?].

<sup>3</sup> The Tempietto of Bramante.

<sup>4</sup> A mistranslation. Pflaumern is describing the balustrade ('*alius columellarum ordo*') above the

peristyle.

<sup>5</sup> The only work by Raphael in the church was the Transfiguration, preserved since 1816 in the Vatican Pinacoteca (above, p. 227 n.). The self-portrait appears to be an error of Evelyn's; but perhaps one of the figures in the Transfiguration was pointed out to him as such.

<sup>6</sup> So Totti, p. 50. But his house was on the Quirinal: A. Donatus, *Roma vetus ac recens*, 1639, p. 322; Platner and Ashby.

<sup>7</sup> Evelyn's mistranslation: in Totti 'il Sepolcro': p. 50. Sepulcrum Numæ. It was beneath the Janiculum.

January 26. We were invited to see Cavaliero Gualdis Collection,<sup>1</sup> a knight of eminent Learning, curiosity, and Civility to Strangers: In his Study he shew'd us an antiq and I think, the onely Tripas of Apollo extant, with its Bason on it, a ⟨Sistrum⟩,<sup>a</sup> the Sacrificing knife, the ⟨Acerra⟩<sup>b</sup> for Insence, divers old Lamps, the Prefericolus, out of which they pourd the Wine that wash'd the Victime.<sup>2</sup> Divers antiq Rings, worne by the Romans, which were first of Iron, then brass, after of Gold: Some excellant Achats and Cornelians especialy that ⟨with⟩<sup>c</sup> Hercules's head, perfectly to the life of the Farnezian statue;<sup>3</sup> and another of Julius Cæsar: Antinoüs: The two excellant Venus's. Divers Ægyptian Idols; as the Canopus & Isis: a Book Engraven on the Bark of a Tree, with the incisory Stylus, sharp at one<sup>d</sup> extream,<sup>d</sup> Triangular at the other & flat with an edge to scrape out. The Roman Stater and Ballance, Raffling Bones to cast dyes in use amongst the Romans, Tessaras &c also (as he believed) the true Remora which he had described in a print, with the history of that ⟨Fish's⟩<sup>e</sup> retentive property:<sup>4</sup> It was about the bigness of an Hering and not much unlike it in length or Shape, onely the upper Jaw was sharp'd like a Pike, ⟨the nether⟩<sup>f</sup> seem'd as if wanting, & supplied with a Sucker like a Leach: He shewed us also the knee Bone of a Gyant 23 Inchees in compass all Anotamist(s) concluding it to have been of a Man, twas found at Trepone<sup>5</sup> in Sicilea. Divers Roman Locks and antiq keys, the forted<sup>g</sup> horn or ⟨trompet⟩<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Sistrum*.    <sup>b</sup> MS. *Aeerra*.    <sup>c</sup> MS. *which*.    <sup>d-d</sup> MS. has *one and extream*, with *end* interlined in another hand.    <sup>e</sup> MS. *Fisher*, corrected to *Fishe's* by another hand.    <sup>f</sup> MS. *tho' neither*.    <sup>g</sup> Transcriber's error for *forked*?    <sup>h</sup> MS. *tromped*, corrected to *trompet* by another hand.

<sup>1</sup> Francesco Gualdo of Rimini, a knight of the Order of St. Stephen. His house adjoined the north-east hemicycle of Trajan's Forum. He is mentioned by Totti, p. 473; brief description of his museum in idem, *R.A.*, pp. 303-4; three objects from it, the tripod, the sistrum, and an antique spur, are figured there, pp. 42, 341, and at end; see also Richard Symonds, B.M., Egerton MS. 1635, ff. 31 v.-32. The collection apparently passed to the Minims of the SS. Trinità del Monte: F. de' Rossi, *Ritratto di Roma antica*,

1654, pp. 42, 337. See also p. 245 above.

<sup>2</sup> There is a short account of the instruments used in sacrifices, including the *acerra* and the *prefericolus*, in Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 60-2.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 216.

<sup>4</sup> *Remora pisciculi effigies a Francisco Gualdo . . . in suo musaeo adservati*, 1634, a single folio sheet, the text by Ignatus Braccius. The remora is also called the sucking-fish: see J. R. Norman, *A history of fishes*, [1931], pp. 69-71.

<sup>5</sup> Trapani?

which of old the Romans Sounded at their Sacrifices and Wars: Some Hieroglyphical stones, many natural Curiosities,<sup>a</sup> antient Armour, & not a few rare Pictures:

January 27. Having agreed with the (Procachio)<sup>b</sup> for

<sup>a</sup> Comma supplied.      <sup>b</sup> MS. *Proeachio*.

<sup>1</sup> The visit to Naples was generally regarded as an excursion from Rome. The easiest way of making it was to go with the *vetturino*; five days were spent on the journey thither; five in Naples, including visits to Vesuvius and the Phlegraean Fields; and five more on the return journey: cf. Lassels, ii. 258. Three days were as a rule considered sufficient for seeing the city of Naples; there was no important collection of antiquities; its attractions lay in the beauty of its situation and the splendour of its churches and palaces.

Evelyn travelled not with the *vetturino* but with the *procaccio*. The former was a hackney man or carrier who would apparently start a journey at the traveller's convenience; the latter was an ordinary post and had a fixed day for starting: definitions in G. Torriano, *Vocabolario Italiano & Inglese*, 1659; &c. Either would make an inclusive arrangement for transport and for meals and lodging *en route*. There was a service twice a week between Rome and Naples in 1661 and probably at least once a week in 1594; a convoy was provided between the Neapolitan frontier and Capua and in the sixteenth century in the Papal States also: Moryson, i. 103-6, where the 'Vetturine', the '*Procaccia*', and the 'Carrier' are identical; Grangier de Liverdis, p. 489, where the '*Messenger*' is distinguished from the 'Voiturier'; pp. 498-501. The advantage of travelling with the *procaccio* was that it was possible to return by a different route.

Evelyn's dates for his journey are

unreliable. He gives the following time-table (the dates in brackets being the correct day-dates if his chronology could be accepted): '27 Jan.', leave Rome, sleep at Velletri; '28 [Jan.]' (28 Jan.), sleep at Piperno: 'the day following' (29 Jan.), sleep at Fondi; '29 [Jan.]' (30 Jan.), see Mt. Caecubus, sleep at S. Agata; '31 [Jan.]' (31 Jan.), arrive Naples; 'the morrow after our arrival' (1 Feb.), sight-seeing; 'the next day' (2 Feb.), sight-seeing; 'the next day' (3 Feb.), resting; 'Feb. 4th' (4 Feb.), visiting Imperati's museum; 'the next day' (5 Feb.), the viceroy's procession; 'the 6 [Feb.]' (6 Feb.), the carnival; 'the next day being Saturday' (7 Feb.), visiting Vesuvius; 'Sunday' (8 Feb.), visiting the Phlegraean Fields; 'Feb. 8' (9 Feb.), the Arsenal; 'two days' respite' (probably 9 and 10 Feb., the visit to the Arsenal being included in these two days); 'about the 7th of Feb.' (11 Feb.), leave Naples; on 'the 13th [Feb.]' (not before 16 Feb.), visiting Angeloni's collection in Rome. Apart from the obvious clash of 'Feb. 8' and 'about the 7th of Feb.' the Saturday and Sunday fell on 4 and 5 February; there is a further difficulty, that the only suitable day for the viceroy's procession is 2 February (see below, p. 331 n.). Further it is probable that the *procaccio*, with whom Evelyn travelled, set out on Wednesdays and Saturdays: Grangier de Liverdis, travelling in 1661, p. 489; cf. Nicholas Stone the younger, 1639, diary in Walpole Soc., vol. vii, *The note-book and account book of Nicholas Stone*, 1919, p. 172. In view of these data the following

Lusty Mules, (accompanied)<sup>a</sup> with Sir John Manwood<sup>1</sup> (formerly Governor of Dover Castle, an old Souldier, that had Married the famous Sir Jo: Ogles Daughter Mrs. Eutresia) Mr. Thomas Henshaw (and)<sup>b</sup> Mr. Borgh a Dutch Gentleman, that speaking perfect English pass'd unsuspected in our Company (the (Spaniards)<sup>c</sup> at that time having Wars with Holland)<sup>2</sup> two Cortizans in Mans Apparell, who rid<sup>d</sup> astride, booted, Sworded and Spurd, & whereof one was marvelous pretty, and the Milaneze Squire Signor Jo: Baptist their Gallant, our Servants & some others, we set out from the Latine Port<sup>3</sup> towards Naples: The firs(t) part of our way was

<sup>a</sup> MS. *accompayned*.

<sup>b</sup> MS. *om*, and interlined by another hand.

<sup>c</sup> MS. *Spainards*.

<sup>d</sup> *rode* interlined by another hand.

time-table is suggested: Sat., 28 Jan., leave Rome, sleep at Velletri; 29 Jan., sleep at Piperno; 30 Jan., sleep at Fondi; 31 Jan., see Mt. Caecubus, sleep at S. Agata; Wed., 1 Feb., arrive Naples; 2 Feb., sight-seeing and viceroy's procession, and perhaps carnival; 3 Feb., sight-seeing; Sat., 4 Feb., Vesuvius; Sun., 5 Feb., the Phlegraean Fields and perhaps carnival; 6 Feb., visit Arsenal and resting; Tues., 7 Feb., leave Naples; Sat., 11 Feb., arrive Rome; visit Angeloni's collection on 13 Feb. The distance from Rome to Naples by Evelyn's route is about 170 miles.

Evelyn's sources for the journey as far as Naples are Pfaumern and Raymond, and occasionally George Sandys (see note on Evelyn's sources for Naples). For the route see also Moryson, i. 103-6; Grangier de Liverdis, pp. 490-515; and G. A. Sabelli, *La guida sicura del viaggio d'Italia*, 1680, pp. 331-3.

<sup>1</sup> D. 1653: *D.N.B.*, art. Manwood, Sir Peter. He was lieutenant of Dover Castle from c. 1637 to 1640: *Cal. S. P., Dom., passim*. His first wife was Livina, c. 1606-42, daughter of Sir John Ogle (1569-1640; *D.N.B.*), not her sister Eutretia

(Utricia): epitaph in *Notes and Queries*, 5th ser., v (1876), 245; his second wife was Cornelia Mesniam of Dort: Hasted, *Kent*, iii. 595 n. He dined at the English College on 16 Dec. 1644: Foley, (*Jesuit*) *records*, vi. 626.

<sup>2</sup> The renewed war between Spain and the Dutch lasted from 1621 to 1648; the kingdom of Naples was governed by Spanish viceroys from 1504 to 1707.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn begins his account of his journey incorrectly through his carelessly following Raymond. Raymond made a detour in order to visit Frascati. He left the city by the '*Port. Lat: anciently Asinaria*' (p. 114), the Porta di S. Giovanni (in Laterano); the ancient Porta Asinaria was just south-west of it. He followed the Via Appia Nuova for about 400 yards and then took the road to the left, the Via Toscolana; after he had passed the Porta Furba the three aqueducts (see below) would be on his right.

Evelyn probably took the usual route. This, leaving the city by the Porta di S. Giovanni, ran along the Via Appia Nuova until shortly after it crosses the ancient Via Latina; it then ran to Marino along a road now

well pav'd & full of Antiquities especially antient Sepulchers, Inscriptions and ruines; for it was <their><sup>a</sup> manner to bury much by famous high-roads, where they also placed their Statues, thereby inciting the minds of Men to gallant actions by the memory of their examples: In the right hand we saw the <Aquæduct><sup>b</sup> of Ancq Martius,<sup>1</sup> and those of Claudius,<sup>2</sup> and the new ones of Sixtus Vth,<sup>3</sup> being a stately peice of Arch work for near 20 Miles: Then we enter the Via Appia 'till we came near Frascati which we left on the other hand, riding by the Wood & Lake celebrated for the fiction of Heleon and Diana,]<sup>c</sup> thence to Veletri,<sup>5</sup> a Towne heretofore of the Volsci where is a publike and faire statue of P: Urban the 8 in brasse,<sup>6</sup> and a stately Fountaine in the streete, here we lay, and drank excellent Wine.

28 We dind at Sermoneta,<sup>7</sup> descending all this morning downe a stony mountaine, unpleasant, yet full of Olive-trees; & anon passe a Towre built on a rock,<sup>8</sup> kept by a small Watch or Guard against the Banditi, who are very rife in these parts, daily robbing and killing<sup>d</sup> the Passengers, as my Lord

<sup>a</sup> MS. *there*.    <sup>b</sup> MS. *Aquæquct*.    <sup>c</sup> K now resumes.    <sup>d</sup> Altered from *kissing*.

largely lost or covered by a railway line; from Marino it ran by La Faiola to Velletri along a road that has disappeared. It would perhaps have been possible to leave the city by the Porta Latina and the Via Latina, but Evelyn's 'Latine Port' is probably an incorrect expansion from Raymond. Whichever road he took, the three aqueducts would always be on his left; he would never have been on the ancient Via Appia until he was near Terracina.

For the roads see the old maps of the Campagna, such as G. F. Ameti, *Il Lazio*, 1693, and G. B. Cingolani, *Topog. geometrica dell' agro romano*, 1704; bibliography in T. Ashby, *The Roman Campagna in classical times*, 1927.

<sup>1</sup> Aqua Marcia. It takes its name from Q. Marcius Rex; the mistake occurs in Raymond.

<sup>2</sup> Aqua Claudia.

<sup>3</sup> Acqua Felice: see above, p. 238.

<sup>4</sup> Heleon is an error, presumably Sir John Evelyn's, for Acteon: Raymond, p. 119. The lake is Nemi; the association of Acteon with this area is not classical and is apparently due to Raymond.

<sup>5</sup> From Raymond, pp. 119-20. Velletri.

<sup>6</sup> By Bernini; it was erected in 1632 and disappeared during the French invasion: Frascchetti, *Bernini*, p. 147.

<sup>7</sup> So Raymond, p. 120. Actually at the Osteria di Sermoneta, on the road, a short distance from the village. The road is the old post-road at the foot of the hills; the Via Appia ran through the marshes, always keeping some miles to the west: see Ameti's map.

<sup>8</sup> From Raymond, p. 120. The Portone di Sermoneta or the Torre d'Aquapuzza near by.

Banbury<sup>1</sup> and his Company found to their cost, a little before: To this Guard we gave some mony, and so were suffer'd to passe, which was still on the Appian to the Tres Tabernæ<sup>2</sup> (whither the Brethren came from Rome to meete S. Paule Acts: 28:) The ruines wherof are yet very faire, resembling the remainder of some considerable Edifice, as may be judged by the vast stones, & fairenesse of the arched-worke. The Country invironing this passage is hilly but rich;<sup>3</sup> at the right hand stretches an ample playne being the Pompt(i)ni<sup>a</sup> Campi:<sup>4</sup> We reposed this night at Piperno in the Post-house without the Towne;<sup>5</sup> and here I was extremely troubl'd with a sore hand which I brought from Rome with me by a mischance, which now began to fester, upon my base unlucky stiffne(c)ked trotting carrion Mule, & which are in the world the most wretched beasts.

In this Towne was the Poet Virgills Camilla borne:<sup>6</sup>

The day following we were faine to hire a strong (Convoy)<sup>b</sup> of about 30 Firelocks to guard us through the Cork-Woods (much infested with the Banditi) as far as Nova fossa,<sup>7</sup> where was the Appij Forum,<sup>8</sup> and now stands a reveren'd Church

<sup>a</sup> MS. probably *Pomptni*; badly written.    <sup>b</sup> MS. *Convey*.

<sup>1</sup> Edward Knollys, c. 1627-45, sometimes styled second earl of Banbury (from 1632): *D.N.B.*, art. Knollys, William, earl of Banbury. He dined at the English College on 27 April and 24 Sept. 1644: Foley, (*Jesuit*) records, vi. 626.

<sup>2</sup> From Raymond, pp. 120-1. Raymond places them near the Casa Nuova and Casa Bianca; the former is shown on Ameti's map as between Sezze and Piperno. Pflaumern places them near Sezze: p. 414; he and Raymond obviously mean the same group of ruins, probably those of Setia. In Ameti's map the Tres Tabernæ are shown approximately in their correct position on the Via Appia.

Raymond gives a view of the Tres Tabernæ. There is an etching by Evelyn called 'Tres Tabernæ

sive Appii Forum'. He had presumably forgotten where he made the drawing.

<sup>3</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 414, referring to the fertility of the hill on which Sezze stands.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Raymond, p. 122. The marshes were a swamp; the Via Appia, which runs through them, was impassable: see Pflaumern, pp. 415-16.

<sup>5</sup> So Raymond, p. 122.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*; Pflaumern, p. 415. *Aeneid* xi. 539-43.

<sup>7</sup> In part from Pflaumern, p. 415, or Raymond, pp. 122-3, but with additions and errors. Fossanova. The church still exists.

<sup>8</sup> So Raymond and Pflaumern. Ameti places it approximately in its correct position on the Via Appia.

with a greate Monastery, the Place where Tho: Aquinas both studied, & lyes buried:<sup>1</sup> Here we therefore all alighted, and were most curteously received by the Monks, who shew'd us many Reliquis of their learned Saint; and at the high-Altar the print forsooth of the mules hoofe, which he caused to kneele before the host:<sup>2</sup> The Church is old, built after the Gotique manner, but the place is very agreeably melancholy: After this pursuing the same noble Way (which before we left a little) the Appian,<sup>3</sup> which we found in this journey to stretch from Capua to Rome it selfe, & afterwards as far as Brundusium: Built it was, by that famous Consul,<sup>4</sup> 25 foote broad, every<sup>a</sup> 12 foote something ascending for the ease, & firmer footing of horse and man: both the sides are also a little raisd, for those who travell on foote; the whole paved with a kind of beach stone, and (as I sayd) ever and anon adorn'd with some old ruine, sepulcher or fractur'd Statue:<sup>5</sup> In one

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *way* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's error; his sources state simply that the saint died here. He died here on 7 March 1274; he was not otherwise connected with Fossanova and his remains were dispersed, the principal parts being taken to Toulouse in 1368.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn appears to have confused a miracle performed by St. Anthony of Padua at Rimini with the death of St. Thomas's mule, which took place before the door of the monastery during the saint's funeral: *Acta sanctorum*, March, i. 676; the marks shown as the mule's foot-prints were, however, before the high altar: cf. J. J. Bouchard, in L. Marcheix, *Un Parisien à Rome et à Naples en 1632*, n.d. [c. 1898], pp. 13-14.

<sup>3</sup> This description of the Via Appia is taken from Pflaumern, pp. 416-19, in part mistranslated. See also Raymond, pp. 123-4. Evelyn had not so far travelled along the road. The best-preserved part of it lay between Terracina and

Fundi: Pighius, *Hercules Prodicus*, p. 435.

<sup>4</sup> Appius Claudius Caecus. Raymond also mentions his consulship; he was twice consul, in 307 and in 296 B.C., but it was as censor, in 312 and the following years, that he built the road.

<sup>5</sup> 'Fuit via lata pedes quinque & viginti, nonnihilque eminebat aggeris instar, atque idcirco ne aut diffueret, aut silicum compages solveretur, oportuit firmos utrimque adstrui margines præterea ne quid aut ornamento eius, aut commodo viatorum deesset, post singulos duodenos pedes singuli interiecti lapides fuere excelsiores, ut ex iis & inscendi in equum posset, & fessi pedites considerare in iis, tanquam sedilibus, aut onera reclinare possent. . . .

'Nullibi magis integra, quàm apud Tarricinam. Ibi propè omnium signa sunt, quæ habuisse illam proditum litteris fuit: ibi nigricantibus latissimisque silicibus con-



of these Monuments in Paulo (terzos)\* tyme Pancirollus tells us was found the body of a Young Lady<sup>1</sup> swimming in a kind of Bath of precious oyle or liquor, fresh, & entire as she had been living, neither her face discolour'd, or her haire disorderd: at her feete burnt a lamp which suddainely expir'd at the opening of the Vault, having flam'd as was computed by the conjecture that it was Tulliola the daughter of Cicero whose body was thus found now 1500 yeares, and as the Inscription testified.<sup>2</sup>

We dined this day at Terr(a)cina<sup>3</sup> heretofore the famous Anxur, which stands upon a very eminent Promontory, the Cercean by name:<sup>4</sup> Whil'st meate was preparing I went up into the Town, and vieu'd the fayre remainders of Jupiters Temple,<sup>5</sup> now converted into a Church, adorn'd with most stately Columns; for its Architecture has doubtlesse been incomparable, as may be deduc'd from those goodly, Cornices, Mouldings, and huge White Marbles, of which 'tis built: before the Portico stands a Pillar thus inscrib'd<sup>6</sup>

\* MS. 3<sup>os</sup>.

stratam, & utrimque exstantibus altius lapidibus solidatam: ibi parvo spatio interiecta equitum pedittumque saxa cernes; hinc atque inde ædificiorum & sepulchrorum crebra ac clara monumenta, quibus hæc viarum regina ornatissima fuit.'

Beach stone is not given in *O.E.D.*

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 419, who follows G. Panciroli, *Rerum memorabilium iam olim deperditarum . . . libri duo* (ed. 1599, p. 236), and Alberti (ed. 1588, f. [139]). Panciroli does not mention the corpse, merely the lamp. The latter is presumably fictitious; the former was found as Evelyn describes it in 1495: Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, iii. 297-9; further account of the discovery in Pont. acad. romana di archeologia, ser. iii, *Rendiconti*, iii (1924-5), 25-40.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn translates carelessly: 'insculptæ aliquot notæ' indicated that the body had been buried 1,500 years; many believed it to be Tulliola's.

<sup>3</sup> The first part of the notice, including the inscriptions, is from Raymond, pp. 124-5, who also dined here. Pflaumern, pp. 421-2. See M.-R. de la Blanchère, *Terracine*, 1884.

<sup>4</sup> Raymond's error: Monte Circèo lies eleven miles to the west. The error is apparently the result of Raymond's attempting to translate a corrupt reading of *Aeneid* vii. 799-800.

<sup>5</sup> The probable site of the temple of Jupiter is now occupied by the Castello; Evelyn's temple is that of Rome and Augustus, now the cathedral: de la Blanchère, pp. 91, 124.

<sup>6</sup> This appears to be a modern

Inclyta Gothorum Regis monumenta vetusta  
Anxur(e)i hoc <Oculis><sup>a</sup> exposuere loco,  
for it seemes Theodoric drayn'd their Marshes.

On another much antienter.<sup>1</sup>

Imp: Cæsar: Divi Nervæ Filius Nerva Trajanus Aug: Germanicus Dacicus: Pontif: Max: Trib: <Pot:><sup>b</sup> XVIII<I>. Imp: VI. Cos. V. <PP.><sup>c</sup> XVIII. Silices sua pecunia <stravit>,<sup>d</sup> meaning doubtlesse some part of the Via Appia: Then<sup>2</sup>

Tit: UPIO. Aug: Optato.

Pont<i>ano. Procuratori. Et Præfect: Classis

Ti. Julius. T<i>. Fab. – Optatus. II. VIR:

here is likewise a Columna Miliaria,<sup>3</sup> with something engraven on it, but I could not stay to consider it.

Coming down againe I went towards the Sea-side to contemplate that stupendious strange Rock & promontory, Clef by hand I suppose for the better passage:<sup>4</sup> Within this is the Cercæan Cave.<sup>5</sup> I went into it a good way, it makes a dreadful noyes, by reason of the roaring, & impetuous<sup>e</sup> Waves continually assalting the beach, & that in an unusual horrid maner.

At the top, and an excessive height stands an old & very greate Castle:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Oculos*.

<sup>b</sup> MS. *Pop*.

<sup>c</sup> MS. *pp*.

<sup>d</sup> MS. *strevit*.

<sup>e</sup> Followed by *stas-* deleted.

inscription accompanying a copy of an inscription of Theodoric: *C.I.L.*, vol. x, nos. 6850–1.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 6839. It should read: ' . . . trib. pot. xiiii . . . P.P. xviii silice . . . ' In the text I have corrected Evelyn's material divergences from Raymond.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 6318. It should read: 'Ti. Iulio. Aug. L. Optato . . . Ti. Iulius/Ti. F. Fab/Optatus II Vir.' De la Blanchère, p. 127. In the text I have corrected Evelyn's material divergences from Raymond.

<sup>3</sup> Original notice.

<sup>4</sup> See Pflaumern, p. 423. The 3811.2

cliff is cut away, to leave a road by the sea. The cutting, which is antique, is 125 ft. high and 135 ft. long: de la Blanchère, p. 103.

<sup>5</sup> Pflaumern mentions some caves near Galba's villa (see below): p. 422; Evelyn, led astray by Raymond's identification of Terracina with the Circean promontory, has confused them with the caves at the foot of the latter, taking his description in part from Sandys, p. 308.

<sup>6</sup> This probably refers to the ruins of Circei, on the promontory: *ibid.*

Y

We arriv'd this night at Fundi,<sup>1</sup> a most dangerous passage for robbing; and so we pass'd by Galbas Villa;<sup>2</sup> and anon entred the Kingdome of Naples, where at the Gate<sup>3</sup> this Epigraph saluted us. *Hospes hic sunt fines Regni Neopolitani, si amicus advenis pacaté omnia invenies, et malis moribus pulsus, bonas leges:* The Via Appia<sup>4</sup> is here a noble prospect, having before consider'd how it was carried through vast mountaines of rocks for many miles, a most stupendious labour: here it is infinitely pleasant, beset with sepulchres and Antiquities, full of sweete shrubbs about the invironing hedges. At Fundi (here was Amiclas lost by silence)<sup>5</sup> we had Oranges & Citrons for nothing, the trees growing in every corner infinitely charged with fruite, in all the poore peoples Orchyards:<sup>6</sup>

29 We descried mount Cæcubus,<sup>7</sup> famous for the generous Vine it heretofore produc'd; & so rid onward<sup>a</sup> the Appian-Way beset with Myrtils, Lentiscus, bayes, Pomegranads, & whole Groves of orange-trees, and most delicious shrubbs,<sup>8</sup> till we came to Formiana, where they shew'd us Ciceros Tomb<sup>9</sup>

<sup>a</sup> MS. *on ward*, broken by end of line.

<sup>1</sup> So Raymond, p. 127. Fondi. For the danger in this part of the journey, *ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> So *ibid.*; Pflaumern, pp. 422-3. Galba was born here *c.* 3 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> From Raymond, p. 126. Pflaumern, p. 423. The Torre dell' Epitaffio. It lies between Terracina and Fondi.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 319 above. Raymond also calls attention to this part of the road.

<sup>5</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 424-7. The legend properly belonged to the Laconian Amyclae: the town, having been frequently disturbed by false alarms of the enemy's approach, had established a law against raising such false alarms for the future; when the Spartans approached it no one dared give the alarm and so it was captured. The Latian Amyclae, more correctly Amunclae, was also deserted in Roman times, it is said

on account of the presence of poisonous snakes; 'silent Amyclae' became proverbial.

<sup>6</sup> So Raymond, p. 128.

<sup>7</sup> For the date see above, p. 315 n. The mountain is from Raymond, pp. 128-9, or Pflaumern, pp. 425-6. There was no mountain bearing this name in ancient times; the ancient writers quoted by Pflaumern give 'Caecubus ager', the coastal plain near Fundi.

<sup>8</sup> So Raymond, p. 129, and Pflaumern, p. 427.

<sup>9</sup> From Raymond, pp. 129-30. Cicero was put to death near his Formiana, a villa near Formiae, in 48 B.C. The monument pointed out as his tomb in the seventeenth century still exists. Figure in Raymond. Pflaumern does not mention it; he gives a ruin near Sessa Aurunca as the tomb: pp. 436-7.

standing in an Olive-grove, now a rudes<sup>1</sup> of huge stones without any forme or beauty; for here that incomparable Orator was Murther'd: I shall never forget how exceedingly I was delighted with the Sweetnesse of this passage, the Sepulchers mixed amongst the verdures of all Sorts; besides being now come within sight of that noble City Cajeta<sup>2</sup> which gives a surprizing Prospect along the Tyrhen Sea, in manner of a Theater; & here we beheld that strangely cleft Rock, an hideous & frightfull spectacle; which they have a tradition hapn'd upon the Passion of our B: Saviour:<sup>3</sup> But the hast of our Procaccio suffer'd us not to dwell so long on these objects, and the many antiquities of this Towne as we desired:

At Formia<sup>4</sup> we saw Ciceros Grott,<sup>5</sup> dining at Mola, & passing Senuessa, Garigliano (where once the City Minterna) & beheld the ruines of that vast Amphitheatre and Aquæduct yet standing; The River Liris which bounded the old Latium, Falernus, or Mons Massicus, celebrated for its wine, now nam'd Garo, and this night we lodg'd at a little Village call'd (S.) Agatha in the Falernian Feilds neere to Aurunca and Sessa.<sup>6</sup> The next day, having passed Vulturnus, we

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a slip for *rudus*, old rubbish, of the stones, plaster, &c., of old buildings.

<sup>2</sup> The view expanded from Raymond, p. 131. Gaeta. There is a description by T. Rossetti, 1673 (Schlosser, p. 529); what appear to be extracts from it are printed in various guides to the Phlegræan Fields; in P. Sarnelli, *Nuova guida . . . di Pozzuoli*, 1782, pp. 163–84 as by P. Rossetto.

<sup>3</sup> From Raymond, p. 131. Pflaumern, pp. 431–2. The rock is the *Montagna spaccata*, forming part of Monte Orlando. The tradition is accepted by Baronius: *Annales*, ed. 1738–59, i. 155.

<sup>4</sup> *Formiæ* was the ancient name for Mola (Mola di Gaeta), which is now called Formia. Raymond also dined here: p. 134.

<sup>5</sup> '*Ciceros Grote*, in which he

wrote many of his familiar Epistles.'

<sup>6</sup> This is a summary from Raymond, pp. 134–5, in its turn summarized from Pflaumern, pp. 432–7. There was a village called Garigliano at the crossing of the Liris; the modern name for the river is also the Garigliano. The village occupies the site of Minturnæ, of which some ruins survive (the modern Minturno, formerly Traëtto, lies about three miles north-west of the crossing). '*Sessa*, formerly *Aurunca*', now Sessa Aurunca, lies about a mile north-west of Sant' Agata. Mons Massicus, now Monte Massica, also called Garo, with the site of Sinuessa, lies south of Sessa; the Ager Falernus stretches from its southern slopes to the Volturno.

Raymond also slept at Sant' Agata.

come by the Torre di Francolesse<sup>1</sup> where the valiant Hanibal in danger of Fabius Maximus escaped by debauching his Enemyes: And so we at last enter'd the most pleasant Plaines of Campania, now call'd Terra di Lavoro: In very truth I thinke the most fertile spot, that ever the Sunn shone upon:<sup>2</sup> Here we saw the slender ruines of the once mighty Capua<sup>3</sup> contending at once both with Rome and Carthage for Splendor & Empire; now nothing but an heape of rubbish, with some goodly Vestigias of its pristine magnificence, discover'd in the remaining pieces of Temples, Arches, Theaters, Columns, Ports, Vaults, Collossas<sup>4</sup> &c confounded together by the barbarous Goths<sup>5</sup> & Longobards: There is yet a new City, neerer to the road by two miles,<sup>6</sup> fairely raysd out of these heapes. The Passage from this Towne towards Naples (which is about 10, or 12 English post miles) is as straight as a line could lay it,<sup>7</sup> & of a huge breadth, swarming with<sup>a</sup> travellers more then ever I remember any of our greatest, & most frequented roads neere London: But what is extreamely divertissant, is the incomparable fertility of the feilds and grounds about it, which are planted about with fruit-trees, whose boles are serpented with excellent Vines, and they so<sup>b</sup> exuberant, that 'tis commonly reported one Vine will loade 5 mules with its Grapes: but what much adds to the pleasure of these rusticities,<sup>8</sup> is that the Vines climbing to the summit of the trees reach in festoons &

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *P* deleted.

<sup>b</sup> Followed by *fruitefull* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> From Raymond, p. 136; but Evelyn has incorrectly inserted the crossing of the Volturmo. The Torre di Francolise. It lies about twelve miles north-west of the crossing. For Hannibal's deceiving the Romans here in 217 B.C. see Livy, bk. xxii, cc. 16–17.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Raymond, p. 136; Pflaumern, p. 437.

<sup>3</sup> From *ibid.*, pp. 437–9. Raymond, pp. 136–7. S. Maria di Capua Vetere and the modern Capua.

<sup>4</sup> 'Colosseas moles.'

<sup>5</sup> Pflaumern has the Vandals, not the Goths.

<sup>6</sup> Pflaumern writes that old Capua is two miles distant from the new. Both are on the main road.

<sup>7</sup> The road is regular, not straight; cf. above, p. 68.

<sup>8</sup> Evelyn is perhaps the originator of this use of the word; he uses it again, perhaps with slightly different shades of meaning, in *Sculptura*, p. 68, and *Sylva*, 1664, To the Reader, sig. B v.; 1670, p. 73.

fruitages from one tree to another, planted at exact distances, which shewing like a greene Chayne about a field, is pleasanter than any painting can describe it: Here likewise growes Rice, Canes for Suggar, Olives, Pomegranads, Mulberrys, Cittrons, Oranges, Figgs and infinite sorts of rare fruits:<sup>1</sup> About the middle of the Way is the Towne Aversa,<sup>2</sup> whither came 3 or 4 Coaches to meete our Lady travellers, of whom we now tooke leave, having ben very merry by the way with them, and the Capitano, who was their Gallant:<sup>3</sup>

31 About noone We enterd the Citty of Naples,<sup>4</sup> allighting at the 3 Kings,<sup>5</sup> a Place of treatement to excesse, as we found by our very plentiful fare all the tyme we were in Naples, where provisions are miraculously cheape, & we seldome sat downe to fewer than 18 or 20 dishes of the most exquisite meate & frutes, enjoying the Creature:

The morrow after our arival in the afternoone We hired a Coach to<sup>a</sup> carry us about the Towne, & first we went to

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *see* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> This passage is expanded from the similar accounts in Raymond, pp. 137–8, and Pflaumern, p. 439. The ultimate source for the five mule-loads of grapes appears to be U. Folieta (Foglietta), *Brumanus*, 1573, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> So Raymond.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 316.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn's sources for his account of Naples and its environs, and the materials for its elucidation, are described in a note at the end of this volume.

In the seventeenth century Naples possessed no important collections of antiquities; Pompeii and Herculaneum were still undisturbed. Its attraction lay in the beauty of its situation and in the volcanic areas about it; and it then took place among the very small number of large European cities. The population in 1606 is given as 259,932 persons: G. C. Capaccio,

*Descr. di Napoli ne' principii del secolo XVII*, ed. B. Capasso, 1882, pp. 23–4; cf. *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, xxii (1897), 308–11.

<sup>5</sup> Richard Symonds stayed here in 1651, his five nights costing him five crowns (all meals apparently included, with wine at table): Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. D. 121, p. 150. Grangier de Liverdis, who stayed here in 1661, describes it as 'la retraite ordinaire des François': p. 613 (see also p. 514). Later came to it the princes of Brunswick and Baden, in 1675: A. Bulifon, *Giornali di Napoli dal 1547 al 1706*, ed. N. Cortese, 1932–, i. 202; and the duke of Mantua, in 1686: D. Confuorto, *Giornali di Napoli dal 1679 al 1699*, ed. N. Nicolini, 1930–1, i. 148. From notices in Celano it appears that foreigners usually lodged in or near the Via Corsea: ii. 1–2; &c.

Visite the Castle of St. Elmo,<sup>1</sup> built on an excessive high rock, whence we had an intire prospect of the whole Citty, which lyes in shape of a Theatre upon the Sea brinke, with all the circumjacent Ilands, as far as Capra,<sup>2</sup> famous for the debauch'd recesses of Tiberius.

This fort is the bridle<sup>3</sup> of the Whole Citty, and was well stor'd, & Garrisond with natural<sup>4</sup> Spanyards: the strangeness,<sup>a</sup> of the precipice, & rarenesse of the Prospect in view of so many magnificent & stately Palaces,<sup>b</sup> Churches & Monasteries, (with)<sup>c</sup> the Arsenale, Mole, & distant Mount Vesuvius, all in full command of the Eye, is certainly one of the richest Landskips in the World: Hence we descended to another strong Castle, cald il Castello Nuovo,<sup>5</sup> which protects the Shore, but they would by no intreaty permitt us to go in; the outward defence seemes to consist but in 4 tours<sup>6</sup> very high, & an exceeding deepe graft, with thick Walls: Opposite to this is the Toure of St. Vincent,<sup>7</sup> which is also very Strong: Then we went to the Vice-Roy's Palace,<sup>8</sup> which is realy one of the noblest that I had seene in all Italy, partly old, & part of a newer Work, but we did not stay long here:

<sup>a</sup> Followed by & deleted.    <sup>b</sup> Followed by & deleted.    <sup>c</sup> MS. *wh* for *which*.

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 443-4; the view partly from *ibid.*, pp. 465-6. See Sandys, pp. 254-5 (from Capaccio, pp. 411-13).

<sup>2</sup> 'Capreas, the delight of Tyberius': Raymond, p. 140 (not in connexion with this view). Capri. See Sandys, p. 252 (mainly from Capaccio, pp. 547-9).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pflaumern, p. 444. The metaphor is common, but possessed a special significance in Naples, where it is connected with a colossal bronze horse said to have stood at one time before the cathedral: *Archivio stor. per le provincie napoletane*, vii (1882), 407-20; *Bollettino d'arte*, 1st ser., v (1911), 241-4.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. native-born. This usage also

occurs in Lassels when describing the soldiers here: ii. 281.

<sup>5</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 443-5. The Castel Nuovo. The association of the two fortresses in Pflaumern has probably led to their appearance together in Evelyn. The greater part of the Castel Nuovo still exists.

<sup>6</sup> 'Propugnacula', the bastions of the outer wall. Pflaumern also notes the five towers of the castle proper.

<sup>7</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 445. It stood at the beginning of the modern Molo di S. Vincenzo: Celano, v. 67-8, and plans of Naples.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Pflaumern, p. 445. The present royal palace. The existing building was begun in 1602; parts of its predecessor still existed in 1692: Celano, v. 138-46.

Towards the Evening we tooke the ayre upon the Mole,<sup>1</sup> which is a streete upon the rampart or banke rayised in the sea for security of their Gallys in Port, built as that of Genoã: here I observ'd an incomparable rich Fountaine<sup>2</sup> built in the middst of the Piazza, & adornd with divers rare statues of Copper representing the Sirens & deities of (Parthenope),<sup>3</sup> spouting large streames of Water into an ample Concha, all of cast mettall & infinite Cost: this stands at the entrance of the Mole, where wee<sup>m</sup>mett many of the Nobility, both on horse-back, & in their Coaches to take the fresco<sup>3</sup> from the sea, as the manner is, it being in the most advantageous quarter for good ayre, delight & prospect: Here we saw divers goodly horses who handsomly become their riders, the Neapolitan Gentlemen:<sup>4</sup> This Mole is about 500 paces in length, & pav'd with a square hewn stone.

From the Mole we ascend to a Church,<sup>5</sup> a very greate antiquity formerly sacred to Castor & Pollux, as the Greeke letters carv'd in the Architrave testify, & the busts<sup>6</sup> of their

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Parthonope*.

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern, p. [447], and Raymond, p. 139. The Molo Angioino, commenced in 1301. Sandys, p. 255 (from Schott, pt. iii, pp. 224-5). The Molo S. Vincenzo was built in the nineteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> 'At the end of the *Mole* is the *Fanal*, and underneath a fountaine, with the statues of the old Dieties of *Parthenope*': Raymond, pp. 139-40; some further details from Pflaumern, p. [447], who places it at the head of the Mole, meaning at the same point as Raymond. It was removed to Madrid by Don P. A. d'Aragon, viceroy 1666-72: Celano, v. 59-61; see also *Archivio stor. delle provincie napoletane*, v (1880), 158-94. Evelyn may have confused it with some other fountain; there were several in the area about the Castel Nuovo: Celano, v. 36-8, 57; Grangier de Liverdis,

pp. 534-5.

<sup>3</sup> 'Hither all the Gentry at the evening retire to take the *Fresco*': Raymond, p. 139.

<sup>4</sup> In the sixteenth century the Neapolitans were the best horsemen in Europe; in the seventeenth they were superseded by the French.

<sup>5</sup> From Raymond, pp. 140-1. Pflaumern, p. 463. S. Paolo Maggiore. It is of medieval origin; it was given to the Theatines in 1538 and was rebuilt by them in 1591; the antique portico was almost completely destroyed by an earthquake in 1688: Celano, ii. 151-77.

<sup>6</sup> Torriano (1659) explains *busto* as 'a bulk or trunk without a head', and it is in this sense that Evelyn uses the word here and below, pp. 369, 415. It was apparently not yet in common use as a representation of the head and shoulders,



two statues, converted now into a stately Oratory by the Theatines: Hence we went to the Cathedrall<sup>1</sup> which is a most magnificent pile: and unlesse St. Peters in Rome certainly Naples exceeds all Cittys in the World for stately Churches & Monasteries:<sup>2</sup> We were told that this day the Blood of St. Genuarius, & his head should be expos'd, and so we found it;<sup>3</sup> but obtain'd not to see the miracle of the boiling of this blod, as was told us: The Next we went to see was St. Peters,<sup>4</sup> richly adornd; the Chapel especialy, where the Apostle sayd Masse, as is testified on the Walle: After dinner we went to St. Dominic,<sup>5</sup> where they shew'd us the Crucifix that is reported to have sayd these Words to St. Thomas: Bene de me scripsisti, Thoma. Hence to the Padri Olivetani<sup>6</sup> famous for the monument of the learned Alexand: ab Alexandro.<sup>7</sup>

We went the next day to visite the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore,<sup>8</sup> where we spent much tyme in surve(y)ing the Chapell of Izo: Joh: Pontanus,<sup>9</sup> & in it the severall & excellent Sentences, & Epitaphs on himselfe, Wife, Children & Friends; full of rare witt, and worthy of recording, as already we find them in severall writers: In the same Chapell is shewed an arme of Titus Livius with this Epigraph.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 449.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Raymond, p. 140. Travellers were impressed by the wealth of the Neapolitan churches.

<sup>3</sup> The relics of St. Januarius were not normally exposed at this time of year; a special exposure may have taken place, but it is equally possible that Evelyn is transforming Pflaumern's account of the liquefaction (pp. 449-50) into a personal experience; compare his accounts of his seeing other relics: pp. 262, 380, 412. For the liquefactions see Father H. Thurston, S.J., in *The Month*, Jan.-March 1927.

<sup>4</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 451. S. Pietro ad Aram, near the SS. Annunziata. Celano, iii. 328-35.

<sup>5</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 453. St. Thomas is Thomas Aquinas. Pflaumern follows the usual version of the legend; a different version is

given in the *Acta Sanctorum*, March, i. 673-4.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 454. Monte Oliveto.

<sup>7</sup> Alessandro d'Alessandro, c. 1461-1523; author of the *Dies geniales*, 1522: *Nouvelle biog. gén.* He wished to be buried here, but no tomb was erected. The Alessandro family had a chapel in the church: C. d'Eugenio Caracciolo, *Napoli sacra*, 1624, p. 508.

<sup>8</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 457-63, where all the inscriptions are printed. The church has been pulled down; the chapel still exists.

<sup>9</sup> Giovanni Gioviano Pontano, 1426-1503, statesman and humanist: *Nouvelle biog. gén.* The Accademia Pontaniana still exists.

<sup>10</sup> Antonio Beccadelli, commonly called Panormita, 1394-1471, when ambassador at Venice in 1451,

Titi Livij (brachium),<sup>a</sup> quod Anton Panormita à Patavinis impetravit. Jo: Jovianus<sup>b</sup> Pontanus multos post annos hoc in loco ponendum curavit.

From hence climbing a steepe hill we came to the Monastery of the Carthusians<sup>1</sup> and Church, where (after we had turn'd about & considerd the goodly Prospect towards the Sea, and Citty; the one full of Gallys, and ships, the Other of stately Palaces, Churches, Monasteries, Castles, Gardens, delicious fields & meadows, Mount Vesuvius smoaking;<sup>2</sup> the Promontory of Minerva, & Misenum;<sup>3</sup> Capra, Prochyta, Ischia, Pausilipe, Puteoli and the rest, doubtlesse one of the most divertisant & considerable Vistas in the World) we went into the Church; which is most elegantly built; the very pavements of the common Cloyster being all layd with variously polish'd & rich marbles, richly figur'd:<sup>4</sup> here they shew'd a Massie Crosse of silver,<sup>5</sup> much celebrated for the Workmanship & carving, & sayd to have ben 14 yeares in perfecting: The Quire also of this Church is of rare arte.

But above all to be admir'd is the yet unfinished Jesuites Church;<sup>6</sup> a Piece, certainly if accomplish'd, not to me

<sup>a</sup> MS. *brachiam*.

<sup>b</sup> Altered from *Johannes*.

obtained the arm from a tomb at Padua associated with the tombstone of a freed man of Livia Quarta, at that time believed to be the tomb of the historian: *C.I.L.*, vol. v, no. 2865; see also below, pp. 462-3.

<sup>1</sup> The notice almost entirely from Pflaumern, pp. 464-[7]. S. Martino, immediately beneath the Castel S. Elmo. The rebuilding of the church and monastery had begun in 1580; the decoration was now approaching completion: *Napoli nobilissima*, xi (1902), 101-3, 117-18, &c.

<sup>2</sup> This detail is not in Pflaumern, at the time of whose visit to Naples Vesuvius was dormant: see below, p. 332 n.

<sup>3</sup> Pflaumern writes that the gulf

between the two capes is visible, not necessarily the capes themselves.

<sup>4</sup> 'The whole quadrangle . . . is . . . paved with *marble squars*': Lassels, ii. 279; cf. Celano, vi. 41. It was presumably completed at the time of Evelyn's visit. Pflaumern describes the pavement of the treasury as being made of black and white marble.

<sup>5</sup> It was by Antonio Gentili, called Antonio da Faenza: Pflaumern and Celano, vi. 37; Thieme, *Lexikon*.

<sup>6</sup> Pflaumern, p. [467], as incomplete. The Gesù Nuovo. The high altar was still incomplete in 1661: Grangier de Liverdis, pp. 521-2. The church was damaged in the earthquake of 1688: Celano, iii. 44-8.

match'd in Europe: Hence we pass'd by the Palazza Caraffi<sup>1</sup> full of antient & very noble statues; also the Palace of the Ursini.<sup>2</sup>

The next day little, but visite some friends that were English merchants resident for their negotiation;<sup>3</sup> Onely this morning at the Vice-roys Cavalerizzo,<sup>4</sup> I saw the noblest horses that I had ever beheld, one of his sonns riding the Menage with that addresse & dexterity, as I had never seene any thing approach it.

Feb: 4th<sup>5</sup> We were invited to the Collection of exotic rarities in the Museum of Ferdinando Imperati<sup>6</sup> a Neapolitan Nobleman, and one of the most observable Palaces in the City: The repository full of incomparable rarities; amongst the Natural Herbals<sup>7</sup> most remarkable<sup>a</sup> was the Byssus

---

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *observable*?

---

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. [467]-8. The palace of the Carafa, dukes of Maddaloni, now the Palazzo Sant'angelo, in the Via S. Biagio de' Librai: Celano, iii. 188-96; *Napoli nobilissima*, ii (1893), 149-52, 168-70. The sculptures included a celebrated bronze horse's head, now in the Naples museum, no. 4887; it was at this time associated with the 'bridling' of the city: cf. above, p. 326 n.

<sup>2</sup> Pflaumern apparently makes this into two palaces: pp. [467]-8. The Orsini were dukes of Gravina and the palace generally goes under the latter name. It is now the post office.

<sup>3</sup> The importance of the English merchants here is shown by various notices in (*Florence gazette*), Rome: thus, 29 Oct. 1644, the 'nazione inglese' offers 1,000 ducats as a reward for information about the murder of an Englishman; 8 April 1645, many merchants in Naples, for the most part Englishmen, are concerned in the loss of a ship and

her freight worth 100,000 *scudi*. See also Howell, *Epist.*, p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> The Cavalleritia was situated near the Ponte della Maddalena, to the east of the city: Celano, x. 9-11. The usual Italian form is *cavallerizza*; *cavallerizzo* means a riding-master: cf. Zinzano, in V. The viceroy at this time was Don Juan Alfonso Enriquez de Cabrera, admiral of Castile and duke of Medina de Riosecco.

<sup>5</sup> For the dates here and below see above, p. 315 n.

<sup>6</sup> The notice from Pflaumern, pp. 468-76. Ferrante Imperato: *Nouvelle biog. gén.* He was the author of *Dell' historia naturale . . . libri xxviii*, 1599 (later eds. 1610, 1672; Latin trans. 1695). The book contains a picture of the museum. It was situated near the church of Monte Oliveto; for it and its dispersal see Celano, iii. 34-6; a further account of it in *Itin. Italiae totius*, 1602, p. 185.

<sup>7</sup> This is a curious instance of Evelyn's carelessness.

Marina, & Pinna Marina:<sup>1</sup> Male & femal Camelion; an Onacratulus<sup>2</sup> & an extraordinary greate Crocodile: a Salamander; some of the Orcades Anates,<sup>3</sup> held here for a strange rarity: The Male & female Manucodiata,<sup>4</sup> the Male having an hollow on the back in which 'tis reported (the female) both layes, & hatches her Egg: The Mandragoras<sup>5</sup> also of both Sexes: Papyrs made of severall reedes, & some of silke, tables of the rinds of Trees<sup>6</sup> writen with Japonique characters; and another of<sup>a</sup> the branches of Palme: many Indian fruites: a Chrystal that had a prety quantity of uncongeal'd Water within its cavity;<sup>7</sup> a petrified fishers net: divers sorts of Tarantulas, being a kind of monstrous spiders, with lark-like clawes & somewhat bigger:

The next day we beheld the Vice-kings Procession<sup>8</sup> which was very splendid for the Reliques, Banners & Musique which accompanied the B: Sacrament, which ceremony tooke up most of the morning.

The 6 We went by Coach to take the ayre, and see the diversions, or rather maddnesse of the Carnoal;<sup>9</sup> the Courti-

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *with*.

<sup>1</sup> *Byssus marina* is the tuft of fine threads by which the *Pinna marina*, a kind of mussel, attaches itself to rocks.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. a pelican; correctly *onocrotalus*: above, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Pflaumer's notice identifies this bird as the barnacle.

<sup>4</sup> The bird of paradise. Pflaumer does not give this name for it; it occurs in Purchas, in Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, p. 925, and elsewhere; Evelyn uses it in *Tyrannus*.

<sup>5</sup> Mandrake roots.

<sup>6</sup> Imperati describes Indian ink and figures tablets of it: *Hist. naturale*, pp. 756, 770-1.

<sup>7</sup> 'The common opinion hath been, and still remaineth amongst us, that Crystal is nothing else but Ice or Snow concreted, and by duration of time, congealed beyond liquation': Browne, *Pseudodoxia*,

bk. ii, ch. 1. The error appears in Pliny: *Nat. hist.*, bk. xxxvii, ch. 2 (9).

<sup>8</sup> The viceroys went in procession annually on Candlemas Day (2 February) to attend service at Monte Oliveto: (*Florence gazette*), Rome, 12 Feb. 1650, 11 Feb. 1651, &c.; Confuorto, *Giornali di Napoli dal 1679 al 1699*, i. 171, 208; ii. 254. This was apparently the procession seen by Evelyn, although there is no notice of it in this year's news-sheets.

<sup>9</sup> There were annually processions of masqueraders on every Sunday between 17 January (St. Anthony Abbot) and the beginning of Lent (this year on 1 March), and perhaps on Tuesdays and Thursdays as well: (*Florence gazette*), Rome, *passim*, especially 1 March 1653, 7 Feb. 1654, 4 March 1656; Confuorto, as above, *passim*. In 1645 the use of

sans (who swarme in this Citty to the number (as we are told,)<sup>a</sup> of 30000 registred sinners,<sup>1</sup> who pay a tax to the state for the Costome of their bodys) flinging eggs of sweete-water, into our Coach as we passed by the houses & windoes; & indeede this towne is so pester'd with these Cattel, that there needes no small mortification to preserve from their inchantments, whilst they display all their naturall & artificiall beauty, play, sing, feigne, compliment, & by a thousand studied devices seeke to inveagle foolish young persons: and some of our Company did purchase their repentance at a deare rate, after their returne.

The next day being Saturday we went 4 miles out of Towne on Mules to<sup>b</sup> see<sup>b</sup> that famous Vulcano or burning mountaine of Vesuvius;<sup>2</sup> here we passe a faire Fountaine cal'd Labulla,<sup>3</sup> which continually boyles, supposed to pro-

<sup>a</sup> Closing bracket supplied.

<sup>b-b</sup> MS. *to, see.*

masks was prohibited, as a sign of mourning for the death of Elizabeth of Bourbon, queen of Spain: (*Florence gazette*), Rome, 28 Jan. 1644/5; a subsequent prohibition suggests that the first was not strictly obeyed: *ibid.*, 25 Feb. 1644/5. The spectacle seen by Evelyn perhaps took place on the afternoon of Thursday, 2 February; Monday, 6 February, is an unlikely day for anything of the sort and on the Sunday Evelyn was probably at Pozzuoli.

<sup>1</sup> From Raymond, p. 142, who perhaps took the number from Sandys, p. 259. Howell gives twenty thousand: *Epist.*, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Vesuvius was dormant for more than a century prior to the eruption of 1631. When Pflaumern was in Naples it was under cultivation, especially vines: p. 466; he gives no account of a visit. Sandys gives a description of the mountain, but it is not clear whether he ascended it. From 1631 it ranked as the most accessible active volcano in Europe. Evelyn's account is

based on Raymond, pp. 158-63, and Sandys, pp. 259-61; the latter follows Capaccio, pp. 435-59, and Schott, pt. iii, pp. 228-31 (this is simply a slightly altered transcript from Pighius, who describes his descent into the crater while the volcano was still dormant: pp. 466-9). Modern summary account by M. Baratta, *Il Vesuvio e le sue eruzioni*, 1897; bibliographies by F. Furchheim, 1897, and H. J. Johnston-Lavis, 1918 (this includes the Phlegraean Fields, &c.). Evelyn gives his later views on volcanic phenomena in a letter to Tenison, 15 Oct. 1692 (Bohn, iii. 325-30).

<sup>3</sup> 'The ample fountaine . . . called *Labulla*, in that the waters do boile as it were': Sandys, p. 259 (from Capaccio, pp. 435-6). The Volla or Bolla. It is the source of the Sebéto and is situated near the road from Naples to Nola, some miles north of the Ponte della Maddalena (see below): Touring Club Italiano, *Guida d'Italia: Napoli*, 1931, p. 452. It probably lay too far from the Portici road to be visited by travellers.

ceede from Vesuvius ; & thence over a river and bridg,<sup>1</sup> where on an erected large stone is engraven this notable Inscription.<sup>2</sup>

Posterī, Posterī,  
Vestra res agitur.

Dies <facem><sup>a</sup> profert diei nudius perendino.

Advortite.

Vicies ab satu solis ni fabulatur historia,  
Arsit Vesevus.

Immani semper clade hæsitantium.

Ne post hæc incertos occupet,

Ut<e>rum <gerit><sup>b</sup> Mons <hic><sup>c</sup> moneo.

Bitumine, alumine, ferro, Sulphure, auro,  
Argento, Nitro, aquarum fontibus gravem ;  
Seryus, Ocyus <ignescet>,<sup>d</sup> pelagoque influente  
Pariet. Sed ante parturit,

Concutitur, <concutitque><sup>e</sup> solum, fumigat,

Coruscat, flammigerat, quatit aerem.

<Horrendum><sup>f</sup> immugit, boat, tonat,

Arsit finibus Accolas. Emica dum licet.

Jam, jam inititur mixtum igne lacum evomit

Præcipiti ruit ille <lapsu><sup>g</sup> seramque fugam prævertit.

Si præripit, actum est, perijsti.

Ann: Sal. CIO. IOC. XXX. XVI. Jan. Philippo IV Rege.

Tum, tu, si <sapis><sup>h</sup> audi clamantem lapidem,

Sperne larem, sperne <sarcinulas>,<sup>i</sup> mora nulla, fuge,

Antonio Suares Vice Præfecto viarum.

Being now approaching the [hill]<sup>k</sup> as we were able with our

<sup>a</sup> MS. *faciem*.

<sup>b</sup> MS. *geret*.

<sup>c</sup> MS. *his*.

<sup>d</sup> MS. *ignescit*.

<sup>e</sup> MS. *concalitur*.

<sup>f</sup> MS. *Horrendam*.

<sup>g</sup> MS. *lapsa*.

<sup>h</sup> MS. *sapias*.

<sup>i</sup> MS. *carcinulas*.

<sup>k</sup> Interlined later.

<sup>1</sup> The only bridge to be crossed appears to have been the Ponte della Maddalena, over the Sebeto.

<sup>2</sup> From Raymond, pp. 158–60, who states that it was set up 'almost at the foot of the mountaine', probably near its present position in the highway at Portici, where the road to the Granatello branches off: Baratta, p. 37; Evelyn's placing

it on the bridge (see above) is clearly wrong. The text varies in different writers; the best version is perhaps that given by A. Bulifon, *Compendio ist. del Monte Vesuvio*, 1698, p. 51. I have corrected Evelyn's by that given by Raymond. Evelyn repeats Raymond's error in the date, 1630 for 1631.

Mules, we alighted, crawling up the rest of the proclivity, with extraordinary difficulty, now with our feete & hands, not without many untoward slipps, which did much bruise us on the various colourd Cinders with which the whole Mountaine is cover'd, some like pitch, others full of perfect brimstone, other metalique interspers'd with innumerable Pumices (of all which I made a collection) we at the last gain'd the summit,<sup>1</sup> which I take to be one of the highest terraces in Europ (for 'tis of an excessive altitude)<sup>2</sup> turning our faces towards Naples, it presents us one of the goodliest prospect in the World; & truely, I do not thinke there is a greater & more noble; all the Baiæ, Cuma, Elysian fields, Capra, Ischia, Prochita, Misenum,<sup>a</sup> Puteoli, that goodly & gentile Citty, with a vast portion of the Tyrrhan Sea offering themselves to your view at once, & at so sweete & agreable a distance, as nothing can be more greate & delightfull.<sup>3</sup> The mountaine consists of a double top; the one pointed very sharp, and commonly appearing above any clouds; the other blunt;<sup>4</sup> here as we approach'd we met many large and gaping clefts & c(h)asm's, out of which issu'd such sulphurous blasts & Smoake,<sup>5</sup> that we

---

<sup>a</sup> Or *Misenus*.

---

<sup>1</sup> Imitated and extended from Raymond, pp. 161–2. There is an etching by Evelyn of travellers making the ascent. Raymond also gives a figure of the mountain, with travellers ascending and descending, and the *vetturino* waiting with the mules below.

<sup>2</sup> The height of Vesuvius varies with the eruptions, but round about 4,000 ft.

<sup>3</sup> Original notice. There is an etching by Evelyn of this view; his drawing for it is in the British Museum Print-room.

<sup>4</sup> 'This mountaine hath a double top: that towards the North doth end in a Plaine; the other towards the South aspireth more high, which when hid in clouds prognosticates raine to the *Neapolitans*':

Sandys, p. 260, mistranslating Capaccio, p. 458, who writes: 'Biceps mons consurgit geminusq. æqualibus utrinque proiectis pyramidibus, altera quæ in planitiem desinit Aquilonam versus . . . altera quæ ad meridiem vergit contrà Stabias,' &c. The two summits are Somma and Vesuvius; the former is a ridge, appearing conical from the Naples side; the latter after 1631 was truncated and was definitely lower than Somma: Baratta, pp. 37–8. Evelyn's statement is therefore correct.

<sup>5</sup> This seems to be an incorrect rendering from Raymond: 'Going up higher tis hidious to behold the deep cracks in the Earth, through which the streames of Sulphure past': p. 161.

durst not stand long neere them: having gaind the very brim of the top, I layd my selfe on my belly to looke over & into that most frightfull & terrible Vorago,<sup>1</sup> a stupendious pit (if any there be in the whole Earth) of neere three miles in Circuit, and halfe a mile in depth,<sup>2</sup> by a perpendicular hollow cliffe, like that from the highest part of Dover-Castle, with now & then a craggy prominency jetting out: The area at the bottom is plaine, like a curiously even'd floore, which seemes to be made by the winds circling the ashes by its eddy blasts: in the middle & center, is a <rising>,<sup>3</sup> or hill shaped like a greate browne loafe, appearing to consist of a sulphurous matter, continually vomiting a foggy exhalation, & ejecting huge stones with an<sup>b</sup> impetuous noise & roaring, like the report of many musquets discharging:<sup>3</sup> This horrid Barathrum<sup>4</sup> engaged our contemplation for some whole houres both for the strangnesse of the spectacle, and for the mention which the old histories make of it, as one of the most stupendious curiosities in nature, & which made the learned & inquisitive Pliny adventure his life, to detect the causes, & to loose it in too desperat an approach:<sup>5</sup> It is likewise famous for the Stratagem of the rebell Spartacus,<sup>6</sup> who did so much mischief to the state, by his lurking & protection amongst these horid Caverns, when it was more accessible, & lesse dangerous than now it is: But, especialy, notorious it is, for

<sup>a</sup> MS. *risieng.*    <sup>b</sup> Altered from *ant.*

<sup>1</sup> The word is used by Raymond: p. 162. It means abyss, gulf, &c.

<sup>2</sup> 'It is a hole about three mile in compasse, and about halfe as much in depth': *ibid.* These measurements are clearly greatly exaggerated. The diameter of the crater about 1930 was about 700 m.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*; Evelyn is fuller and better. There is an etching by him of the interior of the crater.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn's etching of the crater bears the description: 'Montis Vesuvij Fauces et vorago, sive

Barathrum internum.' The word is used by Schott in his description of Vesuvius: ed. 1610, pt. iii, p. 230. Evelyn uses it again to describe the crater of Etna: Lucretius, p. 151.

<sup>5</sup> From Raymond, p. 162. Pliny died at Stabia in the eruption of A.D. 79, apparently killed by the fumes: Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae*, bk. vi, no. 16.

<sup>6</sup> From Sandys, p. 261 (probably from Capaccio, pp. 456-7). Spartacus was here in 73-71 B.C.



the last conflagration, when in Ann: 1630<sup>1</sup> it burst out beyond what it had ever don since the memory of any history, spewing out huge stones, & fiery pumices in such quantity, as not onely inviron'd the whole mountaine, but totaly buried, & overwhelm'd divers Townes, people & inhabitants, scattering the ashes more then an hundred miles distance, & utterly devastating all those goodly Vineyards, where formerly grew the most incomparable Greco;<sup>2</sup> when bursting through the bowels of the Earth it absorb'd the very Sea and with its whirling Waters drew in divers Gallys & other Vessells to their destruction; as is faithfully recorded:<sup>3</sup> Some there are who maintaine it the very Mouth of hell it selfe,<sup>4</sup> others of Purgatory, certainly it must be acknowledgd one of the most horrid spectacles in the World: We descen'd with infinite more ease, than we climbd up;<sup>5</sup> namely through a deepe Vallie of pure ashes (at the late eruption a flowing river of mealted, & burning brimstone) and so we came at last to our Mules, which with our Veturino, attended us neere the foote of the Mountaine.

On Sunday, we with our Guide goe to visite the so much celebrated Baiæ, and natural rarities of the Places adjacent:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The great eruption began on 15 Dec. 1631. There are a large number of contemporary accounts of it.

<sup>2</sup> 'The excellent *Græco*': Raymond, p. 161; cf. Sandys, p. 260. Capaccio discusses the origin of the name: p. 459. For the form 'devast' see *O.E.D.*

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn perhaps derived his account of the great eruption from the guide.

<sup>4</sup> 'The *Vorago* is so terrifying a spectacle, that if I would paint Hell, this would be the best Patterne': Raymond, p. 162. Lassels, following Tertullian, calls it a '*Chimney of Hell*': ii. 287. These are merely comparisons; for the gates of purgatory see below, p. 342.

<sup>5</sup> So Raymond, pp. 162-3.

<sup>6</sup> Evelyn's account of his visit to

the Phlegraean Fields is based on Sandys, pp. 261-301; Pflaumern, pp. 476-533; and Raymond, pp. 145-57. Evelyn probably did not see everything that he describes; there would scarcely be time for it all in a February day.

Besides Capaccio (the *Neapolitanae Historiae*, as already noted), Sandys made use of various sources, of which the most important is Mazzella (see below). Both writers were used by Pflaumern, who also used Schott and Pighius, from whom Schott's account is almost entirely derived. Raymond used Pflaumern, Schott, and Sandys.

For the bibliography of the district see R. T. Günther, as in note on Evelyn's sources for Naples. The most important of the older works for Evelyn are Capaccio and

Here we enter the Mountaine Pausilipo, at the left hand of which they shewd us the Poet Virgils Sepulchre,<sup>1</sup> erected on a very steepe rock, in forme of a Small rotunda, or cupulated<sup>2</sup> Columne; but almost over growne with bushes, & wild bay-trees: at this entrance is this Inscription

Stanisi Cencovius

1589

Qui cineres? Tumuli hæc Vestigia, conditur olim,  
(Ille)<sup>a</sup> hoc, qui cecinit Pascua, Rura, Duces.

Can. <Rec><sup>b</sup> MDLIII<I>.

After we were advanc'd into this noble, and altogether

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Illo*.      <sup>b</sup> MS. *Ree*.

S. Mazzella, *Sito, et antichità . . . di Pozzuolo, e del suo amenissimo distretto*, ed. 1606 (earlier eds. 1591, &c.; all references here to that of 1606); there are also guides by Sarnelli, 1685, &c., and Parrino, 1709. The principal modern works are J. Beloch, *Campanien: Geschichte und Topographie des antiken Neapel und seiner Umgebung*, 2nd ed., 1890, and Charles Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique*, 1907.

There was a tourists' map of the district, of which versions appear in various works, a good one in Pflaumern, ed. 1625; it can be used in conjunction with the maps in Beloch and in Baedeker. Many of the guide-books and some other works, including Sandys, contain a number of views. The most important of these were drawn by G. Hoefnagel (1578) and first published in G. Braun and F. Hohenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, c. 1576-1618; there are many derivatives from them. Some of the eighteenth-century artists give fresh and important views, notably P. A. Paoli, *Antichità di Pozzuoli*, 1768; F. (P.) Morghen, &c., *Golfo di Napoli*, 1770; and J. C. Richard de Saint-Non, *Voyage pittoresque*, 1781-6.

3811.2

G. de Lorenzo, *I Campi Flegrei* ('Italia artistica', no. 52), and A. Mauri, *I Campi Flegrei*, 1934 ('Itinerari dei musei . . . d'Italia', no. 32), give useful collections of photographs.

<sup>1</sup> From Raymond, pp. 145-8, including the inscription. Pflaumern, pp. 479-80. Sandys, p. 264 (from Capaccio, pp. 389-91, and Mazzella, pp. 204-6). The monument, an antique *columbarium*, is still extant, but has been cleaned up. In the inscription 'Stäisl: Cencovi<sup>9</sup>/ 15 89' is roughly carved; Cencovius is otherwise unknown. 'Can. Rec.' is Raymond's slip for 'Can. Reg.', the canons regular (Lateran congregation) of S. Maria di Piedigrotta, in the grounds of whose monastery the monument was situated: Moryson, i. 113; Celano, ix. 53-4. Its authenticity is now generally questioned; but see *Archivio stor. per le provincie napoletane*, xiii (1888), 511-68, 631-744. Short modern account of the monument and of the probable site of the real tomb in R. T. Günther, *Pausilypon*, 1913, pp. 201-4.

<sup>2</sup> This is the only occurrence of this word quoted in *O.E.D.* Perhaps an Italianism.

Z

wonderfull Crypta,<sup>1</sup> consisting of a passage, spacious enough for 2 Coaches to go on breast,<sup>2</sup> cut through a rocky mountaine (as reported, by the antient Cimmericii)<sup>3</sup> for neere three quarters of a mile; others say by L: Cocceius,<sup>4</sup> who employd no lesse then an hundred thousand men at worke on it for 15 dayes, we came to the mid-way, where there is an orifice, or Well,<sup>5</sup> boar'd quite through the whole diameter of this vast Mountaine, which admitts the light into a pretty Chapel, hewn out of the natural rock, wherein hang divers lamps perpetually burning: The Way is pav'd under foote; but it dus not hinder the dust, which rises so excessively in this much frequented passage, that we were forc'd at mid day, to make use of a Torch; & so at length, with no small astonishment we were deliverd from the bowels of the earth into one of the most delicious, and incomparable Plaines in the World:<sup>6</sup> the Orangs, the lemmons, Pomegranads, & other

<sup>1</sup> The account is put together from Raymond, p. 149, and Pflaumern, pp. 477-9, the Cimmericians and L. Cocceius from the latter; the light-shaft apparently from Sandys, p. 262 (see note below). The Grotta, now closed to traffic, is about 750 yards long. It is generally assumed to be the tunnel between Pozzuoli and Naples stated in Strabo to have been constructed by Cocceius; H. Nissen, however, argues that that tunnel was the Grotta di Sejano, on the coast road from Pozzuoli to Naples, and that this was constructed later: *Italienische Landeskunde*, 1883-1902, II. ii. 744. This one is certainly the tunnel mentioned by Petronius and Seneca: quotations in Beloch, p. 84. See also Dubois, pp. 247-8, and Günther, *Pausilypon*, pp. 15-26. Lassels gives an interesting account of the passage through the tunnel: ii. 290-2.

<sup>2</sup> Not given in *O.E.D.*; perhaps a false rendering of 'on a breast'.

<sup>3</sup> The mythical Cimmericians dwelt principally about Avernus, and were the excavators of the caverns on its

shores: Beloch, p. 145. Their connexion with the Grotta is post-classical.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo names, simply as 'Cocceius', the engineer who constructed the tunnel near Avernus now known as the Grotta di Pietro la Pace (below, p. 347 n.); the passage in his text attributing the construction of a tunnel between Pozzuoli and Naples also to Cocceius almost certainly does not go back to Strabo himself. His identification with L. Cocceius Auctus (below, p. 343) is generally accepted.

<sup>5</sup> 'Receiving so much light from the ends and tunnell in the middle (which letteth in the day from the top of the high mountaine) as is sufficient for direction': Sandys, p. 262 (from Mazzella, p. 201). There is no vertical light-shaft in the middle; and the existing shafts are post-classical: Celano, ix. 44; Günther, p. 19. The passage from Strabo quoted by Mazzella applies far better to the Grotta di Sejano (see note above).

<sup>6</sup> Pflaumern, p. 481, and Sandys,

fruites blushing yet upon the perpetually greene trees, for the Summer is here eternal; caus'd by the naturall & adventitious heate of the earth, so warmed through the Subterranean fires, as our guide alighting, and cutting up a turfe with his knife, & delivering it to me, I was hardly able to hold it in my hands: This Mountaine<sup>1</sup> is exceedingly fruitfull in Vines, & there is nothing so rare & exotic, which will not grow in these invirons: Now we came to a lake<sup>2</sup> of about two miles in circumference, inviron'd with hills: The Water of it, is fresh & swete on the surface, and salt at botome, some mineral-salt conjectur'd to be the cause; and 'tis reported of that profunditude in the middle, as that it has no botome soundable: The People call it Lago di Agnano, from the multitude of Serpents, which involv'd together about the Spring fall downe from the cliffy hills into it:<sup>3</sup> & besides these it has no fish, neither will any live in it: The first thing we did here, was, the old experiment on a Dog, which we lead from that so mortal Cave commonly nam'd Grotto del Cane<sup>4</sup> or Charons Cave:<sup>5</sup> It is not above three, or four paces deepe, and about the height of a man, nor is it very broad: In this Cave whatever has life presently expires; of this we made tryal with two Doggs: which we bound with a Cord to a short pole to guide him the more directly into the farther part of the Den, where he was no soner enter'd, but without the least noyse

p. 265, both praise the beauty of the vegetation at Fuorigrotta. Evelyn's explanation of its cause is original; the hot turf must have been cut elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> Presumably Posilipo; cf. Sandys, p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> From Sandys, p. 265 (from Mazzella, pp. 74-5; cf. Schott, pt. iii, pp. 238-9). Pflaumern, p. 483. The Lago d'Agnano, formed in the middle ages and now drained. Sandys gives its circumference as three miles.

<sup>3</sup> 'In the Spring of the yeare whole heapes of serpents involved together doe fall thereinto from the crannies of the high rocks and are

never more scene againe. Whereupon it taketh that name, *quasi Aqua Anguium.*'

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn combines Sandys, pp. 266-7 (mainly from Schott, pt. iii, pp. 240-3), and Pflaumern, pp. 483-8; see also Raymond, pp. 149-50. Even the account of the experiment follows Sandys. In seventeenth-century views it is generally shown in progress; it is now forbidden. Evelyn remarks that the atmosphere of London has effects on some persons similar to that of this cave in *Fumifugium*, p. 9 (*Misc. writings*, p. 225).

<sup>5</sup> From Pflaumern, quoting Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, bk. ii, ch. 93 (95).

or so much as struggling, except that he panted for breath, lolling out his tongue, his eyes being fixt, we drew him out dead, to all appearance; but then immediately plunging him into the adjoining lake, within lesse space then halfe an houre, he recoverd againe, and swimming to shore ran away from us: Another Dog, on whom we try'd the former experiment of the Cave, without the application of the Water, we left starke dead upon the shore: It seemes this has also ben try'd on men, as well as beasts, as on that poore Creature which Peter of Toledo<sup>1</sup> caus'd to go in; likewise on some Turkish Slaves,<sup>2</sup> two Souldiers: & other foolehardy persons, who all perished, & could never be recover'd againe by the Water of the Lake, as are doggs, for which many learned reasons have ben offer'd; as Simon Majolus in his booke of the Canicular dayes: Colloq: 15.<sup>3</sup> and certainly the most likely is, the effect of those hot & dry vapours which ascend out of the Earth, and then (are) condens'd by the ambient cold, as appears by their converting into chrystaline drops on the top, whilst at the bottome 'tis so excessively hott, as extinguishing a torch held neere it, which lifted a little distance did sudaynly conceive flame againe:<sup>4</sup>

Neere to this cave are the natural stoves of St. Germain,<sup>5</sup> which are of the nature of Sudatories, in certaine Chambers partition'd with stone for the sick to sweate in. The vapours here are exceeding hot, and of admirable successe, especyally against the Goute, & other cold distempers of the nerves.<sup>a</sup> Hence we climbd up an hill;<sup>6</sup> the very high way in divers

---

<sup>a</sup> Followed by &c deleted.

---

<sup>1</sup> From Sandys (from Mazzella, p. 78), but as with two slaves. Don Pedro de Toledo, marquis of Villafraanca, 1484-1553; viceroy, 1532-53.

<sup>2</sup> From Pflaumern, from P. Cluverius, *Italia antiqua*, 1624, p. 1152.

<sup>3</sup> S. Maiolus, *Dies caniculares*, 1597, pp. 692-3. Evelyn found the passage quoted in Pflaumern.

<sup>4</sup> Once extinguished, the torch

does not relight itself.

<sup>5</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 488-9; the name from Sandys, p. 265. Raymond, p. 150. The Stufe di S. Germano.

<sup>6</sup> Pflaumern apparently takes the road to the north of Monte Spina, joining the highway to Pozzuoli south of the Solfatara: p. 489 and the plan in his edition of 1625.

places even smoaking with heate like a founace:<sup>1</sup> The Mountaines were by the Greekes called Leucoyëi, and the fields Phlægrean; Hercules here vanquishd the Gyants assisted with lightning:<sup>2</sup> Now we come to the Court of Vulcan,<sup>3</sup> consisting of a Vally neere a quarter<sup>a</sup> of a mile in breadth, the margent inviron'd with steepe cliffs, out of whose sides, & foote, belch forth fire & smoke in abundance, making a noyse like a tempest of Water,<sup>4</sup> and sometimes discharging in lowd reports like so many guns shot off: It is wonderfull the heate of this place, the earth it selfe being almost unsufferable; and which the subterranean-fires have made so hollow by having wasted the matter for many Yeares, that it sounds like a drumm to those who walke upon it: & the water struggling thus with those fires, bubbles up, & sproutes up aloft in the ayre: The mouthes of these spiracles<sup>5</sup> are bestrew'd with variously colour'd Cinders, which arise with the Vapor, as do many colour'd stones according to the quality of the combustibile matter; inso-

<sup>a</sup> MS. *quar*!

<sup>1</sup> So Raymond, p. 151, but probably referring to the immediate neighbourhood of the Solfatara.

<sup>2</sup> This passage from Sandys, p. 267 (from Capaccio, pp. 750-1). Cf. Pflaumern, pp. 489-90, and Raymond, p. 151. The Leucogean hills lie to the east of the Solfatara; they take their name from their whiteness. Pflaumern describes the Solfatara as the Campus Phlegræus; but the whole volcanic area to the west of Naples is generally known as the Phlegræan Fields; the name means burnt. Strabo places the defeat of the giants in the general area: bk. v, ch. iv, § 6; for its localization see A. F. von Pauly, *Real-Encyc.*, ed. G. Wissowa, Supplementband iii, 1918, pp. 661-6. Hercules acted as an ally of the gods: *ibid.*, p. 657.

<sup>3</sup> The whole notice, including the convent, mainly from Sandys, pp. 268-9 (from Capaccio, pp. 752-9,

and Schott, pt. iii, pp. 244-5; part not traced). Pflaumern, pp. 489-93; Raymond, pp. 150-1. The Solfatara, called Vulcan's Forum in antiquity. Evelyn mentions it as 'the Court of Vulcan' in *Fumifugium*, p. 6 (*Misc. writings*, p. 220).

<sup>4</sup> This appears to be derived from Sandys's remark, that there are eruptions of boiling water when 'the sea is enraged with tempests'.

<sup>5</sup> Holes by which confined spaces communicate with the outer air, &c.: see *O.E.D.* Evelyn uses the word for chimneys in *Fumifugium*, pp. 6, 16 (*Misc. writings*, pp. 220, 232).

The sentence appears to be carelessly taken from Sandys: 'The flames . . . making new eruptions (the mouths of the vents environed wth yellow cinders) arising with so strong a vapor, that stons thrown in, are forthwith <ejected>.'

much as tis no little adventure to approach them, however daily frequented both by Sick & Well, who receiving the fumes have been recover'd of diseases esteem'd incurable: Here we found a world of sulphure made, which they refine in certaine houses neere the Place, casting it into Canes:<sup>1</sup> to a very greate vallue: Neere this we were shew'd an hill of Alume where is one of the best mineries<sup>2</sup> in the World, that yealds a considerable revenue; also, some flowres of Brasse<sup>3</sup> is found here: But, I could not but smile, at those who perswade themselves, that here are the gates of Purgatory;<sup>4</sup> for which, it may be, they have erected a Covent, nam'd St. Januarius, very neere<sup>5</sup> it; reporting to have often heard Schreeches & horrible lamentations (proceed)<sup>a</sup> from these Caverns & Vulcano's, with divers other legends of birds, that are never seene save on<sup>b</sup> Sundayes, & which cast themselves into the lake at night, appearing no more all the Weeke after:<sup>6</sup>

Now we went to see the ruines of a very stately Temple or Theater<sup>7</sup> of 172 foote in length, & about 80 in breadth, throwne downe by an Earth-quake not long since; it was

<sup>a</sup> MS. *proceeds*.

<sup>b</sup> Substituted for *of*.

<sup>1</sup> Slender cylindrical sticks or rods: *O.E.D.*

<sup>2</sup> Places where mining operations are carried on: *O.E.D.*

<sup>3</sup> 'The flower of brasse'; in Capaccio 'Chalcantum'. Sulphate of copper (blue vitriol). 'Flower' was a technical term in chemistry for the pulverulent form of any substance.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 336. The Solfatara was regarded as a warning for the irreligious: 'Discant, qui prauis opinionum erroribus detinentur, Inferni, & Purgatorij ignes confiteri, quos ubique Deus maximus rerum opifex hominibus objicit, vt à gehennæ angustijs & laboribus longè studeant esse alienos': Capaccio, p. 757.

<sup>5</sup> St. Januarius (above, p. 328) is said to have been beheaded here on 19 Sept. 299 or 305: Capaccio,

pp. 760, 763; Dubois suggests April 305 as a more probable date: p. 177. The Capuchin convent was founded in 1574.

<sup>6</sup> They were souls from hell, given a weekly respite in honour of the Resurrection: Pflaumern, quoting St. Peter Damianus.

<sup>7</sup> Summarized from Sandys, pp. 270, 272 (from Mazzella, pp. 37-9). Pflaumern, pp. 492-3; Raymond, p. 151. The amphitheatre at Pozzuoli. The measurements are those of the arena, the breadth being given as 88 ft.; the correct measurements are 236 or 245 × 138 ft. It was ruined about the beginning of the sixteenth century; the underground passages are well preserved and have been almost entirely excavated since 1841: Beloch, pp. 137-8; Dubois, pp. 315-40.

consecrate to Vulcan<sup>1</sup> & under the ground are many strange meanders<sup>a</sup> which makes it be nam'd the Labyrinth: this place is so haunted with Batts, that their perpetual fluttering about endangered the putting out of our linkes:

Hence we passed those Sulphury-hills againe, which continually boile & smoake, till we came to Puzzolo,<sup>2</sup> formerly the famous Puteoli, the landing-Place of St. Paule,<sup>3</sup> when he came into Italy, after the cruel tempest, describ'd in the Acts of the Apostles: here we made a good dinner, and bought divers Medailes & other curiosities, Antiquities &c of the Country people, who daily find such things amongst the very old ruines of those places: This Towne was formerly a Græke Colonie, built by the Samians,<sup>4</sup> a reasonable commodious Port, & full of observable Antiquities: Here we saw the ruines of Neptunes Temple,<sup>5</sup> to whom this place was sacred: & neere it the stately Palace & Gardens of Peter de Toledo<sup>6</sup> formerly mention'd. After dinner we visited that admirably built Temple of Augustus,<sup>7</sup> seeming to have ben hewn out of an intire rock, though indeede consisting of several square stones; The Inscription remaines thus.

L. Calphurnius L. (F.)<sup>b</sup> Templum Augusto cum ornamentis. D.D. and under it

L: Coccejus. L. C. Postumi L. Auctus<sup>c</sup> Architectus.

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *u<sup>th</sup>* at end of page; *which* at head of next page.

<sup>b</sup> MS. E.      <sup>c</sup> Spelling altered in MS.

<sup>1</sup> Mazzella gives Suetonius as his authority for this dedication, but is mistaken.

<sup>2</sup> This is probably incorrect. The natural route from the amphitheatre to Pozzuoli was by the road still in use.

<sup>3</sup> St. Paul is mentioned by Capaccio, p. 779, with the quotation from the Acts, but does not appear in Evelyn's usual sources. The tempest occurred prior to his landing in Malta.

<sup>4</sup> From Sandys, p. 272 (from Mazzella, p. 1). Pflaumern, pp. 499-500]. See Dubois, pp. 1-5.

<sup>5</sup> From Sandys, p. 272. Pflau-

mern, pp. 493-4. The ruins shown as this temple belonged to baths: Dubois, pp. 340-1.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Pflaumern, p. 496; Sandys, p. 272. The gardens have disappeared. For Toledo see above, p. 340 n.

<sup>7</sup> From Sandys, p. 273 (from Capaccio, p. 724). Pflaumern, pp. 503-[4]. Now the cathedral: Dubois, pp. 345-6. The modern readings of the inscriptions give 'Calpurnius' for 'Calphurnius', 'D.S.F.' for 'D.D.', and 'Arcitect' for 'Architectus': *C.I.L.*, vol. x, nos. 1613, 1614.



who, it seemes, built it. 'Tis now converted to a Church in which they shewd us huge bones, which they affirme to have ben of some Gyant:<sup>1</sup> Hence we went to se(e) the ruines of the old Haven, so compact with that bituminous sand in which the materials are layd, as the like is hardly to be found; though all this has not ben sufficient to protect it from the fatal concussions of several Earthquakes (frequent here) which<sup>a</sup> has<sup>a</sup> almost demolish'd<sup>b</sup> it: 13 vast piles of marble onely remaining, a stupendious worke in the bosome of Neptune;<sup>2</sup> To this joynes the Bridg of Caligula;<sup>3</sup> by which (having now embarqu'd our selves) we sail'd to the pleasant Baia almost 4 miles in length: all which way, that prow'd Emperor would passe in Triumph: Here we row'd along towards a certaine Villa of the Orator Ciceros,<sup>4</sup> where we

<sup>a-a</sup> Substituted for *them*.    <sup>b</sup> Altered from *moving*.

<sup>1</sup> From Sandys, p. 273 (from Mazzella, pp. 17-18). Pflaumern, pp. 497-[8]. Sandys writes so carelessly that it appears as if the bones were preserved in the cathedral; Mazzella does not state where they were. They were actually in Toledo's gardens: Capaccio, pp. 742-3. Capaccio and Pflaumern suggest that they may have belonged to animals.

<sup>2</sup> From Sandys, pp. 273-4 (from Mazzella, pp. 25-7, and Capaccio, p. 721, and perhaps Schott, pt. iii, pp. 256-8). Pflaumern, pp. 502-3. The bituminous sand is pozzolana, used by the Romans for cement, and still exported from this district. The mole was built of brick and pozzolana; the thirteen piers, surviving from the original fifteen, have been incorporated in the modern mole: Dubois, pp. 254-61.

<sup>3</sup> 'To this *Caligula* joyned his bridge': Sandys, p. 274 (from Mazzella, p. 27). Raymond regarded the mole as the remains of the bridge: p. 157. Pflaumern, pp. [501]-2. Sandys gives the distance to Baia as three and a half miles. For the bridge see Suetonius,

*De vita Caesarum*, Caligula, ch. 19.

<sup>4</sup> From Sandys, pp. 274-5 (from Capaccio, pp. 747-8, Mazzella, pp. 69-72, and Schott, pt. iii, pp. 269-71). Pflaumern, pp. 496-7; Raymond, p. 151. The ruins shown as those of Cicero's Puteolanum are those of the circus at Pozzuoli: Dubois, p. 347; cf. Mazzella, p. 69. The older topographers have confused the Puteolanum with another villa of Cicero's, the Cumanum. The academy belonged to the latter and hot springs were discovered in it after Cicero's death; its site is probably covered by the Monte Nuovo (see below). The Puteolanum, also known as the Horti Cluviani, possessed less literary interest; its site is unknown: see Dubois, pp. 366-72. The statement about the baths goes back through Schott to Pighius, who apparently erroneously identifies the Balneum Ciceronis, also called de Prato, with the baths at Tritoli (below, p. 348 n.): pp. 508-9; I have not traced the position of the former. The baths on the site of the Puteolanum were buried by the eruption of the Monte Nuovo.

were shew'd the ruines of his Academy, & at the foote of a Rock his Bathes, the Waters reciprocating their tides with the neighbouring sea: The Water is reported to be specificall for the Eyes & bowells: Hard at hand rises the Mount Gaurus,<sup>1</sup> being, as I conceiv'd nothing save an heape of Pumices (which here floate in abundance upon the sea) exhausted of all inflammable matter by the fire, which renders the light and porous, so as the beds of Niter which lyes deepe under them, having taken fire dos easily eject them: They dig much for fansied Treasures, sayd to be conceild about this place: From hence we Coasted neere the ruines of Portus Julius,<sup>2</sup> where we might see divers stately Palaces that had ben swallow'd up by the sea after Earthquakes: coming to shore we passe by the Lucrine Lake,<sup>3</sup> so famous heretofore for its delicious Oysters; but now producing few, or none, as being divided from the sea, by a banke of incredible labour, the suppos'd worke of Hercules: Tis now halfe chock'd up with rubbish, & by part of the new Mountaine,<sup>4</sup> which rose partly out of it, & partly out of the sea, and that in the Space of one onely Night & a day, to neere the altitude of a mile:<sup>5</sup> this happned on the 29th September 1538, after many terrible Earthquakes, which ruined divers

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's source is apparently Sandys, p. 275, for the name and the treasure-seekers (in part from Mazzella, p. 74); *ibid.*, p. 278, for the pumice (in a description of the Monte Nuovo). Pflaumern, p. 494; Raymond, p. 157. Monte Gauro also called Monte Barbaro. It lies a short distance inland.

<sup>2</sup> From Sandys, p. 276 (from Mazzella, pp. 163-4, and Capaccio, p. 785). Pflaumern, p. 499. It was formed by Agrippa in 37 B.C. by joining Avernus and Lucrinus (for both see below) and was abandoned after the defeat of Sextus Pompeius: Beloch, pp. 169-70. The remains shown to travellers probably belonged to the Via Herculanea (see next note).

<sup>3</sup> From Sandys, pp. 276-7 (from

Capaccio, pp. 783-9, and Mazzella, pp. 85-90). Pflaumern, pp. [498]-9; Raymond, p. 156. The modern Lago Lucrino is separated from the sea by a narrow strip of land; in antiquity the lagune was much larger in area and was bounded towards the sea by a causeway, the Via Herculanea (or Herculea), which did not interfere with the oyster fishery: Beloch, pp. 172-4; plan in Dubois, p. 224.

<sup>4</sup> Mainly from Sandys, pp. 277-8 (in part from Capaccio, pp. 789-90). Good account in Pflaumern, pp. 494-6; Raymond, p. 156. The Monte Nuovo. For its site see Dubois, p. 224.

<sup>5</sup> From Pflaumern. The height to-day is 455 ft.

places thereabout: when at Midnight the sea retiring neere 200 paces, and yawning on the sudaine, it continued to vomite forth both flames, & firy stones in such quantity as produced by their fall this whole Mountaine; by a most firfull & tirrible prodigy; making the inhabitants of Puzzoli to leave their habitations, supposing the end of the World had ben come.<sup>1</sup> From the left part of this, we walked to the Lacus Avernus,<sup>2</sup> of a round forme & totally inviron'd with mountaines: This Lake was fain'd by the Poetes for the Gates of Hel, by which Æneas Æn: 6, made his bold descent, & where they sacrificed to Pluto, & the Manes:<sup>3</sup> Eustatius<sup>4</sup> affirmes that our B: Saviour ascended from those Infernal regions in this very place: The Waters indeede are of a remarkable black colour;<sup>5</sup> but I tasted of them without danger: Hence, they faigne that the River Styx has its sourse:<sup>6</sup> At one side there off stands the handsome ruines of a Certaine Temple sacred to Apollo, or rather Pluto; but 'tis controverted,<sup>7</sup> Opposite to this (having now lighted our Torches) we enter a vast Cave,<sup>8</sup> in which having gon about two hundred paces, we passe a narrow Entry, which lead us into a roome of about 10 paces long, proportionable broad & high: The side-Wales and rooffe retaine still the golden Mosaique, though now exceedingly decay'd by time: Here is a short Cell, or rather Niche cut out of the solid rock, somewhat resembling a Couch; in which they report the Sybilla lay, and uttered her Oracles; though by most, suppos'd to have been a Bath onely; This subterranean Grott, leads quite through to Cuma,<sup>9</sup> but is in

<sup>1</sup> So Pflaumern.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn's notice of Avernus is taken from Sandys, pp. 279-82. Pflaumern, pp. 524-32; Raymond, pp. 156-7. For the lake see Beloch, pp. 168-72.

<sup>3</sup> Sandys's statements appear to be derived from Schott, pt. iii, p. 274.

<sup>4</sup> (From Capaccio, p. 802.) Eustachius of Matera, the reputed author of a series of poems on the baths of Pozzuoli. They are printed by Mazzella, pp. 270-7; for the present reference see p. 272.

<sup>5</sup> (From Mazzella, p. 94.)

<sup>6</sup> So Sandys, apparently mistranslating Schott, pt. iii, p. 275; Avernus was fed by the Styx.

<sup>7</sup> Sandys's authorities, Capaccio, p. 801, and Mazzella, p. 99, suggest correctly that the ruin belonged to a bath. It still survives.

<sup>8</sup> (From Mazzella, pp. 97-9.) The so-called Grotta della Sibilla, on the south side of the lake. Evelyn's measurements differ from Sandys's. Beloch, p. 171; Dubois, p. 399 and n.

<sup>9</sup> Evelyn diverges from Sandys, who repeats the conjecture that the

some places obstructed by the Earth which has sunk in; so as we were constrain'd back againe, & to creepe on our very bellys before we came to the light:

'Tis reported Nero had once resolved to cut a chanel for two greate Gallys that should have extended to Ostia, an hundred & fifty miles distant; and truely the attempt we here beheld with some amazement: The People call it now Licola:<sup>1</sup>

From hence we ascended to that most antient City of Italy, the renowned Cuma,<sup>2</sup> built by the Grecians: It stands on a very eminent Promontory, but is now an heape of ruines onely: A little below stands the Arco Felice,<sup>3</sup> heretofore part of Apollos Temple, with the foundations of divers goodly buildings amongst whose heapes are frequently found divers statues & other Antiquities by such as dig for them:<sup>4</sup> Neere this is the Lake Acherutia, & Acherron:<sup>5</sup> Returning towards

Grotta della Sibilla was a tunnel leading to Baia: Mazzella, p. 97; see also Dubois, p. 399. He perhaps follows Pflaumern, pp. 527-8, or Raymond, pp. 156-7; both make this cave lead to Cuma. They have confused it with a tunnel opening on the north side of the lake that leads to Cuma, the Grotta di Pietro la Pace (or Grotta della Pace) which was blocked up at this time: Beloch, pp. 170-1. The source of the confusion is the Cumean Sibyl: cf. Capaccio, *Puteolana Hist.*, 1604, p. 102.

<sup>1</sup> From Sandys, pp. 281-2 (from Mazzella, pp. 101-5, and Capaccio, pp. 801-2); the classical authorities are Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*, Nero, ch. 31, and Tacitus, *Annales*, bk. xv, ch. 42 (both passages are given by Mazzella). The Lago di Licola is a lagune immediately to the north of Cuma; it is not clear what was shown in antiquity as the remains of the canal or what was pointed out to Evelyn. Sandys gives the distance to Ostia as 160 miles in accordance with his sources.

<sup>2</sup> From Sandys, pp. 282-3 (from

Mazzella, pp. 168-9, and other sources). Pflaumern, p. 532. The acropolis occupies an isolated rock near the shore. Strabo describes it as the oldest of the Greek cities in Italy and Sicily; for its origin see Beloch, pp. 145-9.

Evelyn perhaps did not visit Cuma.

<sup>3</sup> From Sandys, p. 286 (from Capaccio, p. 628). Pflaumern, p. 532. It is simply an archway over the cutting in the Monte Grillo through which passes the ancient road from Pozzuoli to Cuma: Beloch, p. 164. The temple of Apollo was on the acropolis of Cuma: *ibid.*, p. 160. The mistake is due to Capaccio.

<sup>4</sup> Sandys gives an account of the finding of some statues near Cuma in 1606: pp. 287-8 (from Capaccio, pp. 629-30); Evelyn is careless in stating that statues are frequently found here. For those found in 1606 see A. Ferro, *Apparato delle statue, nuovamente trovate nella distrutta Cuma*, 1606, appended to Mazzella, 1606.

<sup>5</sup> 'The lake of Colusius . . .

the shore we came to the Bagnie de Tritoli,<sup>1</sup> and Diana,<sup>2</sup> which are onely long narrow passages cutt through the maine rock, where the vapours ascend so hot, that entring with the body erect you will even faint away with excessive sweate; but stooping lower as suddaine a cold surprizes: These sudatories are much in request for many Infirmityes, especially the venereal disease, & Fluxes; but it renders Women very unchast as 'tis reported: And now we enter'd the haven of the Baiæ<sup>3</sup> where once stood that famous Towne so call'd from the Companion of Ulysses here buried;<sup>4</sup> certainly not without greate reason celebrated for one of the most delicious places that the Sunn shines on in the World, according to that of *Hor*:

Nullus in Orbe locus Baijs præluceat (amœnis)<sup>a 5</sup>

though as to the stately fabrics there now remaine little save the ruines, whereof the most intire is that of Dianas Temple, & another of the Godesse Venus:<sup>6</sup> This place being heretofore infinitely addicted to Lust and wantonnesse. Here were those famous pooles of Lampreys that would come to hand when

<sup>a</sup> MS. *amœnis*.

Called heretofore *Acherusia* and *Acheron*: Sandys, p. 288 (from Capaccio, p. 673). Pflaumern, p. 524. It is now the Lago del Fusaro: Beloch, p. 188.

<sup>1</sup> From Sandys, pp. 289–90 (in part from Mazzella, pp. 107–8, and Capaccio, pp. 817–18), and Pflaumern, pp. 514–15. Raymond, pp. 155–6. The Bagni di Tritoli, also called the Stufe di Nerone, still existing: description and plan in Sarnelli, *Guida . . . per Pozzoli*, ed. 1688, pp. 77–86; Dubois, pp. 400–3.

<sup>2</sup> Sandys's authority for this name is untraceable. He places the baths at the foot of the rock which contained, higher up, the baths of Tritoli; he expressly states that they no longer existed. Mazzella places the baths of Cicero (not those mentioned above, p. 344 n.) in approximately the same position; some

ruins survived: cf. Raymond, p. 155; Dubois, pp. 403–4. The baths described in the text are those of Tritoli. The construction of the modern road has altered this area.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn derives his account of Baia from Sandys, pp. 290–4. There is similar information in Pflaumern, pp. 510–13. Raymond mentions only the castle: p. 154.

<sup>4</sup> (From Mazzella, p. 113, or Capaccio, p. 693.) Baios, whose tomb was shown here in antiquity; he is named by Strabo and Lycophron, but not by Homer: see Beloch, p. 181.

<sup>5</sup> *Epist.* I. i. 83; so given by Sandys, &c.; 'locus' should be 'sinus'.

<sup>6</sup> (Specific sources uncertain; cf. Capaccio, pp. 702–3.) Both ruins still exist and still bear these names; they belonged to baths: Beloch, p. 187; Dubois, pp. 404–5, 408.

call'd by name as Martial tells us:<sup>1</sup> Upon the sumite of the rock stands a very strong Castle garison'd to protect the shore from Turkish Pyrats:<sup>2</sup> 'Twas once the retyring place of Julius Caesar:<sup>3</sup> Passing by the shore againe we entered Bauli<sup>4</sup> observable from the monstrous Murthers of Nero committed on his Mother Agrippina, her Sepulchre yet shew'd us in the rock which we enter'd, being cover'd with sundry heads & figures of beasts:<sup>5</sup> We saw there the rootes of a tree turn'd into stone & are continually dropping.<sup>6</sup>

Thus having well viewed the foundations of the old Cimeria,<sup>7</sup> the Palaces of Marius, Pompey, Nero, Hortensius's<sup>a 8</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Or *Hortensius* with comma after; the name written *Hortensio*.

<sup>1</sup> (Mainly from Capaccio, p. 701.) Martial, *Epigrammata*, bk. iv, no. 30.

<sup>2</sup> (From Mazzella, p. 122.) It still exists; it was built by Pedro de Toledo: Capaccio, pp. 698-9.

<sup>3</sup> (Probably from Capaccio, p. 700.) The villa probably lay a few hundred yards to the west of the castle: Beloch, p. 185.

<sup>4</sup> From Sandys, pp. 294-5 (from Capaccio, pp. 687-90, and the quotation from Tacitus in Mazzella, pp. 144-7). Pflaumern, pp. 521-2; Raymond, pp. 153-4. The sixteenth-century topographers and their successors identified Bauli with the modern Bacoli, between Baia and Miseno, and Evelyn naturally follows them; Beloch, however, argues that it should be placed between Baia and the Bagni di Tritoli, near the Punta dell' Epitaffio: pp. 176-7; cf. Dubois, p. 223, n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Agrippina was murdered in A.D. 59; the first attempt was made at sea between Baiae and Bauli; she was actually killed at her villa near the Lacus Lucrinus (Beloch holds that this is identical with the villa at Bauli: p. 177; see preceding note). What was and is shown as her tomb is a small theatre to the

north of Bacoli: Beloch, p. 201. Capaccio describes it as her house, although called her tomb. The interior was painted with sphinxes and gryphons.

<sup>6</sup> Original notice. Evelyn mentions the tree again in *Sylva*; it or its roots 'appear'd to be all Stone, and trickling down in *drops* of *Water*': ed. 1670, p. 185.

<sup>7</sup> Going from Miseno to Baia by boat Raymond 'could discerne the foundations of *Cimeria*, and old *Baia* underneath the Sea': p. 154. Pliny places the 'Cimmerium oppidum' near Lucrinus and Avernus: *Nat. hist.*, bk. iii, ch. 5 (9); cf. above, p. 338 n.; Raymond has coined the name '*Cimeria*' apparently for the whole territory.

<sup>8</sup> Probably from Raymond, pp. 153, 154. He apparently places the four villas on the hills above Bacoli and Baia. Marius had a villa at Misenum (see below) and perhaps another here; for it and those of Pompey and Hortensius, see Pflaumern, pp. 519-24; Sandys, pp. 289, 294. The sites of these three are not satisfactorily identifiable; Nero's palace probably lay near the present castle of Baia: Beloch, pp. 178-80, 182-3.

& other Villas & Antiquities we proceeded towards the promontory of Misenus renoun'd for the Sepulchre of Æneas's Trumpeter:<sup>1</sup> 'Twas once a greate Citty, now hardly a ruine, say'd to have ben built from this to the Promontory of Minerva which is 50 miles distant, now discontinu'd & demolish'd by the frequent Earthquakes:<sup>2</sup> Here was Cajus Marius's Villa where Tiberius Cæsar died ;<sup>3</sup> and here runs<sup>a</sup> the Traconaria<sup>4</sup> or Aquæduct thought to be dug by Nero, a stupendious passage, heretofore nobly arched with marble as the ruines testifie: Hence we walked to those receptacles of water cal'd Piscina mirabilis,<sup>b 5</sup> being a vault of 500 f: long and 22<sup>6</sup> in breadth, the roofe prop'd up with 4 rankes of Square pillars 12 in a row, the walls are brick, plaster'd over with such a composition as for strength & politure resembles white marble: 'Tis conceivd it was built as a Conservatory for fresh water by Nero, as were also the Centi Camerelli<sup>7</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *stands*.

<sup>b</sup> Altered from *marabilis*.

<sup>1</sup> Probably from Sandys, p. 295 (from Mazzella, pp. 158-9); see also Pflaumern, pp. [504]-5, and Raymond, p. 152. For Misenus see *Aeneid* vi. 212-35.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is carelessly taken from Sandys: 'This Promontory . . . surveying all the sea coasts unto the Promontory of *Minerva*; (if measured with the winding shore, foure and fifty miles distant) all which shewed in the time of the *Roman* Monarchy like to one entire Citie. Whereof now (*Naples* excepted) there is little to be seene that hath escaped the fury of fire, of water, or earthquakes': pp. 295-6 (mainly from Schott, pt. iii, p. 265).

<sup>3</sup> From Sandys, p. 296 (from Capaccio, pp. 682-3). Pflaumern, pp. 505-6; Raymond, p. 153; in both as the villa of Lucullus, a subsequent owner, under whose name it generally goes. The sixteenth-century identification of the site, on the headland of Miseno, is accepted by Beloch: p. 198. Tiberius died here in A.D. 37.

<sup>4</sup> From Sandys, p. 296 (from Capaccio, p. 681). Pflaumern, pp. 506-7. The Grotta Dragonara. It is not an aqueduct; it may have been a reservoir or a store-house; Beloch believes it to have belonged to the villa of Lucullus: pp. 198-9. Evelyn alone mentions the marble, and is wrong.

<sup>5</sup> From Sandys, p. 297 (in part from Schott, pt. iii, pp. 261-3, and Capaccio, pp. 681-2); the attribution to Nero from Pflaumern, p. 510, where, however, it is contradicted. Pflaumern, pp. 507-10; Raymond, pp. 152-3. The *Piscina Mirabile*. It was the terminus of one branch of the *Serino* aqueduct and was probably built to serve the naval station at Miseno: Beloch, pp. 71, 202.

<sup>6</sup> Evelyn's error for 220. The size is approximately 230 × 87 ft.

<sup>7</sup> Sandys, p. 297; Pflaumern, p. 507; Raymond, p. 153. The *Centi Camerelle*, also called the *Carceri di Nerone*. The upper story was a reservoir: Beloch, p. 201.

into which we were next led: All these Crypta being now almost sunke into the Earth, shew yet their former amplitude & magnificence: Returning towards the Baiæ we againe passe the Elysian Fields<sup>1</sup> so celebrated by the Poets, nor unworthily for their situation & verdure, being full of Myrtils & sweete shrubs, and having a most incomparable prospect towards the tyrrhen sea: Upon the Verge of these remaine the ruines of the Mercato di Sabato,<sup>2</sup> formerly a Circus, over the Arches stand divers Urnes full of Roman Ashes:

Having well satisfied our curiosity among these Antiquities we retir'd to our Faluca, which row'd us back againe towards Puzzolo at the very place of St. Pauls landing:<sup>3</sup> Here keeping along the shore they shew'd us a place where the Sea-Water and Sands did exceedingly boyle:<sup>4</sup> Thence to the Iland Nesis,<sup>5</sup> once the fabulous Nymph: And thus we leave

<sup>1</sup> So Sandys, p. 297, and Raymond, p. 152 (from Sandys?). The identification does not occur in Sandys's usual sources, and probably came from the guide; it occurs again in Grangier de Liverdis, pp. 600-1, and Lassels, ii. 298; it obviously arose from the desire to identify the various places mentioned in the *Aeneid*, bk. vi; cf. a later work, A. de Jorio, *Viaggio di Enea all' inferno*, 1823. Evelyn's notice of the view is original.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn's account is badly put together from two statements in Sandys: 'Between *Misenus* and *Baiæ* there lyeth a long plaine, called by some the *Elizian* field, but more commonly *Mercato di Sabato*, environed with ruines; heretofore a *Cirque*'; 'from the West end of this *Cirque*, we descended a little amongst certaine ruines, where divers Urnes are yet to be seen in the concaves of old wals, containing the ashes of the *Romans*': pp. 297, 299. He may have been led astray by Raymond's statement: 'The first place wee saw . . . was the

*Mercato del Sabato* formerly a *Cirque*; and the buriall place of the ancient Romans': pp. 151-2. Pflaumern, p. [522]. The name Mercato di Sabato appears as a modern place-name on Beloch's map of Misenum; the only ancient remains marked near it are those of the *columbaria* near the Mare Morto. Capaccio already doubted whether the remains were those of a circus: pp. 690-1.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 343.

<sup>4</sup> From Sandys, p. 299. Raymond, p. 154. From Raymond's account it would seem to be a hot spring near the Bagni di Tritoli: cf. Dubois, p. 404.

<sup>5</sup> From Sandys, p. 299 (from Capaccio, pp. 821-2). Nisida. As it lies more than two miles south-east of Pozzuoli, Evelyn is unlikely to have visited it, unless, like Sandys, he returned to Naples by sea. The nymph occurs only in the renaissance poets; Sandys gives quotations. Account of the island in B. Croce, *Storie e leggende napoletane*, 1919, pp. 250-9.



the Baiæ<sup>1</sup> so renowned for the sweete retirements of the most opulent, & Voluptuous Romans, and certainly they were places of incomparable amœnitie, as their yet lasting & tempting site, and other circumstances of natural curiosities easily invite me to believe; since there is not certainly in the whole World so many stupendious rarities to be met with, as there are in the circle of a few miles which inviron these blissfull aboades:

Feb: 8. We went to see the Arsenal,<sup>2</sup> which was well furnish'd with Gallies, and other Vessells: The Citty<sup>3</sup> infinitely crowded with Inhabitans, Gentlemen & Merchants. The Government is held of the Pope by an annual tribute of 40000 ducats<sup>4</sup> and a White-Genet; but the Spanyard trusts more to the power of those his natural<sup>5</sup> Subjects there: Apulia and Calabria yeilding him neere 4 milions of crownes yearly to maintaine it:<sup>6</sup> The Country is divided into 13 Provinces: 20 Archbishops:<sup>a</sup> 107 Bish:<sup>7</sup> The Estates of the Nobility in default of the masculine line reverting to the King: Besides the Vice-Roy, there is also (amongst the chiefe Magistrates) an high Conestable, Admiral, Chiefe-Justice, Greate Chamb(e)raine, and Chancelor, with a Secretary<sup>8</sup> who being prodigiously avaritious do wonderfully inrich themselves out of the miserable peoples labour, Silke, Manna,

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Archbpps.*

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn presumably means Baia and its immediate surroundings, not the whole of the Phlegraean Fields.

<sup>2</sup> Sandys, p. 255; Pflaumern, p. 445. It is still in use.

<sup>3</sup> Most of the general remarks about Naples are derived from Sandys, pp. 255-9, who took them from the 'Regni Neapolitani descriptio' in *Thesauri politici pars tertia*, trans. G. Ens, 1611, pp. 94-134. The 'Descriptio' is dated 1 April 1579. Sandys gives the supposed population from some other source as 300,000 men, besides women and children; cf. above, p. 325 n.

<sup>4</sup> Sandys gives 'eight and forty thousand'. In 1645 the sum paid

was 7,000 ducats; it was paid annually on 28 June: (*Florence gazette*), Rome, 1 July 1645, &c.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, p. 326.

<sup>6</sup> Evelyn's source not traced. Sandys gives the annual revenue of the whole kingdom as 2,050,000 ducats, of which 1,030,000 were spent in largesses and pensions: p. 258. Lassels states that the kingdom occasionally paid 4,000,000 crowns as tribute to Spain: ii. 271.

<sup>7</sup> These figures go back to 1579 (see note above); generally twelve provinces and a slightly larger number of bishops are given.

<sup>8</sup> Sandys adds the Marshal.

Sugar, Oyle, Wine, Rice, Sulphur, Alome;<sup>1</sup> for with all these riches, is this delicious Country blest; the Manna falling at certaine seasons upon the adjoining hills, in forme of a thick dew:<sup>2</sup> The very winter here is a summer, ever fruitfull, & continually pregnant, so as in midst of February we had Melons, Cheries, Abricots and many other sorts of fruite: The building of the City is for the quantity the most magnificent of Europe, the streetes exceeding large, well paved,<sup>3</sup> having many Vaults, and conveyances under them for the sullage which renders them very sweete and cleane even in the midst of winter: To it belongeth more then 3000 churches and monasteries,<sup>4</sup> and those the best built & adorn'd in Italy: they greatly affect the Spanish gravity in their habite,<sup>5</sup> delight in good horses; the streetes are full of Gallants, in their Coaches, on horseback, & sedans, from hence brought first into England<sup>a</sup> by Sir Sanders Duncomb:<sup>6</sup> The Women are generally well featur'd, but excessively libidinous; the Country people<sup>7</sup> so jovial and addicted to Musick, that the

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *England*.

<sup>1</sup> Sandys gives a list of imports into the city, mainly from the kingdom of Naples; it is derived from Capaccio, p. 362. Evelyn's list is partly derived from it; the sulphur and alum from Sandys, pp. 268, 269; I have not traced the rice.

<sup>2</sup> 'From the leaves of those [the mulberry trees] that grow higher on the mountaines [of Calabria] . . . they gather plenty of Manna, the best of all other: which falles thereon like a dew in the night time': Sandys, p. 250. 'There is also at this day a certain sweet dew, which falling early in the morning upon trees and herbs, is called *Manna*, which congealing into a whitish substance, is of a pleasant taste, and is much used in physick': E. Phillips, *New World of English Words*, 1658, s.v. Manna; its real origin was not recognized in this work until the 1698 edition. It is an exudation from the manna ash.

3811.2

It is still used in pharmacy.

<sup>3</sup> It was one of the best-paved cities in the world according to Grangier de Liverdis: p. 517. The paving is generally praised by seventeenth-century travellers.

<sup>4</sup> So Sandys, but for the city and its suburbs, and including chapels. The number of churches, including those of monasteries, &c., in the city and its suburbs, is given as 304 by Celano: i. 63.

<sup>5</sup> 'Their habit is generally *Spanish*', i.e. their clothing.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 14. Sandys mentions them as 'segges not unlike to horse-litters, but carried by men': p. 259. See also Moryson, i. 112. They are shown in P. Bertelli, *Diversarum nationum habitus*, 1594-6, pt. i, pl. 31; in Sandys's view of the Solfatara, p. 268; and in Baratta's plan of Naples.

<sup>7</sup> The statements relating to them are apparently original.

very husbandmen almost universaly play on the guitarr, singing and composing songs in prayse of their Sweete-hearts, & will go to the field commonly with their fiddle; they are merry, Witty and genial; all which I much attribute to the excellent quality of the ayre: The French they have a deadly hatred to, so as some of our Company were flouted at for wearing red Cloakes, as then the mode was.<sup>1</sup> Thus after two dayes respite, and feasting our senses with fine sights & good cheere, I left this Ode, in our Hosts Albus (wherein (as of many) it was his costome to desire his Guests to write their Names and Impresse) as the Non ultra<sup>2</sup> of my Travells; sufficiently sated with rolling up and downe, and resolving with my selfe to be no longer an Individuum vagum,<sup>3</sup> if ever I got home againe; since from the report of divers experienc'd and curious persons, I had ben assur'd there was little more to be seene in the rest of the [civil]<sup>a</sup> World, after Italy, France, Flanders & the Low-Country, but plaine and prodigious Barbarisme.<sup>4</sup>

## ODE.

Happy the man who lives content  
With his owne Home, & Continent:

---

<sup>a</sup> Interlined probably later.

---

<sup>1</sup> Sandys mentions the hatred of the French felt by the Neapolitan nobles: p. 258. It was very general earlier: 'Because we were attired like Frenchmen, the prisoners scoffed at us, and to my great marvell, the Citizens of good sort did not forbear this barbarous usage towards us': Moryson, i. 109. In 1632, however, J. J. Bouchard remarks on the favourable reception given him when he appears in French costume in the streets: Marcheix, *Un Parisien à Rome*, p. 67; and as a result of the Spanish misgovernment the lower classes were ready to welcome the French in 1647.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn repeats the phrase elsewhere, in a more figurative sense:

*State of France*, p. 95 (*Misc. writings*, p. 87); 'Account of architects', 1664, p. 119 (*ibid.*, p. 360). Raymond describes Vesuvius as the '*Ultima Meta* of our voyage to *Naples*': p. 163. Very few English travellers went farther south.

<sup>3</sup> So Evelyn writes of '*Individua vaga's*, like my self': *State of France*, pref. (*Misc. writings*, p. 42).

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn, however, regarded Germany and Spain as also being countries for a gentleman to visit, if he wanted to study 'the chief and most signall Actions which (out of his owne Countrey) concerne this later Age and part of the World': *State of France*, pref. (*Misc. writings*, p. 50).

Those chiding streames his banks do curb  
 Esteemes the Ocean to his Orb;  
 Round which when he a Walke dos take,  
 Thinks<sup>a</sup> t 'have<sup>b</sup> perform'd as much as Drake:  
 For other tongues he takes no thought  
 Then what his Nurse or Mother taught:  
 He's not disturb'd with the rude Cries  
 Of the Procaccio's Up & Rise;  
 But being<sup>c</sup> of<sup>c</sup> his Faire possess'd<sup>d</sup>  
 From<sup>e</sup> Travelling<sup>e</sup> sets up his rest:  
 In her<sup>f</sup> soft<sup>f</sup> armes no sooner hurl'd  
 But<sup>g</sup> he<sup>g</sup> enjoyes another World,

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .<sup>h</sup>

Scornes Us who Travell Lands & Seas,  
 Thinkes there's no Countries like to his:<sup>i</sup>  
 If then at Home, such Joyes be had,  
 Oh, how un-wise are We, how mad!

Neapoli 1644<sup>1</sup>

Thus about the 7th of Feb:<sup>2</sup> we return'd to Rome by the same way we came, not daring to adventure by Sea (as some of our Company consulted) for feare of the Turkish Pyrates hovering upon that Coast;<sup>3</sup> nor made we any stay, save at

<sup>a</sup> An alteration deleted. <sup>b</sup> Altered from *to have*. <sup>c-c</sup> Substituted for *when*. <sup>d</sup> Substituted for *mind we rede?* <sup>e-e</sup> Substituted for *Has his faire*. <sup>f-f</sup> Substituted for *whose faire*. <sup>g-g</sup> Substituted for *But there*. <sup>h</sup> These four lines are so deleted as to be illegible in the MS.; from the fragments remaining legible it is obvious that they are identical with the lines as given in the version of the poem printed in the preface to Evelyn's *State of France*: see commentary below. <sup>i</sup> Substituted for *these*.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn printed this poem in the *State of France*, pref. (*Misc. writings*, p. 49). The opening lines, as he there acknowledges, show the influence of Claudian's 'De sene Veronensi'; see further below, p. 402 n. The four deleted lines are printed in the original edition of

the *State of France*; Evelyn deleted them obviously on account of their indelicacy.

<sup>2</sup> For this date see above, p. 315 n.

<sup>3</sup> 'A prædonibus numquam non periculum': Pflaumern, p. 533. The danger continued until about 1830.

Albano<sup>1</sup> to view the celebrated place and Sepulchre of the famous Duelists who decided the antient quarell betweene their imperious Neighbours with the losse of their lives; and to tast of the Wine no lesse famous:<sup>2</sup> These two Brothers the Horacij and Cur(i)acij lye buried neere the high way, under two antient Pyramids of stone, some what decay'd and overgrowne with rubbish:<sup>3</sup>

The 13th we were againe invited to Signor Angelonis study,<sup>4</sup> where with greater leasure we survey'd the rarities, as his cabinet of Medaills especialy, esteem'd one of the best collections of them in Europe: He also shew'd us two antique lamps, one of them dedicated to Palas, the other Laribus Sacrum, as appear'd by their Incriptions: Some old Roman Rings, Keyes; the Ægyptian Isis cast in Yron, sundry rare Bass-relievos: good pieces of Paynting, principally the Christ of Corregio, with this Painters owne face admirably don by himselfe,<sup>5</sup> divers Things of both the Bassanos, a very greate number of Pieces by Titian; particularly the Triumphs; an infinity of naturall rarities, dryd animals, Indian habits & Weapons, Shells &c; amongst other a Sea-mans Skin, as he affirm'd; divers statues of brasse very Antique; some lamps of so fine an Earth as they resembld cornelian for transparancy & colour: Hinges of Corinthian

<sup>1</sup> Albano lies some miles south of what was the usual road from Velletri to Marino. Evelyn perhaps returned to Rome by the Via Appia or one of the roads near it: cf. Grangier de Liverdis, pp. 616-20.

<sup>2</sup> Albano 'deserves seeing, if not for the Antiquity, yet for the good Wine; one of the best sorts in *Italy*': Raymond, p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> Raymond mentions this monument as the tomb of 'the three *Horatii*': p. 268. It still exists by the roadside between Ariccia and Albano. It consisted of a rectangular base surmounted by five truncated cones, of which two are fairly well preserved. Evelyn's notice is very badly worded.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 236.

<sup>5</sup> Symonds notes a self-portrait and an Agony in the Garden, both as by Annibale Carracci: B.M., Egerton MS. 1635, f. 51; he notes some drawings by Correggio in Angeloni's possession: *ibid.*, f. 53 v.; but no paintings. Evelyn has at least once confused Correggio and Carracci (p. 229 n.) and may be doing so again (cf. also Carracci and Caro, p. 407 below). There exists, however, a drawing by Carlo Maratti after what was supposed to be a self-portrait by Correggio; it is possible that Evelyn saw the latter work. For Correggio's alleged self-portraits see *Rassegna d'arte*, xvii (1917), 55-67.

brasse, and one huge nayle of the same mettall found in the ruines of Neros golden house.

In the afternoone we ferried over to Transtevere to the Palace of Gichi againe,<sup>1</sup> to review the former works<sup>a</sup> of Raphael, and returning by St. Angelo saw the Castle<sup>2</sup> as far as was permitted, and on the other side consider'd those admirable pilasters supposd to be of the foundation of the pons Sublic(i)us<sup>3</sup> over which Hor: Cocles passd &c: Here ankor 3 or 4 water-mills first invented by Belizarius;<sup>4</sup> and thence we had another sight of Farneses's Gardens,<sup>5</sup> and of the Tarrace where is that admirable paynting of Raphael being a Cupid playing with a Dolphin,<sup>6</sup> tis wrought a fresca, preserv'd in shutters of wainscott, as well it merites, being certainly one of the most stupendious pieces of worke in the world.

14 I went to Santa Cicilia,<sup>7</sup> a Church built<sup>b</sup> and endowed by Card: Sfondrati<sup>c8</sup> (who) has indeed erected a stately Altar, neere the Body of this Martyre, not long before found in a Vesture of silk girt about, a veile on her head, & the bloody

<sup>a</sup> Or *worke*. <sup>b</sup> Altered from *build*. <sup>c</sup> After this word the writing changes, becoming smaller. The writing covers the bottom margin of the page, having hitherto kept within the marginal rulings.

<sup>1</sup> The Farnesina: see below.

<sup>2</sup> Pflaumern, pp. 266-7; Totti, pp. 3-5; idem, *R.A.*, pp. 215-18; Raymond, pp. 83-4.

<sup>3</sup> This is an error. The remains pointed out as those of the Pons Sublicius, the bridge defended by Horatius, were some distance downstream from the island in the Tiber; Evelyn's source for them is Totti, p. 85; the remains in reality belonged to the Pons Probi. Evelyn has confused them with the remains of the Pons Triumphalis, a short distance downstream from the Ponte S. Angelo (Pflaumern, p. 266; Totti, p. 44; idem, *R.A.*, p. 191; Raymond, p. 84). Most of the floating mills were situated below the island, but there was at least one near the site of the

Pons Triumphalis.

<sup>4</sup> This statement does not appear in Evelyn's ordinary sources; he may have found it in A. Donatus, *Roma vetus ac recens*, 1639, p. 299, or elsewhere. See Platner and Ashby, art. *Molinae*; a photograph of one there, pl. 35.

<sup>5</sup> The Farnesina: above, pp. 287-8.

<sup>6</sup> Presumably the Galatea again: above, p. 288.

<sup>7</sup> Rather carelessly taken from Totti, pp. 81-3. Pflaumern, p. 288. S. Cecilia in Trastevere. The church existed in the fourth century; the cardinal rebuilt and decorated parts of it. It has been considerably altered since Evelyn's time.

<sup>8</sup> Paolo Sfondrato, *c.* 1561-1618, created cardinal 19 Dec. 1590.

scars of 3 Wounds on the neck: The Body now in a silver Chest with her statue over it, cut in snow-white Marble:<sup>1</sup> Other Saints lie here decord with splendid ornaments, lamps and *incensories*<sup>2</sup> of infinite cost: A little farther they shew us the Bathe of *St. Cicilia*,<sup>3</sup> to which joynes a Convent of Friars:<sup>4</sup> Where the Picture of the flagellation is of Vanni,<sup>5</sup> & the Columns of the Portico taken from the Thermæ of Septimius Severus.<sup>6</sup>

15. Mr. Henshaw, and I tooke a walk by the Tyber, visited the Isola Tybertina<sup>7</sup> (now St. Bartholemews) formerly cut in the shape of a ship, and wharfed with Marble, in which a lofty Obelisque represented the Mast: Here are the ruines of Æsculapius's Temple,<sup>8</sup> converted now to a stately Hospital, & a pretty Convent: In the Church of St. Barthol: is the body of that Apostle:<sup>9</sup> Opposite to it is the Convent & Church of St. Jo: Colavita,<sup>10</sup> where I saw nothing remarkable save an old broken Altar with this Inscription.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>a</sup> In MS. one line ends with *in*, without underlining or hyphen; next line begins with *censories* underlined.

<sup>1</sup> The statue is by Stefano Maderna (c. 1576-1636).

<sup>2</sup> 'Un' incensiero.'

<sup>3</sup> This forms part of the church.

<sup>4</sup> It was a convent of nuns of the order of Camaldoli; Evelyn's mis-translation.

<sup>5</sup> Francesco Vanni, 1563-1610: *Encic. italiana*.

<sup>6</sup> In Totti only as said to come from these baths; he also states that the columns, &c., of S. Crisogono were taken from them: p. 76. Thermæ Septimianæ. Very little is known about them; the account in Totti, *R.A.*, p. 319, is fanciful.

<sup>7</sup> Evelyn's description is based on Totti, pp. 93-7, but was probably further influenced by the pictorial reconstruction of the island given there. Pflaumern, pp. 291-2; Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 202-6; Raymond, p. 108. For the history of the island in antiquity see M. Besnier, *L'Île tibérine dans l'antiquité*, 1902 (this

includes much information about the later history of the island); see also Platner and Ashby, arts. *Insula Tiberina* and *Aesculapius, aedes*. Since Evelyn's time there has been a slight change in the shape of the east end.

<sup>8</sup> No certain ruins survive.

<sup>9</sup> So Totti, p. 95.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96-7. The hospital and convent were attached to this church; the hospital still exists. There was a monastery adjoining S. Bartolomeo.

<sup>11</sup> Totti gives a different version of this inscription and places it in the monastery adjoining S. Bartolomeo: p. 92. The first words should read 'Semoni Sanco Deo Fidio'. Semo Sancus Dius Fidius was a Latian deity; he appears to have been confused with Simon Magus already by St. Justin, c. 140. The inscription is now in the Vatican: Besnier, pp. 273-89; *C.I.L.*, vol. vi, no. 567.

*Simoni Sanco Deo Fideo Sacrum, Sex Pompejus. S.P.F.  
Colmussianus quinquenalis decur: bidentalis dono dedit:*

Here was the Temple of *Fortuna Virilis*,<sup>1</sup> and hence we walked to a Cupola, now a church, formerly dedicated to the Sunn:<sup>2</sup> opposite to it Santa *Maria Schola Græca*,<sup>3</sup> where formerly that Tongue was taught, & now said to be the 2d Church dedicated to the B: Virgin in all Rome,<sup>4</sup> bearing also the Title of a Cardinalat: Behind this stands the Great Altar of Hercules much demolish'd.<sup>5</sup>

Neere this (being at the foote of *Mons Aventine*) are the Popes salt-houses,<sup>6</sup> ascending the hill we came to *St. Sabina*<sup>7</sup> an antient fabric, formerly sacred to Diana,<sup>8</sup> there in a Chapell is an admirable Picture, the work of Livia Fontana,<sup>9</sup> set about with columns of Alabaster, & in the middle of the Church is a stone they report cast by the Devil at St. Dominic, whilst he was at Masse:<sup>10</sup> Hence we travell'd towards

<sup>1</sup> Totti, p. 99; Pflaumern, p. 290; Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 255-6. On the left bank of the Tiber. Now identified as *Mater Matuta*, aedes. It was at this time a church, S. Maria Egiziaca; the pronaos was walled up.

<sup>2</sup> Totti, pp. 100-1; Pflaumern, pp. 290-1. The round temple opposite S. Maria in Cosmedin, the medieval S. Stefano Rotondo, later called the *Madonna del Sole*. The most probable identification is with the *Portunium* (*Portunus*, aedes). The portico at this time was walled up.

<sup>3</sup> From Totti, pp. 101-2. Pflaumern, p. 293. S. Maria in Cosmedin. The name 'de *Schola Græca*' was derived from the numerous Byzantine establishments in this neighbourhood in the seventh century and later: Huelsen, *Chiese*, p. 328.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn based this statement on Totti's, who says also that the church was founded by St. Dionysius, pope from 259 to 268. It was already in existence in the sixth

century; there is apparently no earlier record of it: *ibid.* The first church dedicated to the Virgin was S. Maria in Trastevere: above, p. 289.

<sup>5</sup> 'Qui dietro era l'Ara massima d'Hercole': Totti, p. 102. *Idem, R.A.*, pp. 246-7. *Herculis Invicti Ara Maxima*. No remains have ever been recorded.

<sup>6</sup> Totti, p. 102. They were on the river-bank near the remains of the *Pons Probi*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103-4. Pflaumern, pp. 293-4. The church has been much restored since 1914.

<sup>8</sup> So Totti; see *idem, R.A.*, p. 243. Pflaumern also gives the identification. Diana, aedes. Its site was probably near S. Prisca.

<sup>9</sup> Totti's mistake for Lavinia Fontana: above, p. 307 n. The picture is still preserved here.

<sup>10</sup> Totti writes, while St. Dominic was praying. The stone, an ancient Roman weight, is still preserved in the church.



an Heape of Rubbish called the Marmorata,<sup>1</sup> on the bank of Tyber, a place or Magazine of stones & neere which formerly stood a Triumphal Arch, in honor of Horatius vanquishing the Tuscans:<sup>2</sup> The ruines of the Bridg yet appeare:<sup>3</sup> & now were we got to Mons *Testæceus*<sup>4</sup> an heape of Potshards almost 200 foote high, thought to have ben amassed & thrown there by the Subjects of the Common-Wealth bringing their Tribute in<sup>a</sup> Earthen Vessels, others (more probably) that it was formerly a quarter of the Towne where Potters lived: at the summet Rome affords a noble Prospect, & before it a spacious Greene<sup>5</sup> cal'd the *Hippodrom* where heretofore Olympics were Celebrated, & the people Musterd as in our London Artillerie-ground:<sup>6</sup> walking hence to the Citty old Wall, We with much admiration view the Pyramid or Tomb

---

<sup>a</sup> Beginning of a new page in MS.; the writing again covers the bottom margin.

---

<sup>1</sup> Totti, p. 103. See Platner and Ashby, arts. Emporium and Marmorata. The older topographers placed it at the foot of the Aventine; its correct position is some distance downstream.

<sup>2</sup> From Totti, p. 103. Idem, *R.A.*, p. 209. There appear to be no references to an arch to Horatius in the classical writers.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. the supposed ruins of the Pons Sublicius: above, p. 357 n. The last traces were removed in 1878.

<sup>4</sup> From Totti, p. 107. Idem, *R.A.*, p. 214; Pflaumern, p. 296; Raymond, pp. 108–9. Testaceus Mons, now Monte Testaccio. Totti and Pflaumern give the height as 160 'piedi'. The potsherds came from the vessels containing the produce brought to the neighbouring *horrea*. Like Evelyn, Raymond notes the view; it has been destroyed by the modern buildings in this area.

<sup>5</sup> Conflated from Pflaumern, p. 296, and Raymond, p. 108. The field, Totti, p. 106 (the Hippodrome

described by Totti, *R.A.*, p. 295, is the building adjoining S. Costanza). Pflaumern writes that some authors held this to have been the Hippodrome in classical times, but questions their correctness; Raymond writes, 'the *Pratum*, where they us'd their Olympick games'; Totti states more accurately that here 'alcune volte sono stati fatti giochi, e caccie publiche'. The area, extending from the Monte Testaccio to the Pyramid of Cestius, was the Prato del popolo romano; it was used for public games not in antiquity but in the middle ages, the *Giocchi di Monte Testaccio* forming part of the carnival celebrations: for them see F. Clementi, *Il carnevale romano nelle cronache contemporanee*, 1899, pp. 22–55. They lost their importance in the sixteenth century.

<sup>6</sup> Evelyn presumably means the ground still used by the Honourable Artillery Company; the old ground, in Spitalfields, was not yet built over in 1677.

of C. Cestius,<sup>1</sup> of White Marble, & is one of Romes most antient Monuments, intire, & inserted in the Wall, with this Inscription

*C. Cestius. L.F. Pob: Epulo (an order of Priests) Pr: Tr: pl. VII.<sup>a</sup> Vir Epulonum, & a little beneath, Opus absolutum ex Testamento diebus CCCXXX Arbitratu. Ponti P.F. Clamelæ Hæredis et Ponti L.*

At the left hand is the Port of *St. Paule*, once *Tergemina*<sup>2</sup> out of which the three *Horatij* pass'd to encounter the *Cur(i)atij* of *Albano*: Hence bending homewards by *St. Saba* by *Antoninus* Bathes (which we enter'd), is the Marble Sepulchre of *Vespasian*: The thickness of the Walls, & stately ruines shew the enormous magnificence of these *Thermæ*:<sup>3</sup> Hence we went by a corner of the *Circus Maximus*,<sup>4</sup> viewing the place where stood the *Septizonium*<sup>5</sup> demolish'd by *Sixtus V.* for feare of its falling: so passing by *M. Cælius* we beheld the devotions of *St. Maria in Navicula*<sup>6</sup> having a glorious front to the streete; so nam'd from a ship carv'd out in white Marble, & standing on a pedestal before

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *VIII.*

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 296-7. Totti, pp. 108-9; idem, *R.A.*, p. 227; Raymond, p. 109. Sepulcrum C. Cestii.

<sup>2</sup> In this part of his walk Evelyn generally follows Pflaumern. This entry is probably derived from Pflaumern, p. 297, and Totti, p. 103. Idem, *R.A.*, p. 23; Raymond, p. 109; see also Totti, p. 109. *Porta Trigemina* and *Porta Ostiensis*. Totti correctly places the former between the *Aventine* and the *Tiber* (the site has not been fixed more exactly); when the circuit of the walls was enlarged the *Porta Ostiensis* (*Porta S. Paolo*) superseded it but never bore the name.

<sup>3</sup> Badly put together from Pflaumern, p. 297. Totti, pp. 137, 134; idem, *R.A.*, pp. 314-15; Raymond, p. 107. The reputed tomb of *Titus* and *Vespasian* is a sarcophagus still

preserved in the portico of *S. Saba*: Matz and von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*, no. 3099. The baths are those now called the baths of *Caracalla*: *Thermæ Antoniniana*.

<sup>4</sup> Above, pp. 227-8, 276-7.

<sup>5</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 298, or less probably, Totti, *R.A.*, p. 225. Totti, p. 140. The destruction of the *Septizonium* was due to the vandalism of *Sixtus V.*: Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, x. 445-7.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 299, and perhaps Totti, *R.A.*, p. 110, where the façade is praised. Idem, p. 436. *S. Maria in Domnica* or *della Navicella*. The marble ship, still preserved in front of the church, is a copy, set up by *Leo X.*, of an antique original: P. Ugonio, *Hist. delle stazioni di Roma*, 1588, f. 120. The original significance is unknown.

it: supposd the Vowe of one escaping ship-wrack. Next this joynes Horti Mathæi,<sup>1</sup> which of all the Places about the Citty I onely omitted visiting, being as I was told yet inferior to no Garden in Rome, for statues, antient Monuments, Aviaries, Fountaines, Groves, & especialy a noble Obelisque:<sup>2</sup> & maintain'd in beauty at the Expense of 6000 Crownes yearely: Which if not expended to keepe up its beauty, forfeits the Possession of a greater Revenue to another Family, as is reported, so curious are they of their Villas & places of Pleasure, even to excesse: Returning Weary to our Lodging, the next day we go to see the once famous *Circus Caracalla*,<sup>3</sup> in the midst of which there now lay prostrate one of the most stately & antient Obelisks, (full of Ægyptian Hieroglyphi(c)s) that is now in the World,<sup>4</sup> twas it seemes broken in 4 pieces when o'rethrowne by the Barbarians, & would have ben purchas'd & transported into England by the magnificent *Thomas Earle of Arundel*, could it have ben well removed to the Sea:<sup>5</sup> This is since set together, & plac'd on the stupendious Artificial Rock, made by *Innocentius Decimus* & serving for a Fountaine in Piazza Navona, the worke of Cavaliere Bernini, the Popes Architect.<sup>6</sup> Neere this is the Sepulchre of Metellus of Massy stone, & pretty entire, now cal'd Capo di

---

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *now t-* deleted.

---

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 299–301. Totti, pp. 437–8; Raymond, p. 112. Villa Mattei or Celimontana. The original garden has been ruined by neglect. Plan by M. Pampani, 1614.

<sup>2</sup> Obeliscus Capitolinus.

<sup>3</sup> From Totti, p. 124, and Raymond, pp. 114–15, with some additional information. Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 329–30; Pflaumern, p. 405. The circus was built by Maxentius and dedicated to his son Romulus; for an explanation of the name of circus of Caracalla see O. Panvinius, *De ludis circensibus*, 1600, p. 55. Modern account in G. and F. Tomassetti, *La Campagna romana*, 1910–26, ii. 56–60.

<sup>4</sup> See Platner and Ashby, p. 369. The fragments are shown in various views of the circus, e.g. A. (or M.) Sadeler, *Vestigi delle antichita di Roma*, &c., 1606, pl. 38.

<sup>5</sup> So Raymond. Arundel bought it in 1637: Hervey, *Arundel*, pp. 399, 402 (as 'agulia'). Lassels gives a different account of the purchase: ii. 96.

<sup>6</sup> Raymond heard that the obelisk was to be used for this purpose early in 1647. It was set in place in August 1649; the fountain was unveiled on 12 June 1651: Frascchetti, *Bernini*, pp. 186, 190; Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, xiv. 293–5.

Bove.<sup>1</sup> Hence to a small *Oratorie* nam'd *Domine quo vadis*;<sup>2</sup> where the tradition is, our B: Saviour met St. Peter as he fled, & turn'd him back againe.

St. Sebastians<sup>3</sup> was the next, a meane structure (the *faciata* except(e)d) but venerable Church, especialy for the Reliques & Grotts, in which lie the Ashes of many Holy men: Here is also kept the Pontifical chaire sprinkl(e)d with the Blood of *Pope Stephanus*,<sup>4</sup> to which greate devotion is paied, also a Well full of Martyrs bones,<sup>5</sup> & the Sepulchre of *St. Sebastian*, with one of the Arrows,<sup>6</sup> the Vestigia of *Christ* when he met St. Peter at *Quo Vadis*:<sup>7</sup> These are kept by the Fulgentine Monks<sup>8</sup> who have here their Monasterie, & who led us down into a Grotto, which they affirm'd went divers furlongs under ground, the sides or Walls as we passed, fill'd with dead bones & bodies, laied as it were on shelfes, whereof some of them were shut up, with broad stones, & now & then a Crosse or Palme cut in them: here were also at the end of some of these subterranean passages square roomes, with Altars in<sup>a</sup> them,

---

<sup>a</sup> Beginning of a new page in MS.; the writing covers most of the top and side margins as well as the whole bottom margin.

---

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn has no special source. Totti, pp. 122-3; idem, *R.A.*, pp. 228-9; Pflaumern, p. 405; Raymond, p. 114. The tomb of Cecilia Metella; Metellus is Evelyn's error.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn has no special source. Totti, pp. 129-30; Pflaumern, pp. 402-3.

Evelyn has presumably changed the order in which he visited the monuments on the Via Appia. The *Domine Quo Vadis* is nearest to the city gate; the next is S. Sebastiano; the next the Circus of Maxentius; and the tomb of Cecilia Metella is farthest away.

<sup>3</sup> The whole paragraph from Totti, pp. 125-8, but in part badly rendered and with some apparently original additions. Pflaumern, pp. 404-5; Baglione, pp. 85-95; Raymond, pp. 164-5. The church had been recently restored, and its

façade rebuilt, by Cardinal Scipione Borghese. Important excavations have been made here within the last few years.

<sup>4</sup> St. Stephen I is said to have been martyred here on 2 Aug. 257.

<sup>5</sup> Evelyn has misunderstood Totti. The church contains a well in which the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul ('questi sacri corpi') are said to have been concealed for 252 years.

<sup>6</sup> So Totti, *Ristretto*, p. 163 ('frezza', i.e. *freccia*, an arrow).

<sup>7</sup> The stone showing the footprints: Totti, p. 129 (in his account of the *Domine Quo Vadis*).

<sup>8</sup> 'Monaci Foglientini di S. Bernardo', i.e. Feuillants. The order was established between 1577 and 1589 and disappeared after 1791: *Catholic encyc.*

pretending to have formerly ben the receptacles of Primitive Devots in the times of Persecution, nor seemes it improbable, thus we left those Catacombs.<sup>1</sup>

The 17, I was invited (after dinner) to the Academie of the *Humorists*,<sup>2</sup> kept in a spacious Hall, belonging to Signor Mancini,<sup>3</sup> where the Witts of the Towne meete on certaine daies, to recite poems, & prevaricate on<sup>a</sup> severall Subjects &c: The first that Speakes is cal'd the Lord, & stands in an eminent place, & then the rest of the virtuosi recite in order: by these ingenious Exercises besides the learn'd discourses, is the purity of the Italian Tongue daily improv'd: This roome is hung round, with enumerable devises or Emblemes all relating to something of *humidum*<sup>4</sup> with Motos under them: Several other Academies there are of this nature, bearing the like fantastical titles:<sup>5</sup> It is in this Accademie of

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *of*.

<sup>1</sup> This description, expanded from Totti, pp. 127-8, refers to the small catacomb beneath the nave of S. Sebastiano; but Totti's description apparently includes the large neighbouring catacomb at Tor Marancia, identified by A. Bosio as that of St. Calixtus, but actually that of Domitilla: G. B. de Rossi, *La Roma sotterranea cristiana*, 1864-77, i. 227, 266 (apparently all accounts of the catacomb of St. Calixtus from 1632 to c. 1850 actually refer to that of Domitilla). The catacomb at S. Sebastiano was always accessible while that at Tor Marancia was kept locked up: Bosio, *Roma sotterranea*, 1632, pp. 177-8; cf. Grangier de Liverdis, pp. 412-13. It was probably the latter that Evelyn visited soon after Easter: below, p. 387, where parallel references to Raymond and Pflaumern are given. Plans of the two catacombs in Bosio, pp. 185, 591 B, C. For the catacombs in general see O. Marucchi, *Le catacombe romane*, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> The academy of the Umoristi was established about 1603; it had

fallen into decay before 1667, when it was revived; there were no further meetings from 1670 to 1717, when an abortive attempt was made to revive it. In its day it possessed the most illustrious members of any academy in Italy, among them Cassiano dal Pozzo: Maylender, *Storia delle accademie*, v. 370-81. Richard Symonds (1651) describes the proceedings and the rooms in which they were held: B.M., Egerton MS. 1635, ff. 47 v.-49.

<sup>3</sup> 'La nobile habitazione de' Signori Mancini': Totti, p. 287. The site is now occupied by the Palazzo Salviati al Corso, opposite the Palazzo Doria: G. F. Cecconi, ed., *Roma sacra, e moderna*, 1725 (Schudt, no. 224), p. 224; L. Càllari, *Palazzi di Roma*, p. 262. The present owner was presumably Michele Lorenzo Mancini, father of the Duchesse Mazarin.

<sup>4</sup> Symonds (see note above) describes eighteen of them. The device of the society was a cloud with gentle showers issuing from it.

<sup>5</sup> At this period every Italian

the Humorists where they have the Picture of *Guarini*<sup>1</sup> the famous Author of *Pastor fido*, once of this Society:

Over against this lives *Hippolito Vitelesco*<sup>2</sup> the great Statue Colector, and he has a vast store of them & of the most esteem'd in Rome to an incredible value [and his action, or rather passion of kissing & embracing them is as pleasant as a Comedy:]<sup>a</sup> but the best part of the day we spent in hearing the Academic exercises. Next morning we walked to st. Nicholas's in Carcere,<sup>3</sup> it has a faire front, & within part of the Bodys of *st. Mark & Marcellino*, on the Tribuna is a painting of *Gentileschi*,<sup>4</sup> & the Altar of *Caval: Baglioni*,<sup>5</sup> with some other rare paintings: coming round from hence we passed by Circus flaminus,<sup>6</sup> now totaly in ruines, formerly exceeding large: In the Afternoon we visited the *English Jesuites*<sup>7</sup> (being well acquainted with P: Stafford<sup>8</sup> the Superior) who courteously receev'd us: Their Church & Colledge they call *st. Thomasso de gli Inglesi*,<sup>9</sup> & is a Seminarie, & shew in their Church among other trifles the Relique of Beckett,<sup>10</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Interlined, probably later.

town of any note appears to have had one or more academies; with the sole exception of La Crusca (below, pp. 415-16) they were now (1645) little more than polite assemblies for the interchange of poetry and eloquence: works by G. B. Alberti, 1639, and G. Malatesta Garuffi, 1688; *Encic. italiana*. Maylender gives the histories of the individual academies.

<sup>1</sup> (Giovanni) Battista Guarini, 1537-1612; his *Pastor Fido* was first published in 1590. This portrait was by O. Borgian(n)i: Baglione, *Vite*, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 283.

<sup>3</sup> From Totti, pp. 164-5. The church underwent a drastic restoration in the nineteenth century. See V. Golzio, *San Nicola in Carcere*, [1929?].

<sup>4</sup> Orazio Gentileschi. The paint-

ings are lost.

<sup>5</sup> This painting is lost. Totti continues with a list of paintings by Baglione in other Roman churches; Evelyn has transformed it into 'with some other rare paintings'.

<sup>6</sup> No special source. Totti, pp. 168-9; idem, *R.A.*, pp. 323-4; Pflaumern, p. 350. Circus Flaminus. There were very few remains to be seen in Evelyn's time.

<sup>7</sup> See Cardinal Gasquet, *History of the Venerable English College, Rome*, 1920. The college was rebuilt c. 1669-85, the church again in the nineteenth century.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Stanford, alias Stafford, 1588-1659, rector of the English College 1641-5: Foley, (*Jesuit records*), v. 421-2; vi. 264-5.

<sup>9</sup> Totti, pp. 198-9.

<sup>10</sup> His arm: Totti, *Ristretto*, pp. 167-8; Gasquet, p. 85.

their reputed Martyr: Of Paintings there is one of *Durante*,<sup>1</sup> & many representing the suffering of severall of their Society executed in England, especialy F: *Champion*:<sup>2</sup> Next we<sup>a</sup> went to see<sup>a</sup> the Hospital of the Pelerini, della S. Trinità,<sup>3</sup> where I had seene the feete of many Pilgrims wash'd by Princes, Cardinals & noble Romans, and serv'd at Table, As the Ladys & Noble Women did to other poor Creatures in another roome; 'twas told us no lesse than<sup>b</sup> foure hundred fourty foure thousand had ben thus treated in the Jubilie of 1600 and of Women 25500 as appeares by the Register [which bring store of money].<sup>c</sup>

Returning homeward I saw the Palace of *Spada*<sup>4</sup> belonging to that Cardinal: it has a most magnificent hall painted by *Daniel Volterra & Giulio Piacentino*,<sup>5</sup> who made the fret<sup>6</sup> in the little Court: But the rare Perspectives are of Bolognesi:<sup>7</sup> neere this is the *Mont Pietà*<sup>8</sup> instituted as a banc for the poore, who if the summ be not greate, may have mony upon pawns &c: To this joynes *st. Martino*<sup>9</sup> to which belongs a *Schola*, or Corporation that do many works of Charity: Hence we came through Campo di Fiori<sup>10</sup> or herb Market, in

<sup>a-a</sup> Substituted for *joyning is*. <sup>b</sup> Followed by [a] 1600 had been thus entertain'd deleted. <sup>c</sup> Added later.

<sup>1</sup> Durante Alberti of Borgo S. Sepolcro, 1538-1613. The principal altar-piece: Titi, p. 93. It still exists.

<sup>2</sup> Edmund Campion, 1540-81: *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> From Totti, pp. 207-9. Santissima Trinità de' Pellegrini. In Holy Week various dignitaries paid for the pilgrims' food: (*Florence gazette*), Rome, 15 April 1645. The account of the personal attention may be exaggerated.

<sup>4</sup> From Totti, pp. 210-11. Pflaumern, p. 340, as the palace of Cardinal Capodiferro. Palazzo Spada alla Regola, now the seat of the Consiglio di Stato. The decoration throughout is well preserved.

<sup>5</sup> Giulio Mazzoni of Piacenza, 1525?-1618? He was responsible

for the stucco-work on the façade and in the courtyard.

<sup>6</sup> Properly a carved ornament consisting of intersecting lines in relief; Evelyn uses it for the various kinds of Greek key-pattern: translation of Fréart, *Parallel*, p. 110 (in the original 'Guilochis': p. 108).

<sup>7</sup> 'La prospettiva della sala è d'alcuni giovani Bolognesi.'

<sup>8</sup> Totti, p. 212. The Monte della Pietà or di Pietà. On the institutions of this class see the works of Cerreti, 1752, and A. Blaize, 1856.

<sup>9</sup> From Totti, pp. 212-13. It was a small church in the Piazza del Monte di Pietà and belonged to the Compagnia della Dottrina Christiana.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 217-18. Pflaumern, p. 341. The square has been en-

the midst of which is a fontaine casting Water out of a Dolphin in Coper, & in this Piazza, is common Execution don.<sup>1</sup> I went this afternoone to visite my Lord John Somerset,<sup>2</sup> brother to the Marques of Worcester, who had his Appartment in *Palazzo della Cancellaria*<sup>3</sup> belonging to Card: Francesco Barberini,<sup>4</sup> as Vice-Chancelor of the Church of Rome, & Protector of the English: The building is of the famous Architect Bramanti,<sup>5</sup> & is built of incrusted Marble<sup>6</sup> with 4 ranks of noble lights, the principal Enterance of Fontanas designe,<sup>7</sup> and all of Marble, the Portico within sustaind with massie Columns: In the second (Peristyle)<sup>a</sup> above<sup>8</sup> the Chambers are rarely painted by Salviati<sup>9</sup> & Vasari: & so ample is this Palace, that 6 Princes with their families have ben receivd in it at a time without incommoding each other:

Feb: the 20th:<sup>10</sup> I went (as was my usual (Costome)<sup>b</sup>) &

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Preistyle*.

<sup>b</sup> MS. *Costame*.

larged since Evelyn's time; the fountain was set up by Gregory XIII and altered to its present appearance in 1622: inscription in Forcella, xiii. 109.

<sup>1</sup> It was the place where heretics, &c., were punished: Totti, p. 217. Giordano Bruno was burnt here in 1600. The younger Nicholas Stone saw a Jew burnt here in 1640: Walpole Soc. vii. 195. Ordinary criminals were executed at the south end of the Ponte S. Angelo: Totti, p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> John Somerset, second son of Henry Somerset, first marquis of Worcester, and nephew of Thomas, Viscount Somerset of Cashel (above, p. 213); knighted 1632; he married, before 1630, Mary, daughter of Thomas Arundel, Lord Arundel of Wardour: A. Collins, *Peerage of England*, ed. Brydges, 1812, i. 232-3; Foley, (*Jesuit records*, iv. 475. His presence in Rome is first recorded in the English College

pilgrim book in 1647: *ibid.* vi. 636. There is no other evidence for his movements at this time.

<sup>3</sup> From Totti, pp. 222-3. Pflaumern, p. 342. The Cancellaria. It remains as Evelyn saw it.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 266. He occupied the palace as Vice-chancellor of the Church, not as Protector of the English; the latter title is inserted by Evelyn.

<sup>5</sup> So Totti, but no longer accepted.

<sup>6</sup> So Totti, but incorrect; the building is faced with travertine.

<sup>7</sup> It is by Domenico Fontana.

<sup>8</sup> i.e. the first-floor portico about the court. Peristyle is Evelyn's word, not Totti's.

<sup>9</sup> Francesco Salviati. His frescoes (in the chapel del Pallio) apparently still survive; Vasari's (in the hall of Paul III) were reported to have been burnt on 1 Jan. 1940.

<sup>10</sup> This day was a Monday. There was 'un bellissimo mercato' for poultry, vegetables, &c., in the



spent an Afternoone<sup>a</sup> in *Piazza Navona*,<sup>1</sup> as well to see what Antiquities I could purchase among the people, who hold Mercat there for Medaills, Pictures, & such Curiosities, as to heare the Montebanks prate, & debite<sup>2</sup> their Medicines, This was formerly the *Circus*<sup>b</sup> Agonalis<sup>3</sup> dedicated to sports & Passtimes, and is now the greatest Market of the City, having three most noble Fountaines,<sup>4</sup> & the Stately Palaces of the Pamfilii,<sup>5</sup> *st. Giacomo de Spagnoli*<sup>6</sup> belonging to that Nation, to which two Convents, for Friers & Nunns all Spanish:<sup>7</sup> In this Church was now erected a most stately *Cataphalco* or *Chapelle Ardente* for the Death of the Queene of Spaine:<sup>8</sup> The Church all hung with black, & heare I heard a Spanish sermon or funebral Oration, spent the rest of the time in viewing the statues, divises, and Impreses hung about

---

<sup>a</sup> Beginning of a new page in MS.; the writing covers most of the top and side margins as well as the whole bottom margin. <sup>b</sup> Followed by *Maximus* or; *Maximus* deleted, or left standing.

---

Piazza Navona on Wednesdays: Totti, p. 234; Cancellieri, *Il Mercato* (see below), p. 17.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's account is mainly original but some details are taken from Totti, pp. 229-34. Pflaumern, pp. 344-5; Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 321-2. Bernini's fountain, the Palazzo Panfili, and S. Agnese all date in their present form from the decade after Evelyn's visit. General history of the square by F. Cancellieri, *Il Mercato, &c.*, 1811. For the mountebanks see below, pp. 397-8; they are shown in a number of views of the square.

<sup>2</sup> This use of the word is not given in *O.E.D.*

<sup>3</sup> Stadium Domitiani. The name Circus Agonalis is post-classical: Nibby, *Roma nell' anno MDCCCXXXVIII*, i. 599.

<sup>4</sup> They are described by Totti, p. 234; see also Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, ix. 813-14. All three have been altered or replaced; the middle one served as a horse-

trough.

<sup>5</sup> The rebuilding began in the summer of 1645: Hempel, *Borromini*, p. 134.

<sup>6</sup> From Totti, pp. 363-4. Pflaumern, p. 345. There were entrances in the piazza and in the Via della Sapienza: Lassels, ii. 230. The church was modernized in the nineteenth century and was transferred to the French Fathers of the Sacred Heart in 1879; most of its contents have been dispersed.

<sup>7</sup> A mistranslation: 'Vi è lo Spedale per huomini, e donne della natione.'

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth of Bourbon, daughter of Henri IV of France and first wife of Philip IV, born 1603, married 1615, died 6 Oct. 1644, buried 20 March 1645. The church was apparently not prepared for the service until the beginning of April; on account of Holy Week it was postponed until 21 April: (*Florence gazette*), Rome, 8, 22 April 1645.

the Walls, the Church, & Pyramid stuck with thousands of lights & tapers, which made a glorious shew: The Statue of st. James here is of *Sansovino*,<sup>1</sup> & there are also some good Pictures [of *Carrachio*],<sup>2</sup> the *faciata* too is faire: So returning home I pass'd by the stumps of old Pasquin,<sup>3</sup> at the Corner of a streete call'd *strada pontificia*:<sup>4</sup> Here they still past up their drolling Lampons, & scurrilous Papers: This had formerly ben one of the best statues for workmanship & Art, in all the Citty as the remaining *bust* dos still shew. The 21, in the morning I tooke a Walk up the Hill towards the Capuchins,<sup>5</sup> where was then Card: *Onufrio*<sup>6</sup> (brother to the late P. *Urban* the VIIIth) of the same order: Here's a prety church built by the Card: full of rare Pictures, & there lies the body of s. *Felix*<sup>7</sup> that dos (they say) still do Miracles: The Piece at the great Altar is of Lanfranc,<sup>8</sup> 'tis a Lofty Edifice, with a beautifull avenue of Trees, and in good aire:

<sup>1</sup> Jacopo d'Antonio Tatti, called Sansovino, c. 1486-1570, architect and sculptor. The statue has been moved to S. Maria di Monserrato.

<sup>2</sup> An altar-piece and two lunettes survive, the former in S. Maria di Monserrato, the latter in the Barcelona museum; they were designed by Annibale Carracci but executed almost entirely by Francesco Albani: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, xxvi (1906-7), 172-4.

<sup>3</sup> From Totti, pp. 235-6. Pflaumern, pp. 343-4. Totti compares Pasquin in its present condition to the Belvedere Torso (above, p. 304 n.) and says that each is a 'tronco'. Hence perhaps Evelyn's calling the remains of the group a bust: cf. above, p. 327. The group was set up here in 1501: Matz and von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*, no. 965. Pflaumern gives the traditional story of the origin of the pasquines; a modern account is given in *Nuova Antologia*, cix (Jan.-Feb. 1890), 51-75, 275-96.

3811.2

<sup>4</sup> The street, as 'via Pontificia', occurs in Totti, p. 239, as part of the route taken by the papal processions from the Vatican to the Lateran; part of the route, approximately the modern Via del Governo Vecchio, is called 'la rue Papale' in [D. Magnan], *La ville de Rome*, 1778, p. 199. The name does not occur on Nolli's map.

<sup>5</sup> From Totti, pp. 299-301. S. Maria della Concezione. The church is well preserved, but the avenue has disappeared. Evelyn's notice of it and of the air is original.

<sup>6</sup> Antonio Barberini, d. 1646, created cardinal 7 Oct. 1624. He took his title from S. Onofrio.

<sup>7</sup> In Totti as the 'B. Felice'. St. Felix of Cantalice, c. 1513-87, beatified 1625, canonized 1712. He rivalled St. Philip Neri in popularity in his lifetime: *Catholic Encyc.*; &c.

<sup>8</sup> The Conception; it was burnt at some time and only fragments remain: Thieme, *Lexikon*.

After dinner passing along the *strada del* (Corso),<sup>a 1</sup> I considered the *Colonna d' Antonino* passing under *Arco Portugallo*<sup>2</sup> which is but a relique, heretofore erected in honor of Domitian, cal'd now *Portugallo* from a Cardinal living neere it, a little farther on the right hand stands the Column, in a small *Piazza*, heretofore set up in honor of *M: Aurelius Ant:*<sup>3</sup> comprehending in a *bassorelievo* of white marble his hostile acts against the *Parthians, Armenians, Germans* &c but is now somewhat decay'd, & bearing on the summit the Image of s. *Paule* of Gilded Coper: 'tis said to be CLXI foote high, & is ascended by 207 steps receiving light by 56 apertures, without defacing the sculpture: & here it is, that there is wrought that famous Miracle<sup>4</sup> said to be caused by the Christian souldiers, of which *Baronius* Anno 176. A little distance off are the reliques of the Emperors Palace,<sup>5</sup> the heads of whose Pillars shew them to have bin *Corinthian*. Turning a little down we came to another *Piazza*<sup>6</sup> in which

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Carso*.

<sup>1</sup> See Totti, p. 335; Pflaumern, p. 333. The street derived its name from the carnival horse-races, first held in it in 1466: Clementi, *Il carnevale romano*, pp. 59, 63. Its architectural transformation began under Alexander VII.

<sup>2</sup> From Totti, pp. 313-14. Pflaumern, p. 333; Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 177-8. The arch stood at the corner of the *Piazza* in *Lucina*, spanning the *Corso*; it is not known to whom it was dedicated; it was removed in 1662: Platner and Ashby, art. *Arco di Portogallo*. The cardinal from whom it derived its name belonged to the time of Paul III.

<sup>3</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 334-7. Raymond, p. 75; Totti, p. 318; idem, *R.A.*, pp. 343-5; in these three works as the column of Antoninus Pius: cf. Evelyn's first reference to it. Columna *M. Aurelii Antonini*. The height of the column (shaft, torus, and capital) is nearly 98 ft.

<sup>4</sup> A sudden storm of rain which saved the Roman army. The reference is to the *Annales*, A.D. 176; Evelyn found it in Pflaumern.

<sup>5</sup> Conflated from Pflaumern, pp. 337-8, who calls the building the basilica of Antoninus Pius, and Totti, pp. 319-20, who writes that according to one theory it was his palace. Idem, *R.A.*, pp. 150-2; Raymond, p. 74. *Divus Hadrianus, templum*. It was erected by Antoninus Pius; the part seen by Evelyn still exists.

<sup>6</sup> From Totti, p. 324. The vasa is now the sarcophagus of Clement XII (d. 1740) in St. John Lateran; about 1665 it occupied one of the niches in the portico of the Pantheon: Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, ii. 238. The fountain, built by Gregory XIII, has been transformed by the substitution, in 1711, of the present obelisk for its original central feature: Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, viii. 814; Forcella, xiii. 132.

stands a sumptuous Vasa of Porphyrie, & a faire Fountaine, but the grace of this Merket, & indeede the admiration of the whole World, is the *Pantheon*, now call'd *S. Maria della Rotunda*:<sup>1</sup> formerly sacred to all the Gods, & still remaining the most intire Antiquitie of the Citty, built by *Marcus Agrippa*<sup>2</sup> as testifies the Architrave<sup>3</sup> of the Portico, sustain'd by 13 Pilars of *Theban* Marble 6 foote thick, & 53 in height of one intire stone:<sup>4</sup> In this Porch is an old Inscription:<sup>5</sup> Entiring the Church we admire the fabric, which is wholly cover'd with one Cupola, seemingly suspended in the aire, & receiving light by a hole in the middle onely: The structure is neere as high as broad, viz, 144 (feet) not counting the thicknesse of the Walls, which is 22 more to the top,<sup>6</sup> all of white Marble,<sup>7</sup> & til *Urban* the VIII converted the metall into Ordinance, to warr against the *Duke of Parma*, & part

In Evelyn's time there was a short descent from the piazza to the floor of the portico; the pavement of the piazza was lowered by Alexander VII: Egger, *Römische Veduten*, ii. 38-40.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn uses all his sources; the general references are: Pflaumern, pp. 345-8; Totti, pp. 322-4; idem, *R.A.*, pp. 248-50; Raymond, pp. 96-8; he perhaps also made use of Lassels, ii. 235-8. Pantheon. In Evelyn's time the portico was crowned with Bernini's two bell-towers, the 'asses' ears'; some columns of the portico were missing; and the attic within possessed a marble facing which was removed in 1747.

<sup>2</sup> These statements from Raymond, who follows Pflaumern. The name may refer to the number of deities honoured in the temple or may mean 'very holy'. Agrippa built the original temple, which was burnt down in A.D. 80; the present building is an entirely new construction, built by Hadrian after 126.

<sup>3</sup> The term also occurs in Lassels,

ii. 238, in this connexion; the presence of the inscription is mentioned by Pflaumern, p. 347.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. The columns are of grey and red Egyptian granite; in Evelyn's time there were fourteen, Urban VIII having replaced one of the three that were missing or damaged with a new column; the other two were replaced with new columns by Alexander VII.

<sup>5</sup> Evelyn apparently refers to a modern inscription given by Raymond, pp. 97-8; it accompanies an early Christian sarcophagus placed here in 1646, after Evelyn had left Rome.

<sup>6</sup> Description and measurements from Pflaumern, pp. 346-7. The last statement is an incorrect rendering: Pflaumern explains that the whole diameter, including the walls, is about 40 ft. more than the height 'cùm duodeviginti pèdes murus crassus sit'. The height is now given as 144 ft., as also the inner diameter of the drum; the walls as 20 ft. 6 in. thick.

<sup>7</sup> The statement is original and incorrect.

of it to make the high Altar in s. *Peters*, all over cover'd with *Corinthian* brasse,<sup>1</sup> ascending by 40 degrees within the roof or Convex of the Cupola,<sup>2</sup> rich carved with *octagons*, in the stone:<sup>3</sup> There be *Niches* in the walls, in which stood heretofore the statues of *Jupiter* & the other Gods & Godesses,<sup>4</sup> for here was that *Venus*, which had hung in her Eares the other *Union* that *Cleopatra* was about to dissolve & drink up, as she had don its fellow:<sup>5</sup> There are severall of these *Niches* one above the other for the Celestial, Terrestrial & Subterranean Deities;<sup>6</sup> but the place is now converted into a Church dedicated to the *B: Virgin* & all the Saints:<sup>7</sup> The Pavement is incomparable and the vast folding-Gates of *Corinthian* brasse,<sup>8</sup> in a word, 'tis of all the *Roman* Antiquities the most worthy notice:<sup>9</sup> There lies interr'd in this Temple the famous *Raph: Urbine, Perin del Vaga, F. Zuccharo* & other painters:<sup>10</sup> Returning home we passe by Cardinal *Cajetans* Palace<sup>11</sup> a

<sup>1</sup> From Urban's inscription here, printed by Totti, p. 324, supplemented by Evelyn's own memory and perhaps by Lassels, ii. 237. What Urban took was not the roof-tiles, which had been removed in 663, but the trusses of the portico; and he took them in 1632, while the war against the duke of Parma began only in 1641.

<sup>2</sup> There were 150 steps to the roof, and 40 more to its centre ('umbilicus'): Pflaumern, p. 347. Evelyn has apparently misunderstood his notes and the relation of the steps to the vault.

<sup>3</sup> Original notice. The vault is built of bricks and concrete; the coffers are square.

<sup>4</sup> Probably from Totti, pp. 322-3, but perhaps from Pflaumern, p. 345.

<sup>5</sup> An incorrect version of the story in Totti, *R.A.*, p. 249; Evelyn apparently turned to Pliny; Lassels also gives the story: ii. 237. Cleopatra had swallowed the first pearl in the course of her wager with Antony; the second was split in half for the ear-rings of Venus: *Nat. hist.*, bk. ix, ch. 35 (58). Pliny uses

the word 'unio' here; it is derived from the fact that no two pearls are exactly alike: *ibid.* ix. 112.

<sup>6</sup> Probably from Pflaumern, p. 345, who, however, states that the niches in the attic were for the celestial deities and the recesses on the ground-level for the terrestrial, while the deities of the lower world ('inferi') lurked hidden beneath the earth.

<sup>7</sup> So Raymond, p. 96; the dedication is to the Virgin and all the martyrs.

<sup>8</sup> Both from Pflaumern, p. 346.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the similar superlatives in Raymond and Pflaumern.

<sup>10</sup> From Totti, p. 323, who, however, correctly gives Taddeo, not Federigo, Zuccherò (there may be an error in transcription). Pflaumern incorrectly places Raphael's tomb in S. Maria sopra Minerva: p. 349.

<sup>11</sup> From Totti, p. 334, but as the palace 'de gli Eccellentissimi Gaetani'. Now the Palazzo Ruspoli. The last of the Caetani cardinals had died in 1642. Vincenzo is Totti's mistake for Bartolomeo Ammanati, who began the building.

noble piece of Architecture of Vincenzo Ammannati, & is the grace of the whole Corso:

22d. I went to *Trinita del Monte*,<sup>1</sup> a Monasterie of French, a noble Church built by *Lewes 11<sup>2</sup>* & *Char: 8*, the Chapells well painted, especialy that by *Zuccari & Volterra*;<sup>2</sup> & the Cloyster with the Miracles of their *Saint Francis di Paölo*, & the heads of the French Kings:<sup>4</sup> In the Pergolo above, the walls are wrought with excellent Perspective; especialy the *st. John*; & the *Babylonish* Dials invented by *Kircher* the Jesuite:<sup>5</sup> The Convent situated so eminently on *Mont Pincius* has the intire Prospect of *Campus Martius*, has a faire Garden which joynes to the *Palazzo de Medices*:<sup>6</sup> The 23d: I went to heare a Sermon at *st. Giacomo de gli Incurabili*,<sup>7</sup> a faire church built by *F. Volaterra*<sup>8</sup> of good Architecture: & so is the Hospitale, where onely the desperate are brought for cure. Hence I pass'd the Evening at *st. Maria del Popolo*<sup>9</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Beginning of a new page in MS.; the writing covers everything except a narrow strip at the top of the page and narrow side-margins.

<sup>1</sup> From Totti, pp. 337-8, with an addition from Pflaumern, pp. 326-7. Santissima Trinità de' Monti. The church was injured during the French invasion and restored after 1816.

<sup>2</sup> So Pflaumern, but incorrectly; the church was founded in 1494.

<sup>3</sup> There is an Assumption of the Virgin, begun by Taddeo, finished by Federigo, Zuccherò, still preserved here: Titi, *Ammaestramento*, p. 345. There were several works by Daniele da Volterra; his celebrated Deposition from the Cross, greatly injured, is still preserved here.

<sup>4</sup> For the works in the cloister see Titi, *Ammaestramento*, pp. 347-8.

<sup>5</sup> Original notice. Lassels mentions another 'curious perspective' as in the dormitory, and the dial: ii. 185. The pergolo (*pergola*) is presumably the upper story of the cloister; cf. Grangier de Liverdis, p. 354; these galleries formed part of or adjoined the dormitory. The

St. John could be seen only from a special angle; seen from in front the picture represented a landscape; it was by J. F. Nicéron: see his *Thaumaturgus opticus*, 1646, pp. 176-8 and pl. 33. Nothing designed by Kircher is traceable here; there was, however, on one of the ceilings a form of sundial, the light being reflected on to it, the work of E. Maignan: Nicéron, pp. 178-9; and see Maignan, *Perspectiva horaria*, 1648, pp. 390-2 sqq., account of a similar astrolabe in the Palazzo Spada.

<sup>6</sup> Above, pp. 230-2, 286-7.

<sup>7</sup> From Totti, pp. 343-4. The hospital, formerly for incurable diseases, is now a surgical hospital.

<sup>8</sup> Francesco Capriani, called da Volterra, d. 1588? The building was completed by Maderna: Thieme, *Lexikon*.

<sup>9</sup> From Totti, pp. 345-7; the tombs at the end and the epitaph

heretofore *Neros* sepulchre, where his ashes lay many yeares in a marble Chest:<sup>1</sup> To this Church joynes The Monasterie of st. *Augustine*<sup>2</sup> which have pretty Gardens on *Mont Pincio*, & in the Church the miraculous shrine of the *Madona* which Pope Paule the 3d, brought barefooted to the place supplicating for a Victorie against the Turks 1464:<sup>3</sup> In a Chapell of the *Ghisi* are some rare paintings of *Raphael*, & noble sculptures;<sup>4</sup> Those two in the *Choire* are of *Sansovino*,<sup>5</sup> & in the Chapel de *Cerasij* a piece of *Caravaggio*.<sup>6</sup> Here lie buried many greate Scholars & Artists,<sup>7</sup> of which I tooke special notice of this Inscription<sup>8</sup>

*Hospes, disce novum mortis genus; improba felis  
Dum trahitur, digitum mordet, et intereo.*

Opposite to the *faciata* of the Church is a superb *Obelisc*<sup>9</sup> full of Hieroglyphics the same that *Sennesertus*<sup>10</sup> K: of *Ægypt* dedi-

added from Pflaumern, pp. 328-9. The church was decorated by Bernini c. 1658: Frascchetti, *Bernini*, pp. 282-3. See J. de Albericis, *Hist. sanctissimae . . . Virginis . . . de Populo . . . compendium*, 1599, with views of the church; A. Landucci, *Origine del tempio dedicato . . . alla Vergine . . . del Popolo*, 1646; E. Lavagnino, *Santa Maria del Popolo*, [1925?].

<sup>1</sup> Nero's burial here is historical: Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*, Nero, ch. 50. Totti gives the legend of the demon-haunted walnut-tree growing from his grave.

<sup>2</sup> A mistranslation: the monastery was occupied by Augustinian hermits (Lombardic congregation).

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn makes several mistakes in translating Totti. Paul II carried the picture of the Madonna in a procession in 1464. Totti does not account for its presence in the church; it was brought here by Gregory IX: Landucci, p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> The Chigi chapel. Raphael designed the mosaics for it; it contained no paintings by him. The statues of Jonah and Elijah are more or less after his designs.

<sup>5</sup> The tombs of Cardinals Ascanio Maria Sforza, d. 1505, and Girolamo Basso, d. 1507, by Andrea Contucci, called Sansovino, c. 1460-1529.

<sup>6</sup> There are two pictures by Caravaggio in the Cerasi chapel; both were here by 1644: Baglione, *Vite*, p. 137.

<sup>7</sup> Pflaumern writes 'plures . . . maximi viri: multi è sacro Senatu, multi ex ordine litteratorum'. Evelyn is using artists in the obsolete sense, masters of the liberal arts: *O.E.D.* The only artists of note in the modern sense buried here were Giovanni and Cherubino Alberti.

<sup>8</sup> The verses form part of the epitaph of Franciscus Tovarvallis, a Spanish ecclesiastic who died in 1507: Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, i. 332.

<sup>9</sup> Its history from Pflaumern, p. 329; its height, Fontana, and the inscriptions from Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 354-5. Raymond, pp. 71-2. Obeliscus Augusti in Circo Maximo.

<sup>10</sup> So Pflaumern, following M. Mercati, *De gli obelischi di Roma*, 1589, pp. 199-200. Mercati's source is Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, bk. xxxvi, ch. 9

cated to the Sunn; brought to *Rome* by *Augustus*, & erected in *Circus Maximus*, & since plac'd here by P: Sixt: V: tis 88 foote high, of one intire stone, & plac'd with greate art, & Engines by the famous *Domenico Fontana*: The Inscription(s) on the *pedestals* are

*Imp: Cæsar Divi F. Augustus, Pontifex Maximus: Imp: XII. Cos: XI. T(r)ib: pot: XIV. Ægypto in Potestatem Pop: Romani redacta Soli donum dedit.* on the other Table.

*Six: V: Pont: Max.<sup>a</sup> Obeliscum hunc à Cæsare Augusto Soli in Circo Maximo ritu dicatum impio, miseranda ruina fractam obruptumque erui, transferri, formæ suæ reddi, Crucique invictiss: dedicari jussit: Anno M.D.LXXXIX.*

*On a Third Square*

*Ante sacram illius Ædem augustior, letiorque surgo, cujus ex utero verginali, Aug.<sup>b</sup> Imperante<sup>c</sup> Sol Justitiæ exortus est.*

Hence turning up on the right hand out of the *Porto del Popola*,<sup>1</sup> we came to *Justinians Gardens*<sup>2</sup> neere the *Muro torto*,<sup>3</sup> so prominently built, as th(r)eatning every moment to fall, yet standing so for this thousand yeares; under this is the burying place for the Common whores, where they are put into the ground *sans ceremonie*. The 24th, we walked to st. *Roches & Martines*,<sup>4</sup> neere the brink of *Tybur*, 'tis a large Hospital for both sexes; hence to the *Mausolæum Augusti*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Max*, with comma.    <sup>b</sup> MS. *Aug*, with comma.    <sup>c</sup> Or *Imperanti*.

(14); all the old editions give 'Semneserteus'; the best reading is 'Psemetnepserphreus'. He is identifiable as Psammetichus III, 26th dynasty, who was driven from the throne in 527 B.C., after reigning for six months. The hieroglyphics on the obelisk were cut by Seti I and Rameses II, 19th dynasty, 1350-1330 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> The *Porta del Popolo*. There was only one archway. The inner side was altered and decorated in 1655 for the entry of Queen Christina of Sweden: Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, xiv. 343. The gate was enlarged in 1878.

<sup>2</sup> Below, pp. 382-3.

<sup>3</sup> From Totti, p. 348. Pflaumern, pp. 327-8. A part of the wall of the *Horti Aciliorum*, later incorporated in Aurelian's city walls, at the north-west angle of the *Pincio*.

<sup>4</sup> From Totti, pp. 351-2. Pflaumern, p. 330. SS. Rocco e Martino. The church has been rebuilt; for the hospital see *Piazza, Eusevologio*, [i]. 39-40.

<sup>5</sup> From Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 222-3; the cupola and statues added by Evelyn. Totti also describes the original appearance of the building: *ibid.*, pp. 219-20. Pflaumern, pp. 330-1; see also Lassels, ii. 240-1. *Mausoleum Augusti*. The remains were until recently incorporated in



'twixt *Tybur* & *Via Flaminia*, now exceedingly ruin'd, which had formerly contended for its sumptuous Architecture: It was inte(n)ded for a *Cæmetarie* to inhume the Roman Emperors in; It had twelve ports, & was cover'd with a Cupola of White Marble, & environ'd with stately Trees, & *statues* innumerable, all of it now converted to a Garden: We pass'd the afternoone at the *Sapienza*,<sup>1</sup> a very stately building, & full of good Marbles,<sup>2</sup> especialy the Portico of admirable Architecture. These are properly the Universitie Scholes, where Lectures on Law, Medicine, Anatomie are read, & Students performe their Exercises. Hence we walk'd to St. *Andrea della Valle*<sup>3</sup> neere the former Theater of *Pompey* the greate, & the famous *Piccolomini*,<sup>4</sup> but given to this Church & Order who are *Theatines*: The *Barberini* have in this place a chapell of curious incrusted marbles of severall sorts, & rare paintings: Under it the place wher *st. Sebastian* is said to have ben beaten with rods, before he was shot with darts:<sup>5</sup> The Cupola is painted by *Lanfranco*,<sup>6</sup> an inestimable work, & so is the intire fabric & Monasterie adjoining:<sup>7</sup>

The 25<sup>t</sup> invited by a Frier *Dominican* whom we usualy heard preach to a number of *Jewes*, to be Godfather to a

a concert-hall, the Augusteo. There are various views showing its appearance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

<sup>1</sup> From Totti, pp. 365-6. The construction of the church of S. Ivo, at one end of the courtyard, had begun in 1642: Hempel, *Borromini*, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> In the architectural decoration; not sculpture: see Totti.

<sup>3</sup> From Totti, pp. 370-3. The fabric was complete except for the façade, which was built c. 1655-65; much of the interior decoration is later than Evelyn's time. See S. Ortolani, *S. Andrea della Valle*, [1923].

<sup>4</sup> The church is on the site of the palace, immediately north-west of that of the theatre: see Totti.

<sup>5</sup> 'Questa cappella è posta sopra

della Cloaca, dove fù battuto s. Sebastiano.' Totti is summarizing a passage from O. Panciroli, *Tesori nascosti . . . di Roma*, ed. 1625, p. 799, which, in so far as it associates the martyrdom of St. Sebastian with this area, is contradicted by the saint's *acta*: *Acta Sanctorum*, 20 Jan., p. 642. A church, S. Sebastianus de via papae, had, however, previously occupied the site. Evelyn adds a further error in making the beating of the saint precede the shooting.

<sup>6</sup> The frescoes are still preserved. It is curious that Evelyn does not mention the far more important frescoes by Domenichino in this church.

<sup>7</sup> The monastery was probably still in course of construction.

Converted *Turk* & a *Jew*, The Ceremonie was perform'd in the Church of S: *Maria sopra la Minerva* neere the *Capitol*, They were clad in White, then exorcis'd at their entering the church with abundance of Ceremonies, when lead into the Quire, they were baptizd by a Bishop *in Pontificalibus*: The *Turk* lived afterwards in *Rome*, sold hot-waters, & would bring us presents when he met<sup>a</sup> us, kneeling, & kissing the hemms of our Cloaks: But the *Jew* was believ'd to be a Counterfeit:<sup>1</sup> This Church<sup>2</sup> situate on a spacious rising, was formerly consecrated to the Goddess *Minerva*:<sup>3</sup> 'tis well built, & richly adorn'd, the body of s. *Catharine di Sienna* is buried here,<sup>4</sup> & the paintings of the Chapell of *Marcello Venusti*,<sup>5</sup> the *Madona* over the Altar of *Gio: da Fiesole*<sup>6</sup> cal'd the Angelic painter, & was of the order of these Monks:<sup>7</sup> There are many Charities dealt publiqly here, especialy at the procession on the *Annuntiation* when I saw his holinesse with

<sup>a</sup> Beginning of a new page in MS. ; the writing now and generally henceforward covers the whole page except the narrow side-margins.

<sup>1</sup> Baptisms of Jews were fairly frequent; there are said to have been 1,195 between 1634 and 1700, but this number may include Turks as well: A. Berliner, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, 1893, II. ii. 40-1. Raymond, p. 112, and Mortoft, p. 103, both saw baptisms of Jews. The annual baptism of a Jew on Holy Saturday was perhaps already established: cf. below, p. 386 n.

<sup>2</sup> From Totti, pp. 381-6. Pflaumern, pp. 348-9. S. Maria sopra Minerva. The original Gothic building had been so transformed in the early seventeenth century as to appear to be an ordinary church of the period; its present characteristic Gothic appearance is due to a restoration in 1848-55. The older monuments seem to have been generally retained. See P.-T. Masetti, *Mem. istor. della chiesa di S. Maria sopra Minerva*, 1855; J.-J. Berthier, *L'église de la Minerve à Rome*, 1910; R. Spinelli, *Santa Maria sopra Minerva*, [1925].

<sup>3</sup> Totti says that the convent adjoining the church was in part built on the ruins of a temple of *Minerva*. This was the temple of *Minerva Chalcidica*; its exact position is uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> For her head see above, p. 204. At this time the body was in the chapel of the Rosary, to the right of the choir.

<sup>5</sup> In the chapel of the Rosary; still preserved.

<sup>6</sup> It was the altar-piece of this chapel and is apparently identical with the present altar-piece, which is not by Angelico: Berthier, p. 209. Vasari states that Angelico painted the altar-piece for the high altar: ed. Milanese, II. 516; this statement is presumably the ultimate source of the present attribution. Fra Giovanni da Fiesole, called il Beato Angelico, 1387-1455.

<sup>7</sup> Evelyn's mistake for friars. The church belonged to the Dominicans. Fra Angelico is buried here.

all the Cardinals, prelati &c *in pontificalibus*: Dowries being given to 300 poore Wenches, that were all clad in White: The *Pope* had his *Tiara* on his head, & was carried on mens shoulders in an open Chaire of armes, blessing the people as he passd along:<sup>1</sup> The statue of *Christ* at the Columna<sup>2</sup> is esteem'd one of *M: Angelos* Master-pieces: Here is interr'd Card: *Bembo*,<sup>3</sup> & innumerable are the paintings of the best Artists. The *Organ* is also accounted one of the sweetest of *Rome*: We return'd by s: *Marco*<sup>4</sup> a stately Church, the pavement especialy, and that piece of P: *Perugino* of the two Martyrs;<sup>5</sup> adjoyning to this is a noble Palace built by the famous *Bramanti*.<sup>6</sup>

26t: Ascending a little up the hill we came to the *Forum Trajanum* where his *Culumna*<sup>7</sup> stands yet intire, wrough(t) with admirable *Bass-relievo* & comprehending the *Dacian* War, the figure(s) at the upper part appearing of the same proportion with those below:<sup>8</sup> 'Tis ascended by 192 steps, inlightned with 44 apertures or windows, artificialy dispos'd; in height from the *pedestal* 140 foote:<sup>9</sup> Thus Inscrib'd

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Totti, pp. 383-5. These *zitelle* (above, p. 292) were drawn from poor homes; the pope participated in the ceremony annually: Piazza, *Eusevologio*, [i.] 422-5. Aerssen describes the abuses attending the charity: pp. 185-6. See also Montaigne, pp. 316-18; Mortoft, pp. 167-8. This year more than 250 dowries were given: (*Florence gazette*), Rome, 1 April 1645. The date is 25 March. See also below, p. 384.

The word arm-chair was not in common use before 1700.

<sup>2</sup> Totti's error: the statue represents the risen Christ.

<sup>3</sup> Pietro Bembo, 1470-1547; cardinal 1538: *Encic. italiana*.

<sup>4</sup> From Totti, pp. 397-9. Pflaumern, p. 350. The interior has been much altered since Evelyn's time.

<sup>5</sup> 'Una historia di due Martiri.' Now lost. The attribution goes back to Vasari: ed. Milanese, iii. 579.

<sup>6</sup> From Totti, p. 399, but there

only as attributed to Bramante. Pflaumern, pp. 349-50. The Palazzo di Venezia; Bramante had no connexion with it.

<sup>7</sup> Evelyn's principal source is Pflaumern, p. 385; the inscription from Totti, *R.A.*, p. 347; the observation about the rise of the soil perhaps from Lassels, ii. 149 (see note below). Totti, pp. 499-500; Raymond, pp. 74-5. Columna Traiani. In Evelyn's time there was a small square area, excavated to the original ground-level, about the pedestal.

<sup>8</sup> This refers to the spiral band. The greater its height from the ground, the wider the band and the taller the figures, in order to counteract the greater distance from the eye. The observation is not to be found in Evelyn's sources.

<sup>9</sup> These figures from Pflaumern; they should be 185 steps, 43 apertures, 125 ft. (38 m.) high.

Senatus populusque Romanus, Imperat: Caesari Divi Nervæ F. Nervæ Trajano, Aug. Germ. Dacico Pontif. Maximo. Trib. Pot. XVI(I). Imp. VI. Cos: VI. p.p. ad declarandum, quantæ altitudinis Mons et Locus tantis Operib. sit egestus.

It had once the Ashes of *Trajan* & statue<sup>1</sup> in place where now stands st. *Peters* of gilt brasse, erected by Pope *Sixtus quintus*: The Sculpture of this stupendious pillar is thought the work of *Apollodorus*;<sup>2</sup> but what is very observable is the descent to the *plinth* of the *Piedestal*, shewing how this Antient Citty lies buried in her ruines now,<sup>3</sup> this Monument being at first<sup>a</sup> set up upon a rising ground:

After dinner we went to take the aire in *Card: Bentivoglios* delicious Gardens,<sup>4</sup> now but newly deceas'd, he has a faire Palace built by several good Masters on part of the Ruines of *Constantines Thermæ*,<sup>5</sup> well adorn'd with Columns and paintings, especialy of *Guido Rheni*.<sup>6</sup>

On 27th in the Morning, Mr. Henshaw and myselfe walked to the Trophies of *Marius* erected in honor of his victorie over the Cymbrians, but these now taken out of their *Niches*, are plac'd on the balusters of the Capitol, so as their antient station is now but an informe ruine:<sup>7</sup> keeping on our way we

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *sat* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> According to Pflaumern the ashes were placed in a gilt ball on the top of the column; they were actually placed in a room in the pedestal. Evelyn's sources do not mention the statue of Trajan; his statement about it is correct.

<sup>2</sup> Apollodorus is named not as a sculptor, but as the architect of the forum, by Pflaumern, p. 386, as from 'Dionysius', an error for Dio Cassius, bk. lxix, ch. 4.

<sup>3</sup> 'The *basis* of it was buried under ground in the ruines . . . by this we may see how much the streets of *Rome* are higher then they were; *Rome* now being built upon the ruines of *Rome*': Lassels, ii. 149.

Raymond notes the rise of the soil about the Pantheon: p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> From Totti, p. 504. At this time it belonged to Cardinal Mazarin and was occupied for a time by Queen Christina of Sweden: Mortoft, pp. 62-3. It is now the Palazzo Rospigliosi; part of the garden has been built over. Guido Bentivoglio, born 1579, created cardinal 11 Jan. 1621, died 7 Sept. 1644.

<sup>5</sup> Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 301-3; Pflaumern, p. 389. *Thermæ Constantianæ*.

<sup>6</sup> The most important was the *Aurora*.

<sup>7</sup> Source uncertain. Totti, pp. 463-4; idem, *R.A.*, pp. 179-80;

came to st. *Crosse* in *Jerusalem*,<sup>1</sup> built by Constantine, over the demolitions of the Temple of *Venus & Cupid*<sup>2</sup> which he threw down, & 'twas here they report he reposed the wood of the true *Crosse* found by his Mother *Helena*, in honour whereof this Church was built, & memory of his victory over *Maxentius* when that holy signe appeard to him:<sup>3</sup> The Edifice without is *Gotic*, but very glorious within, especially the rooffe, & one Tribune well painted:<sup>4</sup> Here is a chapel dedicated to *st. Helena*, the floore whereof is of Earth brought from *Jerusalem*, the walls of faire Mosaic, in which they suffer no Women to enter save once a yeare:<sup>5</sup> Under the high Altar of the Church is buried St. Anastasius<sup>6</sup> in *Lydian* marble, Benedict the VIIth<sup>7</sup> and they shew a world of Reliques, expos'd at our request,<sup>8</sup> with a Phial of our *B: Saviours* blood, two thornes of the Crowne, three Chips of the real *Crosse*, one of the Nailes, wanting a point, st. Thomas's doubting finger, and a fragment of the Title,<sup>9</sup> being part of a thin board, some of *Judas's* pieces of silver,<sup>10</sup> and innumerable more, if one had faith to believe it. To this venerable Church joynes a Monasterie, the Gardens taking up the space of an antient Amphitheater:<sup>11</sup> Hence we pass'd beyond the

Pflaumern, p. 317. The building was a Nymphaeum: Platner and Ashby, pp. 363-4. For the trophies see above, pp. 221-2. Informe means having no definite or regular form.

<sup>1</sup> Mainly from Totti, pp. 456-8, and Pflaumern, pp. 311-15. S. Croce in Gerusalemme. Baglione, pp. 133-43. The church was much altered by Benedict XIV in 1744. See R. Besozzi, *Storia della basilica di Santa Croce in Gerusalemme*, 1750, and G. Ciampini, *Vetera monumenta*, 1690-9, i. 9 and plates.

<sup>2</sup> Totti, *R.A.*, p. 297. The building was not a temple but part of the Sessorium.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 383.

<sup>4</sup> The notice of the exterior is original; the tribune, painted by a Roman artist, c. 1490, is still preserved. Baglione gives a good

account of it: pp. 137-9.

<sup>5</sup> This chapel is still preserved; as Pflaumern writes, it is the ceiling that is decorated with mosaic, not the walls.

<sup>6</sup> He is generally described as a martyr but is not further identified.

<sup>7</sup> Pope 974-83.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. notes above, pp. 262, 328; below, p. 412. Evelyn could have seen the relics when they were shown on 26 March: below, pp. 384-5.

<sup>9</sup> i.e. of the Cross.

<sup>10</sup> Only one of the thirty pieces was preserved here, a Rhodian coin, apparently fourth century B.C.: Sir G. F. Hill, *The medalllic portraits of Christ*, 1920, pp. 104-9.

<sup>11</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 315-16. Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 162-3, as Anfiteatro di Statilio Tauro, erroneously. Amphitheatrum Castrense.

walles out at the port of st. *Laurence*<sup>1</sup> to that Saints Church<sup>2</sup> & where his Ashes are enshrin'd: This was also built by the same Greate *Constantine*, famous for the Coronation of *Pietro Altisiodorensis* Emp: of *Constantinople* by *Honorius* the 2d.<sup>3</sup> 'Tis sayd the Corps of st. *Stephen* the *proto-martyr* was deposited here by that of s. *Sebastian*, which it had no sooner touch(ed) but *Sebastians* gave it place of its own accord.<sup>4</sup> The Church has no lesse than 7 privileg'd Altars, & excellent Pictures; About the Walls is painted this Martyrs sufferings,<sup>5</sup> & when they built them, the bones of divers saints, since translated to other churches:<sup>6</sup> The front is *Gottic*.<sup>7</sup> Returning we espied a small ruine of an Aquæduct, built by *Q. Martius* the *Prætor*,<sup>8</sup> & so through that incomparable straitte streete<sup>9</sup> leading to Santa *Maria Major* return'd to our Lodging sufficiently tired. We were taken up the next morning in seing the impertinences of the Carnoal<sup>a</sup><sup>10</sup> when all the

<sup>a</sup> Spelling uncertain; perhaps altered to *Carneval*.

<sup>1</sup> The gate was the ancient Porta Tiburtina and since the opening of the new Porta S. Lorenzo again goes by that name. There was a more direct way to the church through the Porta Maggiore.

<sup>2</sup> From Totti, pp. 459-62. Pflaumern, pp. 406-8; Baglione, pp. 144-56. S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura. For the decoration of the church see Titi, *Ammaestramento*, pp. 200-1.

<sup>3</sup> Peter of Courtenay, count of Auxerre (Altissiodorum), d. 1219, was here crowned emperor of Byzantium by Honorius III on 9 April 1217: F. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, 1903-8, v. 116-17.

<sup>4</sup> St. Sebastian is Evelyn's mistake for St. Laurence: Totti, p. 460.

<sup>5</sup> Not mentioned in Evelyn's sources and almost certainly wrong.

<sup>6</sup> The church is built near the cemetery of St. Cyriaca; Totti gives a list of bodies of saints at one time preserved here but since transferred to other churches. Evelyn's sen-

tence shows careless rewriting.

<sup>7</sup> Baglione writes of the portico: 'le mura sono in fresco dipinte con storie sacre antiche alla Gothica': p. 147. Evelyn perhaps took his statement from this. The façade is a Romanesque work of the thirteenth century; it seems to have possessed no Gothic features in the modern sense.

<sup>8</sup> From Totti, p. 462. Pflaumern, p. 406. Aqua Marcia. The arches appear to have been those immediately inside the gate of the city.

<sup>9</sup> The Strada Felice: above, p. 241.

<sup>10</sup> The date (28 February) is that of Shrove Tuesday. Races are recorded on four days in the preceding week: (*Florence gazette*), Rome, 25 Feb. 1644/5; no races are recorded this year for Shrove Tuesday or the preceding Monday, but it was usual to hold them: *ibid.*, 17 Feb. 1645/6, 9 Mar. 1646/7, &c. For the general history of the Roman Carnival see A. Ademollo, *Il carnevale di Roma nei secoli XVI*

world are as mad at Rome, as at other places, but the most remarkable were the 3 Races of the Barbarie horses, that run in the strada del *Corso* without riders, onely having spurrs so placed on their backs, & hanging downe by their sides, as with their motion to stimulate them; Then of Mares: Then of Asses, of Bufalos, of Naked Men [—old men, young, & boys:]<sup>a</sup> and abundance of idle & ridiculous Passetime: One thing yet is remarkable, their acting Comedies upon a Stage placed on a Cart, or *plaustrum* where the Scene or<sup>b</sup> tiring place is made of bowghs, in a Pastoral & rural manner, this they drive from streete to streete with a yoake or two of Oxen, after the antient guise;<sup>1</sup> The streetes swarming with whores, buffoones & all manner of rabble. 1 of March at the Greeke Church<sup>2</sup> we saw the Eastern Ceremonies perform'd by a Bishop &c in that Tongue, & here the unfortunate Duke & Dutchesse of *Bullion*<sup>3</sup> receiv'd their ashes, it being the first of Lent,<sup>c</sup> there being now as much trudging up and downe of devotos: as the day before of prophan people; both now turn'd Saints alike to all appearance.

The next place we went to see was the Gardens of *Justiniano*,<sup>4</sup> which is exceedingly full of statues & Antiquities,

<sup>a</sup> Interlined.    <sup>b</sup> Substituted for *is*.    <sup>c</sup> MS. *Lent.* with full stop.

*e* XVII, 1883; Clementi, *Il carnevale romano*. This year's was apparently very brilliant: Clementi, pp. 420–5.

<sup>1</sup> These carts were apparently first used in 1606; they are mentioned again in 1647 and 1658; the performances recorded were musical: Clementi, pp. 319, 426, 462. Lassels also mentions them: '[Some] go on great carts, with little stages of bordes throwne upon them, and there act little playes as they go along, and abuse tradsmen': ii. 189. A cart appearing in L. Cruyl's view of the Piazza Barberini, dated February 1665, is probably carrying performers, but scarcely scenery (reproduced by Egger, *Römische Veduten*, vol. ii, pl. 71).

The word *plaustrum* is used in this connexion by Horace, *De arte*

*poetica*, l. 276.

<sup>2</sup> Totti, p. 343. S. Atanasio. It is a Roman Catholic church using the Greek rite. See further below, p. 399.

<sup>3</sup> Frédéric-Maurice de la Tour-d'Auvergne, duke of Bouillon, 1605–52, nephew of Maurice and Frederick Henry of Orange and elder brother of Turenne. He came to Italy in 1644 after a series of disputes with the French government; he had been converted to Roman Catholicism in 1636. His duchess was Leonora Catherina van den Berg, 1613–57: *Nouvelle biog. gén.*; Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, xiii. 556; &c.

<sup>4</sup> The antiques from Raymond, pp. 93–4. Totti, p. 349. The Villa Giustiniani. The antiques were removed elsewhere in 1715: [Fratelli

especially Urnes, amongst which, that of *Min: Felix*,<sup>1</sup> a Terminus that formerly stood in the *Appian way*,<sup>2</sup> & an huge Colosse of *Justinian* the Emperor;<sup>3</sup> a delicate Aviarie there is on the hill, the whole Garden furnish(ed) with rare collections, fresh, shady & adorn'd with noble fountains. Continuing our walk a mile farther we came to Pont *Milvius*,<sup>4</sup> now Mela, where *Constantine M.* overthrew the Tyrant *Maxentius*, & saw the Miraculous ✕ signe, *In hoc signo vinces*; it was a sweete morning, & the bushes full of nightingals:<sup>5</sup> Hence we march to *Aqua Claudia*<sup>6</sup> againe, an Aqueduct finish'd by that Emp: at the expense of eight milions: Thence to dinner, & in the afternoon to *Farnezes Gardens*,<sup>7</sup> neere the *Campo*

de' Rossi], *Descr. di Roma moderna*, 1727, p. 488; they have since been dispersed. The sculptures are figured in *Galleria Giustiniana del Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani*, 2 vols., n.d. (c. 1631), which also contains some views of the villa (Evelyn refers to this work in his translation of Fréart's *Perfection of Painting*, dedication; *Misc. writings*, p. 557; cf. Raymond, p. 94). The villa or the greater part of it was incorporated in the Villa Borghese early in the nineteenth century, forming the extension from Muro Torto to the Porta del Popolo.

<sup>1</sup> Marcus Minucius Felix, the early Christian apologist. The urn is not traceable; for the inscription see *C.I.L.*, vol. vi, no. 22547.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. a milestone; Raymond says the seventh.

<sup>3</sup> Not traced; there was probably no justification for the name given to the statue.

<sup>4</sup> From Raymond, p. 71, with variations. Pflaumern, p. 215. The correct form of the ancient name of the bridge is Pons Mulvius; the modern name is Ponte Molle. The defeat of Maxentius in 312 took place nearer Prima Porta, but he was drowned at the bridge: T. Ashby, *The Roman Campagna in classical times*, 1927, p. 249. Ray-

mond gives the sign seen by Constantine as that of the Cross, but the vision seems to have occurred before Constantine marched into Italy; Evelyn has no authority for changing the Cross into the monogram of Christ (below, p. 388 n.); according to Eusebius Constantine was, however, already using the monogram on his standard, the *labarum*: life of Constantine, bk. i, cc. xxviii-xxxii.

<sup>5</sup> The bank of the Tiber is the scene of the poem by Strada (above, p. 283) which Crashaw translated as 'Music's Duel'.

<sup>6</sup> Source of this notice not traced; but cf. Pflaumern, p. 302. Totti, *R.A.*, pp. 182-6; Totti, pp. 149, 436, 458; Raymond, p. 112. *Aqua Claudia*. The notice is open to suspicion: the aqueduct lies on the other side of the city, entering it at the Porta Maggiore; as, however, a branch goes to the Palatine, Evelyn may have seen some part of it after dinner on this day (see below). For its cost see Pflaumern, as above.

<sup>7</sup> Totti, p. 151; Pflaumern, p. 374. Evelyn's source is not clear and the whole entry is confused. The Villa Farnesiana covered the whole north-western half of the Palatine; the casino is still preserved.



*Vaccino* & upon the Palatine Mount, to survey the ruins of *Juno's* Temple in the *Piscina*,<sup>1</sup> a Piazza so call'd neere the famous bridg of *Sixtus* built by *Antoni(n)us Pius*, & reedified by *Sixtus Quartus* Pope.<sup>2</sup> The rest of this weeke we went to the *Vaticane* to here the Sermons at st. *Peters* of the most famous Preachers, who discourse on the same subjects & Texts yearely, full of Italian Eloquence, & action.<sup>3</sup> On our Lady day we saw the *Pope & Cardinals* ride in pomp to the *Minerva*, the greate guns of the Castle st. *Angelo* discharging, when he gives portions to 500 *Zitelle* who kisse his feete in procession; some destind to Marry, some to be Nunns:<sup>4</sup> The Scholars of the Colledge celebrating the B: Virgin with their composures &c:<sup>5</sup> The next day his holinesse was buisied in blessing of golden roses, to be sent to severall greate Princes, & the procurator of the Carmelites preaching on our Saviors feeding the Multitude with 5 loaves, the Ceremonie ends:<sup>6</sup> The Sacrament being this day exposd, & the Reliques of

<sup>1</sup> Pflaumern states that S. Angelo 'in Piscina' (i.e. S. Angelo in Pescheria) was once a temple of Juno: pp. 340-1; this is presumably the source of Evelyn's statement, but the church lies at some distance from Ponte Sisto, as well as from the Palatine. For a temple of Juno near the church see Platner and Ashby, pp. 304-5; for a possible temple of Juno on the Palatine, *ibid.*, p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 340. Pons Aurelius, probably built by Marcus Aurelius or Caracalla; rebuilt by Sixtus IV in 1475.

<sup>3</sup> For Italian preaching at this time see F. Zanotto, *Storia della predicazione nei secoli della letteratura italiana*, 1899, pp. 206-39, &c. It was too florid and too similar to the secular orations in the academies; and apparently sometimes too facetious: see Aerssen, p. 184.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 378; the number of *zitelle* should be about 250. The

date is 25 March.

<sup>5</sup> This presumably refers to the Collegio Romano, to which was attached a church dedicated to the Virgin Annunciate: Totti, p. 380; cf. above, pp. 282-3.

<sup>6</sup> The ceremony takes place on the fourth Sunday in Lent, which fell this year on 26 March, so that Evelyn's date is correct. There is an annual benediction of the rose, which is given to princesses or to churches, occasionally to princes: C. Cartari, *La rosa d'oro pontificia*, 1681; this year it was given to the queen of France, Anne of Austria: (*Florence gazette*), Rome, 22 April 1645. The procurator-general of the Carmelites preached on this occasion: *ibid.*, 1 April 1645; it was usual for him to do so: [F. J. Deseine], *Descr. de la ville de Rome*, 1690, iv. 391. This day is sometimes called 'Dominica de panibus' in reference to the miracle of the five loaves.

st. Crosses,<sup>1</sup> the concourse about the streetes is extraordinarie:

On Palme sunday<sup>2</sup> was a greate procession, after a papal Masse, & on the 11th of Aprill, was exposd at *st. Peters st. Veronicas Volto Santo*,<sup>3</sup> & next day the Speare,<sup>4</sup> with a world of ceremonie: on Holy Thursday the *Pope* said Masse, & afterward carried processionaly the Host about the Chapell with an infinitie of Tapers; this finish'd his holinesse was carried in his open Chaire on Mens shoulders to the place where reading the Bull in *Cæna domini* he both Curses & blesses all in a breath, then the gunns againe went off: hence he went to the Ducal hall of the *Vatican* where he wash'd the feete of 12 poore-men, with all that ceremonie almost as tis don at Whitehall, they have Clothes, a dinner, & almes, which he gives with his owne hands, & serves at their Table: They have also gold & silver Medails, but their garments are of white wollan, long robes as we paint the Apostles:<sup>5</sup> The same Ceremonies are don by the Conservators & other Officers of state at *st. Jo: de Lateran*:<sup>6</sup> & now the Table on which they say our B: L. celebrated his last Supper is set out, & the heads of the Apostles;<sup>7</sup> Every famous Church buisy in

<sup>1</sup> i.e. at S. Croce in Gerusalemme: cf. [Deseine], as above.

<sup>2</sup> It fell on 9 April.

<sup>3</sup> This relic was and is shown on the Wednesday in Holy Week, this year 12 April: F. A. Tani, *Guida angelica perpetua*, 1668, pp. 76-7.

<sup>4</sup> With the Veronica and the piece of the Cross on the Thursday: Tani, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> This account agrees closely with that given by Grangier de Liverdis, pp. 665-8; but according to the latter it is a cardinal who says mass. This takes place in the Sistine chapel; the host is then carried to the Pauline chapel; and the bull is repeated in the loggia above the doors of St. Peter's. The bull was last repeated in 1769 and lost its

3811.2

binding force in 1869: see M. Hausmann, *Geschichte der päpstlichen Reservatfälle*, 1868; Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, viii. 304-5, 637-8.

Evelyn nowhere mentions witnessing the Maundy Thursday ceremonies at Whitehall. The last king to wash the feet is said to have been James II; the duty was later delegated to the lord almoner. The number of beneficiaries was that of the years of the king's life: notice in E. Chamberlayne, *Angliæ notitia* (1669, pp. 297-8). For the Sala Ducale see above, p. 299 n.

<sup>6</sup> In the hospital at the Lateran: [Deseine], iv. 393.

<sup>7</sup> In St. John Lateran: *ibid.*; and see above, pp. 274, 275.

dressing up their pageantries, to represent the holy Sepulchre, of which we went to visite divers:<sup>1</sup>

Good friday we went againe to s. *Peters*, where the Volto, Launce, & Crosse were all three exposd & worship'd together:<sup>2</sup> All the confession Seates fill'd with devout people, & the Night a procession of severall people that most lamentably whipped themselves till all the blood staind their clothes, for some had shirts, others upon the beare back, with vizors & masks on their faces, at every 3 or 4 stepps, dashing the<sup>a</sup> knotted & ravelld whip-cord over their shoulders as hard as they could lay it on, whilst some of the religious Orders & fraternities sung in a dismal tone, the lights, & Crosses going before, which shewd very horrible, & indeede a heathn-ish pomp:<sup>3</sup> The next day was much ceremonie at s. Jo: de Laterano,<sup>4</sup> so as this whole weeke we spent in running from Church to Church, all the towne in buisy devotion, greate silence, and unimaginable Superstition: Easterday was awakn'd with the Guns againe from *st. Angelo*, we went to s. *Peters*, where the pope himselfe celebrated Masse, shew'd the Reliques formerly nam'd, & gave a publique benediction,<sup>5</sup> & so we went to dinner:

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *whip* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Grangier de Liverdis, pp. 668–9. In his time SS. Quirico e Giulitta was one of the most important churches for exhibitions of this sort; the British Museum possesses engravings of the Easter Sepulchres for 1652, 1655, and 1659 (King's Library, shelf-mark 134. g. 10, ff. 26–8).

<sup>2</sup> Only the Volto (Veronica) and the Lance were shown: Tani, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> This procession perhaps took place on the Thursday, not the Friday night; the authorities vary. The flagellation was genuine but many of the 'Battuti' appear to have been hired; even the pious could consider the spectacle open to objection: see Montaigne, pp. 309–11; Aerssen, p. 185; Grangier de Liverdis, p. 669; J. B. Colbert,

marquis de Seignelay, *L'Italie en 1671*, ed. P. Clément, 1867, pp. 132–3. It was apparently suppressed before 1715.

<sup>4</sup> There was a station and, after the benediction 'du feu et de l'eau', the baptism of catechumens in the Baptistery: [Deseine], iv. 394. The catechumens would be Jews or Mohammedans; it was the custom to baptize a Jew and a Mohammedan here annually on Holy Saturday; such baptisms are recorded for 1648, 1650, 1653–6: (*Florence gazette*), Rome; cf. Raymond, p. 112. The custom, so far as the Jews were concerned, continued as long as the papal government was in power: cf. W. W. Story, *Roba di Roma*, 7th ed., 1875, pp. 108, 406–7.

<sup>5</sup> See [Deseine], iv. 394–5; and

Monday, we went to heare Music in the *Chiesa Nova*, and though there were abundance of Ceremonies at the other greate Churches, & greate exposure of Reliques, yet being wearied with sights,<sup>a</sup> of this nature, & the season of the Yeare (Summer at *Rome* being very dangerous, by reason of the heates,) minding us of returning Northwards, we spent the rest of the time in visiting such places as we had not yet sufficiently seene: onely<sup>a</sup> I do not forget the Pops benediction of the *Confalone* or Standard,<sup>1</sup> & giving the hallowed palmes;<sup>2</sup> & on Mayday, the greate Procession of the Universitie,<sup>3</sup> & the *Mulatiers* at st. *Antonies*,<sup>4</sup> & their seting up a foolish May-pole in the Capitol, very ridiculous:<sup>5</sup>

We therefore now tooke Coach a little out of Towne, to visite the famous *Roma Subterranea*,<sup>6</sup> being much like those of st. *Sebastians*:<sup>7</sup> here in a Corn field, guided by two torches we crep't on our bellies into a little hole about 20 paces, which deliver'd us into a large entrie that lead us into severall

---

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *we* deleted.

---

cf. Grangier de Liverdis, pp. 670-3. The benediction was given from the loggia above the door of the church.

<sup>1</sup> There was a procession of the 'Popolo Romano' from the Campidoglio to S. Giorgio in Velabro on St. George's day, 23 April; a standard was carried and some candles were offered: Panciroli, *Tesori nascosti*, 1625, p. 716 (repeated in Totti, p. 158); cf. [Deseine], iv. 398. This year, owing to the incidence of Easter, the ceremony was perhaps transferred to some other date.

<sup>2</sup> On Palm Sunday: [Deseine], iv. 392.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn's date is wrong. The ceremony took place on 19 May, the day of St. Yves (Ivo): Panciroli, pp. 463-4 (Totti, pp. 355-6). The University is the Sapienza.

<sup>4</sup> Horses and mules were taken to S. Antonio Abbate to be blessed

on 17 January, St. Anthony's day: [Deseine], iv. 375. There was no similar ceremony on May Day.

<sup>5</sup> A popular celebration in the Piazza del Campidoglio on May Day is recorded, but its nature is not clear: (*Florence gazette*), Rome, 6 May 1645.

<sup>6</sup> From Raymond, pp. 164-5; Totti, pp. 127-8; and possibly Lassels, ii. 91-3; in part original. The three writers are describing the catacomb at S. Sebastiano, but Raymond and Lassels evidently include that of Domitilla, wrongly identified as that of S. Calixtus: see above, p. 364 n.; it is probably the catacomb of Domitilla that Evelyn visited. Pflaumern, pp. 403-4. In 1661 the catacombs of S. Agnese and of S. Ciriaca or S. Lorenzo were also accessible: Grangier de Liverdis, pp. 375, 406.

<sup>7</sup> Above, pp. 363-4.

streetes or allies, a good depth in the bowells of the Earth, a strange & fearefull passages for divers miles, as *Bossius* has describ'd & measur'd them in his book:<sup>1</sup> we ever & anon came into pretty square roomes, that seem'd to be Chapells, with Altars, & some adorn'd with antient painting, very ordinary: That which renders the passages dreadfull is, the *Skeletons* & bodies, that are placd on the sides, in degrees one above the other like shelves, whereof some are shut up with a Course flat Stone, & *Pro Christo*<sup>2</sup> or ✠ & Palmes ingraven on them, which are supposd to have ben Martyrs: Here in all liklyhood were the meetings of the Primitive *Christians* during the Persecutions, as *Plinius Secundus* describes them:<sup>3</sup> As I was prying about, I found a glasse phiole as was conjecturd filld with dried blood, as also two *lacrymatories*: Many of the bodyes, or rather bones, (for there appeard nothing else) lay so intire, as if placed so by the art of the Chirugion, which being but touch'd fell all to dust: Thus after two or 3 miles wandring in this subterranean Meander we return'd to our Coach almost blind when we came into the day light againe, & even choked with smoake: A French bishop & his retinue adventuring it seemes too farr in these denns, their lights going out, were never heard of more.<sup>4</sup>

We were entertain'd at Night with an English play, at the *Jesuites* where before we had dined,<sup>5</sup> & the next at the *Prince Galicanos*, who himselfe compos'd the Musique to a magnifi-

<sup>1</sup> It is referred to by name by Totti. A. Bosio, *Roma sotterranea*, 1632; for the later editions see Schudt, *Le Guide*, p. 103 n.

<sup>2</sup> 'A *Palme branch*, in signe of a *Martyr*; and a *Pro Christo* in *Cyphers* for a *Confessor*': Lassels; Raymond also implies that 'Pro Christo' is the interpretation of the ✠ monogram. It is a combination of the Greek letters XP, an abbreviation for *Xριστός*. Bosio gives the correct explanation: p. 629.

<sup>3</sup> The younger Pliny describes his conduct towards the Christians brought before him as governor of

Bithynia; the passage refers to their meetings, but has no bearing on the catacombs: *Epistolae*, bk. x, no. 96.

<sup>4</sup> According to Raymond 'some *French men*'. References to persons becoming permanently lost occur frequently in travellers' accounts of the catacombs, but are not given by the better writers on them. A school of nearly thirty youths is said to have disappeared in 1837: W. I. Kip, *The catacombs of Rome*, 4th ed., 1859, p. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, p. 291. I have found no other references to this performance.

cent Opera,<sup>1</sup> where were *Cardinal Pamphilio*<sup>2</sup> the Popes Nephew, the Governors of Rome, the Cardinals, Ambassadors, Ladies & a world of Nobilitie & strangers: after a Just & Turnament of severall young Gentlemen upon a formal Defy, which was perform'd in the Morning, to which we were invited, the prizes distributed by the Ladies after the Knight Errantry way: The Launces & swords running at tilt at the Barrieries with a greate deele of clatter, but without any bloud shed, which gave much diversion to the Spectators, & was very new to us Travellers:<sup>3</sup>

The next day after dinner Mr. *Henshaw* & I went againe to see the *Villa Borghesi*, having spent the Morning in attending the Enterance & *Cavalcato* of the Ambassador from the *Gr: Duke of Florence*, Card: *Medices* by the *Via Flaminea*:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pompeo Colonna, prince of Gallicano, succeeded 1633, d. 1661: A. Coppi, *Mem. Colonnese*, 1855, p. 369. His palace adjoined the main Colonna palace at SS. Apostoli: Totti, p. 286. He is said to have given a performance of his *Proserpina rapita* on 5 Jan. 1645 (the date seems unlikely): A. Ademollo, *I teatri di Roma nel secolo decimosettimo*, 1888, pp. 54-5; on 4 February he was said to be preparing a performance, to be given by the best musicians of the city: (*Florence gazette*), Rome, 4 Feb. 1644/5; there was a performance on 7 or 9 February, when Evelyn was absent from Rome: dal Pozzo in G. Lumbroso, *Notizie*, p. 60; and apparently another about 18 February: Clementi, *Il carnevale romano*, p. 425. Although another performance after Easter is possible, it is probable that Evelyn has misplaced the entry. The libretto of the *Proserpina* was written by O. Castelli; Gallicano's copy is preserved in the Royal College of Music: *Times Lit. Supp.*, 1925, p. 333. Gallicano wrote or composed another piece, performed during the carnival in 1654: Aerssen, p. 183;

for further works by him see Coppi, as above, and F. de Navenne, *Rome et le palais Farnèse*, i. 205.

An audience in a private palace watching a small ballet without scenery is figured in V. Mascardi, *Festa, fatta in Roma, alli 25. di Febraio MDCXXXIV*, [1635].

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 254.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn refers to this tournament again in a letter to Elias Ashmole, 3 Jan. 1664 (probably 1664/5): Bodleian Library, MS. Ashmole 1115, f. 172. It is not traceable elsewhere. Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este gave a 'giostra' by torchlight this year on the evening of the last Monday of carnival: (*Florence gazette*), Rome, 4 March 1644/5; Clementi, pp. 421-2; Ademollo, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> There is an error here. The grand duke's ambassador was the Marchese Riccardi, who made his public entry by the Porta del Popolo on 31 January and went in state to his first public audience on 4 February: (*Florence gazette*), Rome, 4 Feb., 11 Feb. 1644/5; Evelyn was almost certainly absent from Rome at this time. The new Medici cardinal, Giovanni Carlo

This Garden<sup>1</sup> about a Mile without the Cittie, being rather a Park or Paradise contrivd & planted with Walkes & shades of *Myrtils*, *Cypresse* & other trees & groves, adorn'd with abundance of Fountains, statues & Bassrelievos: Here they had hung large Netts to Catch Wood-Cocks:<sup>2</sup> there were fine glades, & several pretty murmuring rivulets trickling downe the declining Walkes: There was also a Vivarie where among other exotic foules there was an Ostridge, besides a most capacious Aviarie & in another inclosd part, an heard of Deere: Before the Palace (which might become the Court of a greate Prince) stands a noble Fontaine of white Marble, inrich'd with statues:<sup>3</sup> The walles of the house without are incrust'd with excellent Basse relievos antique of the<sup>a</sup> same marble, incornish'd<sup>4</sup> with Festoones, & Niches set with statues from the very rooffe to the foundation: A stately Portico<sup>5</sup> joynes the Palace full of Statues, Columns, Urnes & other Curiosities of Sculpture: In the first Hall were the 12 *Cæsars*<sup>6</sup> of Marble Antique, & the whole Appartments furnish(ed) with Pictures of the most celebrated Masters, two rare Tables of Porphyrie of greate value, so as a more capacious & magnificent Palace has (not) almost any Prince of Europ; but of this already, for I often visited this delicious place. This night were glorious fire-works at Card: *Medicis*

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *wh-*.

(above, p. 257), arrived in Rome on 16 February; he was met by 115 coaches and the road was crowded with spectators from the Ponte Molle onwards; on 21 February he rode in state from S. Maria del Popolo to the Vatican, where he received his cardinal's hat: *ibid.*, 18 Feb., 25 Feb. 1644/5. Evelyn apparently refers to Giovanni Carlo's arrival on 16 February (the other Medici cardinal, Carlo, came to Rome on 3 March but is not recorded to have made any public entry: *ibid.*, 4 March 1644/5). The Via Flaminia is the main northern road, crossing the Tiber by the Ponte Molle, entering Rome by the Porta

del Popolo, and continuing as the Corso.

<sup>1</sup> The Villa Borghese: above, pp. 251-4. The present account is from Totti, pp. 341-2, but is fuller for the park.

<sup>2</sup> Original notice.

<sup>3</sup> 'Una balaustrata di marmo con bellissime fontane circondata da una infinità di Statue', i.e. the balustrades and fountains still existing.

<sup>4</sup> 'Incorniciato': above, p. 252 n. The word is not recorded elsewhere in *O.E.D.*

<sup>5</sup> i.e. the loggia.

<sup>6</sup> Above, p. 253.

Palace<sup>1</sup> before the Gate, & lights of severall Colours all about the Windos through the Cittie which they contrive by setting the Candles in littl paper lanterns died with various colours, placing hundreds of them from storie to storie, which renders a gallant shew.

Next day, which was *May*: 4 having seene the Entrie of the Ambassador of *Lucca*<sup>2</sup> I went to the *Vaticane*, where by favour of our Cardinal Protector, Fran: *Barberini*,<sup>3</sup> I was admitted into the Consistorie, heard the Ambassador make his Oration to the Pope in Latine, & sitting on<sup>a</sup> an elevated state, or Throne, & changing two Pontifical Miters: After which I was presented to kisse his Toe, that is his embrodr'd Slipper, two Cardinals holding up his Vest & Surplice, so as sufficiently bless'd with his thumb & two fingers for that day I returnd home to dinner. We went againe to see the Medails of Signor *Gotefredi*,<sup>4</sup> which are absolutely the best collection in Rome; passing by *Ludovisius Villa*,<sup>5</sup> where the dead-man petrified lies, found it seemes in the snowy Alps, measuring the *Hidra*<sup>6</sup> found it not a foote long, the 3 necks & 15 heads

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *under*.

<sup>1</sup> The grand dukes possessed, besides the Villa Medici, the present Palazzo Madama and a palace recently occupied by the Ministry of Justice: Totti, pp. 233, 362, 331; Cardinal Giovanni Carlo de' Medici occupied the Palazzo Madama: (*Florence gazette*), Rome, 25 Feb. 1644/5. There are no records of fireworks before his palace; the ambassadors from Lucca (below) illuminated theirs on 22 April: *ibid.*, 29 April 1645. 'Before the Gate' means simply in front of the palace.

<sup>2</sup> There were three ambassadors; they came to declare the republic's obedience to the new pope. They arrived on 25 January and made some kind of public entry on 3 February, but remained incognito; they made further public entries on 27 March and 2 April and finally

on 8 April went to the Vatican, where they were received in the public consistory in the Sala de' Duchi; here one of them made an oration: (*Florence gazette*), Rome, 28 Jan., 4 Feb. 1644/5; 1, 8, 15 April 1645. Evelyn's notice must apply to the reception on 8 April.

<sup>3</sup> Above, pp. 266, 367.

<sup>4</sup> This is the first visit recorded by Evelyn. Bruto and Francesco Gottifredi possessed a house on the site of the present Palazzo Parinoli, with collections of medals and other antiquities: Totti, p. 253. Francesco is praised by P. Seguin in an *Epistola* addressed to him, 1660; see also *Numismata*, pp. 3, 28; Monconys, ii. 458.

<sup>5</sup> Above, pp. 234-6.

<sup>6</sup> It is mentioned by Mortoft, p. 125, and Lassels, ii. 177.



seeme to be but patch'd up with severall pieces of serpents Skins.

The 5 we tooke Coach and went 15 miles out of the Cittie to *Frascati* formerly *Tusculanum*,<sup>1</sup> a villa of Card: *Aldobrandini*;<sup>2</sup> built for a Country house but for its elegance, situation & accommodation of plentiful water, Groves, Ascents & prospect, surpassing in my opinion the most delicious places that my eyes ever beheld: Just behind the Palace (which is of excellent Architecture) and is in the center of the Inclosure, rises an high hill or mountaine all over clad with tall wood, and so form'd by nature, as if it had ben cut out by Art, from the summit whereof falls a horrid Cascade seeming rather a greate River than a streame, precipitating into a large Theater of Water<sup>3</sup> representing a(n) exact & perfect Raine-bow when the sun shines out: Under this<sup>a</sup> is<sup>a</sup> made an artific(i)all Grott, where in are curious rocks, hydraulic Organs & all sorts of singing birds moving, & chirping by force of the water, with severall other pageants and surprizing inventions: In the center of one of these roomes rises a coper ball that continually daunces about 3 foote above the pavement, by virtue of a Wind conveyed seacretly to a hole beneath it, with many other devices to wett the unwary spectators, so as one can hardly (step)<sup>b</sup> without wetting to the skin: In one of these Theaters of Water, is an *Atlas* spouting up the streame to an incredible height, & another monster which makes a terrible roaring with an horn; but above all

<sup>a-a</sup> MS. *this his is.*      <sup>b</sup> MS. *step.*

<sup>1</sup> Tusculum lies about two miles south-east of Frascati: cf. Raymond, p. 115. Cicero called his villa in this district his Tusculanum.

<sup>2</sup> The description of the gardens, waterworks, &c., expanded from Raymond, pp. 117-19, and Totti, pp. 518-19; the reference to Cicero perhaps from Pflaumern, p. 412; the artists, &c., from Totti. The villa descended to the Pamphili in the same way as the Villa Aldobrandini in Rome: above, p. 284 n. It is still well preserved. See D. Barrière,

*Villa Aldobrandina Tusculana*, 1647; Clara L. Wells, *The Alban Hills*, 1878, i. 174-98; and Tomassetti, *La Campagna romana*, iv. 456-8; for its condition in 1654, Aerssen, pp. 189-91; see also Lassels, ii. 308-12. General view of Frascati by M. Greuter, 1620; views of the fountains by G. B. Falda, in *Le Fontane di Roma*, published by G. G. de' Rossi, pt. ii, n.d. [c. 1690].

<sup>3</sup> ' . . . formando un bel teatro di fontane. . . '

the representation of a storme is most naturall, with such fury of raine, wind and Thunder as one would imagine ones selfe in some extreame Tempest: To this is a Garden of incomparable walkes & shady groves, abundance of rare Fruit, Orangs, Lemons, &c: and the goodly prospect of Rome above all description, so as I do not wonder that *Cicero*<sup>1</sup> & others have celebrated this place with such encomiums. The Palace is indeede built more like a Cabinet, than any-thing compos'd of stone & mortar, it has in the middle an Hall furnish(ed) with excellent Marbles, & rare Pictures, especialy those of Cavalier *Gioseppe d'Arpino*,<sup>2</sup> & the movables are princely & rich, In a word this was the last piece of Architecture finish'd by *Giacomo de la Porta*,<sup>3</sup> who built it for *Pietro Card: Aldobrandini*<sup>4</sup> in the time of *Clement* the 8th.

We went hence to another stately house & garden not far distant, on the side of an hill call'd *Mondragone*,<sup>5</sup> finish'd by Card: *Scipio Borghese*, an ample & kingly Edifice, it has a very long Galerie, & at the end a Theater for<sup>a</sup> Pastimes,<sup>6</sup> spacious Courts, rare Grotts, & Vineyards, Olive grounds, Groves & solitudes: The aire so fresh & sweete as few parts of Italy excede it, nor is it inferior to any Palace in the Cittie it selfe for Statues, Pictures, furniture<sup>b</sup> &c,<sup>b</sup> but it growing late, we could not take so particular notice of things as they deserv'd.

On the 6t. we rested ourselves, & next day in Coach tooke our last fare-well of visiting the Circumjacent places, & that was *Tivoli*, or the old *Tyburnine*:<sup>7</sup> After about 6 miles from *Rome* we passe the *Teverone*, a bridge built (by) the Mother

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *of*.      <sup>b-b</sup> MS. *furniture & &c.*

<sup>1</sup> The reference is general.

<sup>2</sup> The frescoes are still preserved.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. *Giacomo della Porta*: above, p. 230. The house was built in 1602–4: *Tomassetti*, iv. 456.

<sup>4</sup> 1572–1621; created cardinal 17 Sept. 1593.

<sup>5</sup> From *Totti*, pp. 522–3. It was begun by Cardinal *Marcus Sittich von Hohenems* (Altemps) c. 1568 and completed by Cardinal *Scipione*

*Borghese* (above, p. 251 n., &c.); it has been a Jesuit school since 1865 and is fairly well preserved. See *F. Grossi-Gondi, Le ville tuscolane . . . Mondragone*, 1901; *Tomassetti*, iv. 448–50. Views by *Greuter* and *Falda*, as above.

<sup>6</sup> 'Ampio teatro', the water-theatre.

<sup>7</sup> The ancient name was *Tibur*, in *Raymond* given as *Tybur*: p. 172.

of *Severus*,<sup>a1</sup> *Mammaea*, and so by divers antient Sepulchres, amongst others, that of *Valerius Volusi*,<sup>2</sup> neere it the stinking sulphurous River over the *Ponte Lucano* where we found an heape or Turret full of Incriptions, now call'd *Plautius* his Tomb.<sup>3</sup> Ariv'd at *Tivoli* we went first to see the Palace *d'Estè*<sup>4</sup> erected on a plaine, but where was formerly an

<sup>a</sup> Comma supplied.

<sup>1</sup> From Raymond, pp. 166-7; Raymond gives the distance from Rome as five miles; it is rather less. The bridge is called the *Ponte Mammolo*, a name of uncertain origin: E. Martinori, *Le vie maestre d'Italia: Via Nomentana, &c.*, 1932, pp. 87-90; the attribution to *Mammaea* is apparently due to this name. The modern road crosses the river (the ancient *Anio*, now the *Aniene* or *Teverone*) a short distance to the north.

<sup>2</sup> From Raymond, p. 167. Not traceable elsewhere; probably due to careless rendering of 'Plausi Siluani' in Schott, 1643, pt. iii, f. 72, i.e. the tomb of the *Plautii* mentioned below. *Volusus Valerius* was the legendary progenitor of the gens *Valeria*.

<sup>3</sup> Carelessly derived from Raymond, p. 167. The sulphurous river was and is near *Bagni*, nearly two miles nearer Rome than the *Ponte Lucano*, by which the road again crosses the *Teverone*. The tomb of the *Plautii* (*M. Plautius Silvanus* and members of his family) stands at the east end of the bridge: for both see *British School at Rome, Papers*, iii (1906), 126-7; Martinori, as above, pp. 108-11.

<sup>4</sup> From Raymond, pp. 167-71, with additional matter as noted, mainly from Totti, pp. 524-5. Evelyn follows Raymond very closely; Raymond in his turn gives a condensed translation of the notice in Schott (ed. 1643, pt. iii, ff. 64-7); Schott's notice is tran-

scribed from that in Pighius (1587), pp. 528-32; the latter is based on the view-plan by S. (É.) du Pérac, 1573, or the imitation of it by C. Duchet, 1581. The *Villa d'Este*. The site was bought by Cardinal Ippolito d'Este in 1550, the building begun in 1560, and nearly completed in 1571: V. Pacifici, *Ippolito II d'Este, cardinale di Ferrara*, 1920, pp. 163-8; it was never absolutely completed. It belonged, with short intervals, to the family of Este until 1796, when it passed to a branch of the Hapsburgs; since c. 1915 it has belonged to the Italian government. It was well cared for in the seventeenth century, neglected in the late eighteenth, and again well cared for in the late nineteenth; it has recently undergone a rather drastic restoration. The large growth of the trees was probably not intended by the original designers. The antique statues which originally formed part of the decoration were dispersed at various periods. See: A. del Re, *Dell' antichità tiburtine capitolo V*, 1611; F. A. Sebastiani, *Viaggio a Tivoli*, 1828, pp. 173-85; F. S. Seni, *La villa d'Este in Tivoli*, 1902; T. Ashby, in *Archaeologia*, lxi (1909), 219-56; and Pacifici, as above. Ashby gives the present ownership of the antiques.

The most important view-plan is that by du Pérac; it includes, however, at least one feature which never came into existence, but which was assumed by Pighius to be existing and so has descended

hill:<sup>1</sup> The Palace is very ample & stately: In the Garden at the right hand<sup>2</sup> are plac'd 16 vast Conchas of marble jetting out Waters: in the midst of these stands a *Janus* quadrifrons that cast<sup>3</sup> forth 4 girandolas, calld from the resemblance the *fontana di Speccho*;<sup>3</sup> neere this a Place for Tilting:<sup>4</sup> before the Ascent of the Palace is that incomparable fountain of *Leda*, & not far from that 4 sweete & delicious Gardens;<sup>5</sup> descending thence two pyramids of Water,<sup>6</sup> & in a Grove of trees neere it, the Fountaines of<sup>b</sup> *Tethys*, *Esculapius*, *Arethusa*, *Pandora*, *Pomona* & *Flora*, then the pransing *Pegasus*, *Bacchus*, The Grott of *Venus*,<sup>7</sup> The two Colosses of *Melicerta* & *Sybilla Tibertina*,<sup>8</sup> all of exquisite Marble, Coper & other

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *out* deleted.

<sup>b</sup> Followed by *Thethy* deleted.

through Schott and Raymond to Evelyn. Important views of the villa and its fountains are given by G. F. Venturini in *Le fontane del Giardino Estense in Tivoli* (c. 1694), which forms pt. iv of *Le fontane di Roma*, published by G. G. de' Rossi.

<sup>1</sup> 'First tis evident, the Hill was made even.'

<sup>2</sup> The Giardino secreto; it lies at the north-east end of the palace and on a higher level than the terrace in front of it.

<sup>3</sup> The sixteen conchas do not appear in du Pérac or del Re. The 'Janus Quadrifrons' is Raymond's derivative from Schott's description of the central feature of this fountain; it occurs in Pighius and the Latin Schott. Evelyn's second name for the fountain is due to a bad rendering of Totti's description of it (*specchio* means mirror). The girandolas are an addition of Evelyn's.

<sup>4</sup> 'A sumptuous Place for all manner of Exercises, or Turnaments', a mistranslation of Schott's 'un gioco da palla, & altri luoghi sontuosi da farvi essercitio'. The Giuoco di palla (i.e. tennis court), on the same level as the Giardino secreto, and at the other end of the

palace; it measures about 84 × 28 ft.

<sup>5</sup> 'A most glorious Fountaine, with the Statue of *Leda*; And foure vast and most delicious gardens in view.' The general view of the villa, looking down the central axis from the highest terrace. According to Schott the terraces form four gardens, which he treats separately. In Evelyn's time the trees were probably smaller and the view more open than they are to-day. The *Leda* was in the grotto beneath the stairs leading to the door of the palace.

<sup>6</sup> 'Passing down the steps which have Piles of Water on both sides'; 'tre scale di pietra . . . i lati delle quali sono bagnati da diversi pili d'acque, che vanno à cadere ne' suoi laghetti': i.e. the fountains running down part of the balustrades in the main axis.

<sup>7</sup> Bacchus (there were two fountains side by side) and the grotto are taken from Totti.

<sup>8</sup> The two colossal figures form a single group. The Albunean is identical with the Tiburtine sibyl; the second figure, although given by du Pérac and his followers as Melicertes, represents Tivoli: del Re, pp. 47-8.

suitable adornments,<sup>1</sup> The *Cupids* especialy are most rare, pouring out Water, & the Urnes on which are plac'd the 10 Nymphs: The Grotts are richly pav'd with *pietra Commessa*, Shells, Corall<sup>2</sup> &c: Towards *Roma Triumphans*, leads a long & spacious Walk, full of Fountaines, under which is historiz'd the who(le) *Ovidian* Metamorphosis in *mezzo Relievo* rarely sculptur'd,<sup>3</sup> at the end of this, next the wall the Cittie of *Rome*, as it was in its beauty, all built of small models, representing that Citie with its Amphitheaters, Naumachia, Thermæ, Temples, Arches, Aquæducts, streetes & other magnificences, with a little streame runing through it for the River Tybur, gushing out of the Urne next the statue of that River:<sup>4</sup> In another Garden a noble Aviarie, the birds artificial, & singing, til the presence of an Owle appeares, on which the(y) suddainly chang their notes, to the admiration of the Spectators:<sup>5</sup> Neere this is the Fontaine of Dragons belching large streames of water, with horrid noises: In another Grotto calld the *Grotta di Natura* is an hydraulic Organ, below this divers stews and fish-ponds, in one of which is the Statue of *Neptune* in his Chariot, on a sea-horse,<sup>6</sup> in another a *Triton*, & lastly a Garden of simples.<sup>7</sup> There are besides in the Palace many rare statues, & Pictures, Bedsteds richly inlaied, & sundry other precious moveables: The whole said to have Cost the best part of a Milion. Having feasted

<sup>1</sup> The list of materials is original.

<sup>2</sup> According to Schott and Raymond these kinds of decoration were employed in the grottoes of the Sybil and of Diana.

<sup>3</sup> This walk, the Viale, added from Totti; the subjects of the reliefs either from A. Kircher, *Latium*, 1671, p. 173, or original; they are also noted by del Re, p. 54. They were to have been executed in bronze; but this was not carried out and the terra-cotta models were allowed to remain: Seni, p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> This model was the work of Pirro Ligorio, the archaeologist, c. 1500–83, who was also the principal architect of the villa; it

was, however, decorative rather than archaeological in its arrangement. Part of it still exists.

<sup>5</sup> The Fontana della Civetta. There was no aviary for live birds.

<sup>6</sup> This fountain appears in du Pérac's view, but not in Venturini's view of this part of the garden or in any separate view by him. It was probably never constructed, although the figure of Neptune was begun: del Re, p. 69.

<sup>7</sup> 'In the last the *Triton* and thousand exotick Plants'; for the latter Evelyn has substituted Totti's 'pretiosissimo giardino di semplici'. The rest of the notice is taken from Totti, with slight additions.

our Curiositie with these artificial Miracles, & din'd, we went to see the so famous natural Precipice, & Cascade or Cata-  
dupe of the River *Anien* from the Mountaines of *Tivoli* which  
rushes down with that fury, that what with the mist it per-  
petually casts up by breaking the waters against rocks, &  
what with the sun darting, forming a<sup>a</sup> natural *Iris*, the pro-  
digious depth of the Vorago is enough to astonish one that  
lookes on it.<sup>1</sup> Upon the summite of this Rock stands yet the  
ruines, & some pillars & Cornishes of the Temple of *Sibylla*  
*Tybutina* or *Albumea*,<sup>2</sup> a round fabric, as yet discovering  
some of its pristine beauty: He(re) was a greate deale of  
Gun-pouder drying in the sun, & a little beneath Mills,  
belonging to the *Pope*.<sup>3</sup> And now we returne to Rome,  
whither we had 15 miles: by the way we were shew'd (at  
some distance) the Citty *Preneste*, The *Hadrian* Villa, now  
onely an heape of ruines,<sup>4</sup> & so came late to our Lodging,  
setting up our rest from visiting any more Curiosities, but  
what happn'd to come in our way as my Companion Mr.  
Henshaw & I went to take the aire; onely I may not omitt  
that diverting ourselves one afternoone in the *Piazza Navona*,<sup>5</sup>  
a *Montebank* there to allure Curious Strangers, taking of a  
Ring from his finger, which seemd set with a dull darke stone

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *an*.

<sup>1</sup> From Raymond, pp. 171-2; but the word 'Catadupe' perhaps inserted from Kircher, *Latium*, pp. 140-3, where the word 'vorago' also occurs; it is less likely to come from Lassels, who, when describing this cascade, mentions 'the *Catadoups* of *Nilus*': ii. 314; Tivoli is not described by Pflaumern. On the town in general see Sebastiani, *Viaggio a Tivoli*, as above, p. 394 n. The *Aniene*, the ancient *Anio*, is the same stream as the *Teverone*: above, p. 393. The course of the cascades was changed in 1826-35 and there have been later alterations; the original waterfalls were nearer the temples: A. Nibby, *Analisi . . . della carta de' dintorni di Roma*, 2nd ed.,

1848-9, iii. 217-21; cf. Nibby, *Viaggio antiquario ne' contorni di Roma*, 1819, i. 163-5.

<sup>2</sup> From Raymond, p. 172, who gives also a third possible dedication, to Hercules. The dedication is uncertain: Martinori, (*Via Nomentana*), pp. 125-6.

<sup>3</sup> Kircher lists the various kinds of mills here, including those for gun-powder, but does not state to whom they belonged: *Latium*, pp. 140-1; see also Sebastiani, pp. 515-16.

<sup>4</sup> From Raymond, pp. 172-3. *Preneste* is the modern *Palestrina*. *Hadrian's* villa had already been explored by Pirro Ligorio.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 368.

a little swelling out, like what we call (though untruly) a Toad-stone,<sup>1</sup> wetting his finger a little in his mouth, & but touching it, it conceiv'd a luculent<sup>2</sup> flame, as bright & big as a small wax-candle, this blowing out, he repeated severall times, & I have much regretted, that I did not think of purchasing the receipt of making that composition,<sup>3</sup> at what price soever, for though there is a processe in *Jo: Baptista Porta*,<sup>4</sup> & others how to do it, yet on severall triales, they do none of them succede.

Now other observations I made in *Rome* are these amongst other,<sup>5</sup> As to Coynes & Medails, that 10 *Asses* make the *Roman Denarius*, 5 the *quinarius*: 10 *Denarius's* an *Aureus*<sup>6</sup> which Accompt runs almost exactly with what is now in use, of *Quattrini*, *Baiocs*, *Julios*, & *scudi*<sup>7</sup> each exceeding the other in proportion *decupla*: The *Sestertius* was a small silver

<sup>1</sup> A stone supposed to be found in the head of the toad or resembling the toad in appearance: *O.E.D.* At a meeting of the Royal Society on 9 March 1663/4 Dr. C. Merret showed that it was a tooth of what he called the 'lupus marinus': T. Birch, *Hist. of the Royal Society*, 1756-7, i. 392; he does not say that it was fossilized.

<sup>2</sup> Bright or shining: *O.E.D.*

<sup>3</sup> See Evelyn's later account of this ring, 4 Aug. 1681, where it is figured. While phosphorescent materials had interested scientists for a considerable period, phosphorus was not segregated until c. 1675; for the history of its segregation see *Societas regia scientiarum* (Berlin), *Misc.*, [vol. i], 1710, pp. 91-8; a short account of 'Phosphorus Fulgurans' is given in *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xii, no. 135 (1677), p. 867. Evelyn's present interest is shown not only by his noticing this ring but also by his going to see the 'lapis illuminabilis' at Bologna: below, pp. 422-3.

<sup>4</sup> Giovanni Battista della Porta, *Magiae naturalis libri XX*, [1589], p. 208; English trans., as *Natural Magick*, 1658, p. 290. It was della

Porta who failed to produce the composition. In his first edition, 1558, four methods of preparing it are given: pp. 56-7.

<sup>5</sup> In giving a number of general observations Evelyn is following a common practice of his time; one passage is in fact taken from Pflaumern's general observations on Rome (see below). But he is original in his selection of topics, especially in omitting any description of the papal polity, and even more so in his account of the living artists and musicians. Dr. Schudt calls special attention to the list of artists, as a feature without parallel in this period: *Le Guide di Roma*, p. 170; but compare Evelyn's list of artists at Florence, below, p. 417. With the passage on the Roman coins cf. *Numismata*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>6</sup> 2½ asses = 1 sestertius; 4 sestertii = 1 denarius; 25 denarii = 1 aureus; 5 asses = 1 quinarius.

<sup>7</sup> 4 quattrini = 1 baiocco; 10 baiocchi = 1 giulio or paolo; 10 giuli = 1 scudo of silver. The latter was worth about 5s. 6d. in English money of the time.

coyne marked H.S or rather LLS. valu'd 2 pound sil: &  $\frac{1}{2}$  viz 250 *denarij* about 25 *golden ducati*.<sup>1</sup> The stamp of the *Roman denarius* varied, having sometimes a *Janus bifrons*, the head of *Roma*, arm'd, or with a Charriot & two horses, such were cal'd *Bigi*, with 4. *quadrigi*, if with a *victoria* so nam'd:<sup>2</sup> The marke of the *denarius* was distinguished thus \* or X, the *Quinarij* of halfe value, had on one side the head of *Rome* & behind<sup>a</sup> V.<sup>3</sup> the reverse *Castor & Pollux* on horseback, inscribed *Roma*, &c:

I observ'd in the *Greeke-Church* they made the signe of the + from the right hand to the left, contrary to the *Latines*,<sup>4</sup> & the *Schismatic Greekes* gave the benediction with the first, second & little finger stretched out, retaining the third bent down, expressing a distance of the 3d person of the H: Trinity from the first two.<sup>5</sup>

For sculptors [& Architects]<sup>b</sup> *Cavalier Bernini & Algordi*<sup>6</sup> were in greatest esteeme: *Fiamingo*<sup>7</sup> [who made the *Andrea* in st. *Peters* & is said to die madd, that it was plac'd in an ill light].<sup>b</sup> Painters, *Antonio de la Cornea*<sup>8</sup> who has an addresse of count(e)rfiting the hands of the antient Masters, as to make his Copies passe for Originals: *Pietro de Cortone*,<sup>9</sup> Monsieur *Poussine* a French man, & innumerable more, *Fioravanti*<sup>10</sup> for Armour plate, [dead life &c]<sup>c</sup> Tappstry &c:

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps *scheid* or *schewd*; substituted for *on the reverse*.

<sup>b</sup> Interlined.    <sup>c</sup> Inserted later in margin.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn has apparently confused the *sestertius* and the *sestertium*. The former was marked HS or IIS, two and one-half *asses*. The latter was not a coin but a sum of money, 1,000 *sestertii*. I have not traced the source of Evelyn's equation of it with the silver or the ducats.

<sup>2</sup> *Bigati, quadrigati, victoriati*. Cf. *Numismata*, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> The head was in profile, the figure v to the rear of it.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sir Edwin Sandys, *Europæ speculum*, 1632, p. 238.

<sup>5</sup> I have failed to find other descriptions.

<sup>6</sup> Alessandro Algardi, 1602–54.

<sup>7</sup> François Duquesnoy: above, p. 253, &c.

<sup>8</sup> Antonio della Cornia, fl. 1634. No works by him are now known to exist.

<sup>9</sup> Cortona was working in Florence almost continuously from 1639 to 1647.

<sup>10</sup> Fioravanti, fl. 1620–60. No works by him are now known, but a trick picture at Wotton of a cross lying on a book is perhaps by him. In addition to the references in Thieme, *Lexikon*, see H. Sauval, *Hist. . . . de Paris*, iii. 14.



The chi(e)fe Masters of Music after *Marc Antonio* the best Trebble, is *Cavalier Lauretto* an *Eunuch*, the next *Card: Bichis* Eunuch, *Bianchi* Tenor, & Base *Nicholai*.<sup>1</sup>

The *Jewes* in *Rome* wore red hatts til the *Card: of Lions* lately saluted one of them, thinking one of them a Cardinal, as he passd by his Coach, being it seemes short sighted, upon which an order was made that they should use onely the yeallow colour.<sup>2</sup>

There was now at *Rome* one Mrs. *Ward*<sup>3</sup> an English devotee, that much solicited for an Order of *Jesuitesses*.

At executions I saw one hang'd (a Gent) in his Cloak & hatt; For Murder: the(y) strock the malefactor with a club

<sup>1</sup> For these musicians see *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, iii (1887), 437-8 (list of performers in Rome in 1628); H. Prunières, *L'opéra italien en France avant Lulli*, 1913; *Times Lit. Supp.*, 1925, p. 333. Marc Antonio is Marc' Antonio Pasqualini, commonly called Malagigi, already famous as a boy in 1628. Cavalier Lauretto is Loreto Vittori, 1588-1670, singer, composer, and poet; he was knighted by Urban VIII; two of his operas have been preserved: Romain Rolland, *Histoire de l'opéra en Europe avant Lully et Scarlatti*, pp. 143-9; see also J. N. Erythraeus (G. V. Rossi), *Epist. ad diversos*, 1645-9, vol. post., bk. vi, no. vii; Erythraeus, *Pinacotheca*, &c., 1643-8, pt. ii, no. lxxviii; A. Belloni, *Il seicento (Storia letteraria d'Italia)*, pp. 269-70, &c. Cardinal Bichi is Alessandro Bichi, c. 1587-1657, created cardinal 28 Nov. 1633; his *castrato* may have been Bonaventura Argenti: Prunières, pp. 56-7. Bianchi is Francesco Bianchi, described as the best tenor in Rome in 1628. Nicholai is probably Bartolommeo Nicolini, one of the best bassos in 1628; he, Vittori, Pasqualini, and Mario Savioni are given, with Adriana

and Leonora Baroni, as the leading singers in Rome about this period: G. B. Doni, *De praestantia musicae veteris*, 1647, p. 57. Leonora Baroni, Milton's Leonora, was, however, in France during Evelyn's residence in Rome.

<sup>2</sup> The order was issued in September 1636, the Cardinal of Lyons, Alphonse Louis du Plessis, brother of Richelieu, being in part responsible for it: F. Cancellieri, *Storia de' solenni possessi*, p. 226 n.

<sup>3</sup> Mary Ward, 1585-1645 or 1586-1646: *D.N.B.*, 1st supp.; Mother Mary Salome, *Mary Ward*, 1901; Guilday, *English Catholic refugees*, i. 163-214. She died at Heworth Hall, Yorks., on 20 Jan. 1645, presumably o.s.; she had been in England since 1639, so that Evelyn is wrong as to her presence in Rome in his time. Her object was to establish a teaching order for women; it was not connected with the Jesuits, but its members were to follow the same rule, so far as their sex allowed. As a result of her efforts the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary was established; but she was opposed and censured and was not rehabilitated until 1909.

that first stun'd him, & then cut his Throat.<sup>1</sup> At Naples as in Hull in a frame.<sup>2</sup>

Rome was first gover⟨n⟩'d by Kings, then by Consuls, Tribunes, & Decemviri & somtimes *Dictators*: Then by Emperors, lastly ⟨by⟩<sup>a</sup> popes:<sup>3</sup> 'tis reported to have once ben no lesse than 50 miles in compas, now not 13, containing in it 3000 Churches & Chapells, Monasteries &c:<sup>4</sup> & is divided into 14 Regions, or wards: has 7 Mountains & as many Campi or Valys &c: in these faire parks or Gardens calld *Villas*, being onely places of Recesse & pleasure, at some distance from the Streetes, yet all within the circumference of the Walls.<sup>5</sup>

The Bills of Exchange I tooke up from my first entering Italy 'til I went from *Rome* amounted but to 616 *ducati di Banco*,<sup>6</sup> though I purchas'd many books, Pictures & severall Curiosities:

May: 18 But being now dissappointed of Monies long expected, intending to see *Lauretto*,<sup>7</sup> I was forc'd to returne by the same way I came, desiring if possible to be at *Venice* by the Ascention,<sup>8</sup> & therefore diverted to take *Legorne* in the ⟨way⟩,<sup>b</sup> as well to furnish me with Credit by a Merchant

<sup>a</sup> MS. *be.*      <sup>b</sup> MS. *was.*

<sup>1</sup> 'Hang'd' is here presumably a generic term for being put to death. Bargrave describes this method of execution in detail: *Pope Alexander VII*, pp. 12–13.

<sup>2</sup> There is no record of such an instrument at Hull, which is presumably Evelyn's error for Halifax. A form of guillotine was used there for capital punishment from 1541, if not earlier, until 1650: *Halifax and its gibbet-law*, 1708; John Watson, *Hist. and antiquities of . . . Halifax*, 1775, pp. 214–31. For a similar instrument at Venice see below, p. 459.

<sup>3</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 391; but Pflaumern has '& Decemviri aliquando', omitting the dictators.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 391–2; Pflaumern gives his sources for the figures.

3811.2

<sup>5</sup> These remarks appear to be original.

<sup>6</sup> The *ducato di banco* was a sum of money originating in Venice and used by the money-changers; it was nominally worth 6 *lire 4 soldi* of Venetian ordinary money, but was actually worth 20 per cent. more: N. Papadopoli, *Sul valore della moneta veneziana*, 1885, pp. 23–4. It was worth about 4s. 5d. in English money of the period: tables in Papadopoli; values of coins in A. Martini, *Manuale di metrologia*, 1883. <sup>7</sup> Loreto.

<sup>8</sup> See below, pp. 432, 446. The annual ceremony of the marriage of Venice with the sea took place on Ascension Day, which fell this year on 25 May. For the date 18 May see below, p. 405 n.

there, as to take order for the ⟨transporting⟩<sup>a</sup> such Collections as I had made at *Rome*; when on my Way, turning about to behold this once & yet glorious Citty, upon an Eminence of Ground I did not without some regret give it my last farewell—<sup>1</sup>

When my fix'd thoughts enjoyd their blest repose  
 Where liberall Nature her delights<sup>b</sup> bestows,  
 Whilst they kept house at home, and knew no more  
 Than what might be survey'd from my owne dore;  
 When they were free, yet had no more extent  
 Than what is circumscrib'd in selfe-Content;  
 When in my owne Spheare mov'd, acquainted growne  
 With a blest temper, to excesse unknown:  
 When all my Cares (to better things inclyn'd)  
 A few square Ackers, & an hill confin'd;  
 An humble Cottage, & a silver Brooke,  
 A Shady Grove, a Choice Friend, & a Book:  
 Glad of my Chaster Nymph, Unknown to Courts,  
 Acquainted onely with the Country Sports:  
 Injoy'd the Seasons, and with chosen Flowres  
 Made Chaplets to bedeck the shady bowers,  
 Knit Love-knots in her haire, a thousand toys,  
 (For Innocents embrace no other joyes)  
 Then liv'd I to my selfe, & slept secure  
 Within the Walls that did my Cares immure;  
 'Til on a Day (by chance) I spied a Book  
 In which a Neighbouring Shepheard us'd to looke:  
 He found it in a Cave, all foule & torne;  
 The first was wanting, and with Canker worne;  
 The Cover broidred with a slimie lace  
 Which a moist Snaille had wrought upon the place:  
 That which the Learned Worme had left I read,

<sup>a</sup> MS. *transporting*.      <sup>b</sup> Followed by *disclose* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> The general idea underlying the opening passage of this poem is derived from *Georgics*, ii. 458 sqq., 493 sqq., and from Claudian's 'De sene Veronensi' (see above, p. 355 n.), which itself owes a good deal to

Virgil. There are also several French derivatives: see L. Arnould's notes to Racan (H. de Bueil), *Poésies*, 1930, pp. 167–85; *Les Bergeries*, 1937, p. 206.

Of vent'rous Knights, & Lands which flourished;  
 Of Armes & Arts, and many a bloody field,  
 Citties renoun'd; Things that beliefe excell'd:  
 But still the chiefest seane<sup>a</sup> of all was lay'd  
 Where the two Boys (exposd to be betray'd)  
 Found Wolves than Men more kind, & for a Tomb  
 Receivd a Nurse, they after call'd it *ROME*:  
 That Name she still retaines, & I suppos'd  
 It was with Walls, like our Shire-Towne inclosd:  
*Temples, Fanes, Statues, Amphitheaters*  
 I fancied<sup>b</sup> strange prodigious Creatures:  
*Triumphant Arches, Aquæ-ducts* & more  
 Than e're I heard of, or had thought before:  
 Nor [farther was]<sup>c</sup> I yet Concern'd, nothing did move  
 My fix't Desires: For I was then in Love:  
 Ah happy Swaine! hadst thou remain'd so still,  
 Content with little, Innocent of Ill:  
 Nor wanted ought; But ah the sad events  
 Of *Pan*, & other Shepherds discontents The Civil  
 Exil'd me thence: Mark then with what an heart Warrs<sup>d</sup>  
 I left those Joyes, so *ROME*! from thee I part.  
 From thy proud Structures, *Temples* thee adorne, Temples:  
 And stupend *Marbles* from far Countries born: Marbles:  
*Gulios* so high, as if on top they bore  
 The Sunn to whom they sacred were before:  
 Those *Obeliscs* so fam'd in Histories Obeliscs:  
 Discovering yet their lock'd-up Mysteries:  
 The very Marbles live, here *Hercules* Statues:  
 Not so renoun'd of old, as at<sup>e</sup> *Farneze*: Hercules in  
 Transparant laune, her snowy thighs betraies, *Farnezes*  
 Whilst *Flora* with her bloomy Chaplet plaies: Palas<sup>f</sup>  
 The Youth *Adonis*<sup>1</sup> a<sup>g</sup> fierce Bore persues, Flora in  
*Farnezes*  
Palas<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *seate*.  
 from *fancied* to *fancie*.

<sup>c</sup> Interlined; the line originally read *Nor was I; was* left standing.

<sup>f-f</sup> *Hercules* and *Flora* bracketed in MS.; in *Farnezes Palas* written opposite the bracket, not repeated.

<sup>b</sup> Reading doubtful; word altered, perhaps  
<sup>d</sup> Or *Warre*.

<sup>e</sup> Substituted for

<sup>g</sup> Substituted for *the*.

<sup>1</sup> Identifiable as the Dying Adonis this time probably at Poggio Imperiale near Florence (below, p. 410)  
 by Vincenzo de' Rossi (1525-87), at

- Adonis: And in his reaking gore, hard tuscks imbrues:  
*Medicis*  
*(Palas)*<sup>a</sup> It is a truth, nor can it be deny'd,  
Niobe: This is the selfe-same *Niob* petrified:  
Sabines: There strive the *Sabines*, by the Romans took,  
And whilst they'r ravish'd, ravish those who look:  
Venus Had *Venus* here her Statue but espi'd,  
*Medicis.* She sure had call'd her Sister, or else dy'd  
With Envy; and (could Godesse Mortal prove)  
This had remaind her ⟨heyre⟩<sup>b</sup> [this]<sup>b</sup> Queene of  
Love:  
Marc: That *Steede* which so the *Capitol* dos grace,  
Aurelius in Wants nought save motion, yet dos without it  
the *Capitol* pace:  
For he's so full of Mettal, one would swears  
'Twere<sup>c</sup> an enchanted *Horse* erected there:  
Laöcon in Th' inveloup'd *Laocoon*, a Serpent twines  
*Belvedere:* And threids his Children, whilst the Father Pines  
Vaticane Thro' anguish, and believe't, I did mistake  
Myselfe, and fled, it is so like a Snake:  
Cleopatra A dreadfull Asp, th' *Egy(p)tian*<sup>d</sup> Queene<sup>1</sup> dos kill,  
Dead in the Storie, but here living still:  
The *Bull* at The furious *Bull*, calv'd from a rock, like this  
Farneze There never was a *Metamorphosis*:  
Palace: The *Gladiator*<sup>2</sup> who still seemes to fight,  
Gladiator: And the hard-soft, bed-rid *Hermaphrodite*:  
Hermaphrodite: Chast *Daphne's* limbs into the Laurel shoote,  
Daphne in Whilst her swift feete the<sup>e</sup> amorous Center roote;  
Villa *Borghesi* How the rude bark invades her virgin Snow,  
And dos to that well timber'd body grow!

<sup>a</sup> MS. & *Medicis*, written beneath in *Farnezes Palas*; *Palas* understood.  
<sup>b-b</sup> MS. *heyresse*, left unaltered when *this* was interlined. <sup>c</sup> Preceded  
by *It w-* deleted. <sup>d</sup> Altered from *The Egytian*. <sup>e</sup> Altered from *i' th'*.

and attributed to Michelangelo; it is now in the Bargello in Florence: *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, v (1910), 22-8 (it is there shown to have been at the Villa Baroncelli, later Poggio Imperiale, in Rossi's lifetime, and again in 1655

when it passed as a Michelangelo). The Niobe and the Sabines were at the Villa Medici in Rome: above, pp. 232, 231.

<sup>1</sup> The Ariadne: above, p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> This and the Hermaphrodite at the Villa Borghese: above, p. 253.

Here bleeding *Seneca* in's *Bagnia*<sup>a</sup> lies,  
 And to's Spectators [dos]<sup>b</sup> still Philosophise:  
*Castor & Pollux*, bold *Bucephalus*,<sup>1</sup>  
 Old *Nile*, & the belov'd *Antinōus*:  
 The reverend *Vatican*, & lofty Wall  
 Of the Imperious & proud *Capitol*:  
 Or in one Miracle to name them all,  
 First of *Apostles* fam'd Cathedrall.  
 A thousand Wonders extant, more than these  
 Tempt Travellers from the Antipodes:  
 Such living *Pictures* from rare hands appeare,  
 As if mens shadows, reäl Bodys were:  
 Like *Villa's*, *Fountaines*, & luxurious Fields  
 No Earths *Elizium* but thine *Rome*, yeilds!  
 Nor is the Eye alone thus entertain'd,  
 But what may to the Intellect be gain'd,  
 Flourishes here: Source of Antiquitie,  
*Apollo's* (Seate),<sup>c</sup> the *Muses* Monarchie:  
 Glory of Citties, for thy *Ruines* are  
 More glorious than<sup>d</sup> be other *Citties* far:  
 With speaking<sup>e</sup> stones, & breathing *Statues* set,  
 Justly art term'd the *Worlds sole Cabinet*:  
 Of all the *Vniverse* none dares Contend  
 With thee ô *ROME*, nor will thy Praises End:

Seneca:  
 Castor &  
 Pollux  
 Bucephalus  
 in *Monte*  
*Quirino*  
 Nilus } in  
 Anti- } Vati-  
 nous } cano  
 Vatican.  
 Capitolium  
 St. Peters

Pictures.

Villas:  
 Fountaines:

Library  
 Vatican

Ruines.

Inscrip-  
 tions.

May the 18th<sup>2</sup> having taken leave of our Friends at *Rome* I

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *Bath still*.    <sup>b</sup> Interlined.    <sup>c</sup> MS. perhaps *Seale*.  
<sup>d</sup> Altered from *then*.    <sup>e</sup> Substituted for *brea living*.

<sup>1</sup> Castor and Pollux are presumably the two groups on the balustrade of the Piazza del Campidoglio. The two groups on the Quirinal were at one time held to represent Alexander taming Bucephalus; the one made by Phidias, the other by Praxiteles in emulation. Sixtus V's inscription repeat-

ing this legend is printed in Totti, *R.A.*, p. 362; it was removed as false by Urban VIII in 1634: Totti, p. 281.

<sup>2</sup> The chronology of the journey from Rome to Venice is uncertain. Evelyn accounts for about eleven nights but the journey appears to have taken rather longer; he could

tooke Coach<sup>a</sup> in Companie of two Courteous *Italian* Gentlemen, having sojourn'd in that Citty now about 7 moneths, Autumn, Winter & Spring: In the Afternoone we ariv'd at an house or rather Castle, of the duke of *Parmas* call'd *Capraruola*,<sup>1</sup> situate on the brow of an hill that over-looks a little Town, or rather indeede a naturall & stupendious rock, wisse those vast Caves serving now for Celarige, where we were entertain'd with most generous Wine of severall sorts, being just under the foundation:<sup>2</sup> The Palace was built by the famous Architect *Vignola*<sup>3</sup> at the cost of Card: *Alex: Farneze*<sup>4</sup> in forme of an Octagone,<sup>5</sup> the Court in the middle being exactly round, after a very extravagant manner, so as rather to resemble a Fort or Castle. The Chambers yet within are all of them square, which makes the Walls exceeding thick, & in particular one of these romes so artificialy contriv'd, that from the 2 opposite angles, one may overheare the least whisper: They say any perfect square dos it:<sup>6</sup> Most of the Paintings are of *Succari*:<sup>7</sup> It has a most stately entrie, on which spouts an artificial fountain within the porch:<sup>8</sup> The Hall,<sup>9</sup> Chapell, and infinite number of Lodging Chambers are remarkable, but most of all the Pictures, and

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *horse*.

not have travelled from Torrenieri via Siena and Pisa to Leghorn in a day; his sightseeing in Florence and in Bologna requires at least one night to be spent in either place; on the other hand, he spends too much time between Pratolino and Bologna. In any case, if he reached Venice in time to be present at the Ascension Day festival, as he implies he did (pp. 431-2), he must have left Rome before 18 May; for this year Ascension Day fell on 25 May.

<sup>1</sup> Mainly from Totti, pp. 526-7, with additions from Monconys, ii. 471-2. Raymond, pp. 64-5; Pflaumern, pp. 211-12. Caprarola. The palace was built c. 1547-59; the fabric has scarcely changed since Evelyn's time. See G. Balducci,

*Il Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola*, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Raymond, p. 65; Lassels, i. 248-9. The description of the situation is original.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 230 n.

<sup>4</sup> Alessandro Farnese, 1520-89, created cardinal 18 Dec. 1534.

<sup>5</sup> So Totti; it is actually a pentagon.

<sup>6</sup> This notice from Monconys; the Sala degli Angeli.

<sup>7</sup> The frescoes are by Taddeo Zuccaro, assisted by his brother Federigo, Tempesta, and others: A. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, ix. v. 855.

<sup>8</sup> The fountain in the loggia (now glazed) on the *piano nobile*.

<sup>9</sup> 'Sale', plural.

witty inventions of *Hannibal Caraccio*,<sup>1</sup> & the *Christo Morto*<sup>2</sup> incomparable: Behind are the Gardens full of Statues and noble Fountaines, especially that of the Shepherds:<sup>3</sup>

Hence after dinner we tooke horse & lay that night at *Montrosso*<sup>4</sup> 20 Miles from *Rome*: next day din'd at *Viterbo*, & lay at *St. Laurenzo*:<sup>5</sup> Next day at *Radicofani*, & slept at *Turnera*:<sup>6</sup> The 21<sup>a</sup> the afternoone having dind at *Sienna*<sup>7</sup> where we could not passe admiring at the Greate Church built intirely both within and without with white & blak marble in polish'd square stones by *Macarino*,<sup>8</sup> it shewing so beautifull after a shoure has fall'n. The floore within is of various colour'd Marbles representing the storie of both Testaments admirably wrought: Here lies Pius the 2d.<sup>9</sup> The Bibliothec is painted by P: *Perugino* and *Raphael*, The life of *Aeneas Sylvius* is in fresco, in the middle are the 3 graces of Marble Antique very curious:<sup>10</sup> The front of this

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *We ariv'd at Pisa in* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's error; Totti refers to the cardinal's bedroom (Sala di Aurora) painted by Taddeo Zuccaro 'con inventioni poetiche suggeritegli dall' ingegnossissimo Annibal Caro'; that is, Caro, 1507-66, poet and letter-writer, supplied Zuccaro with the allegorical devices to be used in the decoration: see his letter in Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vii. 115-29. There were no works by Annibale Carracci at Caprarola.

<sup>2</sup> In *Sculptura* Evelyn mentions Annibale Carracci's engraving of 'the *Christus mortuus* bewailed by the devout sex, the original painting whereof hangs in the D. of *Parma*s Palace at *Capraruola*': p. 54. He is mistaken: the engraving, in its later states inscribed 'Annibal Caracius fe. Caprarolæ 1597', is an original work, not a reproduction of a painting; for it see A. Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur*, vol. xviii, 1818, pp. 182-3.

<sup>3</sup> 'Del Pastore', singular.

<sup>4</sup> 'From *Monterose* to *Rome*, are twenty *Italian* miles': Raymond,

p. 65. *Monterosi*. It is twenty-five miles from Rome. Raymond slept there when travelling to Rome after visiting Caprarola, which lies about twelve miles farther north. Evelyn presumably dined there; cf. *Monconys*, ii. 471; he would scarcely have returned after visiting Caprarola, where he perhaps spent the night.

<sup>5</sup> S. Lorenzo Vecchio or S. Lorenzo Nuovo, between Bolsena and Acquapendente.

<sup>6</sup> Torrenieri.

<sup>7</sup> Above, pp. 201-5.

<sup>8</sup> This name occurs in *Monconys* (ii. 473) as 'Mecarin', in *Lassels* (i. 237) as 'Meccharini', but in both as one of the designers of the pavement. It is a name sometimes given to Domenico Beccafumi (1486-1551), who designed part of it.

<sup>9</sup> Evelyn's error; he is buried in S. Andrea della Valle in Rome.

<sup>10</sup> From *Monconys*, ii. 474. For the frescoes see above, p. 205; the antique group is still preserved here.



building though *Gotic* is yet very fine:<sup>1</sup> Amongst other things they shew *S. Catherines* disciplining Cell, the doore whereof is halfe cut out into chipps by the Pilgrimes & devotees, being of deale wood.<sup>2</sup> Setting out hence for *Pisa*<sup>3</sup> we went againe to see the *Domo* in which *Henry* the seaventh Emp: lies buried, poysond by a Monk in the Eucharist:<sup>4</sup> The bending Toure was built by *Busqueto Delichio*,<sup>5</sup> a *Grecian* Architect, & may be looked on as a stupendious piece of art. In the Gallery of Curiosities is a faire Mummy, the taile of a Seahorse, Corall growing in a Mans Skull, a Chariot Automatum, two pieces of rock Christall in one of which is a drop of Water, in the other 3 or 4 small wormes: Two Embalm'd Children, divers Petrifications &c: The Garden of Simples is well furnish'd, & has in it the mortiferous Yew or *Taxus* of the antients which the Superintendent Dr. Belluuccio<sup>6</sup> affirmes his workmen cannot indure to clip above the space of halfe an houre at a time without retiring, for the paine of the head which surprizes them:<sup>7</sup>

We went hence for *Ligorne* by Coach, where I tooke up 90 Crounes for the rest of my journey with letters of Credit for *Venice*, after I had sufficiently complaind of my defeate of Correspondence at *Rome*:<sup>8</sup> The next day I came to *Lucca*,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So Monconys, ii. 474.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. In the house of St. Catherine.

<sup>3</sup> The present notice from Monconys, i. 107-9, 135. For Evelyn's earlier visit see above, pp. 179-82.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 206. Evelyn saw the tomb in the position which it now occupys; for its earlier movements see G. Trenta, *La tomba di Arrigo VII*, 1893, pp. 65-9; it was brought back to the cathedral in 1921. See also R. Papini, as above, ii. 135-8.

<sup>5</sup> So Monconys, i. 108; see Thieme, *Lexikon*, art. Buschetus. 'Delichio' is Monconys's error for 'Dulichio'; its presence as part of Buschetus's name is due to the misreading of his epitaph: Vasari, ed. Milanesi, i. 237-8.

<sup>6</sup> Tommaso Belluccio, keeper of

the garden and ordinary professor of botany in 1662: so his *Plantarum index horti Pisani*, 1662. Monconys visited him in 1646: i. 134-5.

<sup>7</sup> Evelyn repeats this statement in *Sylva*, 1679, p. 132; it does not occur in the first two editions and is taken from Monconys. See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, bk. xvi, ch. 10 (20).

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 401. His bills of exchange having failed him, Evelyn draws money on his supplementary letter of credit: cf. Moryson, i. 278.

<sup>9</sup> The notice as far as the 'huge Crosse' from Pflaumern, pp. 562-5; the rest from Raymond, pp. 264-5 (Raymond's appendix; he did not visit Lucca himself). The principal older guide is V. Marchiò, *Il forestiere informato delle cose di Lucca*, 1721; see further G. Gualdo

which is a small but pretty Territorie & State of itselfe: The Citty is neate, & well fortified, with noble & pleasant walkes of Trees on the Workes where the Gentry & Ladies use to take the aire: Tis situate on an ample plaine by the river *Serchio*, yet the Country about it is hilly: The Senat-house is magnificent: The Church of St. *Michael* a noble piece, so is also St. *Fredian*, more remarkable to us for the Corps of St. Richard an English King, who in his pilgrimage towards *Rome* died here & has this Epitaph on his tomb:

*Hic rex Richardus requiescit, szept(r)ifer almus:  
Rex fuit Anglorum,<sup>a</sup> regnum tenet iste polorum:  
Regnum demisit, pro Christo cuncta reliquit.  
Ergo Richardum nobis dedit Anglia sanctum.  
Hic genitor Sanctæ Walburgæ Virginis almæ,  
Est Vvillebaldi Sancti simul, et Vinebaldi  
Suffragium quorum nobis det regna Polorum.<sup>1</sup>*

Next this we visited *St. Crosses*,<sup>2</sup> a most incomparable structure all of Marble both without as well as within, & so adornd as may vie with many of the fairest even in *Rome* it selfe, witnesse the huge Crosse<sup>3</sup> valued worth 15000 pounds, above all venerable for that Sacret *Volto*,<sup>4</sup> which (as tradition

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Rex fuit, Anglorum. . . .*

Priorato, *Relazioni delle città di Bologna, &c.* (above, p. 172 n.), [ii]. 177–214. The best modern work is Mrs. Janet Ross and N. Erichsen, *The Story of Lucca* ('Mediaeval Towns'), 1912; bibliography in E. E. Whipple, *A Famous Corner of Tuscany*, [1928], pp. 291–7.

Lucca maintained its independence as an aristocratic republic until 1799; it became a duchy in 1805 and was merged in Tuscany in 1847.

<sup>1</sup> It appears from the lives of SS. Willibald (see *D.N.B.*) and Wynnebald that their father died in Lucca and was buried in S. Frediano; the date 721 is suggested: *Mon. Germaniæ hist.*, Scriptores, xv. i. 91, 108. The name Richard is

impossible, but he duly appears as St. Richard in the *Acta Sanctorum*, 7 February. The inscription is now lost.

<sup>2</sup> Pflaumern's error for S. Martino, the cathedral.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably the Croce dei Pisani, now in the Opera del Duomo: Marchiò, p. 258; Ross and Erichsen, pp. 274–5.

<sup>4</sup> The passage from Raymond now begins. Nicodemus made the image; an angel carved the face while he was asleep. For the legend of the Volto Santo and how it came to Lucca in 742 see Ross and Erichsen, pp. 5–10; for the date of the image see Whipple, pp. 284–7, and Toesca, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, i. ii. 904.

gos) was miraculously put on the Image of *Christ*, & made by *Nicodemus*, whilst the Artist finishing the rest of the body,<sup>a</sup> was meditating what face to set on it: The Inhabitans are exceedingly Civill to strangers above all places in *Italy*, & the(y) speake the purest *Italian*, tis also cheape living, which causes Travellers to set up their rest here more than in *Florence* though a more celebrated Citty: Besides the Ladys here are very Conversable, and the Religious Women not at all reserv'd, of these we bought gloves & embroidred stomachers<sup>1</sup> generally worn by Gentlemen in these Countries. The Circuit of this State is but two easy days journey, & lies mixed with the Duke of *Tuscany* but having Spaine for Protector (though the least bigotted of all *Roman* Catholicks)<sup>2</sup> & being one of the best fortified Citties in Italy, it remains in peace: This whole Country abounds in Excellent Olives &c:

Going hence for *Florence* & dining at Pistoia<sup>3</sup> where (besides one Church) there was little observable, onely in the high way wee traversd a Rivulet of Salt-Water, being many miles from the Sea:<sup>4</sup> The Country is extreamely pleasant, full of Gardens, & the roads as strait as a line for the best part of that whole day, & the hedges planted with trees at equal distances, very irriguous with cleare & plentifull streames: Rising early the next morning, we alighted att *Poggio Imperiale*<sup>5</sup> being a Palace of the Greate Dukes, not far from

---

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *painting*.

---

<sup>1</sup> See the quotations in *O.E.D.*

<sup>2</sup> The parenthesis is original. The Reformation had made relatively considerable progress in Lucca in the first half of the sixteenth century, but was later stamped out: see Ross and Erichsen, pp. 80-91; below, p. 523 n.

<sup>3</sup> There is no notice of the town in any of the guide-books available for Evelyn.

<sup>4</sup> From Raymond, pp. 265-6. Identifiable as the Tettuccio at Montecatini.

<sup>5</sup> From Raymond, p. 48, with additional matter relating to the furniture and pictures. The house, previously the Villa Baroncelli, was bought and enlarged by the archduchess Maria Maddalena, wife of Cosimo II and sister of the emperor Ferdinand II. It was largely rebuilt by Leopold I. See Aerssen, p. 233; Lassels, i. 205-6; Monconys, ii. 481; C. da Prato, *R. Villa del Poggio Imperiale*, 1895.

Evelyn implies that he visited Poggio Imperiale between Pistoia

the City, having omitted it in my former passage to Rome: The house is ascended to by a stately Gallery as it were of talle & overgrown *Cypresse* trees for neere halfe a mile, at the Enterance of these ranges are plac'd 2 Statues of *Tyber*<sup>1</sup> & *Arno* of Marble. Those also of *Virgil*, *Ovid*, *Petrarch* & *Dantes*:<sup>2</sup> The building is sumptuous, and curiously furnish'd within with Cabinets of *Pietro Comesso*, Tables, Pavements &c, which is a magnificence or work, particularly affected at Florence; The larger Pictures are of *Adam & Eve* by *Albert Durer*<sup>3</sup> incomparable, as is that piece of Carving in wood by the same hand standing in a Cupboard:<sup>4</sup> Here is don the whole *Austrian* line, the Dukes Mother sister to the Emperor & foundresse of this Palace, than which there is none in all Italy, that I have seene more magnificently adorn'd or Meubl'd.<sup>5</sup>

We could not forbear in this Passage to revisit the same & other Curiosities which we had both seene & omitted at our first being at *Florence*.<sup>6</sup> We went therefore to see that famous Piece of *Andrea del Sarta* in the Annu(n)ciata: The storie is that this Painter in a time of dirth borrow'd a sack of Corne of the Religious of that Convent, & being demanded to repay it, wrought it out in this Picture, which represents *Joseph* sitting on a Sack of Corn & reading to the *B: Virgin*,

and Florence; it lies, however, on the other side of Florence. He may have confused it with Poggio a Caiano, through which he passed and where there was also a ducal villa.

<sup>1</sup> Raymond's mistake for the Arbia, which flows near Siena.

<sup>2</sup> These statues came from the old façade of the cathedral; for them see Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, iv. 721-8.

<sup>3</sup> Skippon, who saw them in 1664, says that these pictures were copies of the originals at Nuremberg: p. 632. The latter, like these, are copies of Dürer's originals in the Prado; these two are now in the Pitti Palace. For the identification

see M. Thausing, *Dürer*, 2nd ed., 1884, ii. 3 n. Skippon mentions the 'rich silver frame' about Dürer's St. Matthew, also at Poggio Imperiale.

<sup>4</sup> A number of carvings and pieces of sculpture were formerly attributed to Dürer: a list in Heller, *Dürer*, ii. 268-81; the present piece is not identifiable among them. He is no longer believed to have executed any plastic works.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably simply a gallicism; James I, however, uses the word 'meubling': *O.E.D.*

<sup>6</sup> Above, pp. 184-200. In the present notice Evelyn is mainly dependent on Monconys.

a piece infinitely valued:<sup>1</sup> There fell downe in the Cloister an old mans face painted in the wall in fresco, greatly esteemd, & brake all into crumbs: The *Duke* sent his best Painters to make another instead of it, but none of them would presume to touch a pencil, where *Andrea* had wrought, like another *Apelles*; but one of them was so industrious & patient, that picking up the fragments he laied & fastned them so artificialy together, as the injury it had received was hardly discernable:<sup>2</sup> *Del Sarta* lies buried in the same place:<sup>3</sup> Here is also that piece of *Bartolomeo* who having spent his utmost skill in the face of the *Angel Gabriel*, & being troubl'd that he could not excede it in the Virgin Mother of God,\* he began the body, & to finish the Clothes & so left it, minding in the morning to work on the face; But when he came, no sooner had he drawn away the Cloth that was hung before it, to preserve it from the dust, when behold an admirable & ravishing face was found ready painted, at which Miracle all the City came in to Worship, tis now kept in the Chapell of the Salutation, a place so inrich'd by the Devotas, as none save *Lawretto* in *Italy* is said to excede it: This picture they pretend was don by an *Angel*; tis always cover'd with 3 shutters, one of which is of massive silver: Mithinks tis very brown, the forehead & cheekes whiter, as if it had ben scraped with some thing: The(y) report that those who have the honour of seeing it, never loose their sight as long as they live: happy then Wee:<sup>4</sup> There is belonging to this Church a

\* Followed by & leaving worke after deleted.

<sup>1</sup> From Monconys, i. 115. The *Madonna del Sacco*, in the cloister. The story also occurs in del Migliore, pp. 293-4.

<sup>2</sup> Original notice. It refers to del Sarto's fresco of the funeral of St. Philip Benizzi in the forecourt. The injury occurred in 1626; the repairs were executed by Domenico Passignano: see his life in Baldinucci, *Notizie*, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Monconys, ii. 482, as in the forecourt. But this is only a commemorative monument; del Sarto

is buried near the high altar of the church: Vasari, ed. Milanesi, v. 55.

<sup>4</sup> From Monconys, ii. 479, with additional matter, the comparison with Loreto and the painter's name *Bartolommeo*, from some untraced source or the guide: cf. Schott, *Il nuovo itinerario d'Italia*, 1717, p. 177. For *Bartolommeo* see del Migliore, pp. 284-5; the name does not occur in Evelyn's usual sources.

According to Monconys the picture was shown only to princes and ambassadors; as Evelyn's descrip-

world of Plate, some whole statues of it & lamps innumerable, besides the Costly Vowes hung up, some of Gold, a Cabinet of precious Stones:<sup>1</sup>

Visiting the Dukes Repository againe,<sup>2</sup> we told at least 40 ranks of Porphyry & other statues, & 28 whole figures,<sup>3</sup> many rare Paintings & Relievos: 2 Square Columns with Trophies:<sup>4</sup> In one of the Galleries 24 figures, & 50 antique heads, a Bacchus of *M. Angelo*<sup>5</sup> & one of *Bandinelli*,<sup>6</sup> a head of *Bernini*,<sup>7</sup> & a most lovely *Cupid* of Parian<sup>a</sup> Marble,<sup>8</sup> at the farther end two admirable Women sitting,<sup>9</sup> & a Man fighting with a Centaure,<sup>10</sup> & innumerable other naked: 3 figures in little of *Andrea*:<sup>11</sup> an huge Candlestick of Amber, a woman of *Georgion*,<sup>12</sup> a Table of Titians painting,<sup>13</sup> & another representing God the Father sitting in the aire on the 4 Evangelists Animals, with divers smaler pieces of *Raphael*.<sup>14</sup> A piece of pure Virgin Gold as big as an Egg: In the 3 Chamber of rarities is the 4 Square Cabinet<sup>15</sup> valud at 80000 Crounes

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *Paregon*.

tion of it is taken word for word from Monconys—'c'est vne peinture fort brune', &c.—it is difficult to believe that he saw it. Compare the similar notices of other relics above, p. 262, &c.

<sup>1</sup> From Monconys, i. 115. Vows are *ex-votos*.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 188–93; the present description is taken entirely from Monconys, i. 110–11.

<sup>3</sup> '46. Bancs de porphyre & 18. figures entieres.'

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 189.

<sup>5</sup> Now in the Bargello.

<sup>6</sup> From Monconys it appears that this means a statue by Bandinelli, not necessarily a Bacchus by him. Presumably his copy of the Laocoon, still in the Uffizi.

<sup>7</sup> Probably the bust of Costanza Buonarelli, now in the Bargello. It was taken from Rome to Modena in 1640 and is known to have been in the Uffizi in 1682: Frascchetti, *Bernini*, pp. 49–50.

<sup>8</sup> 'Un Cupidon de pierre de Parangon'; Evelyn first wrote 'Paregon' but altered it to 'Parian'. It has been in the Uffizi since at least 1580, but is not in Dütschke.

<sup>9</sup> Apparently the two figures still in the Uffizi: Dütschke, vol. iii, nos. 60, 136.

<sup>10</sup> Hercules and a centaur, also still in the Uffizi: *ibid.*, no. 138.

<sup>11</sup> 'Trois [tableaux] en long de petites figures d'*André*.'

<sup>12</sup> Giorgio da Castelfranco, called Giorgione, *c.* 1478–1510. The picture is not traceable.

<sup>13</sup> 'Un petit garçon avec une toque noire & une plume blanche du *Titian*.' Not further traceable.

<sup>14</sup> 'Le petit tableau d'un Dieu le Pere assis en l'air sur les 4. animaux des Evangelistes avec force petits Anges de *Raphaël*'; the Vision of Ezekiel, now in the Pitti.

<sup>15</sup> The cabinet already mentioned as being worth 200,000 crowns: above, p. 190.

shewing every front with variety of curious work, one of birds & flowers of *Pietra Commessa*, the 2d a Descent from the Crosse of *M: Angelo*,<sup>1</sup> on the 3d, our B: Savior & Apostles of Amber, on the 4th a Crucifix of the same, Twixt<sup>2</sup> the Pictures 2 naked Venus's of Titian,<sup>3</sup> Adame & Eve of Durer,<sup>4</sup> & severall other pieces of *Pordonon*<sup>5</sup> & *del Frate*.<sup>6</sup> Neere this, is a Globe of 6 foote diameter. In the Armorie, we saw an intire Elke, a Crocodile, & amongst the harnesses severall Targets, & horse armes antique, as that of *Charles* the V,<sup>7</sup> two beset with Turcoises & other precious stones, an horses taile of an incredible length. Then passing the old Palace,<sup>8</sup> which has an huge Hall for Feasts & Comedies, with a rooffe rarely painted, & the side Walles of 6 very large Pictures representing batailes, the worke of *Gio: Vassari*: Here is a Magazine full of Plate, an harnesses of *Emralds*, the furniture of an Altar 4 foote high & six in length of Massy Gold: In the middle<sup>9</sup> is plac'd the statue of *Cosimo* II, the bassrelievos of precious stones:<sup>a</sup> his breeches cover'd with diamonds; the Mouldings of this statue<sup>b</sup> & other ornaments festoones &c. are garnish'd with jewells & huge pearles, dedicated to *St. Charles*, with this Inscription in Rubies. *Cosimus Secundus Dei gratia Magnus Dux Etruriæ, ex Voto*. There is also a King on horsebak of massy Gold 2 foote high,<sup>10</sup> & an infinity of other suchlike rarities.

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *they shew* interlined and deleted.  
*rooffe*.

<sup>b</sup> Substituted for

<sup>1</sup> In ivory; perhaps a group now in the Bargello which was formerly attributed to Michelangelo.

<sup>2</sup> 'Entre les tableaux'—i.e. among.

<sup>3</sup> Both still in the Uffizi.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably the pictures by Lucas Cranach the elder, still in the Uffizi.

<sup>5</sup> 'Une femme à demy-corps tenant un enfant sous le menton du *Pordonon*.' Giovanni Antonio Pordenone, c. 1484–1539.

<sup>6</sup> Cecchino del Frate, a follower

of Fra Bartolommeo, d. 1562.

<sup>7</sup> Now in the Bargello: *Catalogo*, 1898, p. 29.

<sup>8</sup> The Palazzo Vecchio; the whole notice from Monconys, i. IIII; see also above, pp. 188, 192 n.

<sup>9</sup> Of the altar: Zobi, pp. 266–8. The figure of Cosimo is now in the Museo degli Argenti in the Pitti palace. St. Charles is St. Charles Borromeo: below, p. 496.

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps Louis XIII: see G. A. Sabelli, *La guida sicura . . . d'Italia*, 1680, p. 311.

Looking on the Justice in Copper,<sup>1</sup> set up on a Column by Cosmo 1555 after the Victorie over Sienna, we were told that when the Duke asking a Gentleman how he liked the piece; he answerd, that he liked it very well, but that it stood<sup>a</sup> too high for poore men to come at it:

Prince *Leopold*<sup>2</sup> has in this Citty a very excellent collection of Paintings especialy a St. *Catharine* of P: *Veroneze*,<sup>3</sup> & a Venus of Marble vaild from the Navil to the feete, esteem'd to be of that greeke Workman who made the Venus at Medicis Palace in *Rome*, altogether as good, & better preserved, an inestimable statue, not long since found about *Boulognia*.<sup>4</sup> Signor *Gaddi*<sup>5</sup> is a letter'd person and has divers rarities statues, & Pictures of the best Masters, & one bust<sup>6</sup> of Marble as much esteem'd as the most antique in *Italy*. Many curious Manuscripts: his best paintings are a Virgin of *del Sarto*<sup>7</sup> mention'd by *Vasari*, a *St. John* of *Raphael*<sup>8</sup> & an *Ecce homo* of *Titian*.

They shew'd us the famous Academie de la Crusca<sup>9</sup> which

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *was*.

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 185–6. The figure is of porphyry, with bronze drapery, &c. The story of its being placed too high probably taken from Lassels, i. 204. The date, 1555, does not occur in Evelyn's usual sources; for it see p. 186 n.

<sup>2</sup> 1617–75; brother of the grand duke Ferdinand II; created cardinal 12 Dec. 1667. The notice is taken from Monconys, ii. 478, where Monconys describes what he saw in 1664.

<sup>3</sup> A Marriage of St. Catherine.

<sup>4</sup> Now in the Uffizi: Dütschke, vol. iii, no. 504. Monconys states that it was found 'il y a peu de temps' at Bologna, and that Leopold acquired it at a low price. According to one account Leopold bought the statue as soon as he saw it: A. F. Gori, *Museum Florentinum: Statuae antiquae deorum, &c.*, 1734, p. x; according to another, Ferdinand II bought it at Bologna in

1657: Pelli, *Saggio istor.* i. 231–2.

<sup>5</sup> From Monconys, i. 115–16. Jacopo Gaddi; he was an unimportant author: Zedler, *Lexicon*.

<sup>6</sup> A torso, frequently mentioned in Arundel's correspondence: Hervey, *Arundel*, p. 356?, pp. 369–94 *passim*; see also Monconys.

<sup>7</sup> According to Monconys a *tondo*; it is presumably the picture mentioned by Vasari as painted for Giovanni Gaddi: ed. Milanesi, v. 18. It is described by A. von Reumont, *Andrea del Sarto*, 1835, pp. 64–6; it has now disappeared.

<sup>8</sup> 'Comme celuy du Duc', the picture from Raphael's studio in the Uffizi.

<sup>9</sup> From Monconys, i. 129, but Evelyn has added the incorrect explanation of the 'mot' to which the devices allude: it means bran. The academy, founded in 1582, still exists: Maylender, *Storia delle accademie*, ii. 122–46.



is a Hall hung about with Imprises & divices painted, all of them relating to Corne seifted from the brann, the seates are made like bread baskets, & other rustic Instruments usd about wheate, & the Cushions like sacks, of Satin:

Taking our last farewell of *St. Laurence*,<sup>1</sup> and more particular notice of that piece of the R(e)surrection, it consists of an infinite number of Nudities, the work of *Pontarno*:<sup>2</sup> On the left hand<sup>3</sup> is the Martyrdom of *St. Laurence* of Bronzini rarely painted indeed: Here in a Chapell is the Tomb of *Pietro di Medices* & his bro: *Johns* of Coper, and rarely design'd, standing on 2 lions feete, which end in foliage, the work of M: Angelo,<sup>4</sup> over against this<sup>a</sup> Sepulchers of all the Ducal family:<sup>5</sup> The altar has a statue of the Virgin Mary giving suck: & 2 Apostles: *Paulius Jovius* has the honor to be buried in the Cloister:<sup>6</sup> Behind the quire is the superb Chapell<sup>7</sup> of Ferdinand I, consisting of 8 faces, 4 plaine 4 hollowd a littl; in the 6 are to be the sepulchres & niches of Paragon, for the statue of the Prince now living: tis all of Coper gilt, and above a large table of Porphyrie for the Dukes Inscription in letters of Jasper: the whole Chapell, Walls, Pav(em)ent, roofe are nothing but precious stones, united with the Mouldings,<sup>8</sup> which is also of gilded Coper, & so are the bases & Capitels of the Columns: The Custos<sup>9</sup> or Tabernacle with the whole Altar is inlaied with Cornelius's, Lazuli, Serpentine, Achats, Onyxes: &c, on the other side are 6 huge

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *the* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> The present notice from *Monconys*, i. 113-14.

<sup>2</sup> For *Pontorno's* frescoes in the choir see *Vasari*, ed. *Milanesi*, vi. 284-8. They were destroyed *c.* 1738-42.

<sup>3</sup> 'Dans l'aisle de main gauche.' Still preserved.

<sup>4</sup> This is the monument by *Verrocchio* to the two sons of *Cosimo*, 'Pater Patriae'; *Piero*, 'il *Gottoso*', was father of *Lorenzo* the Magnificent.

<sup>5</sup> The new sacristy, with *Michelangelo's* tombs. For the three

statues see above, p. 198; the apostles are *SS. Cosmas and Damian*.

<sup>6</sup> Above, pp. 189, 198.

<sup>7</sup> Above, pp. 198-9. *Evelyn* has inserted the words 'now living'; the change from the plural to the singular occurs in *Monconys*.

<sup>8</sup> 'Toutes les pierres sont liées par des moulures de bronze doré.'

<sup>9</sup> The tabernacle described above, p. 191; *Monconys* describes it as if it were already in the chapel, but goes on to say that he saw it in the duke's galleries. *Evelyn* perhaps exaggerates the number of gems.

Columns of rock Chrystal, 8 figures of precious stones of severall Colours inlayed in natural figures, not inferior to the best paintings, among which much Pearle, Diamond, Amethysts, Topazes, indeede sumptuous & sparkling beyond description: The Windos without side are of White Marble: The Bibliotheca<sup>1</sup> is the<sup>a</sup> Architecture of *Raphael*, before the port is a square Vestibule of excellent Art, of all the orders without Confusion,<sup>2</sup> & the Ascent to the Library from it incomparable: We numberd 88 shelves<sup>3</sup> all MSS & bound in red, Chained, in all about 3500 Volumes as they tell us:

The Arsenal<sup>4</sup> has sufficient to arme 70000 men, accurately preserv'd & kept; with divers lusty pieces of Ordinance, whereof one for a ball of 300 pounds weight & another for 160 which weighs 72500 pounds:

The celebrated Masters at my being at Florence were for Pietro Commesso, a kind of Mosaïque or inlaying of various Coloured Marbles & other more precious stones, were Domenico *Benotti*,<sup>5</sup> & *Mazzotti*,<sup>6</sup> The best Statuarie *Vincentio Brocchi*<sup>b7</sup> & Painter *Piero Berettini* called *Cortona*,<sup>8</sup> The former statuarie makes those small statues in Plaster & Pastboard which so resemble Coper, that till one handles them they cannot be distinguishd, he has so rare an art of bronzing them: of this Artist I bought 4.

This Duke has a certaine daily tribute for every Curtezan or common Whore allow'd to practize that infamous trade in his Dominions, & so has his holinesse the Pope, but not so much in value:<sup>9</sup>

Taking now leave of our two jolly Companions Signor

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *build* deleted.

<sup>b</sup> Substituted for *Beretti*.

<sup>1</sup> From Monconys, ii. 480, including Raphael. The Laurenziana was designed by Michelangelo, the vestibule completed by Vasari.

<sup>2</sup> 'Devant la porte . . . il y a un vestibule quarré tout plein d'Architecture si bien entenduë pourtant, qu'il n'y a point de confusion.' There is only one order.

<sup>3</sup> '88. bancs . . . avec deux tablettes à chaqu'un.'

3811.2

<sup>4</sup> From Monconys, ii. 480-1. It was situated in the Fortezza da Basso: G. Gualdo Priorato, *Relazioni*, 'Fiorenza', p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 191.

<sup>6</sup> Not traced.

<sup>7</sup> Above, p. 198.

<sup>8</sup> Above, p. 229, &c. Monconys visited him here in 1646: i. 129.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Aerssen, pp. 228-9; Imbert, pp. 193-200. The accusation against

Giovanni & his Fellow,<sup>1</sup> we tooke horses for *Bologna*, & by the way alighted at a Villa of the *Grand Dukes* call'd *Pratoline*,<sup>2</sup> The House is a Square of 4 Pavilions, with a faire platform about it, balustr'd with stone, 'tis situate in a large meadow like an amphitheater, ascending, having at the bottom a huge rock, with Water running in a small Chanell like a Cascade, on the other side the Gardens, the whole place seemes Consecrated to pleasure, & retirement in Summer:<sup>3</sup> The Inside of the Palace may well compare with any in Italy for furniture of Tapisstry, beds &c: The Gardens delicious & full of fountaines: In the Grove sits Pan feeding his flock, the Water making a melodius sound through his pipe, & an Hercules whose Club yeilds a Showre of Water, which falling into a huge *Concha* has a Naked Woman riding on the backs of Dolphins: In another Grotto is *Vulcan* & his family, the walls richly composd of Coralls, Shells, Coper & Marble figures; with the huntings of Severall beasts, moving by the force of Water: Here having ben well wash'd for our Curiosity, we went down a large Walk,<sup>4</sup> at the sides whereof gushes out of imperceptible pipes, couched under neath, slender pissings of water, that interchangeably fall into each others Chanells, making a lofty & perfect arch, so as a man on horseback may ride under it and not be wet with one drop, nay so high, as one may walk with a speare in ones hand under each spout, this Canopi or arch of Water, was mi thought one of the surprizings<t> magnificences I had ever seene, & exceedingly fresh during the heate of summer, at the End of this very long Walk stands a Woman in white marble

the popes is common in protestant writers; Lassels replies to it at length: ii. 200-8.

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 406.

<sup>2</sup> The first part of the notice is from Monconys, ii. 484; the rest from Pflaumern, pp. 127-9, with additional matter as noted. Pratolino. The house and most of the gardens have been destroyed. See F. de Vieri, *Discorsi . . . delle maravigliose opere di Pratolino &*

*d'amore*, 1586; B. S. Sgrilli, *Descr. della regia villa . . . di Pratolino*, 1742, with illustrations; C. da Prato, *Firenze ai Demidoff. Pratolino, &c.*, 1886; see also Aerssen, pp. 235-8; when he was here in 1654 the fountains were out of order.

<sup>3</sup> So far from Monconys; the next from Pflaumern.

<sup>4</sup> So far from Pflaumern; the next from Sir Henry Wotton, *Elements of Architecture* (ed. 1624, pp. 111-12).

in posture of a Laundresse wringing Water out of a piece of linnen very naturally, into a vast Lavor, the work & invention of the famous *Michael Angelo Buonaroti*:<sup>1</sup> Hence we ascended *Monte Parnasso*, where the Muses plaid to us on Hydraulic Organs; neere this a greate Aviarie: The Sourse of all these Waters are from the Rock in the Garden, on which the statue of a Gyant representing the *Appennines* at the foote of which stands this *Villa*: Last of all we came to the Labyrinth in which a huge Colosse of *Jupiter*, that throws out a streame over the Garden; This Moles is 50 foote in height, having in his body a pretty Square chamber, his Eyes and mouth serving for the Windos & dore:<sup>2</sup> Having view'd these rarities we tooke horse<sup>3</sup> & supped that night at *il Ponte*,<sup>4</sup> passing a dreadfull ridge of the *Appennines*, in many places cap'd with Snow, which covers them the whole summer long: We thence descend into a luxurious & rich plaine; the next day passing through *Scarperia*, mounting the hills againe, where the passage is so strait, & precipitious towards the right hand, as with much care & danger we climbed them, lodging (at) *Fiorenzuolo*, which is a Fort built among the Cliffs & rocks, & defending the Confines of the Greate Dukes Territories:<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It was by Valerio Cioli (c. 1529–99). Evelyn now leaves Wotton and returns to Pflaumern.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn has confused the Jupiter, an ordinary 'colossus', with the Apennine, the Giant already mentioned; this sentence is original. The latter still exists.

<sup>3</sup> The account of the route from Pratolino to Bologna is derived from Raymond, pp. 176–8, with additional matter from Monconys, ii. 484–5. Pflaumern gives the route in the opposite direction, pp. 124–6. Evelyn has placed Pianoro incorrectly between Pietramala and Scaricalasino; it lies between Loiano and Bologna; further, he has given himself four nights on the journey, obviously incorrectly; Raymond spent only one night on the journey, at Firen-

zuola; Monconys two, at il Ponte (see below) and Loiano. The total distance from Pratolino to Bologna by this route is about 63 miles; the correct order of the places, il Ponte, Scarperia, Firenzuola, Pietramala, Filigare, Scaricalasino, Loiano, Pianoro, Bologna.

<sup>4</sup> From Raymond it is clear that il Ponte is the bridge over the Sieve, at S. Piero a Sieve. The road descends from Pratolino to the river, never reaching 2,000 ft.; the passes lie between Scarperia and Firenzuola (il Giogo, 2,884 ft.) and between Pietramala and Scaricalasino (la Raticosa, 3,176 ft.). The valley of the Sieve is here called the Mugello.

<sup>5</sup> The frontier was at Filigare, between Pietramala and Scaricalasino.

The next day we passe by the *Pietra Mala* a burning Mountain:<sup>1</sup> at the summit of this prodigious Masse of hills, we had an unpleasant way to *Pianura*,<sup>2</sup> where we slept that night, & were entertained with excellent Wine: hence to *Scargalasio*<sup>3</sup> & to bed to *Loiano*, this plaine begins about six Miles<sup>4</sup> from *Bologna*.

This Towne<sup>5</sup> belongs to the Pope, & is a famous University, situate in one of the fattest spots of Europe,<sup>6</sup> for all sorts of Provisions: tis built like a ship, whereof the *Torre d'Asinello* may go for the Main-Mast:<sup>7</sup> the City is of no great strength, a trifling Wall about it,<sup>8</sup> & is in Circuit neere five miles, & 2 in length:<sup>9</sup> This *Torre d'Asinello*<sup>10</sup> ascended by 447 steps of a foote rise, seemes exceeding high, as being also but very narrow, & is the more conspicuous by another Tower cal'd *Garisenda*<sup>11</sup> so artificialy built of brick (which increases the

<sup>1</sup> The fire is due to a vent of natural gas.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 419, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Scaricalasio. It is not marked on modern maps. It is so called because the asses' burdens had to be unloaded here on account of the difficulty of the way: L. Alberti, f. 319.

<sup>4</sup> From Monconys, ii. 485.

<sup>5</sup> Evelyn's account of Bologna is derived from Pflaumern, pp. 105-17, Raymond, pp. 178-82, Monconys, ii. 428-31, 485-6, and Lassels, i. 141-53. For the older guide-books see Schlosser, *Die Kunsliteratur*, p. 511; I have used G. P. C. Zanotti, *Le pitture di Bologna*, 1706 (original edition by C. Malvasia, 1686). The most useful modern works have been C. Ricci, *Guida di Bologna*, 4th ed., n.d. (c. 1907), and E. E. C. James, *Bologna*, 1909. Italian translations of a number of foreign travellers' accounts, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, have been published by A. Sorbelli, *Bologna nei scrittori stranieri*, 1927-; this work includes reproductions of old plans and views of the city.

Bologna formed part of the States

of the Church from 1512 to 1796 and from 1815 to 1859. The university, celebrated in the middle ages as a law-school, was now more important for its teaching of medicine and surgery. The Bolognese school of painting, the principal school in Europe at the beginning of the century, was now in decline, the principal surviving artists being Guercino and Francesco Albani (1578-1660).

<sup>6</sup> 'Bologna la grassa', '*Bolonia* the Fat'.

<sup>7</sup> So Raymond, p. 181; but almost every topographical writer, at least since Leandro Alberti, compares Bologna to a ship.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Raymond, p. 179.

<sup>9</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 108.

<sup>10</sup> The number of steps, *ibid.*; Evelyn has incorrectly added 'of a foot rise'. Torre Asinelli. It is 319 ft. high (and 6 ft. 10 in. out of the perpendicular). It was built in the twelfth century by the Asinelli family: Conte G. Gozzadini, *Delle torri gentilizie di Bologna*, 1875, pp. 95-112.

<sup>11</sup> From Raymond, pp. 181-2; 'of brick' inserted by Evelyn, perhaps

Wonder) as one would think it were allways ready to fall, tis not now so high as the other, but they say was formerly: but was so far taken down, for feare it should realy fall & do mischief: Next we went to see an Imperfect Church cald St. *Petronius*,<sup>1</sup> shewing the intent of the founder had he gon on: from this our guid led us to the Schooles,<sup>2</sup> which are indeede very magnificent: Then to St. Dominics,<sup>3</sup> where that Saints body lies richly inshrind:<sup>4</sup> The Stalls or seates of this good(l)y Chur(c)h has the historie of the Bible inlaied with severall woods, very curiously don, the work of one Fr: Damiano d'Bergomo, & a Frier of that Order:<sup>5</sup> Amongst other Reliques they pretend to shew the two bookes of Esdras, written with his own hand:<sup>6</sup> Here lies buried Ja: Andreas<sup>7</sup> & divers other learn'd persons: To the Church joynes the Convent,<sup>8</sup> in the quadrangle where-of the(y) shew'd us old Cypresses that they affirme were planted by their Saint: hence they led us to *St. Dominics* chamber, & gave us a tast of incomparable Wine: Then we went to the Palace of the *Legat*,<sup>9</sup> a faire brick building (as are most of the houses & buildings of the Citty)<sup>10</sup> full of excellent carving and mouldings, so as nothing in stone seemes to be better finish'd or Ornamentall, witsse those incomparable Columns to be seene in many of their Churches, Convents & publique buildings,<sup>11</sup>

from his own observation; but it occurs in Monconys's notice of what must be the Torre Asinelli: ii. 429. This tower is 156 ft. high and 8 ft. out of the perpendicular; the upper part was removed between 1351 and 1360: Gozzadini, pp. 271-84.

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 108-9. The building remains much as it was when Evelyn saw it.

<sup>2</sup> Probably from Pflaumern, pp. 109-10. Now the Archiginnasio.

<sup>3</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 110-12. The church has been transformed since Evelyn's time.

<sup>4</sup> St. Dominic died here in 1221.

<sup>5</sup> i.e. the Dominican Fra Damiano (Zambelli) da Bergamo, working here from 1528 to 1540: Ricci,

*Guida*, pp. 38-9. The seats are the choir-stalls.

<sup>6</sup> Not traced.

<sup>7</sup> Giovanni d'Andrea (Johannes Andreae), c. 1275-1347, canonist: *Nouvelle biog. gén.* The tomb is now in the Museo Civico.

<sup>8</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 112-13. The convent has been secularized; the saint's cell was destroyed in 1875: J.-J. Berthier, *Le Tombeau de Saint Dominique*, [c. 1895], p. 9 n.

<sup>9</sup> Pflaumern, pp. 113-14; Monconys, ii. 428. Now the Palazzo Comunale or Pubblico.

<sup>10</sup> So Monconys, ii. 429.

<sup>11</sup> This observation is apparently original; but see Lassels, i. 142.

for the whole Towne<sup>a</sup> is so cloysterd, that one may passe from house to house through the Streetes without being exposd either to raine or Sun:<sup>1</sup>

Before the stately Hall of this Palace stands the Statue of *Paule* the 4th<sup>2</sup> and divers others,<sup>3</sup> also the Monument of the Coronation of Charles the 5t.<sup>4</sup> The Piazza before it is absolutely the most stately in all Italy, St. Marks at *Venice* onely excepted;<sup>5</sup> In the center of it is a Fountain of *Neptune*, a noble figure cast in Coper:<sup>6</sup> I here saw a Persian walking about in a very rich vest of cloth of tissue, & severall other ornaments according to the fashion of their Country, which did exceedingly please me, he was a young handsom person of the most stately mine I had ever observd: faine I would have seene the Library of St. Saviours<sup>7</sup> famous for the quantity of rare Manuscripts, but could not, so we went to St. *Francis's*<sup>8</sup> a glorious pile & exceedingly adorn'd within: After dinner I enquird out<sup>b</sup> a Priest, and<sup>c</sup> Dr. *Montalbano*,<sup>9</sup> to<sup>d</sup> whom I brought recommendations from Rome: This was he who invented or found out the famous composition of the

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *is streeted with Cloysters* deleted. <sup>b</sup> Followed by *the* deleted. <sup>c</sup> Substituted for *one*? deleted. <sup>d</sup> Substituted for *for*.

<sup>1</sup> In part from Raymond, p. 179; the reference to the weather perhaps from Lassels, i. 142; cf. Schott, 1643, pt. i, f. 80. The arcades are one of the principal characteristics of the town.

<sup>2</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 113, but there as on the stairs or in the hall. Not traced elsewhere; Paul IV must be an error for Paul III; cf. Moryson, i. 93; W. Hager, *Die Ehrenstatuen der Päpste*, 1929, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Pflaumern gives Boniface VIII and Gregory XIII, both on the façade. The former is now in the Museo Civico, the latter still *in situ*.

<sup>4</sup> Charles V was crowned by Clement VII in Bologna on 24 Feb. 1530. The inscription is still preserved; text in G. Giordani, *Della venuta . . . (di) Clemente VII, &c.*,

1842, text, p. 184.

<sup>5</sup> 'The *Piazza*, as rema(r)kable as most in *Italy*': Raymond, p. 180.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* It is by Giovanni Bologna.

<sup>7</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 114. The library has been transferred to the Biblioteca Universitaria: Ricci, *Guida*, p. 138. For the room in which it was contained see below, p. 424 n.

<sup>8</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 114-15. The church was originally Gothic but had perhaps already been partially modernized. After having been secularized for some time, it has been restored in the original style: A. Rubbiani, *La chiesa di S. Francesco*, 2nd ed., 1900.

<sup>9</sup> Ovidio Montalbani, c. 1602-71, botanist and author: *Nouvelle biog. gén.*

*Lapis illuminabilis* or *Phosphorus*,<sup>1</sup> which he shew'd me, their property (for he shewd me severall) being to retaine the light of the sun for some competent time, by a kind of imbibition, by a particular way of Calcination: some of these presented a blew colour like the flame of brimstone, others like coales of culinary fire: The rest of the Afternoone was taken up in *St. Michall in bosco*,<sup>2</sup> built on a steepe hill, on the Edge of the Citty: & is for its fabric, Celars, pleasant shade, & groves, Cellars, dormitory & prospect one of the most delicious retirements that in my whole life I ever saw: Art & nature contending whither shall excede, so as 'till now I never envied the life of a Frier, who here live so sweetely as nothing can be more desird: The whole Towne, & Country to a vast extent is under command of their eye, almost as far as Venice itselve and the sea:<sup>3</sup> There are in this Convent many rare Paintings of *Guido Rheni*,<sup>4</sup> above all the little Cloister of 8 faces painted by *Carrachio* in *fresco*:<sup>5</sup> But the Carvings in Wood of the *Sacristie* is stupendious; here is admirable inlay'd work about the Chapell that even emulates the best of paintings the Work is don so delicatly & tender:<sup>6</sup> The paintings of *St. Saviour*<sup>7</sup> are of *Carrachio* & *Leonardo*, & excelent

<sup>1</sup> 'Lapis illuminabilis' was Montalbani's name for heavy-spar, a natural sulphide of barium which becomes phosphorescent when calcined; it was generally called Bologna stone. It was first discovered near Bologna in 1602; Montalbani published on it *De illuminabili lapide Bononiensi epistola*, 1634 (not seen): see C. Galvani, *Della pietra fosforica bolognese*, 1780, and the encyclopaedias. For Evelyn's interest in phosphorescence see pp. 397-8 above and note there; he refers to the present visit below, 4 Aug. 1681.

<sup>2</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 116-17, Monconys, ii. 430, and Lassels, i. 145-6, but expanded. S. Michele in Bosco. The church remains much as it was when Evelyn saw it; the convent is now an ortho-

paedic institute.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lassels; but the notice is mainly original. The view scarcely extends to Venice; for it see Schott, 1643, pt. i, f. 84 v.

<sup>4</sup> The name from Lassels, as one of the painters of the octagonal court. There were no original works by Guido in the church.

<sup>5</sup> From Monconys. The frescoes are by Lodovico Carracci (1555-1619) and his pupils, including Guido: Zanotti, pp. 350-5. They are very badly preserved.

<sup>6</sup> From Monconys. Some of the woodwork is still preserved here, the remainder in S. Petronio: Ricci, *Guida*, pp. 164-5.

<sup>7</sup> 'L'Eglise de Saint Salvador où il y a une belle Assomption de *Carrache*, & un autre de *Geronimo del Carpio* d'une Vierge, maniere de



things of *Raphael* which we could not see: but in the Church of *St. John*<sup>1</sup> there is an incomparable piece of *St. Cicilia* done by *Raphael*: As<sup>a</sup> to other Paintings there is in the Church of *St. Gregorio* an excellent picture of a Bishop giving the habit of *St. Bernard* to a Soldier arm'd with severall other figures in the piece, the work of *Guerchino*:<sup>b2</sup> Indeede this City is full of rare Pieces, especialy of *Guido*, *Domenico*, and a Virgin nam'd *Isabell Sirani* now living, who has painted many excellent Pieces, & imitates *Guido* so well, that many skillfull<sup>c</sup> Artists have ben deceiv'd:<sup>3</sup> At the Mendicanti are the Miracles of *St. Eloy* by *Rheni* after the manner of *Caravaggio*, but better:<sup>4</sup> & here they shew'd us that famous piece of *Hanibal Carrach*,<sup>d</sup> *Christs* calling *St. Mathew*:<sup>5</sup> The Marques *Magniani* has the whole freeze of his Hall painted in fresco by the same hand:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *In*.      <sup>b</sup> Followed by & deleted.      <sup>c</sup> Followed by *workmen* deleted.      <sup>d</sup> Comma supplied.

*Leonard*'; in the library of the convent some frescoes 'sur le dessein de *Raphaël*': Monconys, ii. 430. *S. Salvatore*. The Assumption is by *Agostino Carracci* (1557-1602) and is now in the Pinacoteca; the Madonna, by *Girolamo da Carpi*, is still preserved in the church; the frescoes in the library, now part of the Direzione territoriale del Genio, were by *Bagnacavallo* (*B. Ramenghi*) and *Biagio delle Lame*: Ricci, *Guida*, pp. 137-8.

<sup>1</sup> From Monconys, ii. 430. *S. Giovanni in Monte*. The picture is now in the Pinacoteca.

<sup>2</sup> From Monconys, ii. 485-6. The picture represents *St. William* assuming the monastic habit; the saint, whose identity is uncertain, was claimed by the Augustinian Hermits as a member of their order. For the significance of the picture see *E. Mâle, L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, 1932, pp. 460-2. It is now in the Pinacoteca.

<sup>3</sup> 'Il y a une fille à Boulogne nommée *Elisabet Sirani* qui imite

fort excellemment la maniere du Guide': Monconys, ii. 485. The notice belongs to 1664; as *Elisabetta Sirani* was born in 1638 (she died in 1665), *Evelyn's* repetition of it under 1645 is valueless. This page in Monconys contains references to several pictures by *Guido* and by *Domenichino*.

<sup>4</sup> Carelessly derived from Monconys, ii. 430-1. The church, *S. Maria della Pietà*, contained two pictures by *Guido*, a *Pietà* now in the Pinacoteca and another work; and three pictures relating to *St. Éloi* (*Eligius*, *Alò*), by *Giacomo Cavedoni*, 'que j'eusse pris pour le *Carrache*'. Two are still in the church, the third in the Pinacoteca.

<sup>5</sup> From Monconys, ii. 431. The picture is by *Lodovico Carracci* and is now in the Pinacoteca.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 486. Now the *Palazzo Magnani-Salem*; the three Carracci all participated in the frescoes, which are still preserved: *G. Rouchès, La Peinture bolonaise à la fin du xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1913, pp. 127-9.

Many of the Religious men here nourish those Lap-dogs<sup>1</sup> had so in delicijs<sup>2</sup> by the Ladies, which they sell, they are a pigmie sort of Spaniels, whose noses they breake whe(n) puppies, which in my opinion deforms them: At the end of the turning in one of the Wings of the Dormitorie of *St. Michael* I found a paper pasted neere the Window, containing the dimensions of most of the famous churches in Italy, compar'd with their Toures, & the length of this gallerie, a copy whereof I tooke.<sup>3</sup>

	Braccia	Piedi di Bologna	Canas di Roma
St. Pietro di Roma longo .	284	473	84
Cuppola del muro Alta . . .	210	350	60
Torre d'Asinello Alto . . .	208 $\frac{1}{2}$	348	59 (palmi): <sup>a</sup> 6
Dormitorio de St. Mich: a Bologni (Longo) <sup>b</sup> . .	254	423	72 $\frac{1}{2}$

From hence being brought to a kingdome or subterranean territorie of Cellars, the Courteous Friars made us tast of variety of incomparable Wine & so we departed to our Inn:<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> MS. *pymi*:      <sup>b</sup> MS. *Lango*.

<sup>c</sup> In MS. this sentence is written in the margin beside the table.

<sup>1</sup> These dogs, the smallest of which could be carried in a lady's muff, were very fashionable about the middle of the seventeenth century: Locatelli, *Voyage de France*, pp. 7-11, with Vautier's notes. They seem generally to have been bred by women: *ibid.*, p. 315. They cost up to at least 150 *scudi*, about £40 in English money of the period: Gualdo Priorato, *Relazioni delle città di Bologna, &c.*, [i]. 86. They are also mentioned by Lassels: i. 152.

<sup>2</sup> The phrase occurs again in *Acetaria*, p. 73 (*Misc. writings*, p. 757).

<sup>3</sup> A *braccio* (plural *braccia*) of Bologna was equal to 0.640 m. or 2 ft. 1.2 in.; a *piede di Bologna*, 0.38 m. or 1 ft. 3 in.; a *canna* of Rome of 10 *palmi*, 2.234 m. or 7 ft. 4 in. The Torre Asinelli (above, p. 420) is made too high by more than a third; the other measurements are fairly near correct.

This Citty is famous also for *Salsicci*,<sup>1</sup> & sell a World of Parmegiano Cheeze, with Botargo, Caviare &c:<sup>2</sup> which makes some of their shops perfume the streetes with no agreable smell: here we furnish'd ourselves with Wash-balls,<sup>3</sup> the best being made here, and a considerable commodity: This place has likewise ben famous for *Lutes*,<sup>4</sup> made by the old Masters *Mollen*,<sup>5</sup> *Hans Frey*,<sup>6</sup> *Nic: Sconvelt*,<sup>7</sup> which were of extraordinary price, & were most of them German Workmen. I observd the drawing Cattel about this Country (which is very rich & fertile, especially of Pasturage) are cover'd with *housses*<sup>8</sup> of linnen freing'd at the bottome, that dangle about them, & preserve them from the flyes: which in summer are very troublesome to them.

From this pleasant Citty we went now towards *Ferrara*, carrying with us a *Bulletino* or Bill or Certificat of Sanità (costomarie in all these jealous parts of *Italy*, especially the state of *Venice*)<sup>9</sup> & so put our selves in a boate that was tawd with horses, & often interrupted by the sluces<sup>10</sup> (inventions

---

\* Followed by *in* deleted.

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Those famous Saltsages . . . the which are transported thence, not onely into other places of *Italy*, but also into diverse parts of *Europe*, as a rare and costly dish': Raymond, p. 182. '*Salsiccie*' in Lassels, i. 152.

<sup>2</sup> This statement is questionable. Botargo is a relish made from the roe of mullet or tunny.

<sup>3</sup> Also mentioned by Lassels, i. 152.

<sup>4</sup> This passage may be due to Evelyn's general knowledge or may be derived from some untraced source. Evelyn is giving a general notice, similar to those closing the accounts of Rome and Florence.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably Laux Maler, said to have been working c. 1523: *Times Lit. Supp.*, 1925, p. 857. Thomas Mace considered him the best of all lute-makers: *Musick's Monument*, 1676, p. 48.

<sup>6</sup> A theorbo by him, dated

Bologna, 1597, is preserved in the Liceo Comunale di Musica (Museo Civico) at Bologna: C. Engel, *Descriptive catalogue of the musical instruments in the South Kensington Museum*, 2nd ed., 1874, p. 377.

<sup>7</sup> Lutes by him are mentioned in 1617 by Sir Henry Wotton: *Life and Letters*, ed. L. Pearsall Smith, 1907, ii. 119.

<sup>8</sup> Housings; the usual form was 'houses'.

<sup>9</sup> 'Leaving *Bolonia* for our more free entrance into the State of *Venice*, wee tooke a Bill of Health': Raymond, p. 182. For these certificates see above, p. 167. Evelyn follows Raymond for this part of the journey. The first part of it was by canal.

<sup>10</sup> 'We went through about nine *Sustegne*, Machines not much unlike our Sluses, to keep up and let down the water for the turning of all

there to raise the Water for the use of mills, & to fill the artific(i)al chanells) at every of which we stayed till passage was made: Here we went by the Castle *Bentivoglio*,<sup>1</sup> & about night ariv'd at an ougly Inn calld *Mal Albergo* agreeable to its name,<sup>2</sup> whence after we had supp'd, we Embarkd, & passe that night through the Fenns, where we were so pester'd with those flying *Glow-wormes* cald *Luccioli*,<sup>3</sup> that one who had never heard of them, would thinke the Country full of sparks of fire, in so much as beating some of them downe & applying them to a book, I could reade in the darke, by the light they afforded; quitting now our Boate, we took Coach,<sup>4</sup> & by morning, got to *Ferrara*, where before we were admitted entrance, our Gunns & Armes were taken from us, of Costome,<sup>5</sup> the lock being taken of before, as we were advis'd: The Citty is situated in a low marshy Country, & therefore well fortified, perhaps by few excelld for the workes:<sup>6</sup> The houses & streetes have nothing of beauty,<sup>7</sup> excepting the Palace,<sup>8</sup> & Church of st. Benedict,<sup>9</sup> where the famous *Ariosto* lies buried:<sup>10</sup> & some good Statues there are: The *Palazzo Del Diamante*,<sup>11</sup> *Citadel*,<sup>12</sup> Church of st. *Dominico*:<sup>13</sup> The Market place, which

sorts of Milles, and the passage of Boates': *ibid.*, p. 183. Correctly *sostegni*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* It is situated on the bank of the canal.

<sup>2</sup> '*Mal Albergo*, an infamous Inne, both in name and in deed': *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Correctly *luciole*. The notice is perhaps inspired by the notice in Lassels, ii. 356–7, but is mainly original.

<sup>4</sup> Raymond appears to have made the whole journey by water: p. 183.

<sup>5</sup> So Monconys, ii. [427]; cf. Evelyn at Avignon, above, p. 160.

Evelyn's notice of Ferrara is based mainly on Pflaumern, pp. 95–105, and Raymond, pp. 183–5. Lassels, ii. 357–61. For the town see A. Frizzi, *Mem. per la storia di Ferrara*, 2nd ed., 5 vols., 1847–8; E. Noyes, *Story of Ferrara* ('Mediaeval Towns'), 1904. It

belonged to the States of the Church from 1598 to 1796 and from 1815 to 1859; it was the most important town in this part of the papal territory.

<sup>6</sup> From Raymond, p. 184, or Pflaumern, p. 95; but the description of the country is original.

<sup>7</sup> So Monconys, ii. 427.

<sup>8</sup> The Palazzo ducale, now Palazzo municipale.

<sup>9</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 100–1.

<sup>10</sup> His tomb and remains were transferred to the Biblioteca Comunale in 1801: A. Frizzi, *Diario*, ed. Laderchi, 1857, pp. 217–21.

<sup>11</sup> So Raymond, p. 184. The Palazzo dei Diamanti.

<sup>12</sup> Probably from Pflaumern, p. 96. The Castello is intended, not the new papal citadel.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 98–100.

is indeede very spacious, having in its center the Figure of *Nicholao Olaō* (once Duke of Ferrara) in Coper, on horse back:<sup>1</sup> Tis in a<sup>a</sup> word<sup>a</sup> a durty Towne, & though the Streetes be large, they remaine illpav'd:<sup>2</sup> Yet it is an University,<sup>3</sup> & now belongs to the Pope: One thing I must not forget, that though there be not many fine houses in the Citty, yet the Inn where we lodg'd was a very noble Palace bear(in)g an *Angel* for its signe:<sup>4</sup> We parted from hence about 3 in the after noone, & went some of our way on the Chanell, & then Imbark'd upon the *Po*, or *Padus*, by the Poets call'd *Eridanus*, where they faine *Phaeton* to have falln, after his rash attempt, & *Io*: metamorphosd into a Cow:<sup>5</sup> There was in our Company, among others, a *Polonian* Bishop, who was exceedingly civill to me in this passage, & afterwards did me many kindnesses at *Venice*. We<sup>b</sup> supp'd this night at a place call'd *Corbua*, neere the ruines of the antient Citty *Adria*, which gives name to the *Gulph* or *Sea*:<sup>6</sup> After 3 miles we Imbarkd in a stout Vessell (having made 30 on the *Po*) & thro(ugh) an artificial Chanell very strait, entred the *Adice*,<sup>7</sup> which carried us by break of day into the Adriatic, & so sailing prosperously by

<sup>a-a</sup> Substituted for *fine*.    <sup>b</sup> Followed by *lay* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 103-4. The statue represented Niccolò III d'Este, marquis of Ferrara from 1393 to 1441; it was erected in 1451, moved to the position where Evelyn saw it, outside the ducal palace, in 1473, and destroyed in 1796: Frizzi, *Mem.* iv. 8-9, 93; *Diario*, as above, p. 45. In copying the name Evelyn has repeated the latter part of it as if it were a second name.

<sup>2</sup> 'Les ruës en sont larges'; the notice of the paving original.

<sup>3</sup> Pflaumern, pp. 104-5.

<sup>4</sup> Raymond and Monconys also stayed in this inn.

<sup>5</sup> From Raymond, p. 185; Phaethon added from Pflaumern, p. 91. Phaethon was closely associated with the Eridanus, which, originally mythological, was in antiquity generally identified with

the *Po*. Raymond appears to have no authority for associating *Io* with Eridanus or *Po*. Evelyn refers to this district, again mentioning Phaethon, when describing the black poplar: *Sylva*, 1664, p. 37.

In 1596 there was a bark on a weekly service between Venice and Ferrara: Moryson, i. 90. The service was twice a week by 1684: Miselli, *Il Burattino veridico*, p. 185.

<sup>6</sup> From Raymond, pp. 185-6. *Corbua* is Raymond's error for *Corbola*; it appears in L. Alberti as *Corbula*: f. 344 v. *Adria* (the best form of the classical name is *Atria*) was a port until the Christian era, when, as a result of the receding of the sea, it sank into obscurity.

<sup>7</sup> So Raymond, p. 186. The *Adige*.

*Chioza*<sup>1</sup> (a Town upon an Iland in this sea) & *Palestina*,<sup>2</sup> another; we came over against *Malamocco*<sup>3</sup> (the chiefe port, & ankerage<sup>a</sup> where our English Merchant men lie, that<sup>b</sup> trade to Venice) where we arived about 7 at night, after we had stayed at the least two houres for our Permission to land, our Bill of Sanità being deliver'd according to costome: so soone as we came on shore we were conducted to the Dogana,<sup>4</sup> where our Portmanteaus were visited, & so got to our lodging, which was at honest *Signor Paulo Rhodomants* at the *Aquila Nera*<sup>c</sup> neere the Rialto, & one of the best quarters of the Towne. This journey from *Rome* to *Venice*, cost me 7: *Pistoles* & 13 *Julios*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *whither* deleted.    <sup>b</sup> Followed by *are* deleted.    <sup>c</sup> In margin opposite this word *negra*, perhaps written by Evelyn.

<sup>1</sup> So Raymond; the name in this form in Schott, 1643, pt. i, f. 115. Chioggia.

<sup>2</sup> So Raymond. Pellestrina. It lies on the bank separating the lagoon from the Adriatic.

<sup>3</sup> Not named by Raymond. It lies to the north of Pellestrina, on the same bank. The English ships riding here are mentioned by the younger Nicholas Stone: Walpole Soc. vii. 181; and by Skippon: p. 503. Raymond was also obliged to wait at the port for 'a ticket of licence' to go ashore: pp. 186-7.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably the Dogana del Mare, on the site of the existing building.

<sup>5</sup> Richard Symonds spent five days at 'S<sup>t</sup>. Paolo Rodomontes' in June 1651; the cost was eight *lire* a day: Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. D. 121, p. 150. Eight Venetian *lire* were worth about 4s. 9d. at this time.

<sup>6</sup> The pistole, here a Spanish coin, was worth approximately 30 *giuli* or 16s. in English money of the period: Nicholas Stone the younger (1638), Walpole Soc. vii. 189, 190. The present sum was equivalent to

about £5. 19s.

For his account of Venice Evelyn used Pflaumern, pp. 8-73, Raymond, pp. 187-204, Monconys, ii. 412-26, and probably Lassels, ii. 363-426; it contains a fair amount of original matter.

The most important of the older works on Venice is Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia citta nobilissima*, 1581; a version largely rewritten by G. Stringa appeared in 1604; a reprint of the original text, with additions by G. Martinioni, in 1663 (references here to Sansovino are to the edition of 1581; to Martinioni, to his additions in the 1663 edition). This Sansovino was a son of Jacopo, the architect and sculptor. Of the guide-books the most useful is G. Albrizzi, *Forestiere illuminato*, 1740. The best of the travellers' accounts is that by Thomas Coryat, in *Coryats crudities*, 1611, pp. 158-291 (reprint, 1905; all references here are to the original pagination). The social life is described by A. Toussaint de Limojon, sieur de Saint-Didier, *La ville et la republique de Venise*, 1680 (references here are to the 3rd ed., also 1680,

*June.* The next morning finding my-selfe extreamly weary, & beaten with my Journey, I went to one of their *Bagnias*, which are made, & treate after the Eastern manner, washing one with hot & cold water, with oyles, rubbing with a kind of Strigil, which a naked youth puts on his hand like a glove of seales Skin, or what ever it be, fetching off a world of dirt, & stretching out on(e)s limbs, then claps (on) a depilatorie made of a drug or earth they call *Resina*,<sup>1</sup> that comes out of Turkey, which takes off all the haire of the body, as resin dos a piggs.<sup>2</sup> I think there is orpiment & lime in it, for

which claims to give the author's corrections); the description is too highly coloured.

The most important modern work is P. Molmenti, *La storia di Venezia nella vita privata*, 4th ed., 1905-8; English trans., by H. F. Brown, 1906-8. The translation omits many of the illustrations; all references here are to the Italian version. The significance of the constitution of Venice among political theorists is set out in Z. S. Fink, *The classical republicans*, 1945, especially pp. 28-51.

Graphic art in Venice was of little importance in the middle of the seventeenth century; it is almost impossible to find representations of street life or views or even portraits at this time, so that there is no pictorial record of the changes in costume (see below, pp. 446-9). There are a number of view-plans of the city, all apparently deriving from a large one published in 1500 and attributed to Jacopo de Barbari. The first geometrical plan appears to be that published by V. Coronelli, in his *Viaggi*, 1697, vol. i. The most useful collection of views is that of L. Carlevariis, *Le fabriche, e vedute di Venetia*, n.d. [1703] (some reproductions in F. Mauroner, *Luca Carlevarijs*, 1945). Rather earlier costumes and popular scenes are given by G. Franco, *Habiti d'Huo-*

*mini et Donne venetiane*, 2 pts., n.d. [1610-14] (copies vary; modern facsimile, 1876).

The Venetian constitution, the beauty and the strangeness of the city, and the gaiety and brilliance of its life, made Venice one of the most attractive cities of the century. It no longer possessed the political or commercial importance which it had possessed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; it was participating in the general stagnation of Italian civilization; but it was still powerful enough to wage war with the Turks from the present year until 1669. The population in 1642 is given as 120,396: Molmenti, iii. 52-3 n.

<sup>1</sup> A slip for rusma. Sandys mentions a depilatory composed 'of Rusma (a minerall of *Cyprus*) and unsleakt lime': p. 69. His use of the term is wrong; rusma is the compound. It is composed of lime and orpiment; the latter substance is arsenic trisulphide (yellow arsenic) and is poisonous; it is mined near Julamerk in Asiatic Turkey: *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., arts. Orpiment, Realgar. For depilatories, including rusma, see G. W. S. Piesse, *Art of perfumery*, 5th ed., 1891, pp. 426-7; with additional notes in French trans., 1865, pp. 379-81.

<sup>2</sup> There is obviously some mistake here: resin is not a depilatory.

if it lie on to long it burns the flesh: The curiosity<sup>1</sup> of this Bath,<sup>a</sup> did so open my pores that it cost me one of the greatest Colds & rheumes that ever I had in my whole life, by reason of my comming out<sup>b</sup> without that caution necessary of keeping my selfe Warme for some time after: For I immediately began to visite the famous Places of the Citty And<sup>c</sup> Travellers, do nothing else but run up & downe to see sights, that come into *Italy*: And this Citty, for being one of the most miraculously plac'd of any in the whole World, built on so many hundred Ilands, in the very sea, and at good distance from the Continent, deser(v)'d our admiration: It has neither fresh, nor any other but salt Water, save what is reserved in Cistrens, of the raine, & such as is daily brought them from *Terra firma* in boates:<sup>2</sup> Yet it wa(nt)s nor fresh water, nor abundance of all sorts of excellent Provisions, very cheape. 'Tis reported that when the *Hunns* overran all *Italy*, some meane fishermen & others left the Maine land, & fled to these despicable & muddy Ilands for Shelter, where in processe of time, & by Industry, it is growne to the greatnesse of one of the most considerable states in the World, consider'd as a *Republique* & having now subsisted longer, than any of the foure antient Monarchies, & flourishing in greate State, welth & glory by their Conquests of greate Territories in Italy, Dacia, Greece, Candy, Rhodes, Slavonia, & at present challenging the Empire of all the Adriatique Sea,<sup>3</sup> which they yearly espouse, by casting a gold ring into

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *gave dis-* deleted.

<sup>b</sup> Followed by *in the* deleted.

<sup>c</sup> Word altered in MS.

<sup>1</sup> There is no exact parallel for this use of the word in *O.E.D.*; it means here careful elaborateness.

<sup>2</sup> For some cisterns see Pflaumern, p. 24; for the boats, p. 74; for the latter see also Montaigne, p. 152. There are no springs of fresh water in the city.

<sup>3</sup> This passage appears to be based on Raymond, pp. 187-9, and Pflaumern, pp. 8-10. The conventional date for the foundation

of Venice was 421. The four ancient monarchies, an original addition of Evelyn's, were the Babylonian, A.M. 1771-3077; the Persian, A.M. 3417-3619; the Greek (Macedonian), A.M. 3619 to 3626 or 3782; and the Roman, A.M. 3902-A.D. 337: the dates from H. Isaacson, *Saturni Ephemerides*, 1633, To the Reader; this writer equates A.M. 3950 with A.D. 1; for alternative chronological tables current at this time see



it, with greate pomp & ceremony upon Ascention day: the desire of seing this, being one of the reasons, that hastned us from Rome:<sup>1</sup> First the *Dodge* or Duke (having<sup>a</sup> heard Masse) in his robes of State (which are very particular & after the Eastern) together with the Senat in their gownes, Imbarkd in their gloriously painted, carved & gilded *Bucintoro*, invirond & follow'd by innumerable Gallys, Gundolas, & boates filled with Spectators, some dressed in Masqu(e)rade, Trumpets, musique, & Canons, filling the whole aire with din: Thus having rowed out about a league into the Gulph, the Duke at the prow casts into the Sea a Gold ring, & Cup, at which a loud acclamation is Echod by the greate Guns of the Arsenale, and at the *Liddo*:<sup>2</sup> & so we returnd: Two days after taking a *Gundola* which are their Water Coaches, (for land ones many old men in this Citty never saw any, or rarely a horse) we rowed up & downe the Channells, which are as our Streetes; These *Vessells* are built very long & narrow, having necks and tailes of steele, somewhat spreading at the beake like a fishes taile, & kept so exceedingly polish'd as gives a wonderfull lustre: some are adornd with carving, others lined with Velvet, commonly black, with Curtains<sup>b</sup> & tassals, & the seates like Couches to lie stretch'd on, while he

<sup>a</sup> Opening bracket supplied; this parenthesis is interlined in MS.      <sup>b</sup> Or *Curtaine*.

S. Calvisius, *Chronologia*, 1605, and B. Keckermann, *De natura et proprietatibus historiae*, 1610. Thuanus expresses a point of view fairly common at this time:

Venetiae non nisi cum Rerum naturâ,  
Et Mundi machinâ periturâ.

Quoted in J. Howell, *S.P.Q.V.: a survey of the signorie of Venice*, 1651, p. 3. Dacia in the list of territories is a mistake for Dalmatia: see Pflaumern. For the present condition of Venice see above, p. 430 n.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 401. Ascension Day fell this year on 25 May.

<sup>2</sup> This description appears to be original and is in part inaccurate. For the *Bucintoro* see below, p. 458.

The presence of masqueraders is questionable; the ceremony took place at the mouth of the Porto di Lido (S. Niccolò), apparently about half a mile out to sea; the doge stood on the stern of the *Bucintoro*; he threw into the sea only the ring, but the patriarch had previously poured a large vesselful of holy water into the sea at the same point; the doge heard mass at S. Niccolò del Lido after the completion of the ceremony: G. Renier Michiel, *Origine delle feste veneziane*, ed. 1829, i. 116-41; Lassels, ii. 412-14; Grangier de Liverdis, pp. 856-8; Molmenti, iii. 170-3. The ceremony was last performed in 1796.

who rowes, stands on the very edge of the boate, upright, and with one Oare (bending forward as if they would precipitate into the Sea) rowes, & turnes, with incredible dexterity, thus passing from Channell to Chanell, & landing his fare or patron, at what house he pleases: The beakes of these vessells are not unlike the Roman antient Rostrums:<sup>1</sup> The first thing I went to see<sup>a</sup> of publique building was the *Rialto*,<sup>2</sup> celebrated for passing over the *grand Canale* with one onely Arch, so large as to admitt a Gally to row thro(ugh) it, built of good Marble, & having on it, besides many pretty shops, three stately & ample passages for people, without any incumbrance, the 2 outmost nobly balustr'd with the same stone, a piece of Architecture to be admir'd. It was Evening & the Canale (which is their Hide-park, where the Noblesse go to take the aire) was full of Ladys & Gent; & there are many times very da(n)gerous stops by reason of the multitude of Gudalos, ready to sink one another, & indeede they affect to leane them so (on)<sup>b</sup> one side, that one who is not accostom'd to it, would be afraid of over setting: Here they were singing, playing on harpsicords, & other musick & serenading their Mistriss's: In another place, racing, & other *passe tempi* on the Water, it being now exceeding hot:<sup>3</sup> I went next day to their Exchange,<sup>4</sup> a place

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *was* deleted.      <sup>b</sup> MS. *one*.

<sup>1</sup> With this account compare Coryat, pp. 170-1; 'water-coaches' is perhaps taken from Raymond's 'Seacoaches': p. 198. For the history of the gondola see Molmenti, ii. 83-4; iii. 357-60. The two *ferri*, one at either end and very clumsy in design, are shown clearly in Franco's engravings; in those of Carlevaris there is only the one *ferro* at the prow, very similar to that now in use.

<sup>2</sup> Probably from Raymond, p. 197, but elaborated by Evelyn; see also Pflaumern, p. 11, and Lassels, ii. 367. The twenty-four shops are arranged in two rows, with a wide passage between them and narrower

passages between the outer side of either row and the balustrades.

<sup>3</sup> 'It is a most satisfactory sight to behold the *Corso* in this Channell [i.e. the Grand Canal, at the Rialto], every Feast towards the Evening, to see the *Venetian* Ladies habited like Nymphs, and the *Gondola's* like so many Daulphines running a race': Raymond, pp. 197-8. On the evening of Ascension Day there were boat-races in the principal canal of Murano: Lassels, ii. 414-15. I cannot trace any races during the rest of the Ascension-tide fair (the *fiera della Sensa*).

<sup>4</sup> Pflaumern, p. 12. The Rialto, the area from which the bridge derives

like ours, frequented by Merchants, but nothing so magnificent; from thence my Guide had me to the *Fondigo di Todeschi*<sup>1</sup> which is their magazine, & here the Merchants (as in a Coledge) having their lodging and diet many of them, especially Germons; the outside of this stately fabric is painted by *Geo: Castel Franco*,<sup>2</sup> & *Titian* himselfe: hence I pass'd through the *Merceria*,<sup>3</sup> which<sup>a</sup> I take to be the most delicious streete in the World for the sweetnesse of it, being all the way on both sides, continually tapissry'd as it were, with Cloth of Gold, rich Damasks & other silks, which the shops expose & hang before their houses from the first floore, & with that variety, that for neere halfe the yeare, which I spent chiefly in this citty, I hardly remember to have seene the same piece twice exposd, to this add the perfumers & Apothecaries shops, and the innumerable cages of Nightingals, which they keepe, that entertaines you with their melody from shop to shop, so as shutting your Eyes, you would imagine your selfe in the Country, when indeede you are in the middle of the Sea: besides there being neither rattling of Coaches nor trampling of horses, tis almost as silent as the field: This streete, pav'd with brick, and exceedingly cleane, brought us through an arch into famous *Piazza St. Marco*, over this Porch,<sup>4</sup> stands that admirable Clock, celebrated next to that of *Strasburg*,<sup>5</sup> for its many

<sup>a</sup> Preceded by opening bracket in MS.; comma substituted.

its name: Sansovino, ff. 133 v.-135. Now the Campo S. Giacomo di Rialto. Coryat compares one of the buildings about the square (the Palazzo dei Camerlenghi) to the Royal Exchange: p. 169.

<sup>1</sup> From Pfaumern, pp. 11-12. Fóndaco dei Tedeschi. It is now the post office; the frescoes have almost completely disappeared. For the history of the building see H. Simonsfeld, *Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, 1887, ii. 107-14.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Giorgione, who came from Castelfranco.

<sup>3</sup> Pfaumern, p. 12. Coryat also

notes the brick paving of the street: p. 186; but the latter was common in Venice: pp. 169-70. Evelyn first saw Venice at the time of the fair.

<sup>4</sup> The Torre dell' Orologio. Pfaumern, p. 13; Sansovino, f. 117; for its history see N. Erizzo, *Relazione storico-critica della Torre dell' Orologio di S. Marco in Venezia*, 1860. The wings of the tower were altered in 1752-8.

<sup>5</sup> It is described and illustrated, as it then was, by Coryat, pp. 452-7.

movements, amongst which, about 12 & 6, which is their hour of *Ave Maria*, when all the towne are on their knees, comes forth the 3 Kings led by a Starr, & passing by the Imoge of Christ in his Mothers armes, do their reverence, & enter into the Clock by another doore: at the top of this turret another Automat strikes the quarters;<sup>1</sup> & this I mention for a storie affirmd to me by an honest merchant, That walking on(e) day in the Piazza he saw the fellow who kept the Clock, struck with this hammer so forcably, as he was<sup>a</sup> stooping his head neere<sup>b</sup> the bell to mend something amisse, at the instant of striking, that being stunn'd, he reel'd over the battlements, & brake his neck.<sup>2</sup> The buildings about this *Piazza*<sup>3</sup> are all Arched, on Pillars, within pav'd with white & black polish'd Marble,<sup>4</sup> even to the Shops, the rest of the fabric as stately as any in Europ, being not onely

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *holdin-* deleted.

<sup>b</sup> Followed by *it* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> The mechanism was reconstructed in 1757: Erizzo, pp. 94-106; Molmenti, iii. 169 (illustration).

<sup>2</sup> This story is also given by Coryat, who declares that the accident occurred on 25 July 1608, o.s.: p. 187. It is apparently not given by Venetian writers.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn's present account of the Piazza and Piazzetta is badly put together from Pflaumern, pp. 13, 25, 32-3, and Monconys, ii. 413-14. In Evelyn's time the squares were very much as they are to-day (the Campanile and the Loggetta were reconstructed in 1905-12), except for the presence of wooden shops surrounding the three free sides of the Campanile, removed in 1873: G. Gattinoni, *Il Campanile di San Marco*, [1910], pp. 319-23; the pavement, which was of brick until 1722-35, when the present pavement was laid down: G. Tassini, *Curiosità veneziane*, 4th ed., n.d. [c. 1897], p. 426; and the west end of the Piazza. The latter

consisted of the church of S. Geminiano (not S. Jacomo), designed, as Pflaumern states, by Jacopo Sansovino; to its north a block continuing the design of the north side of the Piazza; to its south a block continuing that of the lower two stories of the south side; the church was demolished and the existing buildings were constructed or completed in 1807-14: E. A. Cigogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, 1824-53, iv. 6-7. Besides S. Geminiano, Sansovino designed the Loggetta and the Library of St. Mark; the design of the latter, with a third story added to it, was continued by Vincenzo Scamozzi (1552-1616) along the south side of the Piazza. It is not clear how much Evelyn attributed to Sansovino; he names him later as architect of the Library (below, p. 445).

<sup>4</sup> No information is available about this.

marble,<sup>1</sup> but the architecture of the famous *Sansovini*, who lies buried in *St. Giacomo*<sup>2</sup> at the End of the *Piazza*: The battlements of this noble range of building is raild with stone, & thick set with excellent statues,<sup>3</sup> which add a wonderfull ornament; yet is one of the sides, much more Roman like than the other, I meane that which regards the Sea, & where the church is placd:<sup>4</sup> The other range<sup>5</sup> is plainly Gothic, & so we entred into *St. Marks Church*, before which stand two brasse pedestals exquisitely cast, & figur'd, which beare as many tall masts, painted red, on which upon greate festivals, they hang flags & streamers:<sup>6</sup> This famous Church<sup>7</sup> is also Gothic,<sup>8</sup> yet for the preciousnesse of the Materials, being of severall rich marbles, aboundanc of

<sup>1</sup> The buildings about the Piazza, except for *St. Mark's*, and the Library are built of Istrian limestone; Pflaumern, p. 13, and Coryat, pp. [173]-4, call it Istrian marble; Lassels simply marble: ii. 401.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn's mistake for *S. Geminiano*: see above; the notice from Pflaumern, p. 13. *Jacopo Sansovino's* remains, after removals in 1807 and 1820, were placed in the baptistry of *St. Mark's* in 1929: Cigogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, iv. 26; G. Lorenzetti, *Itin. sansoviniano a Venezia*, 1929, pp. 11, 13.

<sup>3</sup> This can refer only to the Library; Pflaumern mentions these statues: p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn is now describing the *Piazzetta*; the passage is taken from Monconys: 'nous voulusmes entrer dans un des bastiments qu(i) forment une autre place, avec le logis du Doge qui est à l'opposite, laquelle a encor l'Eglise de Saint Marc à une face, & la Mer à l'autre, c'estoit pour y voir la biblioteque': ii. 413-14.

<sup>5</sup> i.e. the Doges' Palace. The description, Gothic, is original.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 25, and perhaps Lassels, ii. 403; see also Raymond, p. 190; but all three writers give three flagstuffs, the

correct number. Sansovino, f. 105.

<sup>7</sup> The notice of the church and its treasury mainly from Pflaumern, pp. 13-25, with additions from Raymond, pp. 191-4, and some original matter. Apart from a few new mosaics and some restoration the church has changed very little since Evelyn's time. Sansovino, ff. 29 v.-41 v.; Stringa (see above, p. 429 n.), ff. 4 v.-86 v.; Coryat, pp. 206-16; Martinioni, pp. 106-8. The principal modern work is C. Boito and others, *La basilica di San Marco*, 1881-8, about 17 vols., mainly of photographs; the general text, 1888 (1888-93), in three parts, with continuous pagination (here cited as 'Boito', with pagereference); English translation, 1888-9; A. Pasini, *Il tesoro di San Marco*, 1886, is really a separate work, published *en suite* with Boito. For the mosaics, P. Saccardo, *Les mosaïques de Saint-Marc à Venise*, 1896 (originally published in Boito); O. Demus, *Die Mosaiken von San Marco in Venedig, 1100-1300*, 1935. See also A. Pasini, *Guide de la basilique St. Marc à Venise*, 1888. There are no seventeenth-century views of the interior.

<sup>8</sup> The use of the word here is original.

Porphyrie, serpentine &c: far exceeding any of *Rome*, St. *Peters* hardly excepted;<sup>1</sup> & first I much admired the splendid historie of our B: Saviour, composd all of *Mosaic* over the faciata,<sup>2</sup> below which, & over the chiefe Gate, are 4 horses cast in Coper, as big as the life, the same that formerly were transported from<sup>a</sup> *Rome* by *Constantine* to *Byzantium*, & thence by the *Venetians* hither:<sup>3</sup> Being come into the Church, you see nothing, & tread on nothing but is precious, The floore all inlayed with Achats, Lazulis, Calcedons, Jaspers, Porphyrie and other rich marbles, in admirable sort for the work,<sup>4</sup> the walls sumptuously incrusted, & presenting to the Imagination the Shapes of Men, birds, trees, houses, flowers & a thousand varieties:<sup>5</sup> The rooffe is of incomparable *Mosaic* also:<sup>6</sup> but what most admire is the new work of the Emblematic Tree at the other issue of the Church.<sup>7</sup> In the midst of this rich *Volto*, rises 5 *Cupolas*, the middle very large, and sustayn'd by 36 marble Columns, 8 of which are of

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *to*.

<sup>1</sup> Raymond also notes the 'precious materialls' and pillars 'of Serpentine and Porphyre': p. 191. For the progress of the incrustation of St. Peter's see above, pp. 255 n., 266 n.

<sup>2</sup> In the four lateral lunettes in the upper part of the façade; they date from 1617-18: Saccardo, pp. 217-18. The notice is original.

<sup>3</sup> Pflaumern, pp. 24-5; see also Raymond, p. 191. They were brought to Venice from Constantinople in 1204: Sansovino, ff. 31, 232 v., 233. Nothing certain is known of their origin: Boito, pp. 423-7.

<sup>4</sup> This exaggerated account of the pavement is probably based on Pflaumern, p. 14. Coryat describes it as 'made of sundry little pieces of Thasian, Ophiticall, and Laconicall marble in checker worke': p. 207. It is a mosaic, whose oldest parts date from the eleventh century.

<sup>5</sup> The incrustation of the lower part of the walls is formed of marble slabs so cut and arranged that the veins in the marble form symmetrical patterns. The black veins in a slab in the north transept (so Sansovino, f. 35) formed the figure of a man; Pflaumern describes this and then gives other examples of images formed by the natural markings in slabs of stone, also noting fossil shells, &c.: pp. 14-16. Evelyn appears to have misunderstood Pflaumern or to have confused this marble incrustation with the mosaics covering some of the higher parts of the walls or with the figures in mosaic in the floor; see Lassels, ii. 382-3.

<sup>6</sup> Pflaumern, pp. 16-17.

<sup>7</sup> Original notice. The Tree of Jesse at the end of the north transept, executed 1542-51, from a design by Giuseppe della Porta, called Salviati: Saccardo, p. 271.

precious Marbles:<sup>1</sup> Under these Cupola is the high Altar,<sup>2</sup> on which stands a Reliquarie of severall sorts of Jewels engraven with figures after the *Greeke* manner, & set together with plates of pure Gold:<sup>3</sup> The Altar is cover'd with a Canopy of *Ophit*, on which is Sculptur'd the storie of the Bible, & so on the Pillars (which are of Parian Marble) that support it.<sup>4</sup> Behind these are 4 other Columns of transparant, & true Oriental *Alabaster*, which was brought hither out of the ruines of Salomons Temple, as they report.<sup>5</sup> There are besides many Chapells, & notable Moniments of Illustrious Persons, Dukes, Cardinals &c as *Zeno, Jo: Soranzi &c*:<sup>6</sup> & there is a vast *Baptisterie* of Coper,<sup>7</sup> among other venerable Reliques a stone on which they say our B: Lord stood preaching to those of *Tyre & Sidon*,<sup>8</sup> & neere the doore, an Image of Christ, much ador'd, as esteeming it very sacred, for that a rude fellow striking it, they say, there gush'd out a torrent of blood:<sup>9</sup> In one of the Corners, lies the Body of St. *Isidore*

<sup>1</sup> The first part of this sentence is probably original, the rest from Pflaumern: 'Testudinem . . . sustentant xxxvi. columnæ marmoreæ, quas inter viii. nigerrimæ candidis maculis venustè discretæ': p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> It stands beneath the easternmost.

<sup>3</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 17; Evelyn wrongly inserts the word reliquary. The Pala d'Oro. Many of the precious stones appear to have been removed in 1797; they were replaced by modern ones in 1847: Pasini, *Tesoro*, pp. 141-53.

<sup>4</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 17. This ciborium is not of ophite (above, p. 181) but of *verde antico*: Boito, p. 416; and is not carved with historical reliefs.

<sup>5</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 17, but as from Solomon's palace; Pflaumern gives as his authority J. J. Boissard (*Romanae urbis topographia*, 1597-1602, i. 15). Sansovino gives no provenance for these columns, but states that some damaged serpentine

columns in the Atrio come from Solomon's temple: ff. 37, 32 v. Two of the four columns mentioned by Evelyn are of oriental alabaster or alabastrite: Boito, p. 395.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 17-18, but Evelyn wrongly inserts the word 'many'; the number of chapels and tombs is relatively small. Zeno is Giambattista Zeno, d. 1501, created cardinal 21 Nov. 1468; Soranzi is Giovanni Soranzo, doge from 1312 to 1328. Both tombs are in the Cappella Zeno, at the south-west corner of the building.

<sup>7</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 18. The font.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. A block of red Egyptian granite forming the table of the altar in the baptistery; according to Sansovino it was brought here in 1097: f. 34; it is now said to have been brought from Tyre in 1126: Boito, p. 402; Pasini, *Guide*, p. 222.

<sup>9</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 18. In the 'Capitello', by the north-eastern pier supporting the dome of the nave: Sansovino, f. 35 v.; Pasini, *Guide*, pp. 105-6.

brought hither 500 years since from the Iland *Chios*;<sup>1</sup> a little farther they shew the picture of *St. Dominic & Francis*, affirm'd to have ben made by the *Abbot Joachim*, many yeares before any of them were born:<sup>2</sup> Going out of the Church they shew'd us the stone where *Alexand: 3d* trod on the neck of the *Emp: Fred: Barbarossa*, pronouncing that of the *Psalme Super basiliscum &c.*<sup>3</sup>

The dores of the Church are of massie Coper;<sup>4</sup> The Pillars<sup>a</sup> employd in this building are neere 500, most of them *Porphyrie & Serpentine*, & brought chiefly from *Athens* & other parts of Greece, formerly in their power:<sup>5</sup> The 8 *Porphyrie Columns* at the front, that sustaine the horses are of immense bignesse & value:<sup>6</sup> At the Corner of the Church are inserted into the maine Wall, 4 figures as big as the naturall cut in *Porphyrie*, whom they say are the Images of 4 Brothers who

---

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *about* deleted.

---

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 18. In the chapel of S. Isidoro at the end of the north transept. St. Isidore the Martyr (Isidore of Chios), martyred under Decius; his remains were brought here in 1125: Sansovino, f. 35 v.; *Acta Sanctorum*, 15 May, pp. 443-50.

<sup>2</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 18. A mosaic in the south transept, over the door leading into the treasury: Saccardo, p. 256. The abbot is Joachim of Flora (Gioacchino da Fiore); he died in 1202, when both saints were living; according to one legend he saw their forms on the wall of St. Mark's when he was here in 1185: H. Bett, *Joachim of Flora*, 1931, pp. 28-9. He is reputed, equally fictitiously, to have designed some other mosaics in St. Mark's: Sansovino, f. 34. His writings, both genuine and spurious, were all printed in Venice during the sixteenth century: H. Grundmann, *Studien über Joachim von Floris*, 1927, pp. 193-8.

<sup>3</sup> Pflaumern mentions the slab, but refuses to repeat the legend, 'quoniam & fabula est, & lippis nota atque tonsoribus': p. 14. Evelyn perhaps took it from Coryat, who gives the wrong date, 1166: pp. 208-9; the story is also given by Schott, 1643, pt. i, f. 10. The meeting took place in 1177; cf. above, p. 297.

<sup>4</sup> Pflaumern, p. 23, the five 'portæ anteriores' of the west front. They are still preserved.

<sup>5</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 23-4; the materials inserted from Raymond, p. 191; 'formerly in their power' added by Evelyn. The Venetians held Athens from 1394 to 1402; they seized it again in 1466 but held it only for a few days or hours; they had held various places in the Morea from 1206 to 1540; the columns were brought from the Levant mainly before 1204.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 24, as about the main entrance of the church; they do not support the horses.



poysne'd one the other, by which meanes there Escheated to the Republique that vast Treasury of Reliques, belonging to the Church:<sup>1</sup> At the other Entrance, which looks towards the Sea, stands in a small Chapell that statue of our *Lady*, made (as they affirme) of the same stone or rock, out of which *Moses* brought Water to the Murruring *Israelites* at *Horeb*, or *Meriba*:<sup>2</sup> But when all is said, as to this Church, tis in my opinion much too dark, & dismal, & of heavy work:<sup>3</sup> The fabric, as is much of Venice, both for bu(i)ldings & other fashions & circumstances much after the Greekes, their next neighbours:<sup>4</sup>

The next day, by favour of the *French Ambassadors* (who went to see the Reliquarie, call'd here the *Tresoro de San Marco*,<sup>6</sup> & which very few even of Travellers are addmitted to see)<sup>7</sup> I had admittance: The rarities I most observ'd (which is a large Chamber full of Presses) were the 12 breast plates or pieces of pure Golden Armour studied with precious stones, & as many Crownes of Gold, which they told us were dedicated to St. *Mark*, by as many noble *Venetians* who had recovered

<sup>1</sup> Pflaumern, pp. 25–6, but simply as four merchants; they are described as brothers in Coryat, pp. [189]–91. From the latter it appears that the story was still only an oral tradition; Pflaumern gives no source for it; it does not occur in Sansovino, who says that the two groups were brought to Venice about 1291: f. 119.

<sup>2</sup> From Raymond, pp. 192–3. The monument, situated in the Cappella Zeno, consists of a relief of the Madonna and a Greek inscription, of which a Latin translation was added when the monument was set up here. Sansovino says that it was set up by Michael Palæologus to commemorate his rediscovery of Moses' well (Exodus xvii. 6, 7): f. 33. Actually it formed the terminal feature of an aqueduct constructed by him in Constantinople; in the inscription he is compared to

Moses: Pasini, *Guide*, p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> 'It is a little obscure within': Raymond, p. 192. Cf. Monconys, ii. 421.

<sup>4</sup> 'L'Architettura . . . è di maniera greca': Sansovino, f. 30 v. Pflaumern mentions the 'emblemata Græcanici operis' on the façade: p. 23; so Coryat: 'It is said that they imitate the Grecians in these Mosaical works': p. 211.

<sup>5</sup> Nicolas Bretel de Gremonville, 1608–48, ambassador in Venice 1645–7: Baron d'Esneval, *Les Bretel de Grémonville*, 1925, pp. 50–70.

<sup>6</sup> The notice of the treasury very closely follows Pflaumern, pp. 18–20. The best modern account is that by Pasini (see above, p. 436 n.; here cited as 'Pasini, *Tesoro*'). It already occupied its present quarters; it suffered a considerable loss in 1797.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Coryat, p. 215.

their Wives taken at Sea by the *Saracen*;<sup>1</sup> Many curious Vasas of Achat, & the Cap or Cornet of the Dukes of Venice, one of which had an extreame rich & glorious Rubie set on it, esteemed at 200 thousand Crownes;<sup>2</sup> There were shew'd two Unicorns hornes,<sup>3</sup> a world of Vasas & Dishes of Achat set thick with precious Stones, & vast pearles: Also divers heads of Saints, inchas'd in Gold: In another part of this Treasurie we were shewed by a Priest (who first vested himselfe in his sacerdotals, with the Stola about his neck) the *Evangelium* of *St. Mark* the *Venetians* Patron or Tutelarie, affirmed to be written by his owne hand,<sup>4</sup> & whose Body (transported many yeares since from Alexandria) they shew buried in this Church:<sup>5</sup> Also a small Ampulla or glasse of our B: Saviou(r)s blood, as they fancy:<sup>6</sup> A greate morcell of the real Crosse,<sup>7</sup> one of the nailes,<sup>8</sup> a Thorne,<sup>9</sup> a fragment of the Column to which our Lord was bound, when Scourged:<sup>10</sup> The Labbarum

<sup>1</sup> Badly rendered: 'XII. aurea pectoralia . . . coronæ aureæ totidem, quibus . . . solebant antiquitus exornari statis diebus feminae duodenæ, quas à prædonibus interceptas mariti vix multo labore in libertatem restituerunt: restituerunt tamen atque ex voto coronas istas D. Marco dedicarunt.' Pflaumern's authority is P. de Comines (*Mém.*, ed. B. de Mandrot, 1901-3, ii. 210). For the story see T. Okey, *Story of Venice* ('Mediaeval Towns'), 1905, pp. 28-9. All these pieces are lost.

<sup>2</sup> 'Tum pileus principis Reipublicæ qui inaugurando imponitur, auro, gemmis, uno præsertim maximo carbunculo insignis; CC. aureorum nummorum millibus æstimatur.' Now lost.

<sup>3</sup> Pflaumern writes three; but one, much shorter than the other two, was probably a rhinoceros's horn: see Pasini, *Tesoro*, p. 90. The other two are each about a metre long: *ibid.*, pp. 91-2. A third horn was acquired in 1685: *ibid.*, pp. 90-1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 81-3. In Latin, the

Vulgate text; fifth or sixth century.

<sup>5</sup> The alleged body was brought to Venice in 828. It was said to have been placed beneath the high altar of the present church in 1094: M. Sanuto in L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, vol. xxii, 1733, p. 534; and was generally believed to be there: Sansovino, f. 37; Pflaumern, p. 19. In 1811, however, it was rediscovered in the crypt: Pasini, *Guide*, pp. 240-1.

<sup>6</sup> The church possesses an ampulla said to contain blood that issued from Christ's side when He was crucified and another said to contain blood that issued from a crucifix when it was blasphemously injured: Pasini, *Tesoro*, pp. 24-6; cf. above, p. 438.

<sup>7</sup> The church possesses several fragments: *ibid.*, pp. 27-31.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>9</sup> The relic consists of two thorns: *ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31-2; cf. above, p. 246.

or Ensigne [Standard]<sup>a</sup> of victorious *Constantine*,<sup>1</sup> a piece of St. *Lukes* arme,<sup>2</sup> a rib of St. *Stephen*,<sup>3</sup> a finger of Mary Magdalene<sup>4</sup> & a world of Reliques I could not remember. [The *Religioni de li Servi*, have rare paintings of *P. Veroneze* especially the *Magdalen*.]<sup>b</sup><sup>5</sup>

From hence a French Gent: & myselfe got one to conduct us to the Courts of Justice, the Senate house, & Ducal Palace:<sup>6</sup>

The first Court, neere the Church, is almost quite built of several colourd & sorts of Marble, like chequer work, on the out side,<sup>7</sup> this is sustain'd with vast Pillars, not very Shapefull, but for their Capitels observable, & that of 33 there are none like one another.<sup>8</sup> Under the fabrick (is)<sup>c</sup> the Cloyster where merchants meete morning and Evening, as also the grave Senators & Gentlmen, to confer of State affaires, in their Gownes and Caps, like so many Philosophers, & 'tis a very noble & solemn spectacle:<sup>9</sup> Hence we pass'd to another

<sup>a</sup> Interlined above *Ensigne*; the two words bracketed together.

<sup>b</sup> Later insertion.    <sup>c</sup> MS. *in*.

<sup>1</sup> 'Crucem à Magno Constantino gestari solitam.' Not traced; for the *labarum* see above, pp. 236, 383 n.

<sup>2</sup> Pasini, *Tesoro*, pp. 37–8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> From Monconys, ii. 423. The Servites. The church was destroyed in 1813: Tassini, *Curiosità veneziane*, p. 668; the picture, Veronese's Christ in the house of Simon, was presented by the Venetian republic to Louis XIV in 1665, and is now in the Louvre, no. 1193.

<sup>6</sup> These were not three separate buildings but various parts of the Doges' Palace. Evelyn's notice is derived from Raymond, pp. 194–5, and Pflaumern, pp. 27–9, with additional matter apparently from Coryat; there may be some further source, apart from the guide. The description is in part confusing, owing to Evelyn's loose use of terms. The building has undergone

comparatively few changes since his time, beyond the destruction of most of the representations of the lion of St. Mark in 1797; some of them have since been restored. Sansovino, ff. 117 v.–133 v.; Coryat, pp. 192–206; Martinioni, pp. 337–62. The principal modern work is F. Zanotto, *Il Palazzo ducale di Venezia*, 1842–61.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Pflaumern, p. 27. By 'the first court' Evelyn means the façade towards the Piazzetta.

<sup>8</sup> The number of columns from Raymond; the correct number is thirty-six. The observation about the capitals is original.

<sup>9</sup> 'A Kingly Arcade . . . under which, tis a most comely sight to see the *Venetians* in their long Gownes, daily consulting of State affaires': *ibid.* For the Venetians' costume and their meetings twice a day in the Piazzetta see below, pp. 448–9; Coryat, p. 175.

quadrangle in which stood two Columns square of white Marble carved, which the(y) affirm'd had ben erected to hang one of their *dukes* on, who design'd to make himselfe Sovereigne;<sup>1</sup> Afterwards going through a stately Arch,<sup>2</sup> they shewd us divers Statues standing in *Niches* of greate value, among which the so celebrated *Eve*,<sup>3</sup> esteem'd worth its weight in Gold, & is plac'd just opposite to the staires, where are two *Colossus's* of *Mars* & *Neptune* the worke of *Sansovinus*,<sup>4</sup> & so we went up into a Coridore built with several Tribunals & Courts of Justice,<sup>5</sup> & by a rarely contriv'd staire-Case<sup>6</sup> were landed in the *Senate hall*,<sup>7</sup> which appeare(s) to be one of the most noble & capacious roome(s) of *Europ* being 76 paces<sup>8</sup> long, 32 in breadth: At the upper end are the Tribunals of the *Doge*, *Council of Ten*, & assistants;<sup>9</sup> In the body of the hall,

<sup>1</sup> 'A marvailous faire paire of gallowes made of alabaster . . . which serveth for no other purpose but to hang the Duke whensoever he shall happen to commit any treason against the State': Coryat, p. [189]. The two pillars immediately outside St. Mark's, at the north end of the Piazzetta. Sansovino does not give Coryat's statement, but states that the pillars were said to have been brought here from Acre after its capture by the Saracens in 1291: ff. 118 v., 119; the date when they were brought here is now generally given as 1256. They are probably of sixth-century Syrian origin: O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art*, 1925, pp. 199-200.

<sup>2</sup> The *Porta della Carta*: see Coryat, pp. 192-3.

<sup>3</sup> 'It is reported the Duke of Mantua hath offered to give the weight of it in gold for the Image, yet he cannot have it': *ibid.*, p. 193. It is by Antonio Rizzo (*f.* 1465-98).

<sup>4</sup> From Raymond. The sculptor is Jacopo Sansovino.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* The loggia on the first floor.

<sup>6</sup> 'Higher are most gallant ascents

into the Senate house, and other sumptuous Halls': *ibid.* Presumably Evelyn means the *Scala dei Censori*.

<sup>7</sup> General description of the room, including the portraits of the doges, from Pflaumern, pp. 27-9; other sources as noted. The *Sala del Maggior Consiglio* on the second floor. Pflaumern errs in calling the members of this council senators and the room the '*Aula Senatori(a)*'. There were about 1,500 members; the council met every Sunday and on certain holidays; its usual business was the election of officials. The senate was a body of 120 members (*Pregadi*) and decided political questions; it occupied the *Sala del Senato* on the third floor. For the government of Venice see D. Giannotti, *Libro de la republica de' Vinitiani*, 1540, and frequently reprinted.

<sup>8</sup> An error for the 66 paces of Pflaumern (76 in Giannotti).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Coryat, p. 201. Tribunals, the Italian *tribunali*, raised seats, apparently comes from Giannotti (ed. 1630, with G. Contarini, *Della republica . . . di Venetia*, pp. 221, 224, &c.).

lower ranks of seates, capable of containing 1500 Senators, for they<sup>a</sup> consist of no fewer, upon grand debates: Here are those gallant Paintings of the final Judgement, just over the Dukes Throne, the work of *Tintoret*,<sup>1</sup> & esteem'd amongst the best pieces in *Europe*: On the roof are the famous Acts of the Repub(1)ick, painted by severall excellent Masters, especialy *Bassano*,<sup>2</sup> & next them the Effigies of the Severall Dukes with their *Elogies*.<sup>3</sup> Then we turn'd into<sup>b</sup> a greate Court,<sup>4</sup> painted with the battail of Lepanto,<sup>5</sup> an incomparable piece: Thence into the Chamber of the Council of *Ten*,<sup>6</sup> all of them painted by the most celebrated Masters: From hence, by the special favour of an *Illustrissimo*<sup>7</sup> we were carried to see the private Armorie of the Palace,<sup>8</sup> and so to the same Court we first Enter'd,<sup>9</sup> nobly built of polish'd white Marble, part of which being the *Dukes Court pro Tempore*,<sup>10</sup> there are two Wells, adornd with incomparable Worke in Coper:<sup>11</sup> This lead us to the sea-side, where those two Columns stand of *Ophite* stone, in the intire piece, & a greate height, one bear-

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *omitt not* deleted.

<sup>b</sup> Followed by *a small* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> The picture here is the Paradise of Tintoretto (Jacopo Robusti, called Tintoretto, 1518–94). It is correctly described by Coryat, p. 201; but Coryat states that the Last Judgement in the next room (the Sala dello Scrutinio) is also by Tintoretto: p. 203; this statement may have led Evelyn astray. This Last Judgement was by Palma Giovane (Jacopo Palma, 1544–1628), replacing a Last Judgement by Tintoretto destroyed in the fire of 1577: Sansovino, f. 124 v.; Martinioni, p. 348.

<sup>2</sup> Francesco Bassano the younger painted four of the historical pictures on the ceiling: Martinioni, pp. 355–7. 'Bassano' is given as one of the artists who had worked in these rooms by Monconys, ii. 421.

<sup>3</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 28. The existing series, continuing in the

Sala dello Scrutinio. The elogies are printed by L. Schrader, *Monumentorum Italiae . . . libri iv*, 1592, ff. 312 v.–315 v.

<sup>4</sup> The Sala dello Scrutinio.

<sup>5</sup> By Andrea Michieli called Andrea Vicentino (c. 1539–1614).

<sup>6</sup> Presumably the room on the third floor.

<sup>7</sup> This was a generic term for a person of high rank.

<sup>8</sup> Pflaumern, p. 29. It occupied what are now the Sale d'Armi on the third floor.

<sup>9</sup> The courtyard of the palace.

<sup>10</sup> This clause probably inserted from Pflaumern, p. 29. Every doge occupied the doge's apartments for life.

<sup>11</sup> From Raymond, p. 195. By Nicolò de Conti (fl. 1556–74) and his brothers: Sansovino, f. 119. Still preserved here.

ing the Statue of St. *Marks* Lion, the other St. *Theodorus*: These Pillars were brought from *Greece*, & set up by Nic: *Baraterius* the Architect; betweene which publique Executions are don:<sup>1</sup> Here having fed our Eyes with the noble prospe(c)t of the Iland St. George,<sup>2</sup> the Gallies, Gudolas, & other Vessells, passing to & froo, we tooke a walke under the Cloyster of the opposite side of this goodly *Piazza*, being a most magnificent building, the designe of *Sansovino*:<sup>3</sup> Here we went into the *Zecca* or *Mint*,<sup>4</sup> at whose entrance stand two prodigious *Gyants* or *Hercules* of white marble:<sup>5</sup> So we saw them Melt, beate, & coyne *silver, Gold, Coper*; Then went up into the Procuratorie, & a Library of excellent MSS & books that belongs to it, & the publique:<sup>6</sup> After this we Climb'd-up the Toure of St. *Marco*,<sup>7</sup> which we might as well have don on Horsebak, as tis said one of the French-kings did;<sup>8</sup> there being no stayres or steps, but returnes that take up an intire Square upon the arches, broad enough for a

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 35. For Barattiero see Thieme, *Lexikon*; the columns were erected in 1172. Evelyn saw an execution here: below, p. 459.

<sup>2</sup> The island of S. Giorgio Maggiore: below, p. 461.

<sup>3</sup> The Library of St. Mark. Cf. Pflaumern, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Coryat, pp. 191-2. Pflaumern, p. 33; Sansovino, f. 115. The building now forms part of the Library.

<sup>5</sup> By Titiano Aspetti (c. 1565-1607) and Girolamo Campagna (c. 1550-c. 1626): Martinioni, p. 315.

<sup>6</sup> Raymond confuses the Procuratie, the buildings on either side of the Piazza, with the Library building: p. 195. For the contents of the Library see Pflaumern, p. 33.

<sup>7</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 33-4, Raymond, pp. 196-7, and probably Coryat, pp. 183-5; see also Lassels, ii. 404-5. The Campanile. It collapsed in 1902 and was replaced

by a modern copy in 1905-12. See G. Gattinoni, *Il Campanile di San Marco*, [1910]; *Il Campanile di San Marco riedificato*, published by the Comune di Venezia, [1912]. The charge for the ascent in 1608 was a *gazzetta*, rather less than an English penny: Coryat, p. 185.

<sup>8</sup> From Pflaumern, who gives the king's name as Henry. This can only be Henri III, who came to Venice in 1574. The accounts of his visit appear not to mention any ascent of the tower: see P. de Nolhac and A. Solerti, *Viaggio . . . di Enrico III*, 1890; Sansovino is also silent. A century earlier, in 1497, the ascent on horseback was said to have been made by the late emperor Frederick of Austria, i.e. Frederick III: A. von Harff, *Pilgerfahrt*, ed. E. von Groote, 1860, p. 46; *Il Campanile . . . riedificato*, p. 23. More recently it was said to have been made by Napoleon.

Coach: [namely 40 foote.]<sup>1</sup> This steeple stands by it selfe without any Church neere it,<sup>2</sup> & is rather a Watch Toure in the Corner of the greate Piazza, 230 foote in height;<sup>3</sup> They say the foundation of it is exceeding deepe,<sup>4</sup> on the top is an Angel that turns with the Wind,<sup>5</sup> & has a prospect down the Adriatic as far as Istria & the Dalmatian side,<sup>6</sup> with the surprizing sight of this Mira(c)ulous Cittie which lies in the boosome of the sea in the shape of a Lute,<sup>7</sup> the numberlesse Ilands tack'd together by no fewer than 450 bridges.<sup>8</sup> At the foote of this Toure is a publike Tribunal<sup>9</sup> of incomparable Worke in white marble polish'd, adordnd with several brasse Statues, & figures of stone in *Mezzo relievo*, the worke of some rare artist:

Twas now *Ascention Weeke*,<sup>10</sup> & the greate Mart or faire of the whole yeare now kept, every body at liberty, & jollie; the Noblemen stalking with their Ladys on *Choppines*<sup>11</sup> about

---

\* Interlined.

---

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern, Coryat, or Lassels, in all three apparently as the external measurement.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Raymond.

<sup>3</sup> From Pflaumern. It was 323 ft. high; the new tower is 42 ft. square at the base.

<sup>4</sup> Probably from Coryat. The masonry foundation was 16 ft. deep; it rested on ordinary piles: *Il Campanile . . . riedificato*, p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> From Pflaumern. It was set up in 1513 and repaired or altered at various dates: Gattinoni, pp. 308-17.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Coryat, who states that 'in a faire season' the tower 'is to be seene by sea from Istria and Croatia'.

<sup>7</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 34 ('*Musicae testudini*'); cf. Lassels, ii. 365.

<sup>8</sup> From Raymond. The number of bridges now existing is 378: Baedeker.

<sup>9</sup> Presumably from Coryat, pp. 185-6. The Loggetta. It was crushed in 1902 and has since been rebuilt. The architecture and sculpture are by Jacopo Sansovino.

<sup>10</sup> For Ascension Day see above, pp. 401, 432. The Fiera della Sensa (dell' Ascensione) was held during the ten or fourteen days following; it was very important commercially until the fall of the republic. The Piazza served as the fair-ground: see St. Didier, p. 388; Molmenti, iii. 170.

<sup>11</sup> The word is not derived from the Italian, but from the French or Spanish: *O.E.D.*; the Italian name for them appears to be *zoccoli* or *calcagnetti*. They are described by Coryat, pp. 261-2; Raymond, pp. 202-3; Lassels, ii. 380-1. They were first used on account of the filthy state of the streets, but by 1600 were merely a sign of rank; they began to be discarded about 1660. Evelyn exaggerates their height, which probably never exceeded 1 ft. 8 in.; Molmenti, ii. 418-20, 424-5; iii. 318-19; St. Didier, p. 303. Evelyn mentions them again in *Sylva*, 1670, p. 122. Evelyn's remarks on dress here apply to that of the patricians, unless otherwise stated.

10 foote high from the ground. These are high heeld shoos particularly affected by these proude dames, or as some say, invented to keepe them at home, it being so difficult to walke with them, whence one being asked how he liked the *Venetian Dames*, replyd, they were *Mezzo Carne*, *Mezzo Legno*; & he would have none of them: The truth is their Garb is very odd, as seeming allwayes in Masquerade, their other habite also totaly different from all Nations: The(y) weare very long crisped<sup>1</sup> haire of severall strakes<sup>2</sup> and Colours, which they artificially make so, by washing their heads in pisse, & dischevelling them on the brims of a broade hat that has no head, but an hole to put out their head by, drie them in the Sunn, as one may see them above, out of their windos:<sup>3</sup> In their tire they set silk flowers & sparkling stones,<sup>4</sup> their petticoates comming from their very armetetts, so high as that their very breasts flub<sup>5</sup> over the tying place; so as they are neere three quarters & an halfe Aporn:<sup>6</sup> Their Sleeves are made exceeding wide, under which their smock sleeves as wide & commo(n)ly tucked up to the shoulder, & shewing their naked arme, through false Sleeves of Tiffany girt with a bracelet or two:<sup>7</sup> besides this they go very bare of their

<sup>1</sup> Crisped means curled into short stiff wavy folds or crinkles: *O.E.D.*

<sup>2</sup> Although a different word, strake here has the same meaning as streak: *O.E.D.*

<sup>3</sup> For the hair of the Venetian women see [A. Baschet and F. S. Feuillet de Conches], *Les femmes blondes selon les peintres de l'école de Venise*, 1865, which includes a number of recipes for the washes employed; see also Molmenti, ii. 425-6. Coryat was allowed to watch a respectable Venetian woman dressing her hair: pp. 262-3.

<sup>4</sup> It was apparently the hair, not the dress, that was thus decorated: Raymond, p. 202; cf. the quotation from Brusoni (1658) in Molmenti, iii. 313.

<sup>5</sup> The word is not given in *O.E.D.*

<sup>6</sup> There appears to be very little good evidence for the Venetian

ladies' dress at this time. Evelyn's statement about the petticoats would appear to mean that the dresses were very high-waisted, with a loose-fitting bodice. Raymond had noted the length of the dress, due to the use of choppines: 'their Coats halfe too long for their bodies, being mounted on their *Chippeens*': p. 202; he does not describe the waist. Audeber states that the waist is so low that the arms appear ridiculously short: *Voyage et observations . . . en Italie*, 1656, pp. 85-6. Evelyn may have confused the line of the waist with that of the *décolletage*, which was sometimes below the breasts: Molmenti, iii. 301; see also below.

<sup>7</sup> There appears to be no other evidence for the sleeves. Tiffany is a kind of thin transparent silk or gauze muslin, cobweb lawn.



breasts & back, with knots of poynts richly tagg'd, about their shoulders & other places, of their body, which the(y) usually cover with a kind of yellow Vaile of Lawn very transparant.<sup>1</sup> Thus attir'd they set their hands on the heads of two Matron-like servants or old women to support them,<sup>2</sup> who are mumbling their beades: Tis very ridiculous to see how these Ladys crawl in & out of their *Gundolas* by reason of their Choppines, & what dwarfes they appeare when taken down from their Wooden scaffolds: Of these I saw neere 30 together stalking, halfe as high more, as the rest of the World; for Curtezans or the Citizens may not weare Chopines, but cover their bodies & faces with a vaile of a certaine glistring Taffata or Lustrée, out of which they now & then dart a glaunce of their Eye, the whole face being otherwise intirely hid with it: Nor may the Common *Misses*<sup>3</sup> or Whores, take this habite, but go about beare fac'd: To the corners of these Virgin Vailes hang broad but flat tassels of curious Point de Venize: The Married Women go in black Vailes:<sup>4</sup> In the same Colour, but of fine Cloth, do all the Nobility weare, lind with taffata in Summer, with furre of the bellys of Squirills in the Winter, which all put on at a certaine day, girt with a girdle emboss'd with silver: The Vest, not much different from what our Batchelors of Art weare in Oxford, & an hood of Cloth made like a sack, cast over their left shoulder, & a round cloth black Cap, frieng'd

<sup>1</sup> Exposure of the body had gone very far in the sixteenth century: Molmenti, ii. 427-8. In the seventeenth century the greater part of the dress was of silk or stuff, but the parts covering the breast and shoulders were of lace or lawn; this is Evelyn's yellow veil of lawn: cf. Coryat, p. 261. Points here are ribbons or laces: cf. St. Didier, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Raymond, p. 202; Lassels, ii. 380.

<sup>3</sup> The word was in 1645 not yet current in this sense: see *O.E.D.* and below, 9 Jan. 1662.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn's remarks on veils are

rather confused. St. Didier is rather late, but the usage is unlikely to have changed much. He does not mention married ladies' veils, which were black; unmarried girls wore white veils with tassels; these veils came to the hem of the skirt at the back and covered the face and arms. Ladies in undress, girls about to become nuns, and citizens' wives wore similar veils, but left their faces exposed; courtesans also adopted this mode, although they were forbidden to do so. The white veils were made of 'une gaze très-fine & très-lustrée': St. Didier, pp. 301-2; cf. Coryat, p. 261.

with wooll: which is not so comely:<sup>1</sup> They also weare their Collar open, to shew the diamond button of the<sup>a</sup> Stock of their Shirt:<sup>2</sup> But never have I seene pearle for oriency & bignesse comparable to what the Ladys weare, most noble families being very rich in jewells, especialy Pearle,<sup>3</sup> which allways is left to the son or brother who is destin'd to Marry, which the eldest seldome do:<sup>4</sup> The *Dodges* vest is of Crimson Velvet, the Procurator's &c. of Damasc very stately:<sup>5</sup> Nor was I lesse surpriz'd with the strange variety of the severall Nations which we every day met with in the Streetes & Piazza of Jewes, Turks, Armenians, Persians, Moores, Greekes, Sclavonians, some with their Targets & boucklers, & all in their native fashions, negotiating in this famous *Emporium*, which is allways crouded with strangers.<sup>6</sup> This night, having with my Lord Bruce<sup>7</sup> taken our places before, we went to the Opera, which are Comedies [& other plays]<sup>b</sup> represented in Recitative Music by the most excellent Musicians vocal & Instrumental, together with variety of Seeanes painted & contrived with no lesse art of Perspective, and Machines, for

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *their*.      <sup>b</sup> Interlined.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Coryat, pp. [258]–9; Raymond, p. 202. Patricians continued to wear their robes in the streets throughout the seventeenth century. About this time they were beginning to let them fly open in front: Lassels, ii. 378; they were also ceasing to wear beards: Molmenti, iii. 295. Various kinds of fur were used for the lining of the vest. For the importance attached by Evelyn to this dress see *Tyrannus*.

<sup>2</sup> Raymond mentions the open collar: p. 202. The shirt-collar had always been allowed to show; the display of jewels was probably new.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Molmenti, ii. 420–2; iii. 320, 366. Oriency means brilliancy or lustre; it was applied to pearls, &c., as anciently coming from the east: see *O.E.D.*

<sup>4</sup> As a rule only one brother married; which one depended on

3811.2

the individual case: St. Didier, p. 314.

<sup>5</sup> The doge's vest for ordinary occasions was purple: Molmenti, ii. 434; on state occasions it was of cloth of gold. The procurators and other high officials wore crimson damask on state occasions: Coryat, p. 259. The sleeves of these vests were very large and open at the wrist, while those of the senators' vests were gathered at the wrist.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Coryat, p. 175, and Lassels, ii. 404; see also St. Didier, p. 33.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Bruce, c. 1626–85; second earl of Elgin (Scotland) and second Baron Bruce of Whorlton 1663; created earl of Ailesbury 1664: G.E.C.; *D.N.B.* He was in Rome on 20 Jan. 1645: Foley, (*Jesuit*) *records*, vi. 627. Evelyn met him again in 1656 and 1682.

flying in the aire, & other wonderfull motions.<sup>1</sup> So taken together it is doubtlesse one of the most magnificent & expensfull diversions the Wit of Men can invent: The historie was *Hercules* in Lydia,<sup>2</sup> the Seanes chang'd 13 times, The famous<sup>a</sup> Voices *Anna Rencia*<sup>3</sup> a Roman, & reputed the best treble of Women; but there was an *Eunuch*, that in my opinion surpass'd her, and a *Genoveze* that sung an incomparable Base: This held us by the Eyes and Eares til two in the Morning when we went to the *Chetto* de San: Felice, to see the

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *Sev-* or *Sin-*? deleted.

<sup>1</sup> For the Venetian theatres and lists of operas performed see L. N. Galvani, *I teatri musicali di Venezia nel secolo XVII*, [1878]; for early accounts of the performances, Skippon, pp. 506–8 (plays, *ibid.*, pp. 502, 505); St. Didier, pp. 347–52; and, most important of all, V. Nolfi, *Il Bellerio Fonte*, 1642, a libretto with plates showing the scenery and effects designed by G. Torelli; modern accounts in *Vierteljahrschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, viii (1892), 1–32; Molmenti, iii. 221–7; H. Prunières, *La vie . . . de Claudio Monteverde*, 1926, pp. 179–202; Prunières, *Cavalli, &c.*, 1931, with plates.

The first public theatre for opera in Venice—the first anywhere to give public performances of opera—was opened in 1637; by 1645 there were four theatres, but they were not all open every year, unless perhaps they gave only revivals of operas produced in previous years. The principal evidence for their activities is the surviving libretti; they generally produced one or two new operas each year; no general record of the revivals exists. The managers paid most attention to singers and scenery, the two features praised by Evelyn; the orchestra was relatively insignificant and there was no proper chorus; libretto

writers and composers complied with these conditions. The auditorium of the theatre was left almost without lights. Until 1674 the price of admission was 4 *lire*; a seat in the pit cost 2 *lire* more.

<sup>2</sup> Libretto by M. Bisaccioni, published in 1645; music by G. Rovetta; it was performed at the Teatro Nuovissimo: Galvani, p. 69. The theatre, which existed only from 1641 to 1647, occupied the site of the Casa di Ricovero, near SS. Giovanni e Paolo: *Times Lit. Supp.*, 1925, p. 857; it was here that Nolfi's *Bellerio Fonte* (see preceding note) was given in 1642 and the *Venere gelosa*, also staged by Torelli, in 1644: illustrated account of the latter, [M. Bisaccioni], *Apparati scenici*, 1644.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. Anna Renzi. She sang in various pieces at the Teatro Nuovissimo and the Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paolo from 1641: Galvani, pp. 67, 31; Nolfi, *Bellerio Fonte*, p. 81. She presumably sang in the *Argiope* of G. B. Fusconi, 1649, which he dedicated to her; she is said to have married Alessandro Leardini, who, with Rovetta, composed the music for it: Galvani, p. 32; *Notes and Queries*, 12th ser. xi (1922), 415–16. She is said to have sung again in 1657: *Times Lit. Supp.*, 1925, p. 857. See also below, p. 474.

Noblemen & their Ladies at *Basset*,<sup>1</sup> a Game at Cards which much use, but play not in publique & with all that have inclination to it, in Masquerad,<sup>2</sup> without speaking so much as one word, & so come in, play, loose, or gaine, & go away as they please: This time of Licence is not all the yeare long, but onely in Carnoval, & this Ascention Weeke, neither are their Theaters open for that other Magnificenc, or for ordinary Comedians, save on these solemnities;<sup>3</sup> they being a frugal & wise people and exact observer of all sumptuarie Laws.<sup>4</sup>

There being at the time a ship bound for the Holy Land, I had now resolved to imbarke myselfe, intending to see Jerusalem, & others parts of Syria, Egypt, & Turky: but after I was provided of all necessaries, laied in Snow to coole our drink, bought some Sheepe, Poultry, Bisquit, Spirits & a little Cabinet of Drouggs &c. in case of sicknesse;<sup>5</sup> our Vessell (whereof Cap: Powell<sup>6</sup> was Master) happnd to be

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's account of the *Ridotto* is unreliable as regards time and place. The usual time for it was about twilight; and the most important house, opened in 1638 and the first to be licensed in Venice, was situated in the Calle del Ridotto near S. Moisè (*ridotti* appear to have been held near S. Moisè and elsewhere regularly from about 1600): St. Didier, pp. 344-7; G. Tassini, *Curiosità veneziane*, 4th ed., n.d. [c. 1897], pp. 613-14; Molmenti, iii. 241-2; the last refers to C. Biliotti, *Il ridotto*, 1870. Chetto appears to be a slip for *traghetto*, ferry. *Basset* is a simple gambling game, said to have been first played in Venice. The punter makes his stake and names a card; the banker then deals the cards two at a time; if the named card be the first of a pair the banker wins, if the second, the punter; there were certain chances favouring the banker: see Skippon, pp. 508-9.

<sup>2</sup> 'The most part of the yong *Ladyes* that came to see the *Fayre*,

came in an odd dresse, with a false nose, and a little beard of black wool, disguising their mouth and nose': Lassels, ii. 416. The patricians of either sex were not obliged to wear masks here; those who took the banks, patrician men, did not do so: Molmenti, as above. Some words have presumably dropped out of Evelyn's sentence.

<sup>3</sup> The theatres were open apparently from the beginning of October until 14 December; from 26 December until Shrove Tuesday; and for the fortnight of the fair of the Ascension: Molmenti, iii. 224.

<sup>4</sup> This is untrue for the seventeenth century. The whole sentence was perhaps added when Evelyn was copying out this part of the text: cf. his letter to Henry Hyde, Lord Cornbury, 9 Feb. 1665 (Bohn, iii. 151-2).

<sup>5</sup> On the requisites for this voyage see J. Zuallart, *Le tresdevot voyage de Jerusalem*, 1608, pp. 59-63.

<sup>6</sup> Further notice below, pp. 468-9.

press'd for the service of the State, to Carry Provisions to *Candia*,<sup>1</sup> which was now nuly attacqu'd by the Turkes; which altogether frustrated my designe, to my greate sorrow, it being but two or 3 daies before we hoped to set saile.

On the \_\_\_\_\_ of June we went to Padöa to the faire of their *St. Anthony*,<sup>2</sup> in company of divers Passengers, the first *Terra firma* we landed at was *Fusina*, being onely an Inn, where we changed our Barge, & were then drawne up with horses through the River *Brenta*, a strait Chanell, as even as a line for 20 miles, the Country on both sides deliciously planted with Country Villas & gentlemens retirements, Gardens planted with Oranges, Figs, & other fruit, belonging to the *Venetians*.<sup>3</sup> At one of these *Villas* we went on shore to see a pretty contrivd Palace: Observable in this passage was their buying their Water of those who farme the sluces, for this artificial river is in some places so shallow, that reserves of water are kept with sluces, which they open & shut with a most ingenious invention or Engine, so as to be governd even by a child: Thus they keep up the water, or dismisse it, till the next channell be either filled by the stop, or abated to the levell of the other; for which every boate pays a certaine dutie:<sup>4</sup> Thus we stayd neere halfe an houre, & more at 3 severall interruptions,<sup>5</sup> so as it was evening ere we got to

<sup>1</sup> A Turkish expedition had set out on 30 April; it was sighted off the coast of Candia (Crete) on 21 June; it attacked Canea, which fell on 23 August: A. Wiel, *The Navy of Venice*, 1910, pp. 282-3.

<sup>2</sup> The fair lasted a week before and after the saint's day, which falls on 13 June: Portenari (see below, p. 453 n.), p. 409.

From at least 1593 there was a daily service of boats between Venice and Padua. Journeys by both day and night are mentioned; the passage seems to have taken about twelve hours; in 1680 the fare was 2 *lire*: H. G. Ernstinger, *Raisbuch*, ed. P. A. F. Walther (Literarische Verein in Stuttgart,

vol. cxxxv, 1877), pp. 38-9; Moryson i. 75; Skippon, pp. 522-3; G. A. Sabelli, *La guida sicura*, 1680, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> This passage is imitated from Raymond, pp. 204-5; but Raymond writes that the Brenta 'runnes in so direct a line, that one may see its course foure miles behind or before one'.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently original; Evelyn appears not to have understood the use of the locks.

<sup>5</sup> There was the great lock at Lizza Fusina, where passengers apparently had to disembark; and either two or three other locks: Ernstinger, pp. 38-9; Skippon, pp. 522-3.

*Padoa*:<sup>1</sup> Which is a very antient Cittie, if the tradition of *Antenors* being the founder be not a fiction:<sup>2</sup> But thus speakes the Inscription over a stately Gate.<sup>3</sup>

*Hanc antiquissimam urbem literarum omnium asylum, cujus agrum fertilitatis lumen natura esse voluit, Antenor condidit, Anno ante Christum natum. M.C.XVIII. senatus autem Venetus his belli (propugnaculis)<sup>a</sup> ornavit.* The Towne stands on *Padus*, whence its name,<sup>4</sup> & is generally built like *Bolonia*, on Arches, & on Brick, so as one m(a)y walke all about it dry, & in the shade, which is very convenient in these hot Countries,<sup>5</sup> & I think I was never in my whole life sensible of so burning a heate, as was this season, especialy the next day, which was that of the faire, which was fill'd with *Noble Venetians*, by reason of a greate & solemn

---

<sup>a</sup> MS. *propugnandis*.

---

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's account of Padua is in part derived from Pflaumern, pp. 75–87, Raymond, pp. 205–18, and Lassels, ii. 426–35; there is also some original matter. The principal contemporary work on the town is A. Portenari, *Della felicità di Padova . . . libri nove*, 1623, which includes a certain amount of topographical matter and a plan. An important description is inserted in Schott, 1649, pt. i, ff. 16–34, and some later editions; with some alterations in ed. 1659; and further important additions, mainly relating to S. Antonio, in ed. 1669, pp. 20–64. The principal guide-book is G. B. Rossetti, *Descrizione delle pitture, sculpture, ed architetture di Padova*, 1765 (I have used the 3rd ed., 1780). Modern works include P. Selvatico, *Guida di Padova*, 1869; C. Foligno, *The Story of Padua*, 1910 ('Mediæval Towns'); A. Moschetti, *Padova* ('Italia artistica').

The attraction that led travellers to spend some time in Padua was

the university, which was open to Protestants. It was sharing in the general decline of the Italian universities, but its medical and law schools still ranked high: Molmenti, iii. 478; cf. Reresby, *Mem. and travels*, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn's scepticism is original. Antenor was a Trojan prince; his legendary foundation of Padua appears in various classical writers.

<sup>3</sup> Probably from Pflaumern, p. 75, but Evelyn has correctly substituted 'fertilitatis' for 'sterilitatis': cf. Pflaumern, 1625, p. 58. The inscription is placed on the Porta del Portello: J. P. Tomasinus, *Urbis Patavinæ inscriptiones sacræ, et profanæ*, 1649, p. 360.

<sup>4</sup> 'Urbs . . . à Pado, ut quibusdam placet, qui quondam propter eam fluxerat, Patavium est nominata': Pflaumern, p. 76. I have been unable to verify the derivation. In historical times the Po has always flowed in its present course.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Coryat, pp. 155–6.

Procession to their famous Cathedrall:<sup>1</sup> Here passing by St. Lorenzo<sup>2</sup> I met this Inscription<sup>3</sup>

C. Inclytus Antenor patriam Vox Nisa quietem  
Transtulit huc Henetum Dardanidumque fuga(s),  
Expulit Euganeos, Patavinam condidit urbem,  
Quem tegit hic humili marmore cæsa domus.

Under the Tomb, was a Cobler at his work:<sup>4</sup> Being now come to St. Antonies (the streete most of the way, strait, well built, & outsides excellently painted in *fresco*) we surveied the spacious (Piazza),<sup>a</sup> in which is erected a noble Statue of Coper on horse back, in memorie of one *Catta Malata*, a renowned Captaine:<sup>5</sup> The Church<sup>6</sup> *a la Greca*, consists of five handsome *Cupolas* leaded: At the left hand within is the Tomb of St. *Antonio*, and his Altar, about which a *Mezzo relievo* of the Miracles ascribd to their Saint, exquisitely wrought in white Marble by the 3 famous Sculptors *Tullius Lombardus*, *Jacobus Sansovinus*, & *Hieron Compagno*:<sup>7</sup> a little higher is the Quire, walld parapet<sup>b</sup> fashion with sundry coloured<sup>c</sup> stone, in which are inserted divers tables of cast coper, of the historie of the Bible in halfe *relievo*, the work of *Andrëo Reccij*. The Altar within is of the same metall, which

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Paiazza*.

<sup>b</sup> Followed by *hei-* deleted.

<sup>c</sup> Spelling doubtful.

<sup>1</sup> For the fair see above, p. 452. The procession was to S. Antonio: Portenari, p. 410; the cathedral was and is relatively unimportant.

<sup>2</sup> The church has been destroyed.

<sup>3</sup> From Raymond, p. 206. The inscription on the so-called tomb of Antenor. Portenari reads 'patriæ' for 'patriam' and 'tenet' for 'tegit', and translates the first line as 'Antenore preclaro, la cui voce porger quiete alla patria sforzossi'. The presumed body of Antenor was discovered in 1274, the tomb set up in 1298; the epitaph is attributed to Lovato: Portenari, p. 22; B. Scardeonius, *De antiquitate urbis Patavii*, 1560, p. 7. Pflaumern, p. 76, and Moryson, i. 72, give different versions of the first line.

<sup>4</sup> He is shown in a plate used in

some illustrated copies of some editions, 1622-54, of Schott.

<sup>5</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 82. Donatello's statue of Erasmo da Narni, called Gattamelata.

<sup>6</sup> The notice mainly from Pflaumern, pp. 80-2; the description as 'a la Greca' and some other passages are original. The interior of the church was damaged by a fire in 1749 and has undergone considerable changes since that date. For the church see B. Gonzati, *La basilica di Sant' Antonio di Padova*, 1852-3.

<sup>7</sup> From Pflaumern. The sculptors are Tullio Lombardi (c. 1455-1532), Jacopo Sansovino, and Girolamo Campagna; but other sculptors were also engaged on this series of reliefs, which is still preserved.

with the Candlestick & Bases, in my opinion, is as magnificent as any in *Italy*: The Wainscot also of the Quire is rarely inlayed & Carv'd:<sup>1</sup> Here are the sepulchres of many famous persons, as of *Rudolpho Fulgosi*<sup>2</sup> &c: & among the rest one that for an exploit at sea, has a Gally exquisitly carved on it:<sup>3</sup> The Procession<sup>4</sup> bore the banners, together with all the Treasure of the Cloyster, which was a very glorious sight: Henc walking over the *Prato della Valle* I went to see the Convent of *St. Justinas*, than which I never beheld a more magnificent:<sup>5</sup> The Church is an incomparable piece of Architecture, of *Andrea Paladios*,<sup>6</sup> richly pav'd, with a stately Cupola that Covers the high Altar, which inshrines the ashes of that Saint: It is of *Pietra Commessa*, consisting of flowers very natural:<sup>7</sup> The Quire is also inlayd with the holy historie of severall sorts of wood, with exceeding industry:<sup>8</sup> at the far end, is that rare Painting of *St. Justinas*

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern, who, however, gives Andrea Riccio (Briosco; 1470–1532) as the author of the candlestick alone and states that the altar is of marble with bronze figures. Evelyn saw the choir as designed by Donatello; it was altered in 1651; the present arrangement is more recent. Two of the reliefs about it are by Riccio, the other ten by another artist. The figures and reliefs decorating the altar seen by Evelyn were by Donatello but the altar itself dated from 1579–82; the existing altar, in which they are also employed, dates from 1895: Gonzati, i. 85, 91; C. Boito, *L'altare di Donatello*, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> From Pflaumern. Rudolpho is Evelyn's error; Raphael Fulgosus, 1367–1427, jurist: *Encic. italiana*.

<sup>3</sup> Original notice. Presumably the tomb of Alessandro Contarini, d. 1553; it is still preserved: Gonzati, ii. 184. It is mentioned by Lassels: ii. 428.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. that of the saint on 13 June.

<sup>5</sup> So Raymond, pp. 217–18. The Prato was a meadow, not drained until the eighteenth century.

Evelyn's notice of the church, S. Giustina, is derived in part from Pflaumern, pp. 83–4, in part from Lassels, ii. 429–30; part of it is original. For the church see Portenari, pp. 411–35; *Descrizione . . . di S. Giustina di Padova*, 1741. The church and its contents remain much as Evelyn saw them.

<sup>6</sup> The same error appears in Lassels; I have not noticed an earlier occurrence of it. The church was built in 1521–55 mainly from the designs of Alessandro Leopardi: Portenari, p. 422; *Archivio storico dell' arte*, 1st ser. iv (1891), 180–94; Palladio (below, p. 481) had no connexion with it.

<sup>7</sup> Lassels mentions the pavement, the cupolas, the high altar, with St. Justina buried beneath it, and its being made of *pietra commessa*. St. Justina is said to have been a virgin martyred in Padua under Nero or Maximian: Portenari, pp. 376–7; *Acta sanctorum*, 7 Oct.

<sup>8</sup> There are two choirs, both containing elaborate stalls, in the one, the old choir, decorated with *intarsie*; in the other, the choir



Martyrdom, by *P: Veronese*,<sup>1</sup> and a stone, upon which they told us divers Primitive Christians had be(en) decapitated:<sup>2</sup> & in another place (to which leads a small cloister well painted) a dry well or pit, coverd with a brasse work grate, where in are the bones of divers Martyrs.<sup>3</sup> They shew here likewise the Bones of *St. Luke*<sup>4</sup> in an old alabaster Coffin, and Three of the holy Innocents,<sup>5</sup> the bodys of *St. Maximus & Prosdocimus*:<sup>6</sup> The Dormitory above is exceeding commodius & stately; but what most pleas'd me were the old Cloyster, so well painted with the legendarie Saints, mingled with many antient Incriptions, & pieces of *Urnes* dug up it seemes, at the foundation of the Church:<sup>7</sup> Thus having spent the day in rambling, I returnd the next to *Venice*: Our next sally was the *Arsenal*<sup>8</sup> thought to be one of the best furnish'd in the World: We entrd by a strong port, allways guarded,<sup>9</sup> & ascending a spacious Gallery, saw armes of back, breast & head, for many Thousands, in another were Saddles, & over

proper of the church, with scriptural subjects carved in relief. Both Pflaumern and Lassels mention the latter.

<sup>1</sup> From Lassels. The picture is still here.

<sup>2</sup> From Pflaumern.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably 'the *Well*, full of *Relicks*' of Lassels. It is situated in a passage outside the south transept: *Descrizione*, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> From Pflaumern, including the coffin. The relic is said to have been brought from Constantinople in 793: *Descrizione*, pp. 14, 23.

<sup>5</sup> From Pflaumern. *Descrizione*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern. *St. Prosdocimus*, first bishop of Padua, from 48 to 141, is buried in a chapel outside the south transept; *St. Maximus*, second bishop, from 141 to 166, is buried in the church: *Descrizione*, pp. 17, 18; Portenari, p. 383.

<sup>7</sup> The account of the dormitory is original, the rest of the notice from Raymond, p. 218. The monastic

buildings are now a barracks and much injured. For the paintings see Rossetti, pp. 213-14. The collection of antiques does not seem to have been important.

<sup>8</sup> Evelyn's account of the Arsenal is derived from Pflaumern, pp. 36-43, and Monconys, ii. 418-20. Pflaumern saw it about 1607 in time of peace; Evelyn immediately after the outbreak of the Cretan war; Monconys in 1664, when the war had lasted twenty years; so that Evelyn's account, apart from its being too confused, is valueless as an account for 1645. There is a good account of it in 1671 by Seignelay (J. B. Colbert), *L'Italie en 1671*, pp. 228-65; see also [G. Correr and others], *Venezia e le sue lagune*, 1847, I. ii. 84-165. It has undergone considerable changes since 1796.

<sup>9</sup> Lassels and his companions were obliged to give up their swords here: ii. 406; cf. Pflaumern, p. 36. It is the main entrance, still in use.

them divers Ensignes taken from the Turks:<sup>1</sup> Another hall is for the meeting of the Senat:<sup>2</sup> passing a Graft,<sup>3</sup> are the Smiths forges, where they are continually at work on Ankers & Iron work: Neere it a Well of fresh Water which they impute to two Rinoceros's hornes which they say lie in it, & will preserve it from ever being empoison'd:<sup>4</sup> Then we came to where the Carpenters were building, their Magazines of Oares, Masts, &c for an hundred Gallys & ships, which have all their aparell, & furniture neere them:<sup>5</sup> Then the *fundarie*, where they cast *Ordinance*: The forge is 450 paces long, & one of them has 13 furnaces:<sup>6</sup> There is one Canon weighing 16573 pounds cast whilst *Henry* the 3d dined, & put into a Gally, built, rigg'd & fitted for launching within that time:<sup>7</sup> They have also armes for 12 Galeasses, which are Vessells to row of almost 150 foote long, and 30 large: not counting prow or poupe, & contain 28 banks each 7. men, & so carry 1300 Men: with 3 masts:<sup>8</sup> In another a Magazin for 50 Gallys,<sup>9</sup> & place

<sup>1</sup> These rooms were in a building to the left of the entrance; ensigns is a mistranslation of Pflaumern's 'spoliorum insignium' (p. 36) but appears to be correct in fact.

<sup>2</sup> 'Aula . . . in qua convivari Venetos patres audio, cum Principes hospites sunt': p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> A canal; above, p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> All from Pflaumern, p. 36; but the water's immunity from poisoning, not its remaining fresh, is due to two pieces 'de monocerotis cornu'. The 'monoceros' here is clearly the unicorn: see Browne, *Pseudodoxia*, bk. iii, ch. xxiii.

<sup>5</sup> This passage apparently from Pflaumern, pp. 36-7, who, however, gives oars for fifty large ships.

<sup>6</sup> 'Les forgas qui est de 450. pas de long, les forges du fer, où il y a 13. fournaises, la fonderie des canons', &c.: Monconys. 'Les forgas' is presumably a misprint; but Monconys evidently means the forge: cf. Seignelay, pp. 230-1.

<sup>7</sup> 'Cinq magasins pleins de canons

où il y en a quatre fort gros & un particulièrement qui a trois bouches, lequel pese 16570. & trois qu'on fit pendant que le Roy Henry III. dinoit, pour mettre sur une galere qu'on fit bastir dans le mesme temps': Monconys; Evelyn's rendering is apparently incorrect. The principal work on the show-pieces is by D. Gasperoni (not seen); see also [Correr], i. ii. 171-2, 179. Henri III of France visited the Arsenal on 24 July 1574: de Nolhac and Solerti, *Viaggio . . . di Enrico III*, pp. 142-3.

<sup>8</sup> '12. galeasses . . . de 145. pieds de long & 28. de large au seul corps de bastiments, sans les avances des pouppes & prouës, elles ont 28. rangs de chaque costé', &c.: Monconys. For the galliass (Italian *galeazza*) see Pantera, *L'armata navale*, pp. 44-5, and A. Jal, *Archéologie navale*, 1840, i. 395-410.

<sup>9</sup> Monconys writes arms for fifty galleys.

for some hundreds more:<sup>1</sup> Here stands the Bucentaur, with a most ample deck, & so contriv'd, that the Slaves are not seene, having on the *Poup* a Thron for the *Dodge* to sit, when he gos in tryumph to espouse the *Adriatic*:<sup>2</sup> here is also a gallery of 200 yards<sup>a</sup> long for Cables,<sup>3</sup> and over that a Magazine of hemp:<sup>4</sup> Over against these their Saltpeter houses & a large row of Cells or houses to thrust their Gallys in, out of all Weather:<sup>5</sup> Over the Gate,<sup>6</sup> as we go out, is a roome full of greate & small Guns, some of which discharge 6 times at once:<sup>7</sup> Then there is a Court full of Cannon bullets, Chaines, Grapples, Granados, &c:<sup>8</sup> & over that Armes for 80000 men, & by themselves, armes for 400, taken from some that were in a plot against the State;<sup>9</sup> together with weapons of offence & defence for 62 ships, 32 piece of Ordinance on Carriages taken from the Turks, & one prodigious Mortar-piece:<sup>10</sup> In a word, tis not to be reckon'd up, what this large place containes of this sort: There were now 23 Gallys, & 4<sup>b</sup> *Gally Grossi* here of 100 *Oares* of a side:<sup>11</sup> The whole Arsenal is walld about, & may be in Compasse about 3 miles, with 12 Toures

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *Ells*.

<sup>b</sup> Substituted for 23.

<sup>1</sup> 'Remises ou couverts à tenir quatorze galeasses, & sept à huit cents galeres': Monconys.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. The vessel seen by Evelyn was first used in 1605 and was superseded in 1729: *Encic. italiana*, art. Bucintoro.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn now follows Pflaumern, but with some additional matter. This is the gallery 'longa ulnas cc.': p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Source not traced.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably the 'place for some hundreds' mentioned above.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern's account this appears to be a gate between two areas within the general enclosure of the Arsenal: p. 37. The room with the guns was beside, not over, it.

<sup>7</sup> Pflaumern writes seven times at once: p. 37.

<sup>8</sup> This notice is apparently original. Granados are grenades.

<sup>9</sup> Pflaumern states that there were arms for 70,000 men for land service: p. 38. The 400 were said to have belonged to the conspirators in Baiamonte Tiepolo's plot in 1310.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.; but Pflaumern does not state that the captured guns were mounted on carriages, merely that carriages, &c., were kept in the same area.

<sup>11</sup> This notice is original. The *galea grossa* is probably identical with the galliass (see note above); Pantera uses the two terms as synonyms: *L'armata navale*, p. 44. The number of oars is impossible; seventeenth-century galleys and galliasses as a rule carried between twenty-five and thirty oars on either side: *ibid.*, p. 45.

for the Watch, besides that the sea invirons it:<sup>1</sup> The Workmen who are ordinarily 500 march out of it in militarie order, and every evening receive their pay thro(ugh) a small hole in the gate, where the Governor lives.<sup>2</sup>

The next day I saw a wretch executed who had murther'd his Master, for which he had his head chop'd off by an Axe that slid down a frame of timber, betweene the two tall Columns in St. Marcs Piazza at the sea brink ; the Executioner striking on the Axe with a bettle, & so the head fell of the block:<sup>3</sup>

Henc by *Gudola* we went to se(e) *Grimanis* Palace,<sup>4</sup> the portico whereoff is excellent work: Indeede the whole World cannot certainly shew a Citty of more stately buildings, considering the extent of it, all of Square Stone, & as chargeable in their foundations, as superstructure, as being all built upon Piles, at an immense cost:<sup>5</sup> We return'd home by the Church of St. *Johanne & Paulo* before which is in Coper, the Statue of *Bartolomeo Coleone* on horseback, double gilt, on a stately pedestal, the work of *Andr: Verrochij* a *Florentine*:<sup>6</sup> This is a very fine Church, & has in it many rare Altar Pieces of the best Masters, especialy that on the left hand of the two Friers slaine, which is of *Titian*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The circumference perhaps from Lassels, ii. 405; Pflaumern gives it as not less than twenty *stadia*, i.e. about 4,000 yards; the twelve towers are taken from him: p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Pflaumern gives the number as 400: p. 42; St. Didier says that it is usually 500 in time of peace, but increased in time of war to 2,000: p. 68. For the window at which they received their pay see the view of the entrance to the Arsenal by G. Franco, *Habiti*, &c. Evelyn's statement that they were paid daily appears to be original and is incorrect; it perhaps derives from Lassels's statement that the expenses of the workmen amount to 1,000 ducats 'every day in the yeare': ii. 406.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 445. The form

bettle was obsolete in Evelyn's time; the usual form is beetle.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn probably means the Grimani palace on the Grand Canal near S. Luca: Sansovino, ff. 144 v.-[145]; it is now the Reale Corte d'Appello. Of the other Grimani palaces that near S. Maria Formosa was famous for its collection of antique sculpture: *ibid.*, f. 143. The latter is noted by Pflaumern: p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Coryat, p. 165, and *Sylva*, 1679, p. 111.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 48-9. The existing statue of Colleoni, by Andrea Verrocchio, 1435-88; completed by A. Leopardi.

<sup>7</sup> The church is SS. Giovanni e Paolo; the notice of this picture from Monconys, ii. 415, where, however, the description is more

The day after being Sunday, I went over to *St. Georgio*<sup>1</sup> to the Ceremonie of the Schismatic *Greekes*, who are permitted to have their Church, though they are at defiance with *Rome*: They allow of no Carved Images, but many painted, especialy the storie of their Patron, & his dragon: Their rites differ not much from the Latines, save that of communicating in both species, and distribution of the holy bread: We afterward fell into dispute with a *Candiot* concerning the procession of the *H: Ghost*:<sup>2</sup> The Church is a noble fabric:

The Church of *St. Zacharia* is of Greeke building, by Leo the 4th Emp:<sup>3</sup> and has buried the bones of the Prophet, with divers other saints:<sup>4</sup> Neere this we visited *St. Lukes* famous for the Tomb of *Peter Aretine*.<sup>5</sup>

Tuesday we continued to see severall other Churches, as *St. Maria*<sup>6</sup> newly incrusted with Marble without, & adorn'd with Porphyrie, Ophit & Spartan stone:<sup>7</sup> neere the Altar & under the Organ are Sculptures that are said to be of the

---

accurate. It represented the death of St. Peter Martyr; it was destroyed in 1867.

<sup>1</sup> S. Giorgio dei Greci. Short notices in Pflaumern, p. 53; Raymond, p. 200; and Lassels, ii. 422; see also Coryat, pp. 227-30.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the *filioque* clause in the Nicene Creed. Evelyn mentions the dispute in his *History of Religion*, ii. 243.

<sup>3</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 53. 'Of Greeke building' does not refer to the style but is a translation of 'Græcorum quoque opus est'. Pflaumern probably follows Sansovino, who states that Giustiniano Participatio built or restored the church at the request of the emperor Leo IV in 827: f. 26. The dates do not fit; it has been suggested that the emperor should be Leo V and the date slightly earlier: R. Cattaneo, *L'architettura in Italia dal secolo VI al mille circa*, 1888, p. 237. The church was rebuilt between 1458 and 1515.

<sup>4</sup> There seems to be some doubt as to whether the relics are those of Zechariah the prophet or of St. Zacharias, father of John the Baptist: Sansovino, f. 27; Martini-  
oni, p. 86.

<sup>5</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 53-4. Pietro Aretino, 1492-1556, the satirist; his tomb is now lost: C. Bertani, *Pietro Aretino*, 1901, pp. 235-8.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 57-8. S. Maria dei Miracoli. The building, apparently including the incrustation, was completed by 1489: P. Paoletti, *L'architettura e la scultura del rinascimento in Venezia*, 1893, ii. 207.

<sup>7</sup> 'Fronte tenus ophite Spartanóve lapide ac porphyrite obducta.' The Spartan stone is presumably green porphyry, of which a variety is found near Sparta and which is sometimes confused with serpentine: *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., arts. Porphyry, Serpentine.

famous Artist Praxitiles:<sup>1</sup> To that of St: Paulo, I went purposely to see the Tomb of *Titian*:<sup>2</sup> then to St. *John Evangelist*, where among other Heros, lies Andr: Balduarius<sup>a</sup> the inventor of Oares applied to greate Vessells for fight:<sup>3</sup> Also we saw *St. Rock*<sup>4</sup> the roofe whereof is with the Schola or hall of that rich Confraternity admirably painted by *Tintoret*, especialy the *Crucifix* in the *Sacristia*:<sup>b</sup> The Church of St. *Sebastiano*<sup>5</sup> & Carmelites Monastrie:<sup>6</sup>

Next day taking our Gudalo at St. Marks, I passd to the Iland of *St. Georgio Maggior*,<sup>7</sup> where is a Convent of Benedictines, and a Church incomparably built, by *Andrea Palladio* the greate Architect: The Pavement, Cupola, Coire, Pictures, infinitely rich & sumptuous: The Cloyster (h)as a fine Garden to it, which is a rare thing at Venice, though this be in an Iland a little distant from the Cittie, & has an Olive Orchard all invirond by the Sea: The new Cloyster now building, has a noble stayrecase to it, pav'd with white & black marble: From hence we visite S: *Spirito*<sup>8</sup> & St. *Laurence*<sup>9</sup> faire Churches in severall Ilands; but most

<sup>a</sup> Spelling uncertain; altered from *Baldrarius*?    <sup>b</sup> Or *Sacristea*.

<sup>1</sup> Pflaumern attributes to Praxiteles the figures of boys beneath the organ; the attribution from Sansovino, f. 63. They form part of a series of reliefs belonging originally to Ravenna and apparently of Roman workmanship. They are now in the archaeological museum in the Doges' Palace: Paoletti, ii. 220; *Ausonia*, iv (1909), 249-59.

<sup>2</sup> Very carelessly taken from Pflaumern, who mentions S. Polo and S. Tomà and then describes the Frari, noticing Titian's tomb there: pp. 58-9.

<sup>3</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 59. S. Giovanni Evangelista, near the Frari. Giovanni Andrea Badoaro (Baduarius), c. 1484-1566: Sansovino, f. 71. He transformed the *galeazza da mercanzia* into the *galeazza da guerra*: Wiel, *Navy of Venice*, pp. 62-3.

<sup>4</sup> Notice in part original; but see Monconys, ii. 421-2. S. Rocco and the Scuola di S. Rocco. There were no pictures by Tintoretto on the ceiling of the church; and the room containing the Crucifixion is not a sacristy.

<sup>5</sup> Pflaumern, p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. I Carmini.

<sup>7</sup> The notice in part original, but perhaps influenced by Pflaumern, p. 65, and Raymond, p. 201; Palladio is given by Lassels, ii. 416. The attribution is correct: Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vii. 529. The new staircase, by Baldassare Longhena, was built in 1643-5: Cigogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, iv. 379; it was admired by Monconys: ii. 414.

<sup>8</sup> Pflaumern, p. 65. The church on the Isola S. Spirito.

<sup>9</sup> There is no church of this name giving its name to or occupying a

remarkable that of the *Padri Olivetani* in *St. Helens* Iland,<sup>1</sup> for the rare Paintings, & Carvings, with inlayd work &c:

We went next morning againe to *Padoä*, where next day we visited the Market, which is plentifully furnish'd, & exceedingly cheape,<sup>2</sup> here we saw the greate Hall:<sup>3</sup> built in a spacious *Piazza*, & one of the most (magnificent)<sup>4</sup> in *Europe*: its ascent is by steps a good height, & of a reddish marble polish'd much us'd in these parts, & happily found not far off:<sup>4</sup> 'tis almost 200 paces long, and 40 in bredth,<sup>5</sup> all coverd with lead, without any sustaint<sup>6</sup> of Columns: at the farther end stands the *bust* of *Titus Livius* the famous Historian<sup>7</sup>

## VE

T. LIVIUS. LIVIAE. T.F.  
 QUARTAEL. HALYS. CONCORDIALIS  
 SIBI. ET. SUIS  
 OMNIBUS.

\* MS. *nagnificent*.

special island. It is probably Evelyn's mistake for S. Lázaro, which Pflaumern mentions in association with S. Spirito and S. Elena: p. 65.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 65-6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Raymond, p. 208.

<sup>3</sup> Notice partly original, partly derived from Pflaumern, pp. 77-9, and Raymond, pp. 212-51. The Palazzo della Ragione or Salone. Apart from restorations, the building remains much as Evelyn saw it. Good description in Coryat, pp. 130-7.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably reddish Verona marble; it is used extensively in Venice: E. Hull, *Treatise on the building and ornamental stones, &c.*, 1872, pp. 132-3.

<sup>5</sup> 'Longam passus CLXXX. C. alii scribunt CXIOX. latam XL.': Pflaumern, p. 77; the correct reading should be '. . . CLXXX. alii scribunt CXIX. . .': see first ed., p. 60, and errata. The length

is 267 ft., the breadth 89 ft.

<sup>6</sup> This word is not given in *O.E.D.*

<sup>7</sup> The monument includes, besides other decoration, the modern bust of Livy; the antique inscription commemorating a freedman of Livia Quarta; and a modern inscription containing some verses in honour of Livy and the statement relating to his death given by Evelyn. It was set up in 1547: Portenari, p. 99. Evelyn copies both inscriptions from Raymond. The correct reading of the first is 'V.F / T. LIVIVS / LIVIAE. T.F. / QUARTAEL. L / HALYS / CONCORDIALIS / PATAVI / SIBI · ET · SVIS / OMNIBVS': *C.I.L.*, vol. v, no. 2865. The correct explanation was apparently first given by M. Gudius between 1652 and 1659: S. Orsato, *Li marmi eruditi*, 1659, pp. 142-63. The arm of Livy at Naples (above, pp. 328-9) came from a tomb to which this inscription was supposed to have belonged: *C.I.L.*, as above.

*T. Livius 4<sup>o</sup> Imperij Tib. Cæsaris Anno Vita excessit ætatis vero suæ (LXXVI).<sup>a</sup>*

Neere (which is)<sup>b</sup> the monument of *Speron Speronij*,<sup>1</sup> on the Ceiling is painted the Cælestial *Zodiaque*, & other Astronomical figures;<sup>2</sup> without gos a *Corridor* in manner of a *Balcone* of the same Stone,<sup>3</sup> and at entrie of the 3 gates, the head of some famous person, as *Albert Eremitano*, *Jul: Paullo*, Lawyers & *Peter Aponius*.<sup>4</sup> In the *Piazza* is the *Podestas & Capitano Grandes* Palace,<sup>5</sup> well built, but above all the *Monte Pietà*, the front whereof is of most excellent Architecture:<sup>6</sup> There are of these in most of the Citties in Italy, where there's a continual banque of mony, to assist the poorer sort, upon any paune, & at reasonable Interest: together with Magazins for such goods (as) are repositied, til redeemed &c: We return'd home by the house where *Livy* was borne,<sup>7</sup> full of Incriptions, & pretty faire: hence to the *Scholes* of this flourishing & antient University,<sup>8</sup> especially

<sup>a</sup> MS. LXXVII.

<sup>b</sup> MS. *with*.

<sup>1</sup> From Pflaumern. Sperone Speroni, 1500–88, poet: *Nouvelle biog. gén.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Raymond, p. 213, and Lassels, ii. 431. The frescoes cover the upper part of the walls, not the ceiling.

<sup>3</sup> In Raymond as 'of Marble': p. 213. Evelyn evidently means the reddish marble already mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> From Pflaumern. Alberto Eremitano (Alberto di Padova), *fl.* 1283, theologian: *Encic. italiana*; Julius Paulus, *fl. c.* 200–25, jurist; he has no authenticated connexion with Padua: Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyc.*, art. Julius, no. 382; Pietro d'Abano (Petrus de Apono), *c.* 1246–*c.* 1320, doctor, alchemist, &c.: *Nouvelle biog. gén.* There was a fourth door with a bust of Livy. The four busts are said to have been set up in 1565: Coryat, p. 136.

<sup>5</sup> Raymond mentions the palace of the *podestà* and then explains the offices of the *podestà* and of the

'*Capitan Grande*', not mentioning the latter's palace: p. 216; Lassels gives the palace of the '*Capitano Grandè*,' not mentioning that of the *podestà*: ii. 431; Evelyn perhaps regarded the two notices as applying to a single palace. The former palace is now the Palazzo del Municipio; it adjoins the Salone. The latter is the Palazzo del Capitano; it is not in the same square as the Salone.

<sup>6</sup> Original notice. The Monte di Pietà, in the vicinity of the Palazzo del Capitano. Rossetti, p. 302.

<sup>7</sup> Mentioned as Livy's house by Pflaumern, p. 78. It is an elaborately decorated renaissance house, apparently built *c.* 1500, and now known as the Casa degli Specchi (Via del Vescovado, no. 31): Schott, 1669, pp. 259–61; Foligno, *Story of Padua*, pp. 305–6. It is fully described by Coryat, pp. 137–42.

<sup>8</sup> The description of the university buildings is taken almost



for the studie of *Physic & Anatomie*: They are fairly built in quadrangle, with Cloysters beneath, & above with Columns: Over the greate gate, are the Armes of the *Venetian State*; & under the Lion of *St. Marc*

*Sic ingredere ut teipso quotidie doctior, sic egredere ut indies Patriæ, Christianæque Reipublicæ utilior evadas: Ita demum Gymnasium à se feliciter ornatum existimabit. (CIO . IO.C.)<sup>a</sup>*

About the Court Walls, are carv'd in stone & painted the blazons of the Consuls of all the Nations, that from time to time have had that charge & honor in the Universitie: Which at my being there was my worthy friend Dr. *Rogers*,<sup>1</sup> who here tooke that Degree. It is above that the Scholes for the Lectures of the severall Siences are; but none of them comparable, or so much frequented as the Theater for Anatomies, which is excellently contriv'd both for the dissector & spectators: I was this day invited to dinner, & in the afternoone being July 30th, received my *Matricula*,<sup>2</sup> being resolved to spend some moneths here at study, especialy *Physic & Anatomie*, of both which here were now the most

\* MS. CIO.IX.

entirely from Raymond, pp. 211-12; Raymond, p. 209, and Pflaumer, p. 79, refer to the eminence of Padua in medical studies. The decoration of the façade of the building has been somewhat altered; otherwise it is much as Evelyn saw it; the anatomy theatre still exists. For the university at this time see J. P. Tomasinus, *Gymnasium Patavinum*, 1654.

<sup>1</sup> George Rogers, 1618-97; D.Med., Padua, 1646: *D.N.B.* He was elected consul for the English nation on 1 Aug. 1645, his successor on 3 Aug. 1646: J. A. Andrich, *De natione Anglica et Scota iuristarum universitatis Patavinae*, 1892, p. 57. He received his doctor's degree on 30 April 1646, when Evelyn and other Englishmen in Padua addressed

complimentary Latin poems to him: see his *Oratio anniversaria*, 1682, pp. 25-41. Further notice below, 15 Aug. 1682.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn's matriculation certificate, a printed form completed in MS., is preserved at Wotton. The date is confirmed by the entry in the register: Andrich, p. 146. He had signed the visitors' album on 29 July: H. F. Brown, 'Ingesi e Scozzesi all' Università di Padova', no. 334, in *Monografie storiche sullo Studio di Padova*, 1922. A man named Richard Harris appears in both lists on the same days, and was perhaps a travelling companion at this time; James Thicknesse (below, p. 470) does not appear in either list; Henshaw not until 19 and 22 November.

famous Professors then in *Europe*. My *Matricula* is in this forme

*Nos Johannes Raymundus à Lamberg Liber Baro in Orffennegg et Ottenstein Dominus in Stokern Minehau et Ebenthall<sup>1</sup> (who were Syndics of the Jurists) In Alma Universitate D.D. Juristarum Patavini Archigymnasij Pro Rector, et syndicus, cum singularum Nationum Consiliarijs, Universis et singulis fidem facimus, et attestamus, quod infrascriptus est noster scholasticus descriptus in Matricula, et ob id gaudet omnibus, et quibuscunque privilegijs, immunitatibusque scholasticis, et exemptionibus Datiorum Almæ nostræ Universitati Concessis, a Sereniss: Dominio Veneto, atque in nostro libro statutorum insertis. Ipsum propterea immunem, ac exemptum pariter, et omnia bona, famulos, nuntiosque suos esse volumus ab omni Datij, Gabellæ, Regalium, et quarumcunque Représaliarum solutione. Hortamur itaque, et præsentium tenore jubemus omnes et singulos Datij Præsidentes, Datiarios, eorumque Ministros, Officiales, Præsertim Civitatis Venetiarum, Fluminum Palaferios,<sup>2</sup> Portitores quarumlibet Civitatum, Portarum Custodes Sereniss: Duc: Dominijs Venetorum, ut infrascriptum, famulos et Nuncios suos, cum bonis, et rebus tam mobilibus, quam se moventibus, cujuscunque generis, et Conditionis pro se, et familiæ suæ usu necessarijs, et honorificis, ad Civitatem hanc venire, transire, redire, emere, conducere, vendere, absque alicujus, Datij, Gabellæ, Regalium, Portitorii, transitu(s) Pontium, Représalium, et introitus solutione permittant; Etiamsi vina transveherentur huc, aut emerentur, alienæ Vineæ, vel Territorij quàm Patavini. Quæ omnia de jure, et ex nostrorum statutorum forma facere tenentur,*

<sup>1</sup> The jurists had one syndic every year; all the titles presumably belong to Johann Raymund von Lamberg. Orffennegg is given on the certificate as Ortenegg; it should be Ortenegg (Orteneck); Stokern should be Stockern: F. K. Wissgrill, *Schauplatz des landsässigen Niederoesterreichischen Adels*, vol. v, 1804, pp. 386-7, &c. Lamberg had left Padua in February; a deputy

took his place until 1 August, when a new syndic was appointed: J. Facciolati, *Fasti gymnasij patavini*, 1757, iii. 47.

<sup>2</sup> This word is not given by Du Cange; in the Italian version of the certificate (see below) it is given as 'Pallatieri de Fiumi'. Cf. the modern Italian *palata*, a river-bank made of piles.

*et obligati sunt sub pœna librarum Centum &c: Alioquin &c: In quorum fidem has nostras per infrascriptum Cancellarium nostrum fieri, et nostræ Universitatis solito sigillo communiri jussimus.*

*Dat: Patavii ex Offic: Universitatis nostræ Juristarum;  
Die 30 Mensis Julij et Anni 1645.<sup>a</sup>*

And after the same in *Italian*<sup>1</sup> *D. Joannis Evelynus Anglus.*

*Carolus von Holten,<sup>2</sup> Inclytæ Nationis Germanicæ  
Consiliarius, loco prorectoris ac Syndici.*

With his seale, Then the Seale of the Universitie, & underneath *Antonius Nicomus*<sup>3</sup> *Nost: Pæd<sup>e</sup>: ac: gl:<sup>b</sup> Almæ Univers: V: Cancel: Wh.<sup>b</sup>* Then the Armes of the *Syndicus* & State of *Venice* &c:

Next morning I went to see the Garden of Simples,<sup>4</sup> rarely furnishd with plants, and gave order to the Gardner to make me a Collection of them for an *hortus hyemalis*,<sup>5</sup> by permission of the Cavalier Dr. Vestlingius<sup>6</sup> their Præfect, & Botanic Professor, as well as *Anatomic*:

Next morning the *Earle of Arundel* (now in this City) and famous<sup>c</sup> Collector of Paintings & Antiquities, invited me to go with him to see the Garden of *Mantua*,<sup>7</sup> where as one

<sup>a</sup> Some words are not underlined in MS.  
<sup>c</sup> Followed by *Ant.* deleted.

<sup>b</sup> Reading doubtful.

<sup>1</sup> The line giving the date is not repeated.

<sup>2</sup> He was *syndicus iuristarum* in 1646–7: Facciolati, iii. 48. His signature is preceded by that of Michael Schmidt, *syndicus*; the rest illegible; he was Lamberg's deputy.

<sup>3</sup> The signature should perhaps read *Miomus*. I have been unable to check the rest.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Raymond, p. 218. It was founded in 1533, the oldest public botanic garden in Europe. See Tomasinus, *Gymnasium*, pp. 82–90; list of plants growing in it in 1644, *ibid.*, pp. 99–132. It still exists.

<sup>5</sup> A *hortus siccus*, an arranged collection of dried plants. Evelyn's was still preserved at Wotton in

1884: J. S. Bright, *History of Dorking*, 1884, p. 315.

<sup>6</sup> Johann Vesling, 1598–1649: *Allgemeine deutsche Biog.* He was professor of anatomy from 1631 to 1649, and prefect of the botanic garden from 1638 to 1649; he was also professor of surgery from 1631 to 1638, &c.: Facciolati, iii. 391, 403.

<sup>7</sup> Mentioned by Raymond, with the *Hercules*: p. 216. The palace, situated near the *Eremitani*, belonged to the *Benavidii*, called *Mantua*: *Portenari*, p. 458. It is still preserved; the *Hercules*, as well as the general design of the building and some of the other sculpture, is by *Ammanati*.

enters stands a huge Colosse of Hercules. From hence to a place where was a roome cover'd with a noble Cupola built purposely for Musique,<sup>1</sup> the fillings up, or *Core* 'twixt the Walls were of urnes & earthen potts for the better sounding, it was also well painted.

After dinner we walked to the Palace of *Foscari all' Arena*,<sup>2</sup> there re(m)aining yet some appearances of an antient theater, though serving now for a Court onely before the house. There were kept in it two *Eagles*, a Crane, a Mauritanian Sheepe,<sup>3</sup> a stag, and sundry foule as in a Vivarie: Three days after I returnd to *Venice*, and pass'd over to *Muran*<sup>4</sup> famous for the best Glasses of the World, where having viewed their furnaces & seene them work, I made a Collection of divers Curiosities & Glasses which I sent for England by long sea: Tis the white flints which they have from *Pavia* which the(y) pound & sieft exceedingly small, & mix with Ashes made of a Sea-Weede they bring out of *Syria*, & a white sand, that causes this manufacture to excell:<sup>5</sup> The Towne is a *Podestaria* by it selfe, at some miles distant on the Sea from *Venice*, & like it, built upon severall small Ilands.<sup>6</sup> In this place are excellent *Oysters*,<sup>7</sup> small, &

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the casino of the Palazzo Giustiniani, built for Alvise (Luigi) Cornaro c. 1524; description in S. Serlio, *Tutte le Opere d'Architettura*, ed. 1584, bk. vii, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Raymond, p. 216. It adjoined Giotto's chapel; it was destroyed c. 1820: A. Moschetti, *The Scrovegni Chapel*, 1907, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Not identifiable.

<sup>4</sup> Murano. Cf. Raymond, p. 199; Pflaumern, pp. 67–9.

<sup>5</sup> Pflaumern describes the process of making the glass; the ingredients are put together from several sources, of which the most important is Sandys, p. 116 (or F. Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum*, 1627, no. 770). The white sand, which should not be included in the list of ingredients, is probably taken from (Sir) Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant*,

3rd ed., 1638, p. 36 (MS. references to Bacon and Blount are given in the margin of the copy of the 1632 edition of Sandys in the British Museum; see note on sources for Naples). Further Evelyn appears to have known A. Neri, *L'arte vetraria*, 1612, or a later edition; or more probably the English translation, *The Art of Glass*, 1662; this gives the stones from the Ticino as flints and the weed as coming from Syria. For Venetian glass in general see Victoria and Albert Museum, *Glass: a handbook*, by W. B. Honey, 1946, pp. 55–71.

<sup>6</sup> Original notice. A *podestaria* (modern Italian *podesteria*) here is a jurisdiction.

<sup>7</sup> Also mentioned by Pflaumern, p. 67, and Coryat, pp. 248–9.

well tasted, like our *Colchester*, & they were the first, as I remember, that in my life I ever could eate; for I had naturally an aversion to them. At our returne to *Venice* we met severall *Gudolas* full of *Venetian* Ladys, who come thus far in fine weather to take the aire, with Musique & other refreshments: Besides that *Muran* is it selfe a very nobly built towne, & has divers noblemens Palaces in it, and handsome Gardens:<sup>1</sup> In coming back we saw the Ilands of St. *Christopher*<sup>2</sup> & St. *Michael*,<sup>3</sup> the last of which has a Church most incomparably inrich'd & incrusted with Marble & other architectonic Ornaments, which the Monkes very Courteously shew'd us: twas built & founded by *Margaret Æmiliana*<sup>4</sup> of *Verona* who had ben a (famous)<sup>a</sup> *Courtezan*, or rather sinner, purchasing a greate estate for the use of her body,<sup>5</sup> & by this hoping to commute for her soule: Then rowed by the Iles of St. *Nicholas*,<sup>6</sup> whose church with the Monuments of the *Justinian* family entertaind us a while, & so got home.

The next morning Cap: Powell<sup>7</sup> (Master of the Vessell which had ben stop'd by the State, to go to Candy, & in which I was to Embark towards Turkey) invited me on board,

<sup>a</sup> MS. *famour*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pflaumern, pp. 68–9. See Lassels, ii. 424; Molmenti, ii. 383–9. These gardens have almost completely disappeared.

<sup>2</sup> Pflaumern, p. 69. This island was joined to S. Michele c. 1813, the two now forming a cemetery: Molmenti and D. Mantovani, *Le isole della Laguna veneta*, 1904 ('Italia artistica'), p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 69–70. The church belonged to Camaldolese hermits who had to be asked to open it. It is still preserved.

<sup>4</sup> Margherita Vitturi, widow of Giovanni Miani or Emiliani, d. c. 1485, left money for the foundation of a chapel which was built in 1530: F. Cornelius (Cornaro), *Ecclesiæ Torcellanæ*, 1749, iii. 86–9. In Pflaumern she appears as the patrician

matron Miana, the foundress according to some writers, and as Margareta Æmiliana, the supposed courtesan.

<sup>5</sup> 'Cum prius corpore quæstum fecisset, corrogatis amplissimis opibus denique rediit ad frugem', &c.; the rest of the sentence is probably original; cf. Coryat, p. 249.

<sup>6</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 70–1. Pflaumern first mentions an island of St. Nicholas, formerly called S. Niccolò della Cavana, near Mazzorbo: Albrizzi, *Forestiere illuminato*, p. 298; he then describes the church of S. Niccolò di Lido. Evelyn's notice refers to this church; the blessed Niccolò Giustiniani was buried here; for his history see Sansovino, ff. 84, 230. See also C. Malagola, *Le Lido de Venise*, 1909, p. 110.

<sup>7</sup> Mentioned above, p. 451.

lying about 10 miles from *Venice*, where we had a good dinner, of English pouderd beefe,<sup>1</sup> & other good meate, with store of Wine, & greate Gunns,<sup>2</sup> as the manner is: After dinner the Captaine presented me with a stone he lately brought from *Gran(d) Cairo*, which he tooke from the Mummy-pitts,<sup>3</sup> full of *Hieroglyphics*, which I designd on paper, with the true dimensions<sup>a</sup> & sent in a letter to Mr. ⟨Henshaw⟩,<sup>b</sup> to communicate to Father Kircher, who was then setting forth his greate work *Obeliscus Pamphilius*, where it is described, though without mentioning my Name at all:<sup>4</sup> The stone was afterward brought for me into England, landed at Wapping, where before I could heare of it, it was broken into severall fragments, & utterly defaced to my no small affliction: The Boate-swaine of the ship also gave me an hand & foote of rare ⟨Mummy⟩,<sup>c</sup> the nailes wheroff had ben overlaid with thin plates of Gold, & the whole body perfect, when he brought it out of *Egypt*, but the avarice of the Sailers & Ships Crue, brake it in pieces & divided the body among them, which was greate pitty: he presente⟨d⟩ me also with 2 Egyptian Idols, & some loaves of the Bread which the *Coptics* use in the H: Sacrament, with other curiosities:

August: 8 I had newes from *Padoä* of my Election to be *Syndicus Artistarum*, which caused me (after two days idling in a Country Villa, with the Consul of *Venice*)<sup>6</sup> to hasten

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *to my* deleted.

<sup>b</sup> MS. *Henshaw*.

<sup>c</sup> MS. *Mummy*.

<sup>1</sup> Salted or preserved beef.

<sup>2</sup> A gun was a flagon of ale: *O.E.D.*

<sup>3</sup> Near Memphis (at Sakkarah): Sandys, p. 133.

<sup>4</sup> For Kircher's two works on hieroglyphics see above, p. 270 n.; below, May 1656. Evelyn's stone is figured in the *Oedipus*, II. ii. 456; Henshaw is named (as 'Henschau') on p. 457. Evelyn inserted a drawing of the stone in a copy of *Thesaurus Hieroglyphicorum è museo Ioannis Georgii Herwart ab Hohenburg*, n.d.; he gave the volume to the Bodleian Library, where it is

still preserved, on '16 March 1654'. He figured an Egyptian statuette, made 'ex latere cocto', on the same sheet.

<sup>5</sup> There was a regular trade in mummies in Cairo: Sandys, p. 133.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps Michael Francis, acting as consul on 1 July of this year and retaining the post, probably rather precariously, until 1648: P.R.O., S.P. 99/45 (For., Venice, 1642-60), no. 38; *Cal. S.P., Venice, 1647-52*, p. 62. But Evelyn may be applying the title to the far more noteworthy John Hobson (below, p. 476), who perhaps already claimed the office.

thither, that I might dissingage my selfe of that honour, because it was not onely Chargeable, but would have hindred my progresse; so as the(y) chose a Dutch Gentleman in my place, which did not well please my Countrymen, who had not labourd a little to do me the greatest honour, a stranger is Capable of in that Universitie:<sup>1</sup> Being freed of this impediment, & taken leave of Dr. *Janicius a Polonian*, & who was going Physitian in the *Venetian Gallys for Candy*, I went againe to *Venice*, & made Collection of severall Books, & some other tags:<sup>2</sup> Three days after, I return'd to *Padoa*, where I studied hard 'till the arivall of Mr. *Henshaw, Bramstone*<sup>3</sup> & some other English Gent: whom I had left at *Rome*, & who made me go back with them to *Venice*, where I spent some time in shewing them what I had seene there:

The 26 September my deare friend, & 'til now Constant fellow Traveller Mr. *Thicknesse*, being oblig'd to returne into England upon his particular Concerne, & who had served his Majestie in the Warrs; I accompanied him part of his way, & 28, returnd to *Venice*: On *Michaelmas* day I went with my *Lord Mowbray*<sup>4</sup> (eldest son to the *Earle of Arundell*, & a most worthy Person) to see the Collection of a Noble *Venetian Signor Rugini*:<sup>5</sup> he has a stately Palace, richly furnish'd, with

<sup>1</sup> There was some difficulty in finding a *syndicus artistarum* for 1645–6; eventually the two *consilarii* of the Germans performed his functions for the year: Facciolati, *Fasti*, iii. 232.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps a slip for 'things' or 'toys'.

<sup>3</sup> Francis Bramston, d. 1683; knighted 1678; baron of the exchequer 1678–9: *D.N.B.* He was a brother of Sir John Bramston of the *Autobiography* and, like Evelyn, a Middle Templar. The placing of the present and of the subsequent notices relating to him and Henshaw is questionable: they matriculated at Padua on 22 November: Andrich, p. 146; Henshaw signed the visitors' album on 19 November; Bramston's signature is not dated,

but probably belongs to the same day: H. F. Brown, nos. 343–4. For Bramston see also below, 3 Aug. 1668.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Frederick Howard, 1608–52; summoned to parliament as Lord Mowbray 1640; third earl of Arundel, 1646: *D.N.B.*; some letters from him are printed in Hervey, *Arundel*.

<sup>5</sup> An apparently important collection of antiques formed by Federico Contarini and inherited by Carlo Ruzini, who added pictures, medals, petrifications, &c.; it now belonged to Ruzini or a member of his family: Stringa, ff. 258–9 v.; Martinioni, pp. 373–4. Evelyn mentions the petrifications again in his notes to Lucretius, bk. i, p. 130.

statues, heads of the *Roman Empp*, which are all plac'd in an ample roome: In the next was a Cabinet of *Medals* both *Latine & Greeke*, with divers curious shells, & two faire *Pearles* in 2 of them: but above all, he abounded in things petrified, Walnuts, Eggs, in which the *Yealk* rattl'd, a Peare, a piece of beefe, with the bones in it; an whole hedg-hog, a plaice on a Wooden Trencher turnd into Stone, & very perfect: Charcoale, a morsel of *Cork*, yet retaining its levitie, Sponges, Gutts, & a piece of Taffity: Part rolld up, with innumerable more; In another Cabinet, sustaind by 12 pillars of oriental *Achat*, & raild about with Chrystal, he shew'd us severall noble Intaglias, of *Achat*, especialy a *Tiberius's* head, & a Woman in a Bath with her dog: Some rare *Cornelians*, *Onixes*, *Chrystals* &c in one of which was a drop of Water not Congeal'd but plainly moving up & down as it was ⟨shaken⟩:<sup>a</sup> but above all was a *Diamond* which had growing in it a very faire *Rubie*; Then he<sup>b</sup> shew'd us divers pieces of *Amber* wherein were several *Insects* intomb'd, in particular one cut like an heart, that contain'd ⟨in⟩ it a *Salamander*,<sup>2</sup> without the least defect; & many curious pieces of Mosaic: The fabrique of this Cabinet was very ingenious thick set with *Achats*, *Turcoies*, & other precious stones, in the midst of which a *dog* in stone scratching his Eare, very rarely cut, & Antique, & comparable to the greatest Curiositie I had ever seene of that kind, for the accuratenesse of the work: The next chamber had a Bedstead all inlayd with *Achats*, *Chrystals*, *Cornelians*, *Lazuli* &c, esteemed worth 16000 Crounes: but for the most part the Bedsteds in *Italy* are all of forged Iron gilded,<sup>c</sup> since tis impossible to keepe the wooden ones from the *Chimices*:<sup>3</sup>

From hence I return'd to *Padoa*, when that Towne was so infested with Souldiers,<sup>4</sup> that many houses were broken open

<sup>a</sup> MS. *shoken*.

<sup>b</sup> Altered from *the*.

<sup>c</sup> Followed by *to k-* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 331 n.

<sup>2</sup> According to Martinioni 'una Lucertola', a lizard.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. *cimici*, bugs. See Raymond,

introd.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably troops raised for the Cretan war.



in the night, some Murders committed; The *Nunns*<sup>1</sup> next our<sup>a</sup> lodging disturb'd, so as we were forc'd to be upon our guard, with *Pistols*, & other fire armes to defend our doores: And indeede the students themselves take a barbarous liberty in the Evenings, when they go to their strumpets, to stop all that go by the house, where any of their Companions in folly, are with them: This costome they call *Chi va li*; so as the streetes are very dangerous, when the Evenings grow dark; nor is it easy to reforme an intollerable usage, where there are so many strangers, of severall Nations:<sup>2</sup> Using to drink my Wine coold with Snow & Ice, as the manner here is, I was so afflicted with an *Angina*<sup>3</sup> & soare Throat, that it had almost cost me my life; for after all the remedies Cavalier *Vestlingius*<sup>4</sup> (chiefe Professor here) could apply, old Salvatico<sup>5</sup> (that famous Physitian) being call'd, made (me) be cupp'd & scarified in the back in 4 places, which began to give me breath, & consequently life, for I was in uttmost danger; but God being mercifull to me, I was after a fortnights being indisposd abroad againe, when changing my Lodging, I went over against *Pozzo Pinto*,<sup>6</sup> where I bought for Winter provision 3000 weight of excellent grapes, & pressed my owne

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *house* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn later lodged near S. Caterina (see below); this notice is perhaps connected with the nuns there.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Raymond, pp. 209-10, where also the challenge is given. See M. Borgherini-Scarabellin, *La vita privata a Padova nel secolo XVII* (R. Deputazione veneta di storia patria, *Miscellanea*, 3rd ser., vol. xii, 1917), pp. 167-74; cf. Molmenti, iii. 395 n. Homicides were fairly frequent; in 1645 there was a three days' struggle between two sections of the students.

<sup>3</sup> A quinsy: *O.E.D.*

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 466.

<sup>5</sup> Benedetto Salvatico, 1575-1658. He taught medicine in Padua from 1602, eventually becoming 'pro-

fessor supra ordinarius'. His *Consiliorum et responsorum medicinalium centuriæ quatuor*, 1656 (another ed., 1662), includes a commendatory poem by (Sir) John Finch: Portenari, p. 251; Facciolati, iii. 333-4, &c.; Schott, 1649, pt. i, f. 19 v.; J. Salomonius, *Urbis patavinæ inscriptiones*, 1696-1708, ii. 514, &c. (as 'Sylvaticus'); information from a member of the Selvatico family through Dr. H. Maynard Smith.

<sup>6</sup> Properly Pozzo Dipinto: Borgherini-Scarabellin, p. 169. The former Via Pozzo Dipinto is now the Via Cesare Battisti. S. Caterina is situated in this street; Evelyn presumably changed lodgings only once.

Wine, which proved incomparable Liquor: This was on the 10 of *October*: Soone after came to Visite me from *Venice* Mr. Henry Howard,<sup>1</sup> grand child to the *Earle of Arundel*: Mr. *Bramstone*, son to Judge *Bramston*<sup>2</sup> Lord Chiefe Justice: & Mr. *Henshaw*, with whom I went againe to another part of the Citty to Lodge neere St. *Catharins*<sup>3</sup> over against the Monasterie of Nunns, where we hired the whole house, and lived very nobly: Here I learned on the *Theorba* of Signor *Dominico Bassano*, who had a daughter, married to a *Doctor* of *Laws*, that played, and sung to 9 severall Instruments, with that skill, & adresse, as few Masters in Italy exceeded her, she likewise Composd divers excellent pieces: I had never seene any play on the Naples Viol<sup>4</sup> before: She presented me afterwards with 2 *Recitativas* of hers, both Words & Musique: & it ended in (a) Collation. The 31 of Octob: being my Birth-day, the *Nunns* of St. *Catherines* sent me flowers of silk-work: We were very studious all this Winter till Christmas, when on Twelwe day we invited all the English & Scotts in Towne (the Earle of Arundel excepted) to a Feast, which sunk our excellent Wine considerably:

1646. In January Signor *Molino*<sup>5</sup> was chosen *Dodge*, but the extreame snow that fell, & the cold hindred my going to see the solemnity, so as I stirrd not from *Padoa* til *Shrovetide*,<sup>6</sup> when all the world repaire to *Venice* to see the folly & madnesse of the *Carnevall*;<sup>7</sup> The Women, Men & persons of all Conditions disguising themselves in antique dresses, & extravagant Musique & a thousand gambols, & traversing the

<sup>1</sup> 1628–84; second son of Lord Mowbray; created Baron Howard of Castle Rising 1669; earl of Norwich 1672; succeeded his brother as sixth duke of Norfolk 1677: *D.N.B.* Frequent notices below.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Bramston the elder, 1577–1654; lord chief justice 1635–42: *D.N.B.* For Francis Bramston and Henshaw see above, p. 470 n.

<sup>3</sup> See note above. The nuns were Augustinian canonesses (*Illuminate*): Portenari, p. 479; Rossetti, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> This instrument is apparently

not mentioned elsewhere.

<sup>5</sup> Francesco da Molino, d. 1655; elected 20 January. Martinioni, pp. 701, 726.

<sup>6</sup> Shrove Tuesday this year fell on 13 February.

<sup>7</sup> In Venice the carnival began on 26 December and ended on Shrove Tuesday; but the last few days were the most important. Masks were worn during the whole season. See Molmenti, iii. 203–6; St. Didier, pp. 341–3; and the plates in G. Franco, *Habiti*.

streetes from house to house, all places being then accessible, & free to enter: There is abroad nothing but flinging of Eggs fill'd with sweete Waters, & sometimes not over sweete;<sup>1</sup> they also have a barbarous costome of hunting bulls about the Streetes & Piazzas, which is very dangerous, the passages being generally so narrow in that Citty:<sup>2</sup> Likewise do the youth of the severall Wards & parrishes contend in other Masteries or pastimes,<sup>3</sup> so as tis altogether impossible to recount the universal madnesse of this place during this time of licence: Now are the greate banks set up for those who will play at Basset,<sup>4</sup> the Comedians have also liberty & the *Operas* to Exercise:<sup>a</sup> Witty pasquils are likewise thrown about, & the Mountebanks have their stages in every Corner:<sup>5</sup> The diversion which chiefly tooke me up, was three noble *Operas*<sup>6</sup> which I saw, where was incomparable Voices, & Musique: The most celebrated of which was the famous *Anna Rencha*,<sup>7</sup> whom we invited to a *Fishdinner*, after 4 daies in Lent, that they had given over at the Theater; when accompanied with an *Eunuch* (whom she brought with her) she entertaind us with rare Musique,<sup>b</sup> both of them singing

<sup>a</sup> Spelling uncertain; perhaps *Ecercise*.

<sup>b</sup> Followed by *she* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Coryat, frontispiece, the explanation by L. Whitaker. See also p. 332 above.

<sup>2</sup> Chasing bulls was a favourite amusement, not restricted to Carnival; on the last Thursday in Carnival it took place in the Piazzetta: see the plates in Franco; cf. Molmenti, iii. 213.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn probably refers to the contests on the bridges between bands of young men from either side of the Grand Canal; fists only were allowed; the season for them appears to have been between September and Christmas. They continued into the eighteenth century: see the plates in Franco; Molmenti, i. 204-5, and illustrations, pp. 207-8; iii. 213.

<sup>4</sup> The *ridotto*: above, p. 451.

<sup>5</sup> The mountebanks appear to have been sometimes simple performers of the *commedia dell' arte*; their reputation as vendors of quack medicines is largely due to Coryat, pp. 272-5, and to Jonson's *Volpone*, II. i.

<sup>6</sup> The only operas recorded as having been performed this year are: G. F. Businello, *L'incoronazione di Poppea*, music by Monteverde, at the Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paolo; and Businello, *La prosperità infelice di Giulio Cesare dittatore*, music by F. Cavalli, at the Teatro Nuovissimo: L. N. Galvani, *Teatri musicali*, pp. 32, 69. Monteverde's opera had been first performed in 1642; other operas may have been revived without leaving any record.

<sup>7</sup> Above, p. 450.

to an Harpsichord: It growing late a Gentleman of *Venice* came for her, to shew her the *Gallys* now ready to set sayle for *Candia*: This Entertainment produc'd a second, which was given us by the English Consul<sup>1</sup> of the Merchants, inviting us to his house, where he had the *Gendeze*,<sup>2</sup> the most celebrated base in *Italy*, who was of the late *Opera*: this divers(i)on held us so late at night, that conveying a Gentlewoman (that supped with us) to her *Gundola* at the usual place of landing; we were shot at by two *Carbines* from out another *Gundola*, in which was a *Noble Venetian* & his *Curtezana*, unwilling it seemes to be disturb'd, which made us run in, and fetch other weapons, not knowing what the matter was, 'till we were informed of the danger we might incurr, by pursuing it farther.

Three daies after this, I tooke my leave of *Venice*, and went to *Padoa* to be present at the famous *Anatomie* Lecture, which is here celebrated with extraordinary apparatus, & lasting almost the whole Moneth, during which I saw three, a Woman, a Child, & a Man dissected, with all the manual operations of the Chirurgion upon the humane body: The one performed by Cavaliere *Vestlingius*,<sup>3</sup> & *Dr. Jo. Athelsteinus Leoncenas*,<sup>a 4</sup> of whom I purchased those rare Tables of *Veines & Nerves*,<sup>b</sup> & causd him to prepare a third of the *Lungs, liver, & Nervi sexti par*: with the *Gastric* vaines, which I transported into England, the first of that kind had ben ever seene in our Country, & for ought I know, in the World, though afterwards there were others: [Given after to the R: Society:]<sup>c 5</sup> When the *Anatomie* Lectures (which was in

<sup>a</sup> Or *Leonænas*.  
added later.

<sup>b</sup> Followed by *the* deleted.

<sup>c</sup> Marginal note

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 469 n.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 450.

<sup>3</sup> Vesling's performance on this occasion is the subject of a poem by Waller: see *Review of English Studies*, viii (1932), 203-5. The anatomy lecture appears to have begun early in Lent: Tomasinus, *Gymnasium*, p. 152.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably Joannes Leonius,

called Estensis (Atestinus) probably from his birthplace. He was Vesling's assistant from 1644 to 1649: Tomasinus, *Gymnasium*, p. 304; Facciolati, *Fasti*, iii. 391.

<sup>5</sup> There are four panels in all. Evelyn gave them to the Royal Society in 1667; they were transferred to the British Museum in 1782 and to the Royal College of

the Mornings) were ended, I went to see cures don in the *Hospitals*,<sup>1</sup> and certainly, as there are the greatest helps, & skillfullest Physitians, so there are the most miserable & deplorable objects, to exercise upon, both of Men & Women; Whores, & Virgins, Old & Young; nor is there any I should think, so prevalent document,<sup>2</sup> or lecture against the vice reigning in this licentious Country, than to be Spectator of the miserie, which these poore Creatures undergo, by Trepanning, Launcing, Salivating, Sweating, &c: They are indeede very carefully attended, and with extraordinary Charity: but I do not approve of their so freely admitting young Gentlemen Travellers to see their operations upon some of the femal Sex, who even in the midst of their tortures, are not very modest, & when they begin to be well, plainly lew'd: *March: 20* I return'd to *Venice* where I tooke leave of my Friends: The 22d was invited to excellent *English* potted Venison, at Mr. *Hobbsons*<sup>3</sup> a worthy Merchant: The 23d, I toke my leave (of)<sup>b</sup> the *Patriarcke*,<sup>4</sup> & the Prince of *Wertenburg*, & *Monsieur Grotius*<sup>5</sup> (sonn to the learned Hugo,) now

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *Hobbs'*; spelling doubtful.      <sup>b</sup> MS. *at*.

Surgeons in 1809; they are now in the museum of the College: C. J. S. Thompson, *Guide to the surgical instruments, &c.*, 1929, pp. 85-6 and plate. They are the subject of a paper by William Cowper, F.R.S., printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, xxiii (1702-3), 1177-1201; to this is prefixed a letter from Evelyn narrating his acquisition of them and how they were brought to England; they cost him, so far as he remembered, 150 *scudi*. In this letter Leonius is called 'Dr Johanno Athelsteinus Leoncenæ'. See further G. L. Keynes, *John Evelyn: a study in bibliophily*, 1937, pp. 279-80.

<sup>1</sup> The principal hospital for the sick was that of S. Francesco: Portenari, pp. 500-1.

<sup>2</sup> Admonition or warning; 'lecture' has a similar meaning here.

<sup>3</sup> John Hobson, d. 1662. He is

traceable from 1626 onwards as a merchant in Zante and later in Venice. He claimed that he had been appointed consul at Venice by Charles I in 1643 or 1644; by Trinity House in 1646; by Charles II in 1649; and by Cromwell in 1654. He was acting as agent at Venice for the Levant Company in 1645 and from 1652 onwards; the Company refused him the title of consul, but Cromwell gave it to him: *Cal. S.P., Venice*; P.R.O., S.P. 99/45 (For., Venice, 1642-60), no. 141; A. C. Wood, *Hist. of the Levant Company*, 1935, pp. 65-6; &c.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably G. F. Morosini, patriarch 1644-78.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Cornelis Cornets de Groot, 1613-65; otherwise his brother Diederik, 1618-61: for both see *Nieuw Nederlandsch biog. woordenboek*.

going a Commander to *Candia*, & in the afternoone receiv'd my Bills of Exchange of 300 *ducati* for my Journey of *Vandervoort*<sup>1</sup> my Merchant, who shewed me his rare Collection of Italian Books, esteem'd very curious & of good value: The next day I was conducted to the *Ghetta*<sup>2</sup> where the *Jewes* dwell (as in a Tribe & Ward) together, where I was present at a Mariage: The Bride was clad in White, sitting in a lofty chaire, & coverd also with a white vaile; Then t(w)o old *Rabbies* joynd them together, one of them holding a glasse of Wine in his hand, which in the midst of the ceremony, pretending to deliver to the Woman, he let fall, the breaking wherof, was to signifie the frailty of our nature, & that we must expect dissasters & crosses amidst all enjoyments:<sup>3</sup> This don, we had a fine banquet, & were brought into the Bride chamber, where the bed was dress'd up with flowers, & the Counterpan, strewed in workes: At this ceremony we saw divers very beautifull *Portuguez-Jewesses*,<sup>4</sup> with whom we had some conversation, & so went to dinner at our Lodging. This afternoone I went to the *Spanish Ambassador*,<sup>5</sup> with *Bonifacio* his Confessor, who gave me his Passe to serve me in the Spanish dominions thro which I was (now)<sup>a</sup> to travell in this pompous forme:<sup>6</sup>

*Don Gaspar de Teves, y Guzman, Marques de la Fuente, Señor le Lerena, y Verazuza, Comendador de Colos, en la Orden de Sant Yago, Alcalde Mayor perpetuo y Escrivano*

<sup>a</sup> MS. *not.*

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Walter or Isaac Vandervort: see *Cal. S.P., Venice, 1643-7*, p. 186; *1647-52*, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> The Ghetto has occupied its present site since the sixteenth century: C. Roth, *Venice* ('Jewish Communities Series'), 1930, pp. 49-62. The middle of the seventeenth century was the most prosperous period in its history.

<sup>3</sup> This account of the marriage ceremony is incorrect. The rabbis are only witnesses of the bridegroom's statement that he takes the bride as his wife; and it is the

bridegroom who breaks the glass, to signify that in the midst of happiness they are to remember death: Modena, *History of the rites*, trans. Chilmead, pp. 176-8.

<sup>4</sup> For the Portuguese Jews in the Ghetto see Roth, pp. 63-70.

<sup>5</sup> For him see Molmenti, *Curiosità di storia veneta*, 1919, p. 321 n.

<sup>6</sup> The passport is still preserved at Wotton. I have not checked Evelyn's rendering. The duchy of Milan was a Spanish possession from 1540 to 1714.

*Mayor de la Ciudad de Sevilla, Gentilhombre de la Camara de S.M. su Azemilero mayor, de su Consejo, su Embaxador Extraordinario a Los Principes de Italia, y Alemania, y a esta serenissima Republica de Venecia. &c:*

*Haviendo de partis de esta Ciudad para la Milan el Signor Cavallero Evelyn Ingles, con un Criado,<sup>1</sup> mi han pedido Passaporte para los Estados de su M. le he mandado dar el presente, firmado de mi mano, y sellado con el sello de mis armas, por el qual encargo à todos los ministros de S.M. antes quien le presentare, y a los que no lo son, supplico les dexe passar libremente, sin permitir que se le haya Vexacion alguna, antes mandar le las favor para continuar su Viaje, fecho en Venecia a 24 del Mes de Marzo dell año 1646.*

*Mar: de la Fuentes &c:*

Having pack'd up my purchases, of *Books, Pictures, G(l)asses, Treacle,*<sup>2</sup> &c (the<sup>a</sup> making and extraordinary ceremonie whereof, I had ben curious to observe, for tis extremely pompous & worth seeing) I departed from *Venice*, accompanied with Mr. *Waller*<sup>3</sup> (the celebrated *Poet*) now newly gotten<sup>b</sup> out of England, after the *Parliament* had extreamely worried him, for attempting to put in execution the Commission of *Aray*, & for which the rest of his Collegues were hanged by the Rebels:

The next day, I tooke leave of my Comrades at *Padoa*, & receiving some directions from *Cavallero Salvatico*<sup>4</sup> how to govern my selfe, being of late incommoded with a salt

<sup>a</sup> Opening bracket supplied.

<sup>b</sup> Substituted for *fled*.

<sup>1</sup> A servant.

<sup>2</sup> Venice treacle was an electuary supposed to be a general antidote to poisons and to possess special preservative powers; the formula for its composition goes back to ancient times; it did not differ from the similar electuaries produced elsewhere except in so far as its preparation was carefully inspected: *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., art. Pharmacy; cf. Skippon, p. 519.

<sup>3</sup> Edmund Waller, 1606–87:

*D.N.B.*; for his plot see also S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, 1904–5, i. 111, 146–9. He was released, on condition that he should go into exile, in November 1644. He matriculated at Padua on 25 Jan. 1646: Andrich, p. 146; see also H. F. Brown, no. 351. Besides the poem on Vesling (above, p. 475 n.), Waller while at Padua wrote a poem on Dr. George Rogers.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 472.

defluxion<sup>1</sup> from my head (for which I had a little before ben let blood) I prepar'd for my Journey towards *Milan*: It was *Easter Monday*,<sup>2</sup> that I was invited to Breakfast at the Earle of *Arundels*; I tooke my leave of him in his bed, where I left that greate & excellent Man in teares upon some private discourse of the crosses had befalln his Illustrious family: particularly the<sup>a</sup> undutifullnesse of his *Grandson Philips* turning *Dominican Frier* [Since *Cardinal of Norfolke*],<sup>b3</sup> the unkindnesse of his *Countesse*,<sup>4</sup> now in *Holland*; The miserie of his Countrie, now embroild in a Civil War &c: after which he causd his Gentleman to give me directions all written with his owne hand, what curiosities I should enquire after in my Journey,<sup>5</sup> & so injoyning me to write sometimes to him, I departed: There staying for me below Mr. *Henry Howard*<sup>6</sup> [now duke of Norfolk],<sup>b</sup> Mr. *J: Digby*,<sup>7</sup> son of Sir *Kenh(e)lme*

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *rebe-* deleted.

<sup>b</sup> Marginal note.

<sup>1</sup> A defluxion is a discharge; a salt defluxion is perhaps the same as a salt rheum, a running cold.

<sup>2</sup> Easter Monday fell on 2 April, n.s.; this date is impossible for Evelyn's departure from Padua, but his chronology for this year is very uncertain. He drew money at or from Venice on 23 April (see below). On a note on the back of Arundel's instructions (see below) he gives the date of the leave-taking as 25 April. As he, Abdy (see below), and Waller addressed poems to Dr. G. Rogers on the occasion of his oration, on 30 April, it is possible that they did not leave Padua until after that day. The next certain date is 4 July 1646.

<sup>3</sup> Philip Thomas Howard, 1629–94; created cardinal 1675: *D.N.B.* He had become a novice of the Dominican order on 28 June 1645; Arundel vainly tried to persuade or to force him to return to secular life: C. F. R. Palmer, *Life of Philip Thomas Howard, O.P.*, 1867, pp. 82–91.

<sup>4</sup> Alathea, d. 1654, daughter of Gilbert Talbot, seventh earl of Shrewsbury. She was probably at this time in Antwerp; a letter from her to Arundel, dated 29 July 1645, in Palmer, pp. 86–7, is friendly enough. She was later engaged in a dispute with her son, Henry Frederick, the third earl, about his succession to his father's property: M. A. Tierney, *Hist. . . of Arundel*, 1834, pp. 501–9.

<sup>5</sup> These instructions are now preserved at Arundel Castle and are printed in Hervey, *Arundel*, pp. 450–3; see also p. 455; Evelyn added the date 25 April 1646. He uses them freely in his description of the journey from Padua to Milan.

<sup>6</sup> Above, p. 473. He succeeded as duke of Norfolk on 1 Dec. 1677.

<sup>7</sup> John Digby, b. 1627: *D.N.B.*, art. Digby, Sir Kenelm. He signed the Padua visitors' album on 10 July of this year: H. F. Brown, no. 360. His first wife was a granddaughter of Arundel.



*Digby* & other Gent: Who conducted me to the Coach that stood ready at the doore.

An Accompt of what *Bills of Exchange* I tooke up at Venice since my coming from *Rome* till my departure from *Padōa*.

11 Aug: 1645	—	200	} <i>ducati di banco</i> : <sup>1</sup>
7 September	—	135	
1 Octob:	—	100	
15 Jan: —46	—	100	
23 Aprill	—	300	
		<u>835</u>	

[The famous Lapidaries of Venice, for false stones & pasts, so as to emulate the best diamonds Rubies &c: were *Marco Terrasso & Gilbert*.]<sup>a 2</sup>

In company then with Mr. Waller, one Cap: *Wray*<sup>3</sup> (son to Sir *Christopher*, whose *Father* had ben in armes against his Majestie & therefore by no meanes wellcome to us) with another gent: one Mr. *Abdy*,<sup>4</sup> a modest & learned man, we got that night to *Vincenza*, passing by the *Euganian* hills, celebrated for the Prospects, and furniture of rare simples,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Added in margin.

<sup>1</sup> For this term see above, p. 401 n. Evelyn was not in Venice on 15 Jan. 1646: above, p. 473; he could no doubt get money forwarded to Padua or draw it there.

<sup>2</sup> 'Marco Terrasso, qui fait de ces diamans contrefaits'; 'Monsieur Gilbert qui contrefait si bien les diamans': Monconys, ii. 416; for Gilbert see also pp. 420, 422. The notices belong to 1664.

<sup>3</sup> William Wray, c. 1625–69; knighted 6 June 1660; created a baronet 27 June 1660. His father, Sir Christopher, had served against the king in Yorkshire in 1642; the son was probably governor of Beaumaris Castle during the Protectorate; his sister Frances was the wife of Sir Henry Vane the younger:

C. Dalton, *History of the Wrays of Glentworth*, 1880–1, i. 220–59; ii. 65–83; *D.N.B.*, art. Wray, Sir Christopher.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably John, d. 1662, third son of Anthony Abdy of London. Matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1634; B.A. 1638; fellow 1640; M.A. 1641; created a baronet 1662: Venn; *G. E. C.*, *Baronetage*, iii. 55. He signed the Padua visitors' album on 9 January of this year: H. F. Brown, no. 345; he cannot have travelled very far with Evelyn as he was elected consul for the English students at Padua on 3 August and acted for the ensuing year: Andrich, p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Raymond: 'the Physick

which are found growing about them: The Wayes were something deepe, but the whole Country flat & even as a bowling greene; the common fields lying square, & orderly planted with fruite-trees, which the *Vines* run upon & embrace for <many><sup>a</sup> miles, with delicious streames creeping along the ranges.<sup>1</sup>

*Vincenza*<sup>2</sup> is a *Citty* in the Marquisate of *Treviso* yet appertaining to the *Venetians*, full of Gentlemen, & splendid Palaces, to which the famous *Palladio* borne here, has exceedingly contributed, as having ben the Architect:<sup>3</sup> Most conspicuous is the Hall of Justice, it has to it a Toure of incomparable work:<sup>4</sup> The lower Pillars are of the first order, those in the three upper Corridors *dorique*, under them shops in a spacious *Piazza*:<sup>5</sup> The hall was built in imitation of that

<sup>a</sup> MS. *nany*.

Garden [at Padua], fild with simples, but the *Euganean* Hills furnish *Padua* more abundantly with medecinall Herbes': p. 218.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Raymond: 'It was almost Vintage time when wee past through this Paradise, and it made my journey much easier, to see the trees rangd in order so farre as one can see, to looke on the Vines embracing the Elmes, with such an incredible quantity of grapes, that they are coverd more with Purple, then green': p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> *Vicenza*. Evelyn's account of the town is largely taken from Raymond, pp. 221-6, and Arundel's instructions (above, p. 479), pp. 450-1. It is not described by Pflaumern. The most important of the older works are [E. Arnaldi], *Descr. . . di Vicenza*, 2 pts., 1779, and [O. Bertotti Scamozzi], *Il forestiere istrutto nelle cose più rare di architettura . . . di Vicenza*, 2nd ed., 1804. There is a plan by G. D. dall' Acqua, 1711, and a series of undated views, probably rather later in date, by C. dall' Acqua.

*Vicenza* seems to have been more  
3811.2

attractive to eighteenth-century than to seventeenth-century travellers; but Evelyn's notice is disappointing, especially in view of his interest in architecture and his relations with Arundel; the latter's instructions, however, do not lay much stress on the town. The central part of it has very largely retained its seventeenth-century appearance.

<sup>3</sup> From Raymond, pp. 221-2. Andrea Palladio, 1508-80; besides the buildings designed by him there were others in his style.

<sup>4</sup> From Raymond, p. 222; the rest of the notice is original. The Palazzo della Ragione, surrounded on three sides by Palladio's loggie (the Basilica Palladiana). The tower is partly Gothic. There are only two stories of loggie; by the three upper corridors Evelyn presumably means the three walks of the upper story. On the ground story the major and minor orders of columns are Doric, on the upper story Ionic.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the ground-story loggia, a common English use of the word; but probably the square.

at *Padoä*, but of a nobler designe a *la moderna*:<sup>1</sup> The next morning we visited the *Theater*,<sup>2</sup> as being of that kind the most perfect now standing in all the World, & built by the forenam'd Artist, in exact imitation of the Antient Roman, & comprehensive of 5000 spectators: The *Sceane* which is all of stone represents an Imperial Citty, of Corinthian order, & decor'd with statues: over the *Scenario*<sup>3</sup> is the Inscription

*Virtuti ac Genio*  
*Olympior: Academia*  
*Theatrum hoc à Fundamentis erexit*  
*Palladio Architect: 1584.*

[The *Sceane* declines 11 foote,<sup>4</sup> the *soffitto*<sup>5</sup> painted with Clowdes.]<sup>a</sup> To this there joynes a spacious hall for sollemn days to *Ballot in*, & a second for the *Academics*. In the *Piazza* is also the *Podestà* or *Governors house*,<sup>6</sup> the *faciata*

\* Added in margin.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the phrase here is uncertain. The hall itself is Gothic; thanks to Palladio the exterior is classical.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Teatro with the Scene, which is the finest in Italy of that kinde': Arundel's instructions. The description of the theatre and the inscription from Raymond, pp. 222-3; the inserted passage perhaps from an untraced source; the description of the adjoining rooms apparently original. The Teatro Olimpico, begun by Palladio in 1579, completed after his death by Scamozzi; the perspectives of the *scena* were designed by the latter. The relationship of the theatre to the ancient Roman theatres is discussed by the eighteenth-century writers; the divergences are attributed to the site and the changed conditions. The most important work on it is A. Magrini, *Il Teatro Olimpico*, 1847; see also G. Montenari, *Del Teatro Olimpico*, 1749; and Arnaldi, ii. 32-9. The permanent seating can take 1,000 spectators; another 400 can be

accommodated in the rest of the theatre: Magrini, pp. 84-5. All the decorative parts of the *scena*, including the columns, are of stucco: *ibid.*, p. 37. The perspectives were made for a performance of *Oedipus Rex* in 1585. For the Academy to which the theatre belongs see Maylender, *Storia delle accademie*, iv. 109-20.

<sup>3</sup> The word is incorrectly or very loosely used. One meaning is the place in which scenery is kept, or even the scenery itself. The inscription is placed above the central arch in the *scena*, through which the principal perspective is visible.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn appears to have gone astray. There are eleven tiers of seats in the auditorium.

<sup>5</sup> The ceiling (*soffitto*); the part over the auditorium was painted to represent a *velabrum* and the open air: Magrini, p. 47. The ceiling has undergone several alterations since Evelyn's time.

<sup>6</sup> The Loggia del Capitano, a work left incomplete by Palladio.

being of the Corinthian order, very noble. The Piazza it selfe so large, as to be capable of *Justs & Turnaments*, the Nobilitie of this Citty, being exceedingly addicted to this Knight Errantry, & other martial diversions:<sup>1</sup> There is also in this place two Pillars erected, in imitation of those at St. *Marks* in *Venice*, bearing one of them a Winged *Lion*, the other the statue of St. *Jo: Baptist*:<sup>2</sup> In a Word, this sweete Towne, has more well built Palaces than any of its dimensions in all *Italy*, besides a number begun, & not yet finished<sup>3</sup> (but of stately designe) by reason of the domestic dissentions twixt them, & those of *Bres(c)ia*<sup>4</sup> fomented by the Sage *Venetians*, least combining, they might think of recovering their antient liberty:<sup>5</sup> for which reason likewise are permitted those disorders & insolences comitted at *Padua* among the youth of these two *Territories*:<sup>6</sup> Moreover it is no dishonor in this Country, to be some generations in finishing their Palaces, that without exhausting themselves by making a vast expense at once they may at last Erect a sumptuous pile:<sup>7</sup> Count *Oleines* Palace<sup>8</sup> is neere perfected of this nature, & of admirable Architecture. Count *Ulmarini*<sup>9</sup> more famous for

<sup>1</sup> 'The *Piazza* most capacious of Turnaments, and other assemblyes of the Gentry. Who are much given to shewes and Pastimes; and to this purpose they have erected a Theatre . . .': Raymond, p. 222. Raymond is following Schott, 1643, pt. i, f. 27 v.

<sup>2</sup> The notice is apparently original. The columns still exist.

<sup>3</sup> 'Of private pallaces many are excellently begun, but few or none finished': Arundel's instructions.

<sup>4</sup> Raymond refers to this feud in his description of *Padua*: p. 210.

<sup>5</sup> The observation is perhaps original.

<sup>6</sup> This clearly refers to the passage in Raymond, p. 210.

<sup>7</sup> This observation does not occur in the descriptions of *Vicenza* used by Evelyn; it was probably a commonplace.

<sup>8</sup> 'That belonging to Conte Teine wanting the least [of being finished]':

Arundel's instructions. Evelyn evidently misread the name, no such name as *Oleine* occurring in *Vicenza*. The palace can be identified from Arundel's statement regarding its position as the present *Palazzo Bonin* in the *Corso*; it was designed by Count *Marcantonio Tiene* (*Thiene*), who was assisted by *Scamozzi*: O. Bertotti Scamozzi, p. 50.

<sup>9</sup> 'The great garden of Conte *Valmarano* being just without the wall': Arundel's instructions; the rest of the notice appears to be influenced by *Coryat*, pp. 297-8. See also Raymond, p. 224. The garden was laid out c. 1592 and considerably altered about 1806; it is now the *Giardino Comunale: Atti dell' Accademia Olimpica*, xxiii (1889), 141-67; G. Zardo, *In giro per Vicenza*, 1923, pp. 18-19.

his Gardens, being without the Walls, especialy his *Cedrarior*<sup>1</sup> or Conserve of *Oranges*, Eleaven-score of my Paces long, set in exquisite order & ranges, & making a Canopie all the Way by their intermixing branches, for above 200 of my single paces, & which being full of fruite & blossomes, was one of the most delicious sights, that in my life I had seene. There was in the middle of this Garden, a Cupola made of Wyre, & supported by slender pillars of brick, so closely coverd with Ivy, both without & within, that nothing save greene was to be perceived, that made an admirable effect, & was very extraordinarie, twixt the arches dangled festoones of the same: Here is likewise a most inextricable Labyrinth. I had<sup>a</sup> in this Towne a Recommendation ⟨to⟩ a very civil & ingenious Apothecarie, cald *Angelico*,<sup>2</sup> who had<sup>b</sup> a pretty Collection of Paintings: I would now very faine have visited a Palace call'd the *Rotunda*,<sup>3</sup> which was a Mile out of Towne, belonging to Count *Martio Capra*, but one of our Companions<sup>4</sup> hasting to be gon, and little minding anything save drinking & folly, causd us to take coach<sup>c</sup> sooner than we should: A little from the towne we passd the *Campo Martio*, set out in imitation of antient *Rome*, wherein the Noblesse exercise their horses, and the Ladys make the *Corso*,<sup>5</sup> it is entred by a stately Arch Triumphal the invention of *Palladio*.<sup>6</sup> About mid way (being now for *Verona*) we din'd at *Ostaria Nova*,<sup>7</sup> &

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *here* deleted.

<sup>b</sup> Substituted for *shewed us*.

<sup>c</sup> Substituted for *horse*.

<sup>1</sup> The Italian term is *cedrara*; it occurs, in connexion with this garden, in V. Scamozzi, *L'idea della architettura universale*, 1615, pp. 325–6.

<sup>2</sup> Signor Angelo Angelico: Arundel's instructions, p. 451. He is perhaps Michelangelo Angelico the elder, apothecary and poet: *Nouvelle biog. gén.*

<sup>3</sup> From Arundel's instructions. Palladio's Rotonda, still existing; see Raymond, pp. 224–5.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably Wray.

<sup>5</sup> From Raymond, pp. 223–4.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 224. This is the arch with a rusticated Doric order in the Campo Marzo, erected in 1608, not the Arco delle Scalette, which more closely resembles an ancient triumphal arch; the attribution of its design to Palladio is questionable: Bertotti Scamozzi, pp. 43–4.

<sup>7</sup> Raymond, p. 226, as Osteria Nuova. It is perhaps the Villa Nova of Coryat, p. 307, and Mundy, *Travels*, i. 101. Neither name is given in the road-books.

came late to our resting place, which was the *Cavaletto*,<sup>1</sup> just over the Monument of the *Scaligeri*,<sup>2</sup> formerly Princes of *Verona*, which is adorned with many devices of Ladders, in stone, alluding to the name: We were early next morning about the City, which is built on the gentle declivity, & bottom of an hill, environed with some considerable Mountaines, & downes of fine grasse, like some places of the South of *England*, & on the other side with a rich plaine & champion, where *Cajus Marius* gave that fatal overthrow to the *Cimbrians*.<sup>3</sup> The City is divided in the midst by the *River Athesis*<sup>4</sup> over which passe divers stately bridges, & on its brinks many goodly Palaces, whereof one is rarely painted with *Chiaro oscura* without side,<sup>5</sup> as are divers in this drie Climate of *Italy*: But the first thing that engag'd our

<sup>1</sup> Montaigne, pp. 119–20, Peter Mundy, i. 101, and Raymond, p. 232, all stayed here. Over may be a slip for over against.

Evelyn's account of Verona is mainly derived from Raymond, pp. 226–33, and Arundel's instructions, p. 451. It is not described by Pflaumern. The principal older topographical works are Torellus Sarayna, *De origine et amplitudine civitatis Veronæ*, 1540; [F. S. Maffei], *Verona illustrata*, 1732–1731, two eds., folio and 8vo; new ed. as *La Verona illustrata, ridotta in compendio*, 1771; and G. B. da Persico, *Descr. di Verona e della sua provincia*, 1820–1. There is a good plan by P. Michieli, 1671.

Evelyn altogether ignores the buildings of Sanmicheli; the antique monuments evidently formed the principal attraction of the town.

<sup>2</sup> From Raymond, p. 232. The Scaligers (della Scala) ruled Verona from 1262 to 1387. The monuments are well preserved.

<sup>3</sup> 'The City stands one part on the side, the other at the foot of a hill, behind which is a continuation of huge Mountaines.

'Before one side of the City lies a rich Plat Countrey; Before the other a stony Champion, or Downes, wherein *C. Marius* gave a totall overthrow to the *Cimbrians*': *ibid.*, p. 227; Evelyn has spoiled the description. Marius defeated the Cimbrians on the Raudine plain in 101 B.C. Modern writers generally follow Plutarch, who states that the battle took place near Vercelli; the theory that it took place near Verona is derived from Florus's epitomes of Livy, i. xxxviii: see F. Blondus (Biondo da Forli), *Italia illustrata*, in *De Roma instaurata*, &c., 1510, f. 102 v.

<sup>4</sup> Raymond, p. 227. The Adige. The appearance of the banks has been changed by the building of embankments in the nineteenth century.

<sup>5</sup> Identifiable as the Palazzo di Fiorio della Seta, also called de' Murari dalla Corte, on the left bank, to the north of the existing Ponte Umberto, which occupies the site of the former Ponte Nuovo: da Persico, ii. 2–9. It has now been destroyed.

curiosity & wonder too, was the *Amphitheater*,<sup>1</sup> which is the most intire now extant in the World of Antient remains: The Inhabitants call it the *Arena*, having two *Porticos* one within the other, & is 34 rod long, 22 in bredth with 42 ranks of stone benches or seates, which reach to the top: The vastnesse of the marble stones is stupendious: *L.V.* (*Flaminius*),<sup>a</sup> *Consul Anno Urb: Con: LIII.*<sup>2</sup> This I esteeme one of the noblest Antiquities in Europ, worth the seeing, because it is so vast, & so intire, as having escaped the ruines of other publique buildings for above 1400<sup>b</sup> Yeares: Other *Arches* there are, as that of the Victorie of *Marius*:<sup>3</sup> *Temples*, *Aquæducts* &c, shewing still considerable reliques in severall places of the Towne, & how magnificent it has formerly ben: It has besides 3 strong Castles, & large & noble Wall,<sup>4</sup> & indeede, the whole Citty bravely built,<sup>5</sup> especialy the *Senate house*,<sup>6</sup> where we saw those celebrated statues of *Cornelius*

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Flaminia*. *L.V.* not underlined.      <sup>b</sup> Altered from 10000.

<sup>1</sup> From Raymond, pp. 228–31; but Raymond gives ‘three Porches’ for ‘two Porticos’. Raymond took the measurements from Schott, 1643, pt. i, f. 36 v., ‘rods’ being a translation of ‘pertiche’, the Latin ‘decempedae’; but Raymond gives 22 for Schott’s 22½ and the figure 34 in the Italian version of Schott is an error for the 39 of the Latin. Schott gives these as the measurements of the arena; they are now given as 242 by 146 ft.: G. B. da Persico, *L’anfiteatro di Verona*, 1820. The number of rows of seats has been altered in the course of various restorations.

<sup>2</sup> ‘This worke was perfected by *L. V. Flaminius Consul Anno Urb: Cond. 53.*’ Raymond took this from Schott: ‘quell’ Anfiteatro fù fabricato da *L. V. Flaminio l’anno 53. dopo l’edificatione di Roma.*’ This passage was inserted by the Italian translator (1610) from G. A. Magini’s additions to Ptolemy: *Geografia*, 1598, ii. 94. It is a false rendering from L. Alberti, f. 453,

itself based on a spurious inscription at Lucca: *C.I.L.*, vol. xi, no. 201\*.

<sup>3</sup> From Raymond, p. 231; the reference to the other antiquities also from him; see also pp. 227–8. Raymond found a notice of the remains of the arch in Schott, 1643, pt. i, f. 37 v.; it is probably derived from Sarayna, f. 33, who is describing some fragments excavated near S. Tommaso; he had no adequate authority for associating them with Marius.

<sup>4</sup> From Raymond, p. 231. The castles are the Castel Vecchio and those of S. Felice and S. Pietro.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Raymond: ‘The buildings of this City are answerable to the *Italian*’: p. 231.

<sup>6</sup> From Raymond, p. 232, including the statues. The Loggia del Consiglio. Evelyn has apparently transferred the epithet celebrated from the subjects to the statues, which are merely decorative figures; Cornelius Nepos belonged to this part of Italy; Emilius Marcus is an error, arising from a misprint in the

*Nepos, Æmilius Marcus, Plinie, Vitruvius*, all of them honouring *Verona* with their birth, as of later date, *Julius Cæsar Scaliger*<sup>1</sup> that prodigie of Learning: In the Evening we saw *Count Giusti's Villa*,<sup>2</sup> wher are Walkes cutt out of the maine rock, from whence we had the pleasant Prospect of *Mantua*, & *Parma*, though at greate distance: At Entrance of this Garden grows the goodliest *Cypresse* I fancy in Europ, Cut in Pyramid, tis a prodigious tree both for breadth, & height, intirely coverd, & thick to the base: A Civilian one Dr. *Cortone*, shewd us (amongst other rarities) a St. *Dorothia* of *Raphaels*<sup>3</sup> incomparably painted: I would have seene the rare drawings (especialy of *Parmensis*) belonging to Dr. *Marcello*,<sup>4</sup> another Advocate, but he was absent: Certainly this Citty deserv'd all those Elogies, Scaliger has honour'd it with,<sup>5</sup> for in my opinion, tis situated in one of the most

1643 Schott, for Æmilius Macer, a poet and friend of Virgil, whose works are lost and who belongs to this area; Pliny is the historian, who was perhaps born at Como; the association of Vitruvius with Verona was due to the presence of an inscription mentioning another Vitruvius: *C.I.L.*, vol. v, no. 3464. There was and is a fifth statue in this group, that of Catullus.

<sup>1</sup> 'The Learned *Scaliger* was of *Verona* . . . his Family *i Signori della Scala*': Raymond, p. 232. The birthplace and the parentage of Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558) are uncertain; he was probably not a descendant of the della Scala. The prodigy of learning is surely his son, Joseph Justus Scaliger, who was born at Agen in Guienne.

<sup>2</sup> See Arundel's instructions. The description is original. The palace appears to have been built by 1620: da Persico, ii. 47. A pyramid here is an obelisk.

<sup>3</sup> From Arundel's instructions, p. 451, where the doctor's name is printed as 'Corbone'. He is Giovanni Pietro Curtoni or Cortoni, d. 1656: F. Scannelli, *Il microcosmo*

*della pittura*, 1657, pp. 169, 222, &c.; G. Campori, *Raccolta di cataloghi ed inventarii inediti*, 1870, pp. 192-202, which includes a list of his pictures. The picture is identifiable as either the Dorothea of Sebastiano del Piombo (c. 1485-1547) now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, or an old copy still in Verona in 1934, when it belonged to the Conti da Persico or the Conti Barbavara di Gravellona. The original was believed to be by Raphael until the nineteenth century.

<sup>4</sup> From Arundel's instructions, p. 451, where the doctor's name is printed as 'Mosello'. It should be Muselli; a family of that name in Verona possessed an important collection of pictures: Scannelli, pp. 206, 212, &c.; Campori, pp. 175-92, including an inventory. *Parmensis* is Parmigiano; the inventory includes a collection of drawings, &c., by him: p. 192.

<sup>5</sup> Neither Scaliger appears to have written much in praise of Verona; there are two poems by the father: *Poemata omnia*, 1600, i. 379, 544; and apparently only one by the son: see below.



delightfullst places that ever I came in, so sweetly mixed with risings, & Vallies, so Elegantly planted with Trees, on<sup>a</sup> which *Bacchus* seemes riding as it were in Triumph every *Autumn*, for the Vines reach from tree to tree;<sup>1</sup> & here of all places I have travell'd in *Italy*, would I fix preferrable to any other, so as well has that learnd Man give(n) it the name of the very Eye of the World

*Ocelle Mundi, sidus Itali cæli,  
Flos urbium, flos (corculumque amœnarum),<sup>b</sup>  
Quot sunt, Eruntve,<sup>c</sup> quot fuere, Verona.<sup>d 2</sup>*

We trav(e)ll'd next morning over the downes, where Marius fought, & fancied our selves about *Winchester* & the Countrie towards *Dorsetshire*:<sup>3</sup> We dind at an Inn call'd *Cavalli Caschieri*<sup>4</sup> neere *Peschiera* a very strong fort of the *Venetian Republique*, & neere the *Lago di Garda*, which dissembogues into that of *Mantua*<sup>5</sup> neere 40 miles in length & for being so highly celebrated by my *Lord Arundel* to me,<sup>6</sup> as the most pleasant spot of *Italy*, I observ'd it with the more diligence, alighting out of the Coach, & going up to a grove of Cypresses growing about a *Gentlemans Country house*, from whence indeede it presents a most surprizing Prospect: The hills & gentle risings about it, produces *Oranges, Citrons, Olives, Figs* & other tempting fruits, & the Waters abounding in excellent Fish, especialy *Trouts*:<sup>7</sup> In the middle of this

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *in*.    <sup>b</sup> MS. *corriculumque amœnum*.    <sup>c</sup> Altered from *Eruntque*.    <sup>d</sup> Followed by *Incomparabile*, first word of a new line deleted.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Raymond's description of the country between Padua and Vicenza: p. 220. Raymond performed the journey shortly before the vintage, Evelyn late in April or early in May.

<sup>2</sup> By J. J. Scaliger; printed in J. C. Scaliger, *De sapientia et beatitudine libri octo*, 1573, pp. 257-60, and elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Raymond, p. 233, and see above, p. 485. Evelyn had visited Winchester in October 1642.

<sup>4</sup> From Raymond, p. 234. *Cavalli*

is presumably his error for *Cavalcaselle*; cf. P. Mundy, i. 103. It is not given in the road-books. Raymond gives the length of the lake as thirty-five miles.

<sup>5</sup> 'The Embushment of the *Lago di Garda* into that of *Mantua*' Raymond, p. 234.

<sup>6</sup> It is not mentioned in Arundel's instructions.

<sup>7</sup> Raymond mentions the oranges, citrons, and olives; the statement about the fish is also taken from him: p. 235.

Lake stands *Sermonea* on an Iland:<sup>1</sup> Here *Cap: Wray* bought a pretty Nag of the Master of our Inn where we dined, for 8 Pistoles, which yet his Wife our hostesse was so unwilling to part with, that she did nothing but kisse, & weepe & hang about the horses neck, till the *Captaine* rid away: so we came this Evening to *Bres(c)ia*,<sup>2</sup> which next morning (according to our Costome) we traversst in search of Antiquities & new sights: & here I purchasd my fine Carabine of [old]<sup>a</sup> *Lazarino Cominazzo*<sup>3</sup> which cost me 9 pistols, this Citty being famous for these fire Armes, & that workeman, with *Jo: Bap: Franco*<sup>4</sup> the best esteem'd; This Citty consists most in Arts,<sup>5</sup> that make Armes, every shop abounding in *Gunns*, Swords, Armorers &c, most of which Workmen, come hither out of *Germanie*, of which this is a Staple.<sup>6</sup> The Citty stands in an incomparable fertil plaine, yet the Castle is built on an hill: The streetes abound in faire Fountaines:<sup>7</sup> The *Torre della Pallada* is of a noble Tuscan order: & the Senate-house

---

<sup>a</sup> Interlined in MS.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. Sirmione or Sermione; it is on a peninsula, not an island.

<sup>2</sup> For the literature for Brescia see Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur*, p. 502. There are no works of much value; A. Ugoletti, *Brescia*, 1909 ('Italia artistica'), is the most useful.

<sup>3</sup> There was a family of gunsmiths named Cominazzo working at Gardone in the Val Trómpia, a few miles from Brescia, throughout the seventeenth century; several members were named Lazzaro or Lazzarino; it is impossible to determine to which one Evelyn refers: Thieme, *Lexikon*, art. Cominazzo, and authorities there listed. 'Lazarino' is mentioned by Lassels: ii. 439.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably Giovanni Battista Francino, fl. 1630–66, a member of another family of gunsmiths at Gardone: Thieme, *Lexikon*, and authorities there listed.

<sup>5</sup> Guilds or companies of work-

men. An italianism.

<sup>6</sup> The manufacture of arms from Raymond, pp. 235–6; the workmen from Germany, &c., apparently original and certainly incorrect. I have found no other references to German workmen here; and though there was a road from Chur by the Bernina to Brescia (see Lassels, i. 57–9), it was of no importance as a trade-route. Evelyn has perhaps confused Brescia, in Latin Brixia, with Brixen (Bressanone), on the Brenner route; the latter, in medieval Latin Brixina, appears as Brixia in *Itin. Italiae totius*, 1602, p. 16, a book possibly known to Evelyn. There, however, it is stated that Botzen (Bolsano) is the trading centre: 'celebre nundinis anniversariis, ad quas mercatores certatim ex vicinis Germaniæ & Italiæ partibus confluunt.'

<sup>7</sup> From Raymond, p. 236.

hardly inferior to any I ever saw:<sup>1</sup> Now also was repairing the *Domo* or *Cathedrall*,<sup>2</sup> in it they shew strangers a blew Crosse which they affirme fell downe from the Clouds, at the very time it appeard to the Greate Constantine.<sup>3</sup> The Piazza is but indifferent: some of the houses arch'd as at *Padua*:<sup>a</sup> <sup>4</sup> Willingly we would from hence visite *Parma*, *Piacenza*, *Mantua* &c: but the Banditi & other dangerous Parties being now abroad, who committed many Enormities, made us conten(t)ed with a Pisha(h) sight of them. We dind next day at *Ursa Vecchio*,<sup>5</sup> & after dinner passe by an exceeding strong Fort of the *Venetians* cald *Ursa Nova*,<sup>6</sup> & is Frontier. Then by the *River Oglio*, & so by *Sonano*,<sup>7</sup> where we enter first into the *Spanish* Dominions, & that night arriv'd at *Crema*,<sup>8</sup> which belongs to *Venice* & very well defended: The *Podesta's* Palace is finely built, & so is the *Domo*, & Tower to it: with an ample *Piazza*: Early next (day),<sup>b</sup> after 4 miles riding we enter'd into the State of *Milan*, & pasd by *Lodi*, a Greate Citty, famous for *Cheeze*, & even bearing up to the best *Parmeggiano*:<sup>9</sup> We din'd at *Marignano*<sup>10</sup> ten-miles behether<sup>11</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *Padoa*.    <sup>b</sup> MS. *daw*.

<sup>1</sup> Raymond, p. 236. The tower is medieval; the senate-house is the Loggia or Palazzo del Comune. The exterior, after a recent restoration of the roof, appears as it was in Evelyn's time.

<sup>2</sup> So Raymond, p. 236. The new cathedral was building throughout the century: B. Zamboni, *Memorie intorno alle pubbliche fabbriche . . . di Brescia*, 1778, pp. 126–30.

<sup>3</sup> 'A skie colour Crosse, which they hold to be the same which appeard to *Constantin*': Raymond, pp. 236–7; from Schott, 1643, pt. i, f. 44 v. Not identifiable.

<sup>4</sup> 'The *Piazza* is but little': Raymond, p. 236; Raymond also mentions the arcades.

<sup>5</sup> Now Orzivecchi. It is not in the road-books. In his account of this journey Evelyn very closely follows Raymond, pp. 237–8. Cf. Mundy's account of the journey

from Brescia to Milan: *Travels*, i. 104–6.

<sup>6</sup> In Raymond as *Ursa Novi*; in Schott as *Orzi novi*: ed. 1643, pt. i, f. 47; now Orzinuovi.

<sup>7</sup> In Raymond as *Soncino*. The *Oglio* formed the boundary of the duchy of Milan; *Crema* (see below) was an enclave belonging to Venice.

<sup>8</sup> The entire notice from Raymond, p. 237. For the town and its monuments see Schott, 1643, pt. ii, ff. 113 v.–115 v.; *Encic. italiana*.

<sup>9</sup> From Raymond, p. 238, who, however, describes the cheese as 'not much different' from the Parmesan. A cheese of this sort is still produced here.

<sup>10</sup> Now Melegnano; Schott (1643) has Melignano. It was here that Francis I defeated the Swiss allies of Milan in 1515.

<sup>11</sup> More commonly behither, on this side of. The latest occurrence

*Milan*, where we met halfe a dozen suspicious *Cavalieres*, who yet did us no harme; & then passing as through a continual Garden, we went on with exceeding pleasure; for it is certainly the Paradise of all *Lumbardy*, the high-ways being as even & strait, as a line could be laied, the Fields to a vast extent, planted with fruit about the inclosures, & Vines to every Tree at equal distances, and water'd with frequent Streames;<sup>a</sup> There was likewise much Corne, & Olives in abundance.<sup>1</sup>

Here, at approach of the City, some of our Company (in dread of the Inquisition, severer here than in any place of all Spaine)<sup>2</sup> thought of throwing away some Protestant (by them call'd Heretical) books & papers: It was about 3 in the Afternoone that we came thither, where the Officers search'd us th(roughly)<sup>b</sup> for prohibited goods, but finding we were onely Gentlemen Travellers dismissd us for a small reward: so we went quietly to our Inn the 3 *Kings*,<sup>3</sup> where for that day we refreshed ourselves, as we had neede.

<sup>a</sup> Followed by & deleted.

<sup>b</sup> MS. *thróly*.

of the word recorded in *O.E.D.* is dated 1711, but it perhaps survives in some dialects. This spelling is not given in *O.E.D.*; Evelyn uses it again below, 23 July 1679.

<sup>1</sup> This description of the cultivation is expanded from Raymond, p. 238, and is still generally applicable to the cultivation as practised at the present time. The olives are, however, an original addition, and probably incorrect. Cf. also the passage in Raymond, p. 220, quoted above, p. 481 n., in which the word 'Paradise' occurs.

<sup>2</sup> The Inquisition in Milan belonged to the Roman, not the Spanish, branch. Its severity was due in part to St. Charles Borromeo and Federigo Borromeo, archbishops of Milan 1560–84 and 1595–1631.

<sup>3</sup> This inn was situated in the Via Tre Alberghi. It is first mentioned in 1476; in the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries it was one of the best inns in Milan; it degenerated into an ordinary *osteria* about 1820 and was pulled down about 1878: *Archivio stor. lombardo*, anno xlix (1922), pp. 153–65; see also serie quarta, xviii (1912), 28, 51. Mundy and Paul Pindar stayed here in 1620: Mundy, *Travels*, i. 106; Monconys in 1664: ii. 491.

Evelyn's account of Milan is derived from Pflaumern, pp. 594–634; Raymond, pp. 238–45; Arundel's instructions; and Monconys, ii. 491–3. The principal general topographical work on the city published prior to Evelyn's visit is P. Morigi, *Historia dell' antichità di Milano*, 1592. Morigi (or Morigia) produced some other works, two of which are cited below; the *Historia* was used by Pflaumern. There is a very elaborate description of Milan thirty years after Evelyn's visit, C. Torre, *Il*

The morning come, we deliver'd our letters of recommendation to the learned and Courteous *Ferrarius*<sup>1</sup> a Doctor of the *Ambrosian* College, who conducted us to all the remarkable Places of the Towne. The first of which was the famous *Cathedral*<sup>2</sup> which we enter'd by a Portico so little inferior to

*ritratto di Milano, 1674*; it renders all the later guide-books practically superfluous. The most useful of the modern works have been: V. Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e degli altri edifici di Milano, 1889-93*, which includes bibliographies for a number of the buildings; C. Romussi, *Milano ne' suoi monumenti*, 3rd ed., 1912-13, an illustrated account, covering the ground down to 1400; A. Bertarelli and A. Monti, *Tre secoli di vita milanese nei documenti iconografici, 1630-1875, 1927*, a valuable collection of illustrations with a useful commentary; and E. Verga, *Storia della vita milanese*, new ed., 1931, an illustrated work similar in character to Molmenti's *Storia di Venezia nella vita privata*. Plans, &c., are dealt with by E. Verga, *Comune di Milano: Archivio storico: Catalogo ragionato della raccolta cartografica, 1911*.

Seventeenth-century Milan was bounded, apart from the castle, by a ring of walls constructed between 1549 and 1565; but the whole area was not built over. Considerable portions of these walls still exist. The city had suffered terribly from the plague in 1630, and the maladministration of the Spanish government was responsible for further decay. The population is stated to have been 115,000 in 1714: *Encic. italiana*.

<sup>1</sup> Identifiable as Francesco Bernardino Ferrari, c. 1577-1669, prefect of the Ambrosiana (below, p. 497) from 1642 until his death: *Nouvelle biog. gén.*

<sup>2</sup> The greater part of the interior of the cathedral, apart from a few monuments and altars, was much as

it is to-day; but the nave was three bays shorter, the three westernmost bays lacking a roof and vaulting, and being cut off from the rest of the church by the old façade (see below). The rest of the roof of the nave and the central cupola lacked most of the pinnacles. The existing west façade was in course of construction; the five doors and the northernmost of the classical windows above them were complete; these had been designed by Tibaldi (see below); there were also some unfinished pilasters and bases, belonging to his or another classical (baroque) design. Work on the façade seems to have been suspended in 1645; a Gothic design, but retaining Tibaldi's doors and windows, by Carlo Buzzi, was under discussion in 1647, and probably earlier: *Annali della fabbrica* (see below), v. 210, 212, 214, 218. Some work was carried out according to this design but stopped on Buzzi's death in 1658; it recommenced and the façade was completed under Napoleon.

Most of the old views of the church show what was projected, not what existed. The best are three figured by Bertarelli and Monti: fig. 13, north side, 1633; fig. 19, west front, 1650, before alteration of the pilasters; fig. 29, west front, 1650-60, with the central pilasters altered, but showing other details clearly.

There is a bibliography by F. Salveraglio in C. Boito, *Il duomo di Milano, 1889*. The most important works are: P. Morigia, *Il duomo di Milano descritto, 1642* (earlier eds., 1597, 1600, not seen); *Il duomo di*

that of *Rome* that when finish'd it will be hard to say which is the fairest; The materials being all of white & black Marble, with Columns of an incredible height, which are of Granito [Egyptian]:<sup>a</sup><sup>1</sup> The outside of the Church is so full of Sculpture, that one may number 4000 statues all of white Marble,<sup>2</sup> amongst which that one of St. Bartholemew<sup>3</sup> is esteemed an excellent Masterpiece. The Church is very spacious [almost as long as S. Peters in Rome not so large];<sup>a</sup><sup>4</sup> about the Quire is a most incomparable Sculpture in snow white marble, containing the Sacred Storie, nor know I where it is exceeded:<sup>5</sup> About the body of the Church are the Miracles of St. Char: *Borromeo*,<sup>6</sup> & in the vault beneath his body, before the high Altar, grated & inchas'd in one of the vastest Chrystals in *Europe*;<sup>7</sup> to this also belongs a rich Treasure.<sup>8</sup> The Domo or

<sup>a</sup> Interlined in MS.

*Milano*, 1823; *Annali della fabbrica del duomo di Milano*, 1877-85. Views and projects are figured by G. Morazzoni, *Il duomo*, 1919 (Milano attraverso l'immagine, vol. i).

<sup>1</sup> The comparison with the portico of St. Peter's is original. Evelyn I think regarded the still roofless space between the new and the old façades as being intended to form a vestibule to the church. The white and black marble is also original; it belonged to the old façade, removed in 1683-4: Torre, p. 400; Bertarelli and Monti, fig. 31; *Annali della fabbrica*, vi. 17, 18. The columns of Egyptian granite are taken from Monconys, ii. 491; cf. Raymond, p. 244; they decorate the inside of the central door of the new front; the material is a kind of granite quarried near Baveno: *Il duomo di Milano*, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Monconys gives 14,000: ii. 491; the other writers known to Evelyn, a few hundred. G. B. Villa gives 4,450 outside and inside the church: *Le sette chiese . . . di Milano*, 1627, p. 140; so Torre gives 4,400: p. 398; this was about the number generally

given. The modern reckoning is 2,300 for the exterior.

<sup>3</sup> Mentioned by Schott, 1643, pt. i, f. 60 v.; and by Lassels, following him, i. 119. The statue, by Marco d'Agrate (c. 1500-c. 1571), was on the exterior of the church (south side) until 1664, when it was moved to its present position: *Annali della fabbrica*, v. 284.

<sup>4</sup> From Monconys, ii. 491. Large here means broad.

<sup>5</sup> This notice is original. Evelyn refers to the reliefs in the ambulatory representing the life of the Virgin: Torre, p. 409; *Il duomo di Milano*, p. 93.

<sup>6</sup> From Raymond, p. 244, where they are said to be pictures; cf. Lassels, i. 120. Not traceable elsewhere.

<sup>7</sup> Apparently expanded from Arundel's instructions, p. 451. The saint's coffin is made up of pieces of crystal: Torre, p. 406. Evelyn is not likely to have seen it: cf. Lassels, i. 120.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Raymond, p. 244. List of it in G. G. Besozzo, *Distinto raguaglio*, 1694, pp. 44-56.

Cupola is all of Marble both within & without,<sup>1</sup> & even cover'd with (huge)<sup>a</sup> planks of Marble, unfortunate in nothing save the *Gotick* designe:<sup>2</sup> The Windows of the Church are most beautifully painted:<sup>3</sup> The Organs, of which there are two, very faire, & excellent.<sup>4</sup> The whole fabrique is erected in the midst of a faire Piazza, & in the very navill of the City.<sup>5</sup> Hence we went to the Palace of the Archbishop, which is a quadrangle, famous for being the Architecture of *Theobaldi* who design'd much for *Phil: 2d* in the *Escurial*, & has built much in *Milan*:<sup>6</sup> Hence I went into the Gouvernors Palace,<sup>7</sup> who was then the *Condestable* of *Castile*:<sup>8</sup> tempted by the glorious Tapissries & Pictures, I adventurd so far alone, that peeping into a Chamber where the greate Man was under the barbers hands, he sent one of his *Negros* (a slave) to know what I was, I made the best excuse I could & that I was onely admiring the Pictures, which he returning, & telling his Lord, I heard the Governor reply, It was some Spie, upon which I retir'd with all the Speede I could, pass'd the Guard of *Swisse*, got into the streete, and in a moment to my Company, who were gon to the *Jesuites* Church,<sup>9</sup> which is in truth a

<sup>a</sup> MS. *hugh*.

<sup>1</sup> For the exterior of the cupola see note above. The spire surmounting it dates from 1759–c. 1775.

<sup>2</sup> 'It hath misfortune to bee done on an ill designe of Gothick Architecture': Arundel, p. 451.

<sup>3</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 600. They are referred to by Torre, p. 416.

<sup>4</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 601. They belong to the middle of the sixteenth century: *Il duomo di Milano*, pp. 84–5.

<sup>5</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 602.

<sup>6</sup> From Arundel's instructions, p. 452. The quadrangle is the Cortile della Canonica. Theobaldi is Pellegrino Tibaldi, sometimes called Pellegrini, c. 1527–92; his work in the Escorial is confined to painting; Evelyn takes 'design'd'

from Arundel, who uses the noun 'design' both for an architect's design and an ordinary drawing, the verb apparently only in the general sense, to draw.

<sup>7</sup> Now the Palazzo Reale; it has been completely rebuilt. The old façade is shown in various views, e.g. that reproduced in Bertarelli and Monti, fig. 19.

<sup>8</sup> Don Bernardino Fernandez de Velasco y Tovar, constable of Castile and Leon, duke of Frias, &c., governor from March 1646 to November 1647: F. Bellati, *Serie de' governatori di Milano*, 1776, pp. 13–14.

<sup>9</sup> From Pflaumern, p. 602; 'after the moderne' is original. S. Fedele, designed by Tibaldi; the style is late renaissance.

noble Structure, the front especialy, after the moderne: After dinner we were conducted to St. *Celso*,<sup>1</sup> a Church of rare Architecture, built by *Bramante*,<sup>2</sup> & the Carvings of the *faciata* of marble of *Hannibal Fontana*,<sup>3</sup> whom they esteeme at Milan equal with the best of the antients: In a roome joyning to the Church, is a *Madona* of Marble (like a Colosse) of the same Sculpturs work, which they will not expose to the aire:<sup>4</sup> There are two *Sacristias*, in one a rare Virgin of Leonardo da Vinci,<sup>5</sup> in the other, an other by *Raphael d'Urbino*, a piece which all the world admires:<sup>6</sup> The *Sacristan* shew'd us here a world of rich Plate, Jewells, & Embrodred Copes which are kept in presses.<sup>7</sup>

Next we went to see the greate Hospital,<sup>8</sup> a quadrangular Cloyster, of a vast compasse: in earnest a royal fabric, & has

<sup>1</sup> The whole entry derives from Arundel's instructions, p. 451. Arundel and Evelyn have confused S. Celso with S. Maria presso S. Celso, to which the present description applies. For S. Maria see Torre, pp. 71-8; C. Ponzoni, *Le chiese di Milano*, 1930, pp. 190-7.

<sup>2</sup> Torre ascribes the interior to Bramantino, pupil of Bramante: p. 72; it is, however, by G. G. Dolcebuono.

<sup>3</sup> Annibale Fontana, c. 1540-87; he executed the majority of the statues and the central relief. The façade was designed by G. Alessi.

<sup>4</sup> This statue was made for the summit of the façade, but was apparently never set up there; it was already in its present position on the altar of the Madonna by 1674: Torre, pp. 72, 74-5.

<sup>5</sup> This picture is a copy, ascribed to Salaino, of Leonardo's Virgin with St. Anne now in the Louvre; it passed to the Leuchtenberg collection before 1851, and was taken with that collection to St. Petersburg: J. D. Passavant, *Galerie Leuchtenberg*, 2nd ed., 1851, no. 43; *Burlington Mag.* xx (1911-12), 129-30, and plate.

<sup>6</sup> This picture is a school piece; it was presented to the empress Maria Theresa in 1779, and is now in the Kunsthistorisches Hofmuseum in Vienna: J. D. Passavant, *Raffaello d'Urbino*, Italian trans., 1882-91, iii. 18-20; Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, *Die Gemäldegalerie: Alte Meister*, 1907, no. 30 (E. 361).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Torre, pp. 77, 78.

<sup>8</sup> From Pflaumern, pp. 614-15; 'a royal fabric' perhaps deriving from Raymond, p. 245. The hospital in Pflaumern's time consisted only of the southern part of the buildings now existing, the south side of the present great court forming the northernmost portion; Evelyn's version of Pflaumern's account forms a fairly accurate description of this part of the hospital: cf. Torre, p. 40. But it is inadequate for what existed in his own time; the construction of the remainder of the great court had begun in 1621 and was apparently complete by 1642: [G. Caimi], *Notizie stor. del grand' ospedale di Milano*, 1857, pp. 33-7. The northern part was finished in 1791-1801.



to it of annual endowment 50 thousand crowns of Gold: There is in the middle of it a Crosse building for the sick, & just under it, an Altar so plac'd as to be seene in all places of the Infermarie: There are divers Colledges<sup>1</sup> built in this quarter richly provided for, by the same *Borromeo* & his Nephew the last Card: *Fredrico*, some not yet finishd, but of excellent designe: Passing along we saw St. *Eustorgio*,<sup>2</sup> wherein they told us there lay formerly the bodys of the 3 *Magi*, since translated to *Colin* in Germany: they yet reserve the Tomb, which is a Square Stone, on which is a Star ingraven, & under it:

*Sepulchrum trium Magorum.*

Here is also (as affirmed) some of the mony or golden Treasure, which they offerd our B: Saviour:—Passing by St. *Laurenzo*<sup>3</sup> we espied 16 Columns of Marble, & the ruines of a building, which had ben a Temple dedicated to *Hercules*, with this Inscription yet standing

*Imp: Caesari. L. Aurelio vero, Aug: Arminiaco Medico Parthico Max: Trib: Pot: VII Imp. IIII Cos. III. P. P. Divi Antonini Pij Divi Hadriani Nepoti. Divi Trajani Parthici Pro Nepoti Divi Nervæ Abnepoti Dec. Dec.*

So we concluded this days wandring at the Monasterie of Madona della Gratia, & in the Refectorie admir'd that

<sup>1</sup> Arundel refers to the colleges in his instructions, p. 451. 'The same Borromeo' is St. Charles, 1538–84, archbishop of Milan 1560; his nephew, Federico, 1564–1631, archbishop 1595, cardinal 18 December 1587. They founded at least four colleges, of which the most important architecturally was the Collegio Elvetico: Torre, pp. 230, 265, 270, 279.

<sup>2</sup> From Raymond, pp. 242–3, as far as the sarcophagus, which he figures; the relic of the treasure from Pflaumern, p. 618. The relics of the Three Kings were transferred to Cologne by the emperor Frederick Barbarossa after his destruction of Milan in 1162; some of the bones

were brought back to Milan in 1903. The piece of gold, a coin or medal of the emperor Zeno, has been re-cast: for it see Hill, *Medallic portraits of Christ*, pp. 110–11. It and the sarcophagus are still preserved here: Romussi, ii. 94–6.

<sup>3</sup> From Raymond, pp. 240–1, including the inscription; Raymond follows Pflaumern, pp. 597–8. The columns are now associated with the *Herculeum lavacrum* (baths) mentioned by Ausonius, but the nature of the building to which they belonged is uncertain; the inscription was set up here casually in 1505: Romussi, i. 91–7; text of inscription, *C.I.L.*, vol. v, no. 5805.

celebrated *Cena domini* of L(e)onard: da Vinci,<sup>1</sup> which takes up the intire Wall at the end, & is the same the greate *Virtuoso*<sup>2</sup> Francis the first of France was so inamoured of, that he consulted to remove the whole Wall, by binding about with ribs of yron & timber, to convey it into France, being in deede one of the rarest paintings that ever *Leonardo* did, who was long in the service of that prince, & so deare to him, as the King coming to visite him in his old age & sicknesse he expired in his armes: But this incomparable piece is now exceedingly impaired:

Early next morning came the Learned *Dr. Ferarius*<sup>3</sup> to visite us, & tooke us up in his Coach to go see the *Ambrosian Librarie*,<sup>4</sup> where Card: Fred: *Borhomeo* has <expended><sup>a</sup> so vast a summ in building, & furnishing it with Curiosities, especialy paintings & drawings of inestimable value among Painters: It were a Schole fit to make the ablest Artist: Ther are many rare things of *Hans Breugill*<sup>5</sup> viz. the 4 Elements, & in this roome stands the glorious<sup>6</sup> Inscription of

<sup>a</sup> MS. *extended*.

<sup>1</sup> The entire notice from Arundel's instructions, p. 452. Leonardo's Last Supper in the refectory of the friary of S. Maria delle Grazie. Francis I's project to remove it and Leonardo's death in his arms come from Vasari; the latter story is questionable: Vasari, ed. Milanesi, iv. 31-2, 49 and n.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 492.

<sup>4</sup> The entire notice from Arundel's instructions, p. 452, except as noted. The institution was founded by Cardinal Federico Borromeo in 1609. It occupied only the north part of its present premises; besides the library it included the picture-gallery, opened in 1618, and an art school, opened in 1621 and superseded in 1775. For its early history and plan at this period see P. P. Bosca (Boscha), *De origine, et statu Bibliothecæ Ambrosianæ*, 1672; see

3811.2

also *Guida sommaria per il visitatore della Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, 1907, and G. Morazzoni, *L'Ambrosiana nel terzo centenario di Federico Borromeo*, 1932.

<sup>5</sup> i.e. Jan Bruegel the elder. The subjects of the pictures added by Evelyn, perhaps from Lassels, i. 124; these were his best works here but there were altogether twenty-three pictures here by him; they were evidently the show-pieces of the collection. Only two of the Four Elements are still preserved here; the other two are now in the Louvre: F. Borromeo, 'Museum', in *Symbolae litterariae, opuscula varia*, ed. A. F. Gori, vol. vii, 1754, pp. 117-21; Bosca, pp. 119-24; S. Latuada, *Descr. di Milano*, 1737-8, iv. 116-18; *Guida sommaria*, p. 57.

<sup>6</sup> i.e. vainglorious, boasting. Arundel uses the same word here.

*Cavaliero Galeazzo Arconati*,<sup>1</sup> to value his gift to the Librarie of severall drawings of *Da Vinci*: but these we could not see, the keeper of them being out of Towne, who allways<sup>a</sup> carried the keys with him:<sup>2</sup> But my *Lord Martial*<sup>3</sup> (who had seene them) told me, all but one booke are small, & that an huge folio contain'd 400 leaves,<sup>4</sup> full of Scratches of Indiane<sup>5</sup> &c: but whereas the Inscription pretends that our *King Charles* had offerd 1000 pounds for them; the truth is, & as my Lord himselfe told me, 'twas his *Lordship*<sup>6</sup> that treated with *Galeazzo* for himselfe, in the name, & by permission of the King, &<sup>b</sup> that the *Duke of Feria*<sup>7</sup> who was then Governour should make the bargain; but my Lord having seene them since, did not thinke them so much worth.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *kept* deleted.

<sup>b</sup> Followed by *so* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> D. c. 1648; collector of works of art, &c.: L. Gramatica, notes to A. Mazenta, *Mem. su Leonardo da Vinci* (Analecta Ambrosiana, vol. i, 1919), p. 64. He gave, besides the Codex Atlanticus, eleven volumes of manuscripts by, or connected with, Leonardo. Nine of the latter, all containing matter by Leonardo, have been in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut in Paris since 1796; a volume in the Trivulzio collection is also probably one of the eleven: G. Uzielli, *Ricerche intorno a Leonardo da Vinci*, 1872-84, ii. 224-5.

<sup>2</sup> This note, the keeper's absence, &c., is original. For the places in the Ambrosiana and the box in which the Codex Atlanticus was kept see A. Ratti (Pius XI), *Scritti storici*, [1932], pp. 138, 147-9.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. Arundel.

<sup>4</sup> The Codex Atlanticus. It measures 67 × 45 cm. (26.4 × 17.7 in.) and contains 804 pages: Ratti, p. 134. Arconati is said to have bought it in 1625: Uzielli, ii. 222.

<sup>5</sup> In Arundel, as printed, 'scratches

of Indians'. 'Scratches' are slight sketches.

<sup>6</sup> In his instructions Arundel writes 'one that had treated', &c., not mentioning himself; but Evelyn is undoubtedly correct in stating that it was Arundel himself: see note below.

<sup>7</sup> Don Gomez Suarez de Figueróa y Córdoba, duke of Feria, governor 1618-25, 1631-3.

<sup>8</sup> 'The party [the proposed purchaser] since seeing them sees his owne folly.'

The statement that it was Arundel, not the king, who was negotiating for the manuscripts has been questioned, but on insufficient grounds; the only certain error in the passage is the statement that King Charles is named in the inscription commemorating Arconati's gift; the inscription says only the king of England. There is no doubt about Arconati's good faith or about that of J. A. Annoni, an agent; the offer so far as they were aware emanated from the king; Arundel's directions to Evelyn show that they were misled. The date of the negotiation is uncertain; Annoni,

In the greate roome, where is a goodly Librarie, on the right hand of the doore, is a small wainscot closset,<sup>1</sup> furnish(ed) with rare *Manuscripts*: Two original letters of the *Grand Signor*<sup>2</sup> were shew'd us, sent to two *Popes*, one of which was (as I remember) to Alex: 6. *Borgia*, & the other mentioning the head of the Launce, which pierc'd our B: Saviours side, sent as a present to the *Pope*. I would faine have gotten a copy of them, but could not, however they are<sup>a</sup> I heare,

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *since* deleted.

making a sworn deposition in 1636, states: 'l'anno 1630 essendo io instato grandemente per parte della Maestà del Rè d'Inghilterra Giacomo, hoggi regnante, à procurare d'havere dall' Illustrissimo Signor Galeaz Arconato, un grosso volume in foglio [the Codex Atlanticus] . . . furono di poi meco rinovate l'istanze, e per lettere, e in voce da un'Agente di quella Corona venuto in queste parti per far compra de quadri, libri, e altre simili cose . . . mi fu inviata una lettera dell' Illustris. Signor Conte d'Arundel per l'Eccellentis. Signor Duca di Feria all' hora Governatore di questo Stato . . .': Uzielli, ii. 248-9 (the statement that Arundel sent the letter confirms Evelyn's statement that it was Arundel, not the king, who was negotiating). The 'Agente' mentioned by Annoni would appear to be William Petty, who collected works of art for Arundel and who was in Milan about 1632: Hervey, *Arundel*, p. 336. See Uzielli, ii. 235-54; E. Verga, in *Raccolta Vinciana*, i (1905), 59-66; Ratti, pp. 140-6 (Ratti argues for King James as the originator of the negotiation and 1625 as its date; his English translator adds a note, translation, p. 248, apparently suggesting that Annoni's negotiation and Arundel's, as recorded by Evelyn, were unrelated). Arundel also negotiated for some other Leonardo drawings, at the time in Spain (where those

bought by Arconati had also been kept for a time); he apparently obtained thence the Arundel Codex, now in the British Museum, and the drawings now in the Royal Library at Windsor: Hervey, p. 300; Uzielli, ii. 314-15, 317-23; Sir Kenneth M. Clark, *Catalogue of the drawings of Leonardo . . . at Windsor Castle*, 1935, vol. i, pp. x-xii.

<sup>1</sup> This was one of the cabinets in the corners of the original hall: cf. Bosca, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Bosca writes: 'duplex literarum autographum, quas . . . Baiazetes', &c.: p. 6; Mgr. Galbiati, the Prefect of the Ambrosiana, informs me that they are originals. The sultan is Bajazet II, 1481-1512. The letter to Alexander VI is dated 11 April 1493; for Bajazet's correspondence with him see *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, v (1882), 511-73, and Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, vol. iii, ed. 1926, p. 388 nn. The letter mentioning the Holy Lance (above, p. 262) was addressed to Innocent VIII and is dated February 1492; it was sent with the relic, a gift to the pope for his services in retaining in captivity the sultan's brother, Prince Djem; translation of text in S. dei Conti, *Le storie de' suoi tempi*, 1883, ii. 27-8; for Bajazet's relations with Innocent see Pastor, as above, pp. 274-6, 278-9. Arundel states that 'the old prete that keeps them' can provide copies of an Italian translation of the two letters.

translated into *Italian*, & therein a most honorable mention of Christ: from hence we revisited *St. Ambrose Church*;<sup>1</sup> the high *Altar* is supported by 4 *Porphyrie Columns*, & under it lies the precious remains of that holy Man;<sup>2</sup> neere it they shewd us a pit or well,<sup>a</sup> (an obscure place it is) where they say, *St. Ambrose*<sup>b</sup> baptizd *St. Augustine*, & recited the *Te-deum*, for so imports the *Inscription*

*Hic Beatus Ambrosius baptisat Augustinum, Deodatum, et (Alippum):<sup>c</sup> Hic Beatus Ambrosius incipit Te Deum Laudamus: Augustinus sequitur: Te Dominum Confitemur.*<sup>3</sup>

They shew'd us likewise a fragment of the brasen serpent which *Moses* made in the *Wilderness*,<sup>4</sup> if you will believe it, it stands on a pillar in the Church,<sup>d</sup> the place is also famous for some Councils that have here ben held, & for the Coronation of divers *Italian Kings & Emperors*: receiving the *Iron*

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *in* deleted.    <sup>b</sup> Followed by *being* deleted.    <sup>c</sup> MS. *Alippium*.    <sup>d</sup> Followed by *which* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> *S. Ambrogio*; this is Evelyn's only recorded visit. The first part of the notice, including the inscription, is from Raymond, pp. 241-2; the remainder is from Pflaumern, pp. 621-4. The principal works on the church are J. P. Puricellus, *Ambrosianæ Mediolani basilicæ . . . monumenta*, vol. i, 1645 (all published); G. Ferrario, *Monumenti sacri e profani . . . di Sant' Ambrogio*, 1824; see also Romussi, vol. i, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> *St. Ambrose*, 340?-397; it is Evelyn who calls him that holy man.

<sup>3</sup> The place shown was a small separate building (in the present *Via Lanzone*). *St. Augustine* was baptized by *St. Ambrose* in *Milan* in 387; there is supposed to have been only one baptistery in *Milan* at that time, within the *Roman walls* (*S. Ambrogio* lies outside), and the ceremony would have taken place there: Ferrario, pp. 195-7; Romussi, i. 190. The inscription

given in the text is not traceable; that now existing in the building dates from 1677: Forcella, *Iscrizioni . . . di Milano*, vol. iii, no. 368. Neither saint is now supposed to have been concerned in the composition of the *Te Deum*: *Catholic Encyc.*, art. *Te Deum*.

<sup>4</sup> The brazen serpent set up by *Moses* (*Numbers* xxi. 8-9) was destroyed by *Hezekiah* (*2 Kings* xviii. 4). It was widely believed that the present monument was made from the remains of this serpent; another theory was that it had originally been sacred to *Aesculapius*; a third, that it had been set up as a symbol of the crucifixion (see *St. John* iii. 14): see Puricellus, pp. 318-31; P. P. Bosca, *De serpente æneo*, 1675; Ferrario, pp. 90-4; Romussi, i. 227-8; the last theory is probably correct. The monument is still preserved; the column supporting a crucifix facing it was set up in 1869.

Crown from the Archbishop of this See:<sup>1</sup> One more curiosity they shew, which is the Hist: of *Josephus* written on the bark of trees:<sup>2</sup>

The high Altar is infinitely rich:<sup>3</sup> & to say truth *Milan* is one of the princliest Citties in *Europe*, it has no suburbs, but is circl'd with a stately Wall for 10 miles, in the Center of a Country that seemes to flow with milk & hony: The aire is excellent, the fields fruitfull to admiration, & consequently the Merkat abounding with all sorts of provisions:<sup>4</sup> The City has neere 100 Churches: 71 Monasteries:<sup>5</sup> 40000 Inhabitans;<sup>6</sup> It is of a Circular figure fortified with bastions:<sup>7</sup> full of sumptuous Palaces, & rare Artists, especialy for Works in Chrystal, which is here cheape, as being found among the *Alpes*: They are curious in Straw-worke<sup>8</sup> among the Nunns, even to admiration: It has a good river: but a *Citadell*<sup>9</sup> of some small distance from the City, & Commanding it, that for its strength, Workes, & Munition of all kinds, the whole world shewes none like it, tis garnisond onely with *Spaniards*, & was built by *Galeatius* the second,<sup>10</sup> consisting of 4 bastions,<sup>11</sup> & those Works at the Angles & fronts: The

<sup>1</sup> These statements from Pflaumern. The crown is the Iron Crown of Lombardy. List of the kings and emperors crowned with it in G. B. Villa, *Le sette chiese . . . di Milano*, 1627, pp. 64-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50. It is now preserved in the Ambrosiana: information from Mgr. Galbiati.

<sup>3</sup> The altar already mentioned; this notice is from Pflaumern.

<sup>4</sup> These general remarks are based on Raymond, p. 239.

<sup>5</sup> Carelessly taken from Pflaumern, p. 632: 'Templa LXXXII. ex quibus Ecclesiæ Collegiæ XI. parociales LXXI. Monasteria in vniversum LXXIV.', &c.

<sup>6</sup> Pflaumern writes above 300,000: p. 632. See above, p. 492 n.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Pflaumern, p. 632.

<sup>8</sup> 'You will meet with many Curiosities in this place, especiallie of *Cristal*, brought hither from the

*Alps*, and a Thousand Conceits, most delicatly wrought of Straw': Sir Andrew Balfour, *Letters written to a friend*, 1700, pp. 246-7. (Balfour was in Italy between 1668 and 1671.) For the crystal cf. Lassels, i. 130; and see Verga, pp. 244-8; I have not seen the work by E. Kris on this subject.

<sup>9</sup> The whole entry is from Pflaumern, pp. 632-4, except as noted. The building interrupted the circle of the city wall. It reached its maximum development in 1656; all the outer works have now been demolished. See L. Beltrami in L. del Mayno, *Vicende militari del Castello di Milano dal 1706 al 1848*, 1894; F. Calvi, *Storia del Castello di Milano*, [1892].

<sup>10</sup> Galeazzo II Visconti, ruler of Milan from 1354 to 1378.

<sup>11</sup> The six bastions of the outer work were constructed in 1560-

Graft is invested with brick,<sup>1</sup> to an incredible depth, it has two strong toures as one enters, & within is another fort, & spacious lodgings for the Souldiers, & to draw up in, in a word, no accommodation for streng(t)h wanting, & all exactly uniforme: They have here also all sorts of Work & trades men:<sup>2</sup> an incomparable Magazine of Armes, & Provisions: The fosse is of Spring Water, & that grinds corne<sup>3</sup> & the Ramparts vaulted underneth: At my being now at *Milan* Don Juan Vasquez Coronada was Governor of this Citadell.<sup>4</sup>

But<sup>a</sup> of all the curiosities of *Milan*, there is nothing more worthy seeing, than the Collection of Signor *Septalla*<sup>5</sup> a Canon of St. *Ambros*, who is famous over Christendome for his learning & virtues: He shew'd us an *Indian* Wood, that had the perfect sent of Civet: & a Flint containing a good quantity of Water within it, it is rather a pibble, cleare as Achat, so as you may plainely discerne the Water: & has divers Chrystals that have Water moving in them,<sup>6</sup> & some of them plants & leaves, in another hogs bristles: Much Amber full of Insects, & divers things of Woven *Amiantos*:<sup>7</sup> In a Word *Milan* is a sweete place, & though the streetes are

<sup>a</sup> Preceded by *Passing towards our Lodging, & walking a turne in the Portico before the Domo* deleted.

1612; the rivelines between them were not completed until 1656: Beltrami, as above, pp. 31-6. Evelyn's account seems to show the discrepancy between what he saw and what Pflaumern mentions; but Pflaumern's account is also rather poor.

<sup>1</sup> Not in Pflaumern.

<sup>2</sup> In the older sense, artificers or craftsmen: *O.E.D.*; cf. below, p. 517 and 4 Dec. 1653.

<sup>3</sup> 'Dans [la Citadelle] . . . il y a une source qui fait moudre des moulins': Monconys, ii. 491.

<sup>4</sup> Don Juan Vasquez Coronado was castellan from 1651 to 1656: F. Calvi, *Storia*, p. 526; he may, of course, have held some command here earlier. The notice is original.

<sup>5</sup> Except for the addition 'of St.

*Ambros*' the whole notice is taken from Monconys, ii. 491-2. Septalla is Manfredo Settala, 1600-80; the collection, highly celebrated in its time, passed to the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in 1751 and in 1906 was reconstituted, so far as possible: P. M. Terzago, *Musæum Septalianum*, 1664; P. F. Scarabelli, *Museo di Galeria*, 1666 (amplified translation of the preceding, with an engraving of the interior that has been frequently reproduced); *Archivio storico lombardo*, serie terza, xiv (1900), 58-126; Ratti (Pius XI), *Scritti storici*, pp. 175-86.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. above, pp. 331, 471.

<sup>7</sup> i.e. amiantus, a variety of asbestos that splits into fibres that can be woven: *O.E.D.*

somewhat narrow,<sup>1</sup> they abound in rich Coaches, are full of Noblesse, who every night frequent the *Course*.<sup>2</sup>

Passing towards our Lodging, & Walking a turne in the Portico before the *Dome a Cavaliero*<sup>3</sup> who pass'd by, hearing some of our Companie speaking English, looked a good while earnestly on us, and by & by sending his servant towards us, desird that we would honour him the next day at Dinner; This we looked on as an odd kind of Invitation, he not speaking at all to us himselve: We returnd his Civilitie, with thanks, not fully resolv'd what to do, or what might be the meaning of it, in this jealous place: But on inquirie, 'twas told us he was a *Scots* Colonel, that had an honorable Command in the Citty, so we agreed to go: This Afternoone we were wholly taken up in seeing an *Opera*, represented by some *Neapolitans*, & performed all in excellent Musick, & rare Sceanes: in which there acted a celebrated Beauty:<sup>4</sup>

Next morning we went to the *Colonels*, who had sent his servant againe to conduct us to his house; which in truth we found a noble Palace, richly furnish'd. There were also other Guest(s), all Souldiers, and one of them a Scotch man, but not one of all their names could we learn: At dinner he excusd his rudenesse, that he had not himselve spoken to us, telling us it was his costome, when he heard of any English Travlors (who but rarely would be knowne to passe through that Citty, for feare of the Inquisition<sup>5</sup>) to invite them to his house, where they might be free: And indeede we had a most sumptuous dinner, with plenty of Excellent provision, & the wine so tempting, that after some healths had gon about, &

<sup>1</sup> According to Raymond they were 'of a more then common breadth': p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Monconys, ii. 493. For the coaches at a slightly later date see Bertarelli and Monti, figs. 88, 89, and note, 97.

<sup>3</sup> If the epitaph printed below refers to him, as it presumably does, he was Alexander Burnet or Burnett ('Burnottus' is clearly a slip), and was probably a member of the family of Burnett of Leys, to which

Gilbert Burnet, the future bishop of Salisbury, also belonged; Alexander occurs frequently as a Christian name in this family; for it see G. Burnett, *The family of Burnett of Leys* (New Spalding Club), 1901.

<sup>4</sup> No performance here in this year is recorded elsewhere: A. Paglicci Brozzi, *Il teatro a Milano nel secolo XVII* (extract from *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, 1891).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, p. 491.



we rissen from Table, the Colonel<sup>a</sup> leade us into his hall, where there hung up divers Colours, Saddle, bridles, pistols & other Armes, being Trophies which he had with his owne hands taken from the Enemy; & amongst them would needes bestow<sup>b</sup> a paire of *Pistols* on Cap: *Wray*, one of our fellow Travelors, & a good drinking Gent: & on me, a Turkish bridle woven with silk & very Curiously embossd, with other silk Trappings, to which hung an halfe moone finely wrought, which he had taken from a Basshaw that he had slaine: With this glorious spoile, I rid the rest of my Journey as far as Paris & brought it afterwards into England. Then he shew'd us a stable of brave horses, with his *Menage* & *Cavalerizzo*.<sup>1</sup> Some of the horses he causd to be brought forth, which he mounted, and perform'd all the motions of an Excellent horse-man: When this was don, & he alighted, contrary to the advice of his Groome & Pages, (who it seemes knew the nature of the beast, & that their Master was a little spirited with Wine) needes he would have out a fiery horse, that had not yet ben Menag'd, & was very ungovernable; but was else a very beautifull Creature: This he mounting, the horse getting the raines, in a full carriere, <rose><sup>c</sup> so de(s)perately, as he fell quite back, crushing the Colonell so forceably against the Wall of the Manege, that though he sat on him like a *Centaure*, yet recovering the Jade on all foure againe, he desir'd to be taken down, & so led in, where he cast himselfe upon a Pallet, where with infinite lamentation, after some time, we tooke our leaves of him, being now speechlesse; and the next morning coming to visite him, we found before the doore, the Canopie, which they usualy carry over the Host, and some with lighted tapers, which made us suspect he was in very sad condition, & so indeede we found him, an Irish frier standing by his bed side, as Confessing him, or at least disguising a Confession & other Ceremonies, usd *in extremis*; for we afterwards learn'd,

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *would needes* deleted.    <sup>b</sup> Followed by *upon me* deleted.  
<sup>c</sup> MS. *rise*.

<sup>1</sup> A slip for *cavallerizza*, a riding-school: cf. above, p. 330.

that the Gent: was a Protestant, and had this Frier his confident; which doubtlesse was a dangerous thing at *Milan*, had it ben but suspected: At our enterance he sighed grievously and held up his hands, but was not able to speake: After vomiting some bloud, he kindly tooke us all by the hand, & made signes, that he should see us no more, which made us take our leave of him with extreame reluctancy, & affliction for the Accident: This sad disaster made us Consult that very Evening about our departure from this Towne as soone as we could, not knowing how we might be enquired after, or engag'd, The Inquisition heare being so cruelly formidable, & inevitable on the least suspicion: The very next morning therefore discharging our Lodgings we agreed for a Coach to Carry us to the foote of the *Alpes*, not a little concernd for the death of the Colonell, which we now heard of, & that had so courteously entertain'd us:<sup>1</sup>

The first day<sup>2</sup> then we got as far as *Castellanza*,<sup>3</sup> by which runs a spacious river into *Lago Maggiore*: Here at dinner

<sup>1</sup> The following epitaph in S. Angelo (in Porta Nuova), a church formerly belonging to the Franciscans, presumably refers to him:

D.O.M.  
 CECIDIT VT AB EQVO SAVLVS  
 SVB AVSTRIÆ CÆSARIBVS  
 SINE FIDE FIDELIS  
 MVNERE FVNCTVS VICETRIBVNI  
 ET EN VIVVS QVIESCIT  
 SERAPHICA INDOLE  
 NOVVS ECCLESIE ROMANÆ FETVS  
 MORTE VICTA  
 MAGNO ALEXANDRO MAGNVS  
 ALEXANDER BVRNOTTVS  
 SCOTIÆ PATRIÆ FÆLICI  
 NOVO ORTV ET OCCASV  
 CLARÆ VIRTVTIS  
 SPECVLVM  
 M.D.C. XXXXVI

Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese . . . di Milano*, vol. v, no. 136. It is unfortunately impossible to recover the exact date of Burnet's death or burial.

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn's account of his journey from Milan to Geneva is based on

Raymond, pp. 246–55, but is longer and much better. There is a commentary on his journey by A. Baujard in *Annales de l'université de Grenoble*, xxiv (1912), 123–47; and a translation with notes by L. Seylaz in *Die Alpen* (publication of the Schweizer Alpenclub), vii (1931), 347–55. Seventeenth-century accounts of the journey between Milan and Geneva by way of the Simplon are rare; the best, apart from Evelyn's, appears to be that by Locatelli, who travelled from Geneva to Milan in May 1664: *Voyage de France*, pp. 298–320. Lassels also travelled from Geneva to Milan by this route: i. 59–66; Christian Ernest, margrave of Kulmbach, from Milan to Geneva in 1661: work by S. von Birken, cited p. 512 n. For the history of the pass see below, p. 508 n.

<sup>3</sup> In Raymond '*Alla Castellanza*': p. 246; Evelyn, however, is correct in giving it as a proper name. It is situated on the Olona, which has no

were two or three *Jesuites* who were very pragmatikal & inquisitive, whom we declind conversation with as decently as we could: so we pursu'd our journey through a most fruitfull plaine, but the weather wet & uncomfortable: At night we lay at *Sesto*<sup>1</sup> & next morning (leaving our Coach) Imbarked in a boate to waft us over the *Lago*<sup>2</sup> (being one of the largest in Europe) & whence we could perfectly see the touring *Alps*, & amongst them *Il gran San Bernardo* esteemed the highest mountaine in Europe, appearing some miles above the Clouds:<sup>3</sup> Through this vast Water passes the River *Ticinus* which discharges itselfe into the *Pò*, by which meanes *Helvetia* transports her Merchandizes into *Italy*,<sup>4</sup> which we now begin to leave behind us: Having now sail'd about 2 leagues we were hal'd on shore at *Arona*,<sup>5</sup> a strong Towne belonging to the Dutchy of *Milan*, where being examind by the Governor, & paying a small duty, we were dismiss'd: Opposite to this Fort is *Angiera*,<sup>6</sup> another small Towne; the passage very pleasant, with the horrid<sup>7</sup> prospect of the *Alps*, coverd with Pine trees, & Firrs & above them Snow: The next we pass'd was the pretty Iland, *Isabella*,<sup>8</sup> that ⟨lies⟩<sup>a</sup> about the middle

<sup>a</sup> MS. *lies*.

connexion with *Lago Maggiore*. Evelyn obviously only dined here, sleeping at *Sesto* (see below).

<sup>1</sup> Raymond, p. 247. *Sesto Calende*.

<sup>2</sup> *Lago Maggiore*. Raymond expressly states that it is not the largest in the Alps: p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> 'Thereabouts [i.e. from *Sesto*] wee had in full view the Mount *San Bernardo Il grande*, the highest Terrasse in *Europe*. And wee could perfectly discern it about foure *English* miles to out top the Cloudes': Raymond, p. 247. The *St. Bernard* group would be scarcely visible from *Sesto*; the most prominent mountain is *Monte Rosa*, 15,217 ft. high, second in Europe to *Mont Blanc*.

<sup>4</sup> From *ibid.*, p. 247.

<sup>5</sup> The description from Raymond, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Raymond, p. 248. *Angera*.

<sup>7</sup> Evelyn uses the word in the obsolete sense, bristling, shaggy, or rough; cf. below, p. 509.

<sup>8</sup> *Isabella* was the name given, in honour of his wife, by Count Carlo Borromeo (1587–1652) to the present *Isola Bella*; the change of name to *Isola Bella* was due to popular usage. The first part of Evelyn's notice appears to apply not to this island but to *Isola Madre*. The latter, then called *Isola Renata*, was occupied by a formal garden, with a palace at the highest point. The later part of the notice ('the whole Iland is a Mount', &c.) probably applies to *Isola Bella*; it may be a misplaced accretion to Evelyn's original text. The palace and gardens on *Isola Bella* were probably begun by 1627 but the

of the Lake, & has a faire house built on a Mount, indeede the whole Iland is a Mount, ascended by severall *Terraces* & walks all set about with Oranges & Citron trees, the reflection from the Water rendring the place very warme, at least during the Summer & Autumn: The next we saw was *Isola*,<sup>1</sup> & left on our right hand the Ile of St Jovanni,<sup>2</sup> & so<sup>a</sup> sailing by another small Towne (built also upon an Iland)<sup>3</sup> we ariv'd at night to *Marguzzo*<sup>4</sup> an obscure village at the end of the Lake, & very foote of the Alpes, which now rise as it were suddainly,<sup>5</sup> after some hundred of miles of the most even Country in the World, & where there is hardly a stone to be found, as if nature had here swept up the rubbish of the Earth in the Alpes, to forme & cleare the Plaines of *Lumbardy*, which hitherto we had pass'd since our coming from *Venice*:

In this wretched place, I lay on a bed stuff'd with leaves, which made such a Crackling, & did so prick my skin through the tick, that I could not sleepe:<sup>6</sup> The next morning I was

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *passing* deleted.

rate of progress is uncertain; there was a gardener in 1645; the garden was completed in 1671; the palace, situated on the flat part of the island, has never been completed: V. De-Vit, *Il Lago Maggiore*, 1875-8, I. ii. 217, 238-9, 270-1; P. Morigia, *Hist. della nobiltà, et degne qualità del Lago Maggiore*, 1603, pp. 158-60.

<sup>1</sup> Presumably *Isola Bella*. Evelyn's 'another small Towne (built also upon an Iland)' (see below) suggests that two of the four islands mentioned by him contained villages; if so they could be only *Isola Bella* and *Isola Superiore* (dei Pescatori). Morigia couples the two, calling them *Iselle*: pp. 160-1; cf. Alberti, ff. 440 v.-441. Morigia, of course, saw *Isola Bella* before its transformation had begun.

<sup>2</sup> The *Isolino S. Giovanni* off *Pallanza*; it changed its name from *Isola di S. Angelo* on its acquisition by the *Borromeo* family: De-Vit, I. ii. 227.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably *Isola Superiore*.

<sup>4</sup> So Raymond: '*Marguzzo* a poore village at the end of the Lake': p. 248. *Mergozzo*; it lies on a small lake of the same name, in 1603 already separated from *Lago Maggiore* by the delta of the *Toce* (*Tosa*), one of the principal tributaries of the lake: Morigia, *Lago Maggiore*, p. 156.

<sup>5</sup> Raymond notes 'how on a suddaine the *Alpes* break off the flat Countrey, like a wall to part *Italy* from her neighbours *France* and *Germany*': pp. 246-7; but this is in a description of the view from near *Sesto*.

<sup>6</sup> The leaves of the beech, 'being gather'd about the fall, and somewhat before they are much *frost-bitten*, afford the best and easiest *Mattresses* in the world to lay under our *quilts* instead of *straw*. . . . They are thus used by divers persons of *Quality* in *Dauphine*, and in *Switzerland* I have sometimes lain on them to my great refreshment': *Sylva*, 1664, pp. 21-2.

furnish'd with an Asse (for we could not get horses) but without stirrops, but we had ropes tied with a loope to put our feete in, that supplied other trappings, & thus with my gallant steede, bridld with my Turkish present,<sup>1</sup> we pass'd thro a reasonable pleasant, but very narrow Vally,<sup>2</sup> 'til we came to *Duomo*,<sup>3</sup> where we rested, & having shew'd the *Spanish* passe,<sup>4</sup> we brought from the Ambassador; The Governor would presse another on us: though onely that his Secretary might get a Croune: Here we exchang'd our *Asses* for *Mules* sure footed on the hills & precipices, as accustom'd to passe them, & with a Guide, which now we hired, we were brought that night, through very steepe, craggy, & dangerous passages, to a Village cal'd *Vedra*,<sup>5</sup> being the last of the King

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 504.

<sup>2</sup> 'A very fruitfull though narrow valley': Raymond, p. 248. He states that the difficult part of the journey begins at Mergozzo, but found the way easy as far as Domodossola.

<sup>3</sup> So Raymond, *ibid.* Domo-dossola.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably that obtained at Venice: above, pp. 477-8.

<sup>5</sup> From Raymond, p. 249, including the account of the journey and the description. Vedra appears to be the Dovedro of Cordier's map (see below), a village on the left bank of the Diveria, immediately below its confluence with the Cairasca.

In ancient times the Simplon pass was used probably only for local intercourse between the Upper Valais and Lago Maggiore. In the middle ages it became more important; a hospice existed in 1235; Pope Gregory X crossed the pass when returning from the Council of Lyons in 1275. From the sixteenth century the pass perhaps declined in importance, but a post-service over it was established in 1640. A few travellers record crossing it in the seventeenth century, and in the eighteenth it is included in road-

books (G. M. Vidari, *Il viaggio in pratica*, 1718; 7th ed. 1785). Its importance as a major route was due to Napoleon, who perceived its military value and built the carriage-road in 1801-5. This was the first carriage-road to be built over any of the great Swiss passes.

The Simplon was the most dangerous of the passes in ordinary use. It could not be crossed immediately after heavy rain on account of the danger from falling stones; and it could not be crossed in December, January, and February. From Dovedro to the village of Simplon the track followed nearly the same route as the road (at an earlier date it is said to have run high up on the left bank of the Diveria, through the summer hamlets of Trasquera and Frassinodo: *Allgemeine Schweizerische Gesellschaft für die gesammten Naturwissenschaften, Denkschriften*, I. ii (1833), 37; cf. *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, ii (1892), 90; the seventeenth-century accounts name no places between Dovedro and Simplon but fit best with the route through the ravine of Gondo). From Simplon to the summit it kept to the left of the road, crossing the Krummbach a little upstream from

of *Spaines* Dominion in the Dutchy of *Milan*, a very infamous wretched lodging:

Next morning we mount againe through strange, horrid & firefull Craggs & tracts abounding in Pine trees, & onely inhabited with Beares, Wolves, & *Wild Goates*, nor could we any where see above a pistol shoote before us, the horizon being terminated with rocks, & mountaines, whose tops cover'd with Snow, seem'd to touch the Skies, & in many places pierced the Clowdes. Some of these vast mountaines were but one intire stone, 'twixt whose clefts now & then precipitated greate Cataracts of Mealted Snow, and other Waters, which made a tirrible roaring, Echoing from the rocks & Cavities, & these Waters in some places, breaking in the fall, wett us as if we had pas'd through a mist, so as we could neither see, nor heare one another, but trusting to our honest Mules, jog on our Way: The narrow bridges in some places, made onely by felling huge Fir-trees & laying them athwart from mountaine to mountaine, over Cataracts of stupendious depth, are very dangerous, & so are the passages & edges made by cutting away the maine rock: others in

the existing bridge; the old hospice (below, p. 511) lies about a mile nearer Simplon than the new. From the summit of the pass the track kept as close as possible to the Saltine, crossing the Ganter near its confluence with that stream; it then ascended to the new road near Bleike but diverged again, passing through the Saltine ravine at a lower level and then descending direct to Brieg. A large part of the track between the summit and Brieg still exists. When there was snow on it, it became narrower and more dangerous, but certain parts were dangerous at all times. Some of the travellers performed the journey between Dovedro and Brieg in one day. Evelyn appears to have had bad weather.

The most important works dealing with the pass are: J. G. Ebel, *Anleitung, auf die nützlichste und*

*genussvollste Art die Schweiz zu bereisen*, 2nd ed., 1804-5, arts. Domo d'Ossola and Simplom; A. Schulte, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Handels . . . zwischen Westdeutschland und Italien*, 1900; R. Reinhard, *Pässe und Strassen in den Schweizer Alpen*, 1903, pp. 86-96; F. Barbey, *La route du Simplon*, 1906; *Dict. hist. et biog. de la Suisse*, 1921-34, arts. Simplon, Stockalper (I have not been able to see J. Imesch, *Zur Geschichte des Simplonpasses*, 1904). Later accounts of the journey are given by H.-B. de Saussure, *Voyages dans les Alpes*, 1779-96, iv. 330-7; K. (C.) V. von Bonstetten, *Neue Schriften*, 1799-1801, iii. 325-36; and J. von Müller (see below, p. 512 n.). Maps in R. Céard, *Souvenirs des travaux du Simplon*, 1837 (see also pp. 52, 54, 56), and by Cordier, n.d. (1807?). For the earlier travellers' accounts see above, p. 505 n.

steps, & in some places we passe betweene mountaines that have ben broken & falln upon one another, which is very tirrible, & one had neede of a sure foote, & steady head to climb some of these precipices, harbours for the Beares, & Woulv(e)s,<sup>1</sup> who sometimes<sup>a</sup> have assaulted Travellers: In these straits we frequently alighted, freezing in the Snow, & anon frying by the reverberation of the Sun against the Cliffs as we descend lower,<sup>2</sup> where we meete now & then a few miserable Cottages, built so upon the declining of the rocks, as one would expect their sliding down: Amongst these inhabite a goodly sort of People having monstrous Gulletts or Wennes of fesse growing to their throats, some of which I have seene as big as an hundred pound bag of silver hanking under their Chinns; among the Women especialy,<sup>b</sup> & that so ponderous, as that to Ease them, they many of them were <a><sup>c</sup> linnen cloth, bound about their head & coming under the chin to support it,<sup>d</sup> but *quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpihus*? Their drinking so much snow water is<sup>e</sup> thought to be<sup>e</sup> the Cause of it, the men using more wine, are not so *strumous*<sup>3</sup> as the Women: but the very truth is, they are a race of people, & many greate Water-drinkers here have not those prodigious tumors: It runs aꝯ we say in the bloud, & is a vice in the race, & renders them so ougly, shrivel'd & deform'd, by its drawing the skin of the face downe, that nothing can be more fritefull;<sup>4</sup> to which add a strange puffing

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *do* deleted.    <sup>b</sup> Followed by *who* deleted.    <sup>c</sup> Deleted in MS.    <sup>d</sup> Comma supplied.    <sup>e-e</sup> Substituted for *being*.

<sup>1</sup> 'A Habitation for Wolves and Beares': Raymond, p. 249. Otherwise this passage is original.

<sup>2</sup> There does not appear to have been any long descent prior to the summit of the pass. The valley opens out above the ravine of Gondo and there are several hamlets between it and Simplon.

<sup>3</sup> Struma is properly scrofula but is also applied to goitre and certain other diseases: see *O.E.D.*

<sup>4</sup> 'C'est icy [at St. Michel near Modane] où Iuvenal pourroit dire *Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpihus* [Sat. xiii. 162]; ce n'est pas l'eau de neige qui en est la cause, mais c'est un vice de race, car des beuveurs d'eau ne sont point goitreux': Monconys, ii. 501. The swelling is due to goitre, of which the cause is uncertain. It is mentioned by most seventeenth-century travellers.

habit,<sup>1</sup> furr, & barbarous Language, being a mixture of corrupt high *German, French, & Italian*:<sup>2</sup> The people are of gigantic Stature, extremely fierce & rude, yet very honest & trustie:<sup>3</sup> This night, through unaccessible heights, we came in prospect of *Mons Sempronius*, now Mount *Sampion*,<sup>4</sup> which has on its summit a few hutts, & a Chapell: Approching this, Captaine Wrays Water Spaniel, (a huge filthy Curr, that had follow'd him out of England), hunted an heard of Goates downe the rocks, into a river made by the dissolutions of the Snow: Ariv'd at our cold harbour<sup>5</sup> (though the house had in every roome a Stove), supping with Cheeze & Milke & wretched wine to bed we go in Cupbords, & so high from the floore, that we climb'd them by a Ladder, & as we lay on feathers, so are Coverd with them, that is, betweene two tickes stuff'd with feathers, & all little enough to keepe one warme: The Ceilings of the roomes are strangely low for those tall people. The house was now in September,<sup>6</sup> halfe

<sup>1</sup> There is little satisfactory evidence for Swiss costume at this time. Raymond notes the 'long Breeches and rough Bands' of the inhabitants of the Simplon: p. 250; Lassels writes that the clothes of the inhabitants of Valais 'looke as if they had been made by the *Taylors* of the old *Patriarchs*; or as if the fashion of them had been taken out of old hangings and tapistry': i. 60. Swiss costume in general seems to have been very antiquated: see E. A. Gessler, *Die alte Schweiz in Bildern*, 1933, pp. 214, 217-19.

<sup>2</sup> Raymond writes 'a new Language', 'a broken Dutch', and gives specimens: p. 250. It is a dialect of German; in Evelyn's time the linguistic boundary between it and French was below Sion: J. Zimmerli, *Die deutsch-französische Sprachgrenze in der Schweiz*, 1891-9, iii. 7-10.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Raymond, pp. 250-1. According to Heylyn the inhabitants of Valais are 'said to be courteous towards strangers, but very rough

and churlish towards one another': *Cosmographie*, p. 162.

<sup>4</sup> So Raymond, p. 251. No classical name for the pass is known; L. Alberti states that the 'Latini' called it 'Mons Scipionis', but gives no authority: f. 442. The earliest recorded name for it, occurring in a document dated 1235, is 'Semplon', with the alternatives 'Semplun' and 'Senplon': J. Gremaud, *Documents relatifs à l'hist. du Vallais*, i. 319 (Soc. de l'hist. de la Suisse romaine, vol. xxix, 1875). The name 'Mons Sempronii' first occurs in Bonaventura Castiglione, *Gallorum Insubrum antiquae sedes*, 1541, pp. 80, 81; see Alberti, as above.

<sup>5</sup> Identifiable as the old hospice on the Simplon, situated about a mile and a half below the summit of the pass on the Italian side. It belonged from 1621 to 1655 to the Hospital of St. Antony at Brieg: Reinhard, *Pässe*, pp. 93-4. It is still standing.

<sup>6</sup> Evelyn crossed the Simplon in the first half of May: the period can



cover'd with Snow,<sup>a</sup> nor<sup>a</sup> is there ever a tree or bush growing in many miles: from this unhospitable place then we hasted away early next morning, but as we were getting on our Mules, comes a huge young fellow, demanding mony for a Goate, Cap: Wrays Dog (he affirm'd) had kild the other day: expostulating the matter, & impatient of staying in the Cold, we set spurrs & endeavor'd to ride away, when a multitude of People, being by this time gotten together about us (it being Sondag morning & attending for the Priest to say Masse) stop our Mules, beate us off our saddles & imediately disarming us of our Carbines, drew us into one of the roomes of our Lodging, & set a guard upon us. Thus we continu'd Prisoners til Masse was ended, & then came there halfe a Score grimm Swisse,<sup>1</sup> & taking upon them to be Magistrates, sate downe on the Table, and condemn'd us to pay the fellow a pistol<sup>2</sup> for his Goate, & ten more for attempting to ride away: Threatning that if we did not do it speedily they would send us to another Prison, & keep us to a day of publique Justice, where,<sup>b</sup> as they perhaps would have exaggerated<sup>3</sup> the Crime,<sup>b</sup> for they pretended we span'd our Carabines & would have shot some of them (as indeede the Captaine, was about to do) we might have had our heads cut off, for amongst these barbarous people, a very small misdemeanor dos often meete that animadversion: This we were afterwards told; & though the proceeding appeerd

<sup>a-a</sup> MS. *Snow, and nor.*

<sup>b</sup> Followed by opening bracket.

be calculated from the date of his departure from Padua (above, p. 479) and from that of Le Duchat's regimen (below, p. 532). A large amount of snow on the pass would be possible at this season; so in a crossing of the pass made on 14 and 15 May 1661 deep snow is mentioned: S. von Birken, *Hoch Fürstlicher Brandenburgischer Ulysses*, 1669, pp. 180-1; and Evelyn had already noted the rain at Sesto four days earlier. It is possible that the winters were more severe at this time than now: see C. E. P. Brooks,

*Climate through the ages*, 1926, p. 340.

<sup>1</sup> 'This grim Nation': *State of France*, p. 30 (*Misc. writings*, p. 63). The inhabitants of the region about the hospice possessed an independent jurisdiction: J. von Müller, *Sämmtliche Werke*, 1810-19, xxvii. 139.

<sup>2</sup> No statements as to its value here are available.

<sup>3</sup> The word is probably used in the old sense, to emphasize, make much of, &c., not in the modern depreciatory sense. Evelyn generally uses it in the old sense.

highly unjust, upon Consultation among ourselves, we thought it safer to rid our selves out of their hands, & the trouble we were brought in, than to expostulate it among such brutes, & therefore we patiently lay'd downe the mony, & with fierce Countenances had our Mules, & armes deliverd us, and glad to scape as we did: This was cold entertainment, but our journey after was colder, the rest of the Way having (tis sai'd) ben cover'd with Snow since the Creation; for that never man remember'd it to be without;<sup>1</sup> & because by the frequent Snowing, the tracks are continually fill'd up, we passe by severall tall Masts, set up, to guide Those who travell, so as for many miles they stand in ken of one another, like to our Beacons:<sup>2</sup> In some places of divided Mountaines, the Snow quite fills up the Cleft, whilst the bottome being thaw'd, leaves it as it were a frozen Arch of Snow, & that so hard, as to beare the greatest weight, for as it snows often so it perpetually freezes, & of this I was so sensible, as it flaw'd the very skin of my face: Beginning now to descend a little,<sup>3</sup> Cap: Wrays horse, that was our Sumpter, (& carried all our bagage) plunging thro a bank of loose Snow, slid downe a firefull precipice, more than thrice the height of St Pauls, which so incens'd the Cholerique Cavalier his Master, that he was sending a brace of bullets into the poore beast, least the Swisse, that was our Guide, should recover him & run away with his burden: but just as his hand was lifting up his Carbine, We gave such a Shout, & pelted the horse so with Snow balls, as with all his might plunging thro the Snow, he fell from another steepe place into another bottome neere a path we were to passe: It was yet a good while 'ere we got to him, but at last we recovered the place, & easing him of his Charge, hal'd him out of the Snow, where he had ben certainly

<sup>1</sup> Raymond, describing the view from the summit, writes: 'Nothing to bee seen but snow, which hath laid there beyond the memory of man, and as some say ever since the flood': p. 252. Cf. M. Lescarbot, *Le tableau de la Suisse*, 1618, p. 26. Raymond had to go over the snow for about four miles. The pass

(summit 6,582 ft.) is free from snow during the summer months.

<sup>2</sup> These poles are mentioned by Raymond, p. 252.

<sup>3</sup> For the route from the summit to Brieg see above, p. 509 n. The road kept close to the Saltine until it crossed the Ganter.

frozen in, if we had not prevented it before night: It was (as we judg'd) almost two miles that he had slid & fall'n, & yet without any other harme, than the benumbing of his limbs for the present, which with lusty rubbing & chafing he began to move, & after a little walking perform'd his journey well enough: All this Way (affrited with the dissaster of the Captaines horse) we trudg'd on foote, driving our Mules before us: & sometimes we fell, & sometimes slid thro this ocean of featherd raine,<sup>1</sup> which after October is impassible:<sup>2</sup> Towards night we came into a larger way, thro vast woods of Pines which cloth the middle parts of these rocks: here they were burning some to make *Pitch & Rosin*, piling the knotty branches, as we do to make Char-Coale, & reserving that which mealts from them, which harden into Pitch &c:<sup>3</sup> & here we passd severall Cascads of dissolv'd Snow, that had made<sup>a</sup> Channels of formidable depth in the Crevices of the Moun- taines, & with such a firfull roaring, as for 7 long miles we could plainely heare it: It is from these Sourses, that the swift & famous *Rhodanus*, & the *Rhyne* which passe<sup>b</sup> thro all<sup>c</sup> France, & Germanie, derive their originals.<sup>4</sup>

Late at night then we got to a Towne call'd *Briga*<sup>5</sup> which

---

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *pa* deleted.    <sup>b</sup> Altered from *passes*.    <sup>c</sup> Followed by *Germanie* deleted.

---

<sup>1</sup> The phrase was nearly a commonplace; it is given as a synonym for snow by J. Poole, *The English Parnassus*, 1657, p. 488. So also:

'I saw faire *Chloris* walke alone,  
When feather'd raine came softly  
downe.'

—William Strode; first printed in 1632; reprinted in *Wits Recreations*, 1641, and later editions; reprinted in Strode's *Poetical works*, ed. Dobell, 1907, p. 41; and elsewhere.

'Hath aged winter, fledg'd with  
feathered raine,  
To frozen Caucasus his flight now  
tane?'

—Crashaw, Epitaph on Mr. Stan-  
ninow (d. 1635), in *Poems*, ed.  
L. C. Martin, 1927, p. 394; the  
poem first printed in 1872.

<sup>2</sup> Raymond states that the best  
time for crossing the pass is in  
September, October, or November:  
p. 252.

<sup>3</sup> See *Sylva*, 1664, pp. 55-7, 100-3.

<sup>4</sup> Raymond writes: 'Hereabouts  
the Rivers, the *Rhene* and the  
*Rhosne*, have their fountaines':  
p. 253. There was another water-  
shed to be crossed to reach the  
head-waters of the tributaries of the  
Rhine.

<sup>5</sup> So *ibid.* *Brieg* (Brigue).

is build at the foote of the *Alpes* in the *Valtoline*:<sup>1</sup> Every doore almost had nailed on the outside, & next the Streete, a Beares, Wolfes or foxes-head & divers of them all Three, which was a Salvage kind of sight:<sup>2</sup> but as the Alps are full of these beasts, the People often kill them:

The next morning we return'd our Guide, & tooke fresh Mules & another to conduct us to the Lake of *Geneva*, passing through as pleasant a Country, as that which before we had traveld, was melancholy & troublesome, & a strange & suddaine change it seem'd, for the reverberation of the Sunbeames darting from the Mountaines & rocks, that like a Wall range it on both sides, not above 2<sup>a</sup> flight shots in bredth for some hundreds of miles;<sup>3</sup> renders the passage excessively hot: through such extreames we continu'd our Journey, whilst that goodly river the *Rhone* glided by us in a narrow & quiet chanell, almost in the middle of this Canton, & fertilizing the Country for Grasse & Corne which growes here in abundance, for the Snow which waters it from the hills, brings downe with it a fertil liquor that dos wonderfully impregnat.<sup>4</sup>

We ariv'd this night at a very pretty Towne, & Citty, for *Sion*<sup>5</sup> (that is its name) is a Bishops seate, & the head of *Valesia*, & has a Castle: The Bishop who resides in it, has both Civile & Ecclesiastical<sup>6</sup> Jurisdiction, & here our Host,<sup>b 7</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *a*.      <sup>b</sup> Followed by *that* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's error for the Valais; the Val Tellina runs eastward from the head of Lake Como. Valais (Wallis) was at this time an ally of the confederate Swiss cantons. The principal works on it are J. Simler, *Vallesiae descriptio*, 1574 (this work was included in the Elzevir Respublica series, 1633), and S. Furrer, *Geschichte, Statistik und Urkunden-Sammlung über Wallis*, 1850-2. See also Locatelli, pp. 300-15.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> The distance along the valley from Brieg to where the Rhone enters the Lake of Geneva is about seventy miles.

<sup>4</sup> Raymond describes the valley as 'rich': p. 253. On the fertility of Valais see Simler, f. 2.

<sup>5</sup> The notice from Raymond, p. 254.

<sup>6</sup> 'Spirituell and Temporall.' The bishop was finally deprived of almost the whole of his temporal power in 1634: H. Gay, *Hist. du Vallais*, 2nd ed., 1903, pp. 213-14.

<sup>7</sup> Not identifiable. According to Lassels the 'knowne Commanders' of the men who could assemble to defend Valais 'are often times the Innkeepers in whose houses we lodge': i. 61.

(as the costome of these Cantons is) was one of the chiefest of the Towne, & having heretofore ben a Colonell in France us'd us exstreame<sup>a</sup> Civily; being so displeas'd at the barbarous usage we received at Mount *Sampion*, as he would needes give us a letter, to the Governour of the Country, who resided at *St. Maurice* (which was in our Way to Geneva) to revenge the affront: This was a true old blade, & had ben a very curious *Virtuoso*, as we found by an handsome collection of *Books, Medails, Pictures, Shells* & other Antiquities; amongst other things he shew'd us two heads & hornes of the true *Capricorne*,<sup>1</sup> which he told us, were frequently kill'd among the Mountaines: One branch of them was as much as I could well lift, & neere as high as my head, not much unlike the greater sort of Goates, save that they bent forewards, by help whereof they climb up, & hang on inaccessible rocks, from whence they now & then shoote them, & spake prodigious things of their leaping from crag to crag, & of their sure footing, notwithstanding their being cloven footed, unapt on(e) would think to take hold, & walke so steadily on those tirrible ridges as they do: On(e) of these *beames*,<sup>2</sup> the Coll: would have bestowed on me, but the want of a Convenience to carry it along with me, caus'd me to refuse his courtesie: He told me that in the Castle there were some *Roman & Christian* Antiquities;<sup>3</sup> & some Incriptions he had in his owne Garden; but our time being short I could not<sup>b</sup> perswad my Companions to stay & visite the places he would have had us seene, nor the offer he made to shew us the hunting of

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *exstreamely*.

<sup>b</sup> Followed by *stay* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn has confused the steinbock and the chamois and has added a further error. The large horns belong to the steinbock, a variety of ibex, which according to E. Topsell is called 'capricornus' by some Latin writers. The animal which is said to hang from the rocks by its horns is the chamois; Topsell gives its Latin names as 'Rupri capra' and 'Capricornus': *Hist. of foure-footed beastes*, 1607,

pp. 244-7, 445-7. The horns of both animals bend backwards. Those of the steinbock may attain nearly a yard in length. It is now extinct in Valais.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> For the inscriptions see *C.I.L.*, vol. xii, nos. 135-40, 5518. A number of Roman objects are now preserved in the museum here: see F. Stähelin, *Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit*, 2nd ed., 1931.

the Beare, Wolfe, & other wild beasts; inviting us to his Country house, where he told us he had better Pictures, & other rarities: A more debonaire brave Gentleman I never saw, nor could possibly expect to find in this rude Country & among the blunt Swisse: Wherefore the next morning, having presented his daughter (a pretty Virgin, & well fashion'd) a small rubie ring, we parted somewhat late from our generous Host: Passing through the same pleasant vally, continue'd betweene the horrid mountaines on either hand, & lying like a Gallery for many miles in length, & so got to *Martigni*<sup>1</sup> where we were also well entertain'd: The Houses in this Country are all built of firr boards plain'd within, low & seldom of above one storie:<sup>2</sup> The People very Clownish, & rustickly clad, after a very odd fashion, for the most part in blew cloth, very whole & warme, nor with almost any variety or distinction, twixt the gentlemen & common sort, by a law of their Country,<sup>3</sup> being exceedingly frugal: so as I saw not one begger among them; add to this their greate honestie & fidelitie, though exacting enough for what they part with: We paid the value of 20 shill: *English* for a days hire of one horse:<sup>4</sup> Every man gos with a sword by his side, & the whole Country well disciplind, & indeede impregnable, which made the *Romans* have so ill successe against them; one lusty Swisse, at their narrow passages sufficient to repell a Legion: 'Tis a frequent thing here for a Young Trades man, or fermor to leave his Wife & Children for 12 or 15 Yeares, and seeke his fortune in the Warrs abroad in Spaine, France, Italy or Germanie & then returne againe to Work:<sup>5</sup> I looke upon this

<sup>1</sup> Raymond, p. 254. Martigny.

<sup>2</sup> 'Their houses are low and darke, many of them having no windowes, and the rest very little ones': Lassels, i. 60, describing Valais. For the peasants' houses here see J. Hunziker, *Das Schweizerhaus nach seinen landschaftlichen Formen*, 1900-14, vol. i; see also Simler, f. 4 v.

<sup>3</sup> For the costume see above, p. 511 n. Simler writes: 'Vestibus vulgo ex crassa & rudilana utuntur';

persons of higher rank are more richly dressed: ff. 4, 4 v.

<sup>4</sup> There may be some exaggeration. The English rate for horses to ride post was 3*d.* a mile; an ordinary horse could be hired and kept for about 20*s.* a week: Parkes, *Travel in England in the seventeenth century*, pp. 52-9.

<sup>5</sup> For Swiss military service abroad see M. Feldmann and H. G. Wirz, ed., *Hist. militaire de la Suisse*, pt. vi, 1916, especially pp. 22-4.

Country, to be the safest spot of all *Europ*, neither Envyed, nor Envying, nor are any of them rich, nor poore; but live in greate Simplicity & tranquillitie, & though of the 14 *Cantons*<sup>1</sup> halfe be *Roman Catholics*, the rest Reformed;<sup>2</sup> yet they mutually agree, & are confederate with *Geneva* & its onely security against its potent Neighbours: as their owne is, from being atack'd by the greater Potentates, by the Jealositie of their neighbours, who would be over balanc'd, should the *Swisse* (who now are wholly mercenarie, & Auxilliarie) be subj(e)cted to France or Spaine:<sup>3</sup>

We were now arriv'd at St. *Maurize*,<sup>4</sup> a large & handsome Towne, & residence of the President,<sup>5</sup> where Justice is don: To him we presented our letter from *Sion*, and made known the ill usage we receiv'd for the killing of a wretched Goate; & which so incens'd him, as he sware, if we would stay, not onely to helpe us to our mony againe, but most severely to punish the whole rabble: but we were by this time past our revenge, & glad we were gotten so neere France, which we reckon'd as good as home: He courteously invited us to dine with him, but we excus'd ourselves, & returning to our Inn, whilst we were eating something before we tooke horse, the Governor had causd two pages to bring us a present of two huge Vessels of Cover'd Plate full of Excellent Wine, which we drank his health in, & rewarded the Youthes; The Plate were two vast boules, supported by 2 *Swisses* handsomly wrought after the German manner: This Civilitie,<sup>6</sup> & that of

34-9. Over-population at home was at least as important a stimulus as any prospect of winning a fortune abroad.

<sup>1</sup> There were at this time thirteen cantons, but one of them, Appenzell, was divided into two parts. Geneva, Valais, the Grisons, Ticino, and some other districts were not included in the cantonal system, but were either allied with or subject to the Swiss: Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, p. 164, &c.; K. Dändliker, *Short hist. of Switzerland*, 1899, pp. 116-18, 162.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Heylyn, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> Spain as ruler of the duchy of Milan was a neighbour of the Swiss.

<sup>4</sup> In Raymond as '*Saint Mauritz*': p. 254. St. Maurice.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably the Landvogt. He was the governor of the Lower Valais and his power did not extend to the Upper: Furrer, ii. 146. The present holder of the office perhaps had some personal connexion with the Simplon district.

<sup>6</sup> It was apparently regularly practised in favour of distinguished travellers: Locatelli, pp. 301-2; cf. p. 289.

our hosts at *Sion*, perfectly reconcild us to the hig(h)landers, & so proceeding on our journey, we passd this afternoone through the Gate<sup>1</sup> which divides the *Valois* from the Dutchy of *Savoy*, into which we now were entering, & so thro *Montei*<sup>2</sup> ariv'd that evening to *Beveretta*,<sup>3</sup> where being extreamely weary, & complaining of my head,<sup>a</sup> & little accommodation in the house, I caus'd one of our Hostesses daughters to be removed out of her bed, & went immediately into it, whilst it was yet warme, being so heavy with paine & drowsinesse, that I would not stay to have the sheetes chang'd; but I shortly after pay'd dearely for my impatience, falling sick of the Small Pox so soone as I came to *Geneva*; for by the smell of franc Incense,<sup>b</sup> & the tale the good-woman told me, of her daughters having had an Ague, I afterwards concluded she had ben newly recoverd of the Small Pox: The paine of my head & wearinesse<sup>c</sup> making me not consider of any thing, but how to get to bed so soone as ever I alighted, as not able any longer to sit on horseback:<sup>4</sup> Notwithstanding this, I went with my Company the next day, hiring a bark to carry us over the Lake [*Lacus Lemanus*],<sup>d</sup> & indeede, sick as I was, the Weather was so serene & bright, the Water so Calme, & aire temperate, that,<sup>a</sup> never had Travelers a sweeter passage: Thus we saild the whole length of the Lake, for about 30

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *I* deleted.      <sup>b</sup> Or *Frankincense*; catchword of preceding page of MS.      <sup>c</sup> Substituted for *back*.      <sup>d</sup> Marginal note.

<sup>1</sup> From Raymond, p. 254, including its situation. It is presumably La Porte du Sex, a fort, with an arch over the road, formerly existing at a point where the Rhone flows close to the left wall of its valley; it lay, however, between Monthey and Le Bouveret, not between St. Maurice and Monthey. It had ceased to mark the frontier between Valais and Savoy in 1569, when the present frontier at St. Gingolph was established: Schiner, *Descr. du département du Simplon*, 1812, pp. 543-5; Gay, *Hist. du*

*Vallais*, 1903, p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> So Raymond, p. 254. Monthey. See preceding note.

<sup>3</sup> In Raymond as '*Boveretta*': p. 254. Le Bouveret.

<sup>4</sup> The period of incubation for small-pox is twelve days; headache, high temperature, and pains in the back and limbs are the first symptoms of the illness. The rash begins to appear on the third day thereafter and increases during the next few days. Evelyn was presumably infected when in Milan.



miles,<sup>1</sup> The Countries bordering on it, *Savoy & Bearne*, affording one of the most delightfull prospects in the World the *Alps*, cover'd with Snow, though at greate distance, ye shewing their aspiring tops: [They speake of Monsters & *Tritons* often seene in this *Lake*.]<sup>a 3</sup> Through this Lake, th River *Rhodanus* passes with that velocity as not to mingl with its exceeding deepe waters,<sup>4</sup> which are very cleare, & breedes the most celebrated Troute, for largenesse & good nesse of any in all *Europ*: I have ordinarily seene one of foote in length, sold in the Merket for a small Price:<sup>b 5</sup> & suc we had in the Lodging where we<sup>c</sup> abode, which was at th *White Crosse*:<sup>6</sup> All this while I held up tollerably, & th

<sup>a</sup> Marginal note. deleted.

<sup>b</sup> Substituted for *matter*.

<sup>c</sup> Followed by *la*

<sup>1</sup> The lake is about forty-five miles long.

<sup>2</sup> The present canton of Vaud belonged to Bern from 1536 to 1798. Evelyn's account of the view is apparently original.

<sup>3</sup> I have not found Evelyn's source for this statement.

<sup>4</sup> The ultimate source of the statement is Pomponius Mela, *Chorographia*, bk. ii, cap. v. Evelyn appears to have taken it from Varennes (see below), p. 224. It is already contradicted by Burnet: *Some letters*, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> The lake was famous for its trout and other fish: see Gölnitz, p. 383; Locatelli, pp. 275, 289 and n.; Lassels, i. 48; see also below, p. 523 n.

<sup>6</sup> Probably the inn with this sign in the rue de Coutance on the right bank of the Rhone; it was built in 1472 and was still existing in the early nineteenth century: E. Doumergue, *La Genève calviniste*, 1905, p. 46; *La Genève des Genevois*, 1914, p. 28.

Evelyn's account of Geneva is based in part on Raymond, pp. 255-61, Varennes, pp. 220-6, and perhaps Lassels, i. 46-9; it contains

much original matter. There is good account of the town in Gölnitz, pp. 379-401; and another in I d'Avity, *Le monde*, 1637, reprinted in Inst. national genevois, *Bulletin* xxxiv (1897), 306-20. The best travellers' accounts are those of Brackenhoffer, who was here in 1643: *Voyage en France*, pp. 8-51; Locatelli, here in 1665: pp. 274-98; and Skippon, also here in 1665: pp. 702-6. The principal older works are J. Spon, *Hist. . . . Genève*, 2nd ed., 1682 (English trans., 1687), and G. Leti, *Hist. genevrina*, 1686 (here cited as Leti). Leti also wrote a shorter account extant only in an English translation, *The present state of Geneva*, 1681. The principal modern works are J. B. G. Galiffe, *Genève historique et archéologique*, 1861 with supplement, 1872 (here cited as Galiffe), and the two works by Doumergue cited above. The principal views and plans are reproduced by J. Mayor, *L'ancienne Genève*, 1896.

Geneva was an independent republic allied to the Swiss canton in 1665 the population was about 15,000: Locatelli, p. 285 n.

next morning (having a letter for Signor *John Diodati*<sup>1</sup> the famous *Italian Minister*, & Translator of the *Holy Bible* into that Language) I went to his house, & had a greate deale of discourse with that learned person: He told me he had ben in England, droven by Tempest into *Deale*, sailing for Holland, had<sup>a</sup> seene London, & was<sup>b</sup> exceedingly taken with the Civilities he receivd: He so much approv'd of our Church Government by Bishops; that he told me, The French Protestants would make no Scrupule to submitt to it, & all its pomp, had they a King of the reform'd Religion, as we had: he exceedingly deplord, the difference now betweene his Majestie & his Parliament: After dinner came one *Monsieur Saladine*<sup>2</sup> (with his little Pupil the Earle of *Carnarvon*)<sup>3</sup> to visite us, offering to carry us to the Principal places of the Towne: But being now no more able to hold up my head, I was constrain'd to keepe my Chamber, imagining that my very eyes would have droped out, & this night felt such a stinging all about me that I could not sleepe: In the morning I was very ill: yet for all that, the *Doctor* (whom I had now consulted, & was a very learned old man, & as he sayd had ben Physition to *Gustavus* the greate King of Sweden, when he pass'd this way into Italy, under the name of *Monsieur Garse*, the *Initial* letters of *Gustavus Adolphus Rex Sueciæ*,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *ben* deleted.

<sup>b</sup> Followed by *so* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> Jean Diodati, 1576–1649, son of Carlo Diodati, a refugee from Lucca; his translation of the Bible into Italian was first published in 1607. He visited England apparently intentionally in 1619, after attending the Synod of Dort: G. D. J. Schotel, *Jean Diodati*, 1844; E. de Budé, *Vie de Jean Diodati*, 1869. Milton's friend Charles Diodati was the son of a brother settled in England: D. Masson, *Life of Milton*, vol. i, 1881, pp. 98–103.

<sup>2</sup> For a family of this name settled in Geneva see J. A. Galiffe, *Notices généalogiques sur les familles genevoises*, vol. ii, 1831, pp. 371–83.

One Jean Saladin was married to an Englishwoman, Elizabeth Peck; he apparently lived in England.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Dormer, 1632–1709; second earl of Carnarvon 1643: G.E.C. For two poems addressed to him as a boy see A. Morus (below, p. 527), *Poëmata*, 1669, pp. 152–3.

<sup>4</sup> Gustavus Adolphus does not appear to have visited Geneva or Italy. His nephew Charles X Gustavus, 1654–60, born 1622, was here in May and July 1639: H. Rosengren, *Karl X Gustaf före tronbestigningen*, 1913, pp. 65, 69–70.

& of our famous *Duke of Boukingham*<sup>1</sup> returning out of *Italy*) perswaded me to be let blood, which he acknnowledg'd to me he should not have don, had he suspected the Small-Pox, which brake out a<sup>a</sup> <day><sup>b</sup> after; for he<sup>c</sup> also purg'd me, & likewise applied *Hirudines*<sup>2</sup> ad *anum*, & God knows what this had produc'd if the spots had not appeard: for he was thinking of blouding me againe: Wherefore now they kept me warme in bed for 16 daies, tended by a vigilant Swisse Matron whose monstrous Throat, when I sometimes awake'd out <of> unquiet slumbers would affright me: After the pimples were come forth, which were not many, I had much ease, as to paine, but infinitely afflicted with the heate & noysomenesse; But by Gods mercy, after five weekes keping my Chamber, being purg'd, & visited by severall of the Towne: espec(i)ally Monsieur Saladine & his Lady, who sent me many refreshments, during my sicknesse: *Monsieur Le Chat*<sup>3</sup> (my *Physitian*) to excuse his letting me blood, told me it was so burnt & vitious, as it would have prov'd the *Plague* or spotted feavor, had he proceeded by any other method:<sup>4</sup>

The next day after my going abroad, I din'd at Mr. *Saladines*, & in the afternoone, went crosse the Water on the side of the Lake, to take a Lodging that stood exceeding pleasantly, about halfe a mile off the Citty, for better ayring; but I onely stayd one night, having no Company there save my Pipe; so as the next day, I causd them to row me about

<sup>a</sup> Substituted for *two*.    <sup>b</sup> MS. *days*.    <sup>c</sup> Followed by *not*.

<sup>1</sup> This must be George Villiers, first duke of Buckingham, 1592–1628, who travelled in France *c.* 1610–13: *D.N.B.* The second duke was still in Italy, signing the Padua visitors' album on 10 July of this year: Brown, no. 355.

<sup>2</sup> Leeches.

<sup>3</sup> Étienne Le Duchat, *c.* 1585–1665: L. Gautier, *La médecine à Genève jusqu'à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1906, pp. 210, 430. His name is given correctly below, p. 532.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning attached to spotted

fever is uncertain; it seems to have meant any fever accompanied by a rash; but plague seems to have been excluded: L. Riverius, *The practice of physick*, 1672, pp. 613, 624. I have found no very clear statement of the theories relating to fevers at this time; it appears, however, that the corruption of the humours was the chief factor in producing them; what part was attributed to infection by infected persons is not clearly stated: see Riverius, as above, pp. 611–45.

the *Lake*, as far as the greate Stone, which they call *Neptunes* rock,<sup>1</sup> on which they say, Sacrifice was antiently offer'd to him: Thence I landed at certaine Chery-Gardens, & pretty *Villas* situate on the rivage, & exceedingly pleasant: Returning I visited their Conservatories of Fish,<sup>2</sup> in which were Trouts of 6 & 7 foote long as they affirm'd: The River *Rhone*, which parts the Citty in the midst, dips into a Cavern under ground, about 6 miles from it, & afterwards rises againe, & runns its open Course, like our *Mole* or *Swallow* by *Darking* in *Surrey*.<sup>3</sup> Next morning (being *Thursday*) I heard Dr. *Diodati* preach in *Italian*,<sup>4</sup> many of that Country, especialy of his native *Lucca*<sup>5</sup> being Inhabitants<sup>a</sup> at *Geneva*, & of the

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *here* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> From Varennes, p. 224. The Pierres du Niton. They are two erratic boulders in the lake, near the present promenade du Lac. In the larger is a hollow shaped like a bowl, probably for the base of a cross or beacon; at the foot of this rock were found in the seventeenth century a prehistoric knife and some axes. The oldest known name for it is Pierre Dyolin: Galiffe, p. 7 n.; Supplément, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Varennes, p. 224. La Serve; it was situated immediately to the south of what is now the Île Rousseau: view by Chouet, 1645. There appears to be an authentic case of a trout caught in the lake 4 ft. 3 in. long, the estimated weight being 44 lb.; a trout caught in the lake which was said to have weighed 68 lb. is generally regarded as fictitious: G. Lunel, *Hist. naturelle des poissons du bassin du Léman*, 1874, pp. 156-7; see also p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> From Varennes, p. 224, but there as a part of the Rhone; the comparison with the Mole original. The Perte du Rhône at Bellegarde, at the lower end of the defile of l'Écluse, about twelve miles from Geneva. The river is here very narrow and deep; for about seventy yards the rocks almost meet over-

head and in the winter months, when the water is low, it is completely lost to sight; when it is high, a relatively small stream appears on the surface: see Brackenhoff, pp. 12-13; Soc. de Géographie (Paris), *Bulletin*, 7th ser. xv (1894), 70-134. Evelyn's comparison of it with the swallows of the Mole suggests that he did not see it. About the foot of Box Hill and in Mickleham there are a number of holes in the banks and bed of the Mole; in ordinary summers the water sinks through these into subterranean clefts in the chalk, leaving only stagnant pools in the river-bed; the water rises again three miles lower down shortly above Leatherhead: E. W. Brayley, *Topog. hist. of Surrey*, 1841-8, i. 171-85; *V.C.H., Surrey*, iii. 301; Manning and Bray, ii. 666; see also below, 27 Aug. 1655.

<sup>4</sup> There was an Italian sermon every Thursday in St. Germain's: M. Merian, *Topog. Helvetiæ, &c.*, 1642, p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> From Lucca more than sixty families of refugees came to Geneva, a greater number than there came from any other Italian town: J.-B.-G. Galiffe, *Le refuge italien de Genève*, 1881, pp. 84-7, &c.

Reformd religion: And now I was intent about seeing the Towne, which lies betweene *Germanie*,<sup>a</sup> *France*, & *Italy*, so as those three Tongues are familiarly spoken by the Inhabitans:<sup>1</sup> 'Tis a strong, well fortified Citty,<sup>2</sup> part of it built on a rising ground;<sup>3</sup> The houses are not despicable, but the high pent-houses (for I can hardly call them Cloysters) being all of wood; thro which the people passe drie, & in the shade winter & summer, exceedingly deforme the<sup>b</sup> fronts of the buildings:<sup>4</sup> Here are abundance of Booke-Sellers, but Ill Impressions:<sup>5</sup> These with Watches<sup>6</sup> (of which store are made here), Chrystal,<sup>7</sup> & excellent Screw'd Gunns,<sup>8</sup> are the staple commodities: & all Provisions are good & cheape:<sup>9</sup> One of the first things I went to see after I was gotten abroad, was

<sup>a</sup> Followed by & deleted.

<sup>b</sup> Followed by *streetes* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> From Raymond, pp. 255, 257.

<sup>2</sup> For the fortifications see Galiffe, pp. 113-57; J.-É. Massé, *Essai hist. sur les . . . fortifications de . . . Genève*, 1846; and the views and plans in Mayor. They underwent frequent alterations, attaining their greatest development in the eighteenth century; they were destroyed c. 1846-9.

<sup>3</sup> The central part of the old town on the left bank of the Rhone.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Raymond, p. 260; Varennes, p. 221. The 'dômes'. At this time they were projecting roofs supported on a wooden framework; they rose to the roof-level of the houses against which they were built and frequently contained attics; the latest to be built were perhaps fairly regular. They were almost entirely done away with in the nineteenth century: *Voyage hist. de la Suisse, d'Italie, et d'Allemagne*, 1736-43, i. 8; Galiffe, pp. 183-5; Doumergue, *Genève calviniste*, pp. 187-90; *Genève des Genevois*, pp. 52-5.

<sup>5</sup> 'The greatest Merchandise Geneva sends to other parts is Bookes of all sorts': Raymond,

pp. 260-1; cf. Varennes, p. 225. The presses here at this time produced mainly cheap and poor editions: Institut national genevois, *Bulletin*, ii (1855), 211-47. Leti states that the trade was principally in prohibited books: iv. 611; but this is probably untrue. The most important manufacture in Geneva was silk.

<sup>6</sup> Locatelli notes that the women generally wear watches: p. 284. Forty years after Evelyn's visit 5,000 watches were exported annually according to Leti: iv. 611.

<sup>7</sup> References to jewellers here occur frequently; I have not found work in crystal mentioned elsewhere before 1704: H. de Rouviere, *Voyage du tour de la France*, 1713, p. 161.

<sup>8</sup> Guns having a screwed barrel, i.e. a barrel having a helically screwed bore; this is the earliest occurrence of the term given in *O.E.D.* For the manufacture here see Leti, *The present state of Geneva*, p. 15.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Varennes, p. 225; Gölnitz, pp. 383-4.

the *Towne-house*,<sup>1</sup> fairely built of stone. The *Portico* has foure black-marble Columns;<sup>2</sup> & on a *Table* of the same this Inscription.<sup>3</sup>

*Post Tenebras, Lux.*

(which is the motto under the Citty Armes, which are a demie *Eagle*, & a *Crosse* betweene the *Crosse Keys*)<sup>4</sup>

*Quum Anno 1535 profligata Romana Anti-Christi Tyrannide, abrogatisque ejus <superstitionibus>,<sup>a</sup> Sacro Sancta Christi Religio Hic in suam puritatem, Ecclesia in meliorem ordinem, singulari Dei Beneficio Reposita, et simul pulsis, fugatisque hostibus Urbs ipsa in suam libertatem, non sine insigni Miraculo restituta fuerit: Senatus, Populusque Genevensis Monumentum hoc perpetuæ memoriæ Causa, fieri atque hoc loco erigi curavit: Quo suam erga Deum Gratitude ad Posterios Testatam fecerit.*

The Territories about the Towne are not so large as many ordinary gentlemen have about their Country farmes; for which cause they are in continual watch, especialy on the *Savoy* side; but in case (of) any seige the Swisse are at hand, as this Inscription in the same place shews towards the *Streete*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>a</sup> MS. *stuperstitionibus*.

<sup>1</sup> The description from Varennes, p. 222. The building was also the seat of government for the republic. It consisted of the existing west wing, with the adjoining tower to the south, and the western half of the north wing; but the top story on the external façades has been altered and the interior has been much restored; the rest of the building is later in date: C. Martin, *La Maison de Ville de Genève*, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> The principal entrance on the north front has two black marble columns; the similar entrance to its east was not constructed until shortly after 1700: Martin, pp. 86, 89.

<sup>3</sup> The material and text of the inscription are taken from Ray-

mond, p. 256. The material of the plaque is bronze. It was first set up in 1558 and when the present north façade was built was placed to the left of the main door; it was removed in 1815 and is now in the cathedral; a different inscription was set up on its site in 1892: Martin, p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn is wrong; the shield of Geneva is: *Per pale dexter, or, a dimidiated eagle displayed sable, armed and crowned gules; sinister gules, a key in pale wards upwards and to the sinister or*: A. C. Fox-Davies, *Book of public arms*, 1915, p. 306.

<sup>5</sup> This passage, including the inscription, is put together from Raymond, pp. 258–60; Evelyn has

D. O. M. S.

*Anno a vera Religione divinitus cum veteri Libertate Genevæ restituta L. quasi novo Jubilæo ineunte plurimis vitatis Domi, et foris Insidijs, et superatis Tempestatibus, et Helvetiorum Primari Tigurini æquo Jure in Societatem perpetuam nobiscum venerint, et veteres fidissimi Socij Bernenses prius vinculum novo adstrinxerint. S.P.Q.G. Quod Felix se velit D.O.M. tanti beneficij Monumentum consecrarunt Anno Temporis Ultimi CIO IO XXCIV.*

They shew'd us in this Senat house 14 antient Urnes, dug up as they were removing Earth in the fortifications:<sup>1</sup>

Hence we walked a little out of Towne, to a spacious field, which they call *Campus Martius*,<sup>2</sup> & well it may so be term'd, with better reason, than that of *Rome* at present, (which is no more a field, but all built into streetes) for here on every *Sunday*<sup>3</sup> after the Evening devotions, this precise people, permitt their Youth to exercise Armes, & shoote in Gunns, & in the long & Crosse bowes, in which they are exceedingly expert, as reputed to be as dextrous as any people in the world; To encourage which, they yearely elect he that has won most prizes at the mark, to be their King: as the King of the Long bow, Gun, or Crosse-bow who weares that weapon in his hat in gold, with a crowne over it, made fast to the hatt like a broach:<sup>4</sup> There is in this fild a long house wherein in severall presses, are kept their Armes, & furniture very neatly; to which joynes a Hall, where on certaine times they meete & feast, & in the glasse windos, are the Armes & names

perhaps wrongly substituted 'towards the streete' for Raymond's 'in the Towne house; cf. Gölnitz, p. 386. The inscription is painted on a wooden panel and was placed in the *antisale* (now *Salle des Pas Perdus*) by 1678; it is now in the *Musée archéologique*: Martin, pp. 87, 127.

<sup>1</sup> From Raymond, p. 260. Varennes gives twelve: p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> There was no place with this name at Geneva; the arquebus and cross-bow exercises took place at la

Coulouvrenière, on the bank of the Rhone outside the fortifications: d'Avity, in *Inst. national genevois, Bulletin*, xxxiv. 309; plans of Geneva in Mayor.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> For an account of the military societies see Soc. d'hist. et d'archéologie de Genève, *Mém. et doc.* vi (1849), 291-329. Brackenhoffer describes the contests for the three kingships in 1643: pp. 24-9.

of their Kings:<sup>1</sup> At the side of the fild is a very noble Pall-Mall, but it turnes with an elbow; Also a bowling Place, a Tavern, and a True-table,<sup>2</sup> & here they likewise ride their menag'd Horses; and it is the usual place of publique Execution, who suffer here, for any capital crime, tho committed in<sup>a</sup> another Country, by which Law, divers fugitives have ben put to death, who have repaire hither for protection:<sup>3</sup> amongst other severe punishments, Adultery is death:<sup>4</sup> Having seene this field, & playd a game at Mall, I supp'd at Mr. *Saladines*. On *Sunday*, I heard *Dr. Diodati* preach in *French* & after the French mode in a Gowne with a Cape, & his hat on:<sup>5</sup> The Church Government is severely *Presbyterian*;<sup>b</sup> after the discipline of *Calvine* & *Beza*, who set it up; but nothing so rigid, as either our Scots, or English Sectaries of that denomination: In the afternoone *Monsieur Morise*<sup>c</sup> a Young most learned person, & excellent Poet, chiefe Professor of the University: This was in *St. Peters*,<sup>7</sup> heretofore a Cathedral, & a reverend pile: I(t) has 4 Turrets, on which

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *their owne* deleted.

<sup>c</sup> Altered from *Morison*?

<sup>b</sup> Followed by *yet no* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> For this building see d'Avity, as above.

<sup>2</sup> I have failed to identify this. Modernized texts of the *Diary* substitute 'trey-table', i.e. a dicing-table, which is probably wrong.

<sup>3</sup> Heylyn describes two cases without giving names: p. 161; cf. Leti, *Present state*, p. 68. I have found no specific cases; that of Servetus can scarcely be intended.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Heylyn, p. 159. For a case in 1637 see J. Gautier, *Hist. de Genève*, 1896-1914, vii. 248-9.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the account of a service here in Locatelli, pp. 280-2. For the wearing of hats during the sermon and other parts of the service see de Félice, *Les protestants d'autrefois*, pp. 61-2; see also V, 6 March 1644. Men attending Anglican services at any rate after 1660 removed their

hats; the high Anglicans removed them before the Civil War.

<sup>6</sup> Alexander Morus, 1616-70: *D.N.B.* (as More). He was professor of Greek 1639-42; of theology 1642-9; and rector of the University 1645-9: C. Le Fort, &c., *Le livre du recteur*, 1860, pp. 375, 390. His poems were published as *Poëmata*, Paris, 1669. Further notice below, 12 Jan. 1662.

<sup>7</sup> In part from Varennes, pp. 221-2, who, however, states that the images have been destroyed, removed, or defaced; for the windows and stalls cf. Lassels, i. 46. St. Pierre. A new façade was built in 1752-6 and the church has been much restored: Camille Martin, *Saint-Pierre, ancienne cathédrale de Genève*, n.d. [c. 1910].



stands a continual Sentinel, on another Cannons mounted:<sup>1</sup> The Church within is very decent, nor have they at all defac'd the painted windows, which are full of Saints pictures,<sup>2</sup> nor the Stalls, which are all carved with the Historie of our *B: Saviour*:<sup>3</sup> a Spacious Church, of *Gotic* fabric:

In the afternoone I went to see the young townes men exercise in Mars field, where the Prizes were pewter plates, & dishes: 'Tis said that some have gain'd competent Estates, by what they have thus won: Here I first saw<sup>a</sup> huge *Balistæ* or Crosse bows (such as they formerly us'd in wars, before Greate guns were known) shot in: They were placed in frames, & had might(y) screws to bend them, doing execution an incredible distance:<sup>4</sup> They are most accurate at the long-bow, and Musquet, very rarely missing the smalest mark; & I was as buisy with the *Carbine* I brought with me from *Bressia*<sup>5</sup> as any of them: After every shot, I found them go into the long house & clense their guns before they charg'd againe.

On Moneday I was invited to a little Garden without the Workes, where were many rare *Tulips*, *Anemonies* & other choice flowers: The *(Rhodanus)*<sup>b</sup> running 'thwart the Towne out of the Lake, makes halfe the Citty Suburbs, *(which)*<sup>c</sup> (in imitation of *Paris*) they call *St. Germans fauxbourg*, and it has a church of the same name:<sup>6</sup> On Two Wooden bridges

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *the* deleted.    <sup>b</sup> MS. *rhodanus*.    <sup>c</sup> MS. *w<sup>th</sup>*.

<sup>1</sup> These statements from Varennes. Lassels states that there were four pieces of ordnance on the bell-tower: i. 47.

<sup>2</sup> There were six windows in the apse with figures of saints; they are now in the Musée archéologique, having been replaced by modern copies in 1886-94: Martin, pp. 179-82.

<sup>3</sup> There do not appear to have been any stalls carved with scriptural scenes; there was a series, of which parts still survive, carved with figures of the apostles, prophets, &c.: *ibid.*, pp. 167-71.

<sup>4</sup> I have found no references to the use of these large *balistæ*; practice with ordinary cross-bows was continued in Geneva until 1673: Leti, iv. 605; Soc. d'hist. et d'archéologie de Genève, *Mém. et doc.* vi (1849), 308.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 489.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently from Varennes, p. 220; cf. p. 222; but St. German wrongly substituted for St. Gervais and the comparison with Paris original. There was and is a church dedicated to St. Germain in the old town.

that go Crosse the river,<sup>1</sup> are severall water Mills, & shops of Trades, especialy Smiths & Cuttlers, & betweene the bridges an Iland, in the midst of which a very antient Tower, said to be built by *Julius Cæsar*,<sup>2</sup> at the end of the other bridge is the Mint,<sup>3</sup> & a faire sun-dial.<sup>4</sup>

Passing againe by the Town-house, I spied a large *Crocodile* hanging in chaines,<sup>5</sup> and against the wall of one of the Chambers seaven *Judges* painted without hands, all excepting one in the middle who has but one; I know not the storie—:<sup>6</sup> The *Arsenal*<sup>7</sup> is at the End of this building, & is exceedingly well furnished & kept.

After dinner Monsieur *Morice*<sup>8</sup> led us to the Colledge,<sup>9</sup> which is a faire structure, undermeth are the Scholes, which consist of 9 *Classes*, & an hall above, where the students assemble: & a good Library. They shewd us a very antient Bible, of about 300 yeares in vulgar *French*, a MSS:

<sup>1</sup> From Varennes, p. 220; 'especialy Smiths & Cuttlers' original. The two bridges were close together, both joining the island in the Rhone to the two banks, and roughly occupying the sites of the two sides of the present broad bridge. There were houses on the downstream bridge; those on the part between the island and the city were burnt down in 1670; at that time there were cutlers, knife-grinders, &c., and watch-makers and goldsmiths among the persons living in them, no ordinary blacksmiths: *Nos anciens et leurs œuvres*, xvi (1916), 3-32; Galiffe, p. 32; V. Minutoli, *L'embranchement du Pont du Rhône à Genève*, 1670 (title-page missing in B.L. copy), pp. 36-44.

<sup>2</sup> From Varennes, p. 220. The Tour de l'Isle. It formed part of a castle built by the bishops in the thirteenth century: Galiffe, pp. 70, 247.

<sup>3</sup> From Varennes, p. 220. On the left bank; it occupied this site from 1543 to 1681: E. Demole, *Hist.*

3811.2

*monétaire de Genève de 1535 à 1792*, 1887, p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Varennes mentions the 'horloge' of the mint.

<sup>5</sup> 'Un Crocodile & un Ichneumon pendus': Varennes, p. 222.

<sup>6</sup> From Varennes, pp. 222-3. The painting, still preserved, is in the Salle du Conseil and is by C. Giglio; it refers to Exodus xxiii. 8: Martin, pp. 54-5.

<sup>7</sup> From Varennes, p. 223. It occupied a building in what is now the rue des Granges; it was connected with the Maison de ville by an archway across the street: J. Mayor, *Fragments d'archéologie genevoise*, 1892-7, p. 69.

<sup>8</sup> i.e. Morus: above, p. 527.

<sup>9</sup> The notice almost entirely from Varennes, p. 223. The university (Académie) was founded in 1559; its building was erected in 1558-62: C. Borgeaud, *Hist. de l'Université de Genève: L'Académie de Calvin, 1559-1798*, 1900, pp. 34-5. This is the building near the present promenade de St.-Antoine.

in the old munkish Character:<sup>1</sup> Here have the Professors their Lodgings: I also went to see the *Hospital*,<sup>2</sup> which is very commodious: But the Bishops Palace<sup>3</sup> is now a Prison.

Whilst we thus linger'd in this famous Towne, not very much celebrated for beauties,<sup>4</sup> (for even at this distance from the *Alps*, the gentlewomen have something full Throates,) our Captaine *Wray*, (afterwards Sir Will: Wray, eldest son to that Sir *Christopher*,<sup>a</sup> who<sup>a</sup> had ben both in armes against his Majesty for the Parliament) fell so mightily in love with one of Monsieur *Saladines* daughters, that with much perswasion, could he be gotten to think of his journey, into *France*, the season now coming on extreemely hot: My sicknesse and abode here cost me 45 pistols<sup>5</sup> of gold to my Host, & 5 to my honest Doctor, who for 6 Weekes attendance & the Apothecarie, thought it so generous a reward, that at my taking leave, he presented me with his advice for the regiment of my health, written with his own hand in Latine.

*Cum Nobilissimus Dominus Evelynus ex Italia redux, hic moram aliquam traheret, questus est de calore circa cor et pulmonem insolito, cum difficili respiratione, siti nausea, dolor capitis, somnolentia, distillatio salsa in fauces, alvus adstricta, sudores illico à cibo, cum infestabant missus fuit sanguinis ex brachio sinistro, admotæ fuerunt ano hirudines, semel, atque iterum fuit purgatus, melius se habuit, illi mox erumperunt exanthemata, quæ prodromum habuerant dolorem lumborum, anxietatem, soporem, urinas perturbatas, dolor cervicis cum valde torquebat; referebat se iam a duobus mensibus*

<sup>a-a</sup> MS. *Christopher* (who.

<sup>1</sup> 'In the old munkish Character' is original and suggests that Evelyn saw the volume.

<sup>2</sup> From Varennes, p. 223. The Hôpital général. It was rebuilt c. 1700 and is now the Palais de Justice: Galiffe, pp. 213, 228.

<sup>3</sup> From Varennes, p. 223. The building lay a little to the north of the choir of St. Pierre; it was demolished in 1840 to make room

for the existing prison: Galiffe, pp. 242-3.

<sup>4</sup> Locatelli seems to have admired the women in Geneva and notes their elegance and their jewellery and watches: pp. 284-5, 294.

<sup>5</sup> The Geneva pistole of 1633-47 was equal in value to the Italian pistole: Demole, *Hist. monétaire de Genève*, pp. 115-16, &c. It was worth about 16s. 7d.

*tentari ra(u)cedine, hepatis calor immodicus, cerebrum calidum humidum, venis et renum infractos, cum cacochymia pituitosa et bilosa, forent multae anathymeseas quibus percellitur cerebrum, et incalescens vapores et fulligines<sup>a</sup> in parte subditus transmissit, unde raucedo augetur, et dyspnoea, et calor in regione diaphragmatis, et salsa distillatio faucibus incumbit: Ne salsa distillatio ulterius progrediatur, neve pulmo perniciem patiatur, et colluvies pituitæ salsæ in thorace coæcervetur, et febris lenta accersatur, cauta victus ratione, et opportuna remediorum administratione debet præcavere. Cùmque se ad Itur accingat, sibi a mora sub sole sedulò caveat, tum etiam ab omni lassitudine: si incaluerit, ne se illico frigida portione prolutat, sed primo nitatur fallere sitim os colluendo miscella vini et aquæ (vi partes ad unam partem et)<sup>b</sup> ex aqua vino et saccharo cum pane infriato, et ex cochleari sensim sumens, sese refocillet: si effervescent humores, et segnis sit alvus, sibi horis matutinis vel vesperi ante Coenam, curabit injiciendum clysterem eo modo quo ipsi fuit præscriptus. Interim, utatur uris Corinthiacis frequenter aquæ lotis, abstineat à cibis acribus, salsis, frixis, pinguibus, et oleosis, à vino generoso et polyphoro abstinens, utetur vino diluto, vel cervisia probe cocta, nec in quantitate aberrabit, saccharato citò in bilem verterentur, ab illis sibi temperet, intempestivum somnum et Vigiliis fugiat. Iram, animi moerorem, et vehementes animi et corporis motus, recta ratione removeat, Vitet omnes mutationes repentinas, si ijs occurrat, Vestibus congruis arceat imminentem noxem: Cum victus ratio circumspecta viro nobilissimo sit valde necessaria, non tamen omnem numerum implere potest, ipsius humeris accedet (ut onus levius reddatur) therapèia, et Autumno ineunte, præparatio humorum, et eorundem purgatio, prudentiæ præsentis medici committitur, Vere etiam plenitudini venarum vacatione erit occurrendum, eluendusque animo scrupulus de venæ sectione, a qua nonnihil videbatur alienus, ob preconceptam opinionem sibi à familiari olim medico insinuatam, à Phlebotomia prorsus esse abstinendum, cùm judicem ad præcautionem, morborum imminentium illam non omittendam volui*

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *fuls*-.

<sup>b</sup> MS. *vippam paret*.

*animo tuo hanc opinionem eliminare, ac re ipsa comprobasti, quantum tibi contuleret, cum hic fuerit administrata: Adde quod arteriæ tuæ pulsus, vix attrectanti in carpo sensibilis, videtur innuere vel arteriam per se affeci, vel aliunde comprimi à plenitudine venarum, quæ satis conspicua est; ac nisi per intervalla fuit evacuatio, immineret periculum pulmone, tum ex copia, tum ex qualitate acrioris sanguinis, vel etiam mala alia multa, tum cerebro, tum hepate, ex suffocante calore nativo ob prohibitam distensionem caloris nativi, tenuibus meatibus inculcato facie sanguinis: (Sed)<sup>a</sup> ut te ab his incommodis vindices, recto præsentis Medici consilio veteris, ab Itinere quod Lutetiam cogitas, nonnihil squaloris et siccitatis insuetæ relinquatur, quæ balneo aquæ tepidæ (si absit distillatio) posset abstergi, alioquin ad temperanda viscera, semicupium ex eadem aqua tepida probaretur et usus lactis asinæ, si febris putrida nulla subsit:*

*Intereâ animo quieto, et vita sobria sanitatem jucundissimam vitæ comitem, omni studio tueri perge, meque tibi omnia prospera voventem, et tuæ Virtutis cultorem esse tibi velim persuadeas.*

*Genevæ 4: Julij 1646. Le Du Chat. D.M.*

But I blesse God, I pass'd this *Journey* without any of these inconveniences, yet much observing the regiment prescribed<sup>b</sup> me: It was an extraordinary hot, unpleasant season, & journey by reason of the Craggie Waies: The morning after we tooke, or rather purchased a boate, for it could not be brought back againe, because of the streame of the *Rhodanus* running here about. Thus were we two days going to Lions, passing by many admirable Prospects of Rocks & Cliffs,<sup>c</sup> and neare the towne,<sup>d</sup> down a very steepe declivitie of Water, for a full mile:<sup>1</sup> From *Lions*, we proceeded the next morning, taking horse to *Rohan*, & lay that

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Set.*

<sup>b</sup> Altered from *prescribing*; followed by *these* deleted.

<sup>c</sup> Or *Clifts.*

<sup>d</sup> Followed by *down an exceeding* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> The route was by road to Seyssel, where the Rhone becomes navigable: F. M. Misson, *Nouveau voyage d'Italie*, 1691, ii. 240. I have

found no other accounts of the journey by this route from Geneva to Lyons and cannot identify the 'very steepe declivitie of Water'.

night at *Tarrara*: At *Rohan*<sup>1</sup> it was we indulged ourselves, with the best that all *France* affords; for here the provisions are choice & plentiful: so as the supper we had, might have satisfied a Prince: We lay that night in *Damask*<sup>2</sup> bedds (at *Monsieur de Loups*)<sup>3</sup> & were treated like Emperours:

This Town is one of the neatest built in all *France*, on the brink of *Loire* & here we agreede with an old fisher, to row us as farr (as) *Orleans*:<sup>4</sup>

The first night<sup>5</sup> came we to *Nevers*,<sup>6</sup> early enough to see the Towne, the Cathedral *St. Cyre*; the *Jesuits Colledge*, the Castle, or Palac of the Dukes, with the bridge to it is nobly built.<sup>b</sup> Next day we past by *La Charite*,<sup>7</sup> a pretty towne somewhat distant from the River, & here it was I lost my faithfull *Spaniel (Piccioli)* who<sup>c</sup> had follow'd me from *Rome*; it seemes he had ben taken up by some of the *Governors*<sup>8</sup> pages or foote-men, without recovery, which was a greate displeasure to me, because the curr, had<sup>d</sup> many usefull qualities: The next day we ariv'd at *Orleans*, taking our turn to row through all the former passages, & reckoning that my

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *Damasc-*.    <sup>b</sup> Followed by *a* deleted.    <sup>c</sup> Altered from *whom*.    <sup>d</sup> Substituted for *and*.

<sup>1</sup> For Lyons, Tarare, and Roanne, see above, pp. 156–8.

<sup>2</sup> *Damask* here perhaps means simply fine linen; the word properly applied to a rich silk fabric woven with elaborate designs and frequently used for bed-hangings, or to the twilled linen fabric figured in the weaving and in the seventeenth century, as now, generally used for table-linen: see *O.E.D.*

<sup>3</sup> The name of the inn was 'le Loup'; in 1649 it was 'accounted the best between Lyons and Paris': Richard Symonds, in Mundy, *Travels*, i. 228; see also Constantijn Huygens, jnr., *Journal*, iii. 125–6 (*Hist. Genootschap (Utrecht), Werken*, n.s. xlvii, 1888).

<sup>4</sup> This was the usual means of travelling from here to Orleans: Varennes, p. 45. Mundy gives the

total distance as 142 miles: *Travels*, i. 120–2. He took six days for the journey in August 1620, when the river was low.

<sup>5</sup> The time appears to be short for this journey. Mundy reckons the distance as 62 miles and took three and a half days. Locatelli took the same time in bad weather in November: pp. 81–95.

<sup>6</sup> From Varennes, pp. 46–7. The cathedral and the ducal palace are fairly well preserved; the Jesuits' college and the bridge have been altered or rebuilt: Locquin, *Nevers et Moulins*.

<sup>7</sup> Varennes, p. 48. See Locquin, pp. 81–92.

<sup>8</sup> There was a *bailli* here in the eighteenth century: M.L.R. (*Saugrain*), *Nouveau voyage*, 1723, p. 113. I have not traced him earlier.

share amounted to little lesse than 20 legues; sometimes footing it through pleasant fields & medows, sometimes we shot at fowls & other birds, nothing came amisse, sometimes we play'd at Cards, whilst other sung, or were composing Verses; for we had the greate Poet<sup>a</sup> Mr. Waller in our Companie, & some other ingenious Persons: At *Orleans* we abode but one day, the next (leaving our mad Captaine behind us) I arived at *Paris*, strangely rejoyc'd, after so many dissasters, & accidents, of a tedious Peregrination, that I was gotten so neere home, & therefore resolved to rest myselfe before I set on any farther Motion.

It was now *October*,<sup>1</sup> & the onely time that in my whole life I spent most idly, tempted from my more profitable recesses; but I soone recovered my better resolutions, & fell to my study, & learning of the high-dutch & Spanish tongues, & now & then refreshing my Dauncing, & such exercises as I had long omitted, & which are not in such reputation among the sober *Italians*.<sup>2</sup>

1647. *January* 28, I chang'd my Lodging in the Place de *Monsieur de Metz*<sup>3</sup> neere the Abby of *St. Germain*, & thence on the 12 *feb.*: to another in *Rüe Collumbiers*,<sup>4</sup> where I had a very faire Appartment, which cost me 4 pistols per Moneth: The 18 I frequented a Course of *Chymistrie*, the famous *Monsieur Le Febure*<sup>5</sup> operating upon most of the Nobler

---

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Poet.*

---

<sup>1</sup> The last date given by Evelyn is 4 July: above, p. 532. Evelyn allots nine days to the journey from Geneva to Paris, failing to account for more than two months.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the passage on this subject in the prefatory letter to the *State of France (Misc. writings, p. 51)*.

<sup>3</sup> M. de Metz was Henri de Bourbon, count of Verneuil, 1601-82, a natural son of Henri IV; bishop of Metz 1612-52; abbot of St. Germain-des-Prés 1623-69; created duke of Verneuil 1663:

*Nouvelle biog. gén.*; Sainte-Marthe, *Gallia christiana*, vii. 469-70; xiii. 801-3. The Jeu de la longue Paume de M. de Metz was an open space at the south end of the rue de l'Échaudé: G. De Chuyes, *La guide de Paris*, 1654, p. 57; it is shown on Gomboust's plan as the Jeu de longue Paulme, adjoining the abbot's house.

<sup>4</sup> The rue du Coulombier of Gomboust; now the rue Jacob.

<sup>5</sup> Nicasius le Fèvre, d. 1669: *D.N.B.*; *Nouvelle biog. gén.* Further notices below.

processes: 3 March, *Monsieur Mercure*<sup>1</sup> began to teach me on the *Lute*, though to small perfection.

In *May* I fell sick & had very sore Eyes, for which I was 4 times let blood. The 22d: My *Valet de Chambre Hebert* robbed me of the value of threescore pounds in *Clothes & plate*; but through the dilligence of Sir *Richard Browne*<sup>2</sup> his Majesties Resident at the Court of France & with whose Lady<sup>3</sup> & family I had contracted a greate Friendship (& particularly set my affections on<sup>a</sup> a Daughter)<sup>4</sup> I recoverd most of them againe; obtaining of the *Judge* (with no small difficulty) that the processe against my Theife, should not concerne his life, being his first fault:

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *the* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> There were apparently at least two musicians of this name at Orleans in the seventeenth century. A composition by Mercurius Aurelianensis occurs in a musical publication of 1603, and at later dates other compositions by him or one or more other persons of the same name. The younger Huyghens heard a lutanist of this name at Orleans in August 1649: *Journal*, iii. 122. A John Mercure was appointed one of Charles I's musicians in 1641 and died before July 1660: H. C. De Lafontaine, *The King's Musick*, [1909], pp. 109, 115. For the various compositions see *Times Lit. Supp.*, 1925, p. 857. Evelyn mentions Mercure again in *Numismata*, p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth, c. 1610–52, daughter of Sir John Prettyman of Dryfield, Gos., by his second or third wife, Mary, daughter of William Burchier of Barnsley, Gos. For the Prettyman family see J. J. Muskett, *Suffolk manorial families*, 1900–8, ii. 281–320; *Visitations of Suffolk*, ed. W. C. Metcalfe, 1882, pp. 203–4; P. Le Neve, *Pedigrees of the Knights* (Harleian Soc. vol. viii, 1873), pp. 113–14; for the Burchier family, *Visitation of the county of*

*Gloucester, 1682–1683*, ed. T. F. Fenwick and W. C. Metcalfe, 1884, pp. 20–2.

<sup>4</sup> Mary, born c. 1635, d. 9 Feb. 1708/9. She is the 'Mall' of Christopher Browne's letters and the 'Veliora' of Evelyn's. A few of her letters and papers survive; the former are printed by H. Evelyn, pp. 99–108. She had some artistic training and made the design for the frontispiece of Evelyn's translation of Lucretius, bk. i, 1656, and perhaps also that for Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*, 1667; two drawings of flowers by her are preserved at Wotton; see also below, 11 May 1661. She is probably the author of a commendatory poem, signed 'MElpomene', prefixed to Sir Samuel Tuke's *Adventures of Five Hours*, 2nd ed., 1664: see ed. A. E. H. Swaen, 1927, p. 255. A portrait believed to represent her as a child is preserved at Wotton: reproduction in H. Evelyn, p. 88; a drawing of her by Nanteuil is also preserved there. A character of her by Dr. Ralph Bohun (below, 4 Aug. 1665), 1695, is printed by H. Evelyn, pp. 94–8; her will, *ibid.*, pp. 110–13.



Copyright © 1955. Oxford University Press. All rights reserved.



Mrs. Mary Evelyn. Drawing by Robert Nanteuil, 1650

June 10th: We concluded about my Marriage, in order to which on 26: I went to *St. Germans*, where his Majestie<sup>1</sup> (then *Prince of Wales*) had his Court, to desire of *Dr. Earles*,<sup>2</sup> then one of his Chaplaines, & since, Deane of Westminster, Clarke of the Closset & Bishop of Salisburie, to come with me to *Paris*.

So on *Thursday 27 June 1647* the Doctor Married us in *Sir Richard Browne* Knight & Baronet My Wifes fathers Chapell, twixt the houres of 11 & 12; some few select friends being present: And this being *Corpus Christ* feast,<sup>3</sup> solemn(l)y observ'd in these Countries, the stretes were sumptuously hung with Tapissry, & strew'd with flowers.

July 13, I went with my Wife, & her *Mother*, to *St. Cloud*,<sup>4</sup> where we collation'd, and were serv'd in Plate:

September 10th, being call'd into England to settle my affaires, after about<sup>b</sup> 4 yeares absence (my Wife being yet very Young, and therefore dispensing with a temporarie & kind separation, whilst left under the care of an excellent Lady, &<sup>c</sup> prudent Mother) I tooke leave of the Prince, & *Queene*:<sup>5</sup>

Octob: 4: I seald & declard my Will: & that morning went from *Paris* taking my journey thro *Rouen*, *Dieppe*, *Ville-Dieu*,<sup>6</sup> *St. Vallerie*,<sup>7</sup> where I staid one day, with *Mr. Waller*.

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *since D* deleted.  
<sup>c</sup> Substituted for *her*.

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps altered from *above* (for above).

<sup>1</sup> Charles II. He was here or in *Paris* from July 1646 to July 1648.

<sup>2</sup> John Earles or Earle, 1601?-65; D.D. 1642; divine and author: *D.N.B.* He was appointed dean of Westminster in June 1660; consecrated bishop of Worcester on 30 Nov. 1662; and translated to Salisbury on 26 Sept. 1663. He was sworn Clerk of the Closet in 1660 and retained the office until 1664: *Notes and Queries*, clxxiii (1937), 8; but according to Wood was appointed in 1651: *Athenae*, iii. 717.

<sup>3</sup> It was the octave of *Corpus Christi*, which fell this year on 20 June. At this time in *Paris* the

octave was celebrated with a solemn a procession as the festiva itself: B.M., Harleian MS. 943 f. 70.

<sup>4</sup> Above, pp. 107-8

<sup>5</sup> Henrietta Maria.

<sup>6</sup> No place of this name is traceable on the road between *Dieppe* and *St.-Valéry-sur-Somme* Probably *Eu* ('la ville d'Eu'), which lies on the road.

<sup>7</sup> Presumably *St.-Valéry* at the mouth of the *Somme*. There is another *St.-Valéry* in *Caux*, eighteen miles west of *Dieppe*. *Waller* was apparently living at *Rouen* for some time in 1646: letter to *Evelyn*, 1646 in *Times Lit. Supp.*, 1932, p. 734.

with whom I had some affaires, & for which cause I tooke this Circle to *Calice*, where I arriv'd on the 11th and that night Imbarking in the Paquet-boate, was by one a'clock gott safe to *Dover*; for which I heartily put up my Thankes to God, who had conducted me safe to my owne Country, & ben mercifull to me through so many aberrations: Hence taking *Post*, I arriv'd at *London* the next day at Evening, being the 2d of October *New-style*.<sup>1</sup>

On the 4th my *Bro: George* hearing where I was sent me horses & a kind Invitation, so on the 5t I came to *Wotton* the place of my Birth, where I found his Lady,<sup>2</sup> my Sister,<sup>3</sup> & severall of my friends and relations, amongst whom I refresh'd my selfe & rejoyc'd 'til the 10th, when I went to *Hampton Court*,<sup>4</sup> where I had the honour to kisse his Majesties Hand, and give him an Account of severall things I had in charge, he being now in the power of those execrable Villains who not long after mu(r)der'd him: Here I lay at my Co: Searjeant *Hattons*<sup>5</sup> at *Thames Ditton* whence on the 13 I went to *London*, the next day to *Sayes-Court*<sup>6</sup> (now my house) at

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn is mistaken: the date is o.s.

<sup>2</sup> Mary, d. 1664, daughter of Sir Robert Offley by Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Lowe, lord mayor of London 1604–5. Her first husband, Sir John Cotton, whom she married in 1639, was buried at Eltham in 1656: Drake's Hasted, p. 212; see also p. 210. The date of her marriage to George Evelyn is unknown; her children by him were Mary, afterwards Lady Wyche, 1648–1723; John, 1653–91; and six or seven others who died young: Foljambe, p. 74 (where Jane, d. 1723, is apparently an error; cf. *Wotton Parish registers*). Her brother Thomas became Groom Porter in 1665 (below, p. 544); another brother, Robert, was buried at Wotton in 1663; a third, Gabriel, was rector of Abinger from 1665 to 1683 (his son Robert was also rector there, from

1690 to 1743); her sister Elizabeth was second wife of Sir Henry Herbert, the Master of the Revels (below, iii. 58): pedigree in *Genealogist*, new ser. xx (1904), 51–3; see also *Wotton Parish registers*. Further notices below.

<sup>3</sup> Jane Evelyn.

<sup>4</sup> Charles I had been brought to Hampton Court on 24 August; he escaped on 11 November.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 78.

<sup>6</sup> Sayes Court is a manor in Deptford (West Greenwich). It takes its name from the family of Say, which held it c. 1199–1404. By c. 1535 it was royal property and by 1603 the house of Sayes Court was leased to Christopher Browne, Mrs. Evelyn's grandfather. By various renewals the lease was prolonged, ultimately in 1634 to 1675. By 1642 Browne was also tenant of the demesne lands. He died in 1645, when his son,

*Deptford* in *Kent*, where I found Mr. *Prettyman*<sup>1</sup> my Wifes *Unkle*, who had charge of it, & the Estate about it during my *F* in *Laws* Residence in *France*: on the 15th I went to lodge

Sir Richard, was in France; the latter's brother-in-law, William Prettyman (see next note), appears in the parliamentary survey of 1649 as tenant of the house and all the demesne lands; he was acting as executor for Christopher Browne and guardian of Sir Richard's son Richard. In the 1649 survey the house and its closes are stated to be about 7½ acres in area, the demesne lands nearly 264 acres; the annual value of the house was £24, of the lands nearly £453. In 1608 the house is described as being of two stories and containing eighteen rooms; in 1649 it is described as 'built with timber'; a list of the rooms, including attics, is given. Christopher Browne's letters show his interest in the garden: *Memorials of the Civil War* (*Fairfax corr.*, vols. iii, iv), ed. Robert Bell, 1849, i. 8-11. The manor was sold in 1649 and reverted to the king in 1660; it still belongs to the Crown; for the stages by which Evelyn acquired the house and lands see iii. 59 n. and further notices below. The house, which was then used as a workhouse, was pulled down in 1759; its site, with that of part of the gardens, now forms a park, Sayes Court Gardens. The greater part of the lands still belongs to the Evelyns. For the history of Sayes Court see Drake's *Hasted*, pp. 2-11, and N. Dews, *Hist. of Deptford*, 2nd ed., 1884, pp. 17-40. A number of plans, two dated 1692, and two more presumably of the same date, are in B.M., King's Library, maps, vol. with shelf-mark K. xviii. No satisfactory view of the house is known; the best is that in Evelyn's plan of Deptford, reproduced in Dews, in Drake's *Hasted*, and in

various editions of the Diary.

<sup>1</sup> William Prettyman, d. 1688 (his elder brother, Sir John, b. 1612). In a petition presented at the Restoration he stated that he had carried letters between Charles I and Henrietta Maria for three years and that he had finally been taken prisoner. His brother, Sir John, was appointed Receiver of First Fruits and Tenths in August 1660 and when, about 1663, he was suspended for dishonesty or incompetence, William acted in his place. In August or September 1669 he was appointed Remembrancer of the First Fruits and Tenths. He proved very incompetent and was on one occasion suspected of fraud; in spite of a large debt owed by him to the Crown he was apparently not suspended from the acting receivership until 1678, and from the remembrancership not until 1682. In 1687 he owed the Crown at least £6,000; a debt of this amount owed by the Crown to Sir Richard Browne was to be paid from the Prettymans' debt to the Crown. He married on 26 Oct. 1652 Elizabeth, daughter of John King, son of John King, bishop of London (*D.N.B.*). He was buried at Greenwich on 8 March 1688; his widow, by whom he had several children, died in 1703: Muskett, *Suffolk manorial families*, ii. 281-320; Drake's *Hasted*, p. 143; *Cal. S.P., Dom., passim*, especially 1660-1, pp. 90, 209; 1663-4, p. 401; 1666-7, pp. 220, 260; 1668-9, pp. 269, 509; *Cal. Treasury Books, passim*, especially 1667-8, p. 76; 1669-72, pp. 277, 397, 643; 1676-9, pp. 649, 977; 1679-80, p. 762; 1681-5, p. 471; 1685-9, pp. 1404-5, 1791. For his presence at Sayes Court see preceding note.

in my owne Chambers at the *Middle Temple*<sup>1</sup> about the dispatch of my particular concernes. *November* the 7th I return'd againe to *Wotton* to visite my brother, & on the 9th my Sister, opened to me her Marriage with Mr. *Glanvill*:<sup>2</sup> *December* 3: I went back to *Deptford*, and the next day to *London*, where I staid till [1648] *January* 14th when I went to *Wotton* to see my young *Nephew*,<sup>3</sup> & thence to *Baynards*<sup>4</sup> to visite my *Bro: Richard*, who came back with me on the 18th & stayd 'til 29, before my returne to *London*.

*Feb: 5* I saw a *Tragie Comedie* acted in the *Cock-pit*,<sup>5</sup> after there had ben none of these diversions for many Yeares during the Warr.

28 I went to *Thistleworth*<sup>6</sup> (with my noble friend Sir *William Ducey*,<sup>7</sup> afterwards Lord Downe) where we dined with

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> William Glanville, c. 1618–1702: for his christian name see the wills of Richard and George Evelyn, abstracted in Foljambe, pp. 46, 47. He is probably the William, son of William Glanville of Heavitree, Devon, who matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, on 21 Nov. 1634, aged sixteen, and who was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1635, becoming a barrister in 1642: C. H. Hopwood, ed., *Middle Temple records, Minutes of parliament*, ii. 832, 927. For his later life see below. The identification of Jane Evelyn's husband as George, son of Sir Francis Glanville, in W. U. S. Glanville-Richards, *Records of the Anglo-Norman house of Glanville*, 1882, p. 104, &c., is erroneous.

<sup>3</sup> George, born in 1644, George Evelyn's son by his first wife: above, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> A park and house about seven miles south of Wotton. They were acquired with the manor by Richard Evelyn, the diarist's father, in 1629–31 and were settled on the younger Richard Evelyn. In 1648 the latter acquired the adjoining manor of Somersbury. After his death the

whole property went to his daughter Anne, wife of William Montague; it was acquired by William Freeman in 1674 and by Sir Richard Onslow about 1700: *V.C.H., Surrey*, iii. 98–9, where its subsequent history is given. Description of the park below, c. 5 May 1657.

<sup>5</sup> Otherwise the Phoenix; it was situated in Drury Lane, between Great Queen Street and the present Kemble Street; for its history see Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration stage*, pp. 88–100. The theatres had reopened as a result of the expiration on 1 Jan. 1648 of the last ordinance against them; a new ordinance passed on 9 Feb. 1648 suppressed them again. For their activities in the interval see *ibid.*, pp. 29–35.

<sup>6</sup> i.e. Isleworth.

<sup>7</sup> William Ducey, c. 1615–79; admitted to Middle Temple 1633; third baronet 1657; K.B. 19 April 1661; created baron of Cloney and Viscount Downe (Ireland) 1675: G.E.C. He bought the manor of Charlton, with Charlton House, &c. (see below, iii. 66), in 1658: Drake's *Hasted*, pp. 121–2.

Sir *Clepesby Crew*,<sup>1</sup> and afterwards to see the rare Miniatures of *Peter Oliver*<sup>2</sup> [and rounds of plaster]<sup>a</sup> & then the curious flowers of Mr. *Barills*<sup>3</sup> garden: Sir *Clepesby* has fine *Indian* hangings, and a very good chimney-piece of Water Colours don by *Brengle*<sup>4</sup> which I bought for him: Mr. *Barill* has also some good *Medails* & Pictures.

*Aprill* 3. I went to *Wotton*, thence to a place neere *Henly* cald *Boyne*,<sup>5</sup> belonging to one Mr. *Elmes*, which I thought to have purchas'd & settled in; but we did not accord: So on the 5<sup>t</sup> I return'd, & the 10<sup>th</sup> to *Lond*:

26. There was a greate up-rore in *Lond*, that the *Rebel* Armie quartering at *Whitehall* would<sup>b</sup> plunder<sup>b</sup> the *Cittie*, who publish'd a proclamation for all to stand on their guard:<sup>6</sup>

*May*: 4 Came-up the Essex petitioners for an agreement

<sup>a</sup> Interlined in MS.      <sup>b-b</sup> MS. *would & plunder*.

<sup>1</sup> Clipsby Crewe, 1599–1649; matriculated at Cambridge 1616; admitted to Lincoln's Inn 1619; knighted 1620; M.P. for Downton in 1624 and 1625; for Callington in 1626; the present marquess of Venn. He was a friend of Herrick, who addressed several poems to him, and perhaps of Sir Henry Wotton. A son, Randolph Crewe (*D.N.B.*), was an amateur artist.

<sup>2</sup> 1594–1648: *D.N.B.*; B. S. Long, *British miniaturists*, 1929. He was living at Isleworth in December 1647 and died there a year later. The miniatures were probably reduced copies of paintings by various masters; Mrs. Oliver is said to have possessed a valuable collection of them after Oliver's death. For Vertue's account of him see his *Note books*, i. 66, 119 (Walpole Soc., vol. xviii, 1930). Rounds of plaster may be either circular pieces or pieces carved in the round: *O.E.D.*

<sup>3</sup> Presumably the Gilbert Barrell living here in 1641: W. Grant, *The*

*vindication of the vicar of Isleworth*, 1641; for his pedigree *Visitation of Middlesex . . . 1663*, 1820, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Bruegel. The second Jan and probably the third Peter were alive in 1641, but the pictures may have been by one of the earlier members of the family.

<sup>5</sup> Bolney Court, about two miles south of Henley; it belonged to the Elmes family from before 1429 to 1759; the house has been completely rebuilt: E. J. Climenson, *Guide to Henley-on-Thames*, 1896, p. 100; for the Elmes family, J. S. Burn, *Hist. of Henley-on-Thames*, 1867, pp. 151, 187. By 21 April Evelyn was 'quite off from purchasing, til the tymes be better, and the taxes more supportable': B.M., Add. MS 15948, f. 8v. (Bohn, iii. 9).

<sup>6</sup> See Gardiner, *Civil War*, iv. 115. The lord mayor issued proclamations for keeping watch, &c., on 25 and 29 April and acquainted the houses of parliament with the source of the alarm on 27 April.

'twixt his Majestie & the Rebels.<sup>1</sup> 16 The *Surry* men addressd to the Parliament for the same, of which some were slayne & murder'd by *Cromwells* guards in the new Palace yard.<sup>2</sup>

I now sold, the Impropriation of *South Malling*<sup>3</sup> neere *Lewes* in *Sussex* to Mr. *Kemp* & *Alcock* for 3000 pounds:

23 I went to *Deptford*, & 30: to *Lond*: 29: to *Dept*: 30: *Lond*: about buisnesse:

There was a rising now in *Kent*, my Lord of *Norwich* being in the head of them and their first rendezvous in *Broome-fild*, next my house at *Says-Court* whence they went to *Maidstone*, & so to *Colchester* where there was that memorable siege:<sup>4</sup>

*June 27*: I purchas'd the Manor of *Hurcott*<sup>5</sup> in *Worcestershire* of my Bro: *Geo*: for 3300 pounds: on the 29 I return'd to *Deptford*.

*July 1*. I sate for my *Picture* (the same wherein is a *Deaths head*) to Mr. *Walker*<sup>6</sup> that excellent Painter: The 10th *Newes* was brought me of my Lord *Francis Villiers*<sup>7</sup> being

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125. Evelyn describes the proceedings in his letter of 4 May to Sir Richard Browne (Bohn, iii. 11-12).

<sup>2</sup> See Gardiner, *Civil War*, iv. 127-8. The soldiers concerned belonged to Col. Barkstead's regiment. Evelyn describes what took place in his letter of 18 May to Browne (Bohn, iii. 18-19).

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> The rising began on 21 May, first affecting the north and east coasts. On 26 May a party of insurgents occupied Deptford, holding New Cross and Deptford Bridge; it retired to Dartford on 27 May. Norwich (the elder Goring; above, p. 36, &c.) had apparently not yet joined the insurgents; he was not appointed to command until 1 June. On 3 June, after the defeat at Maidstone, he came with a party of about 3,000 men to Greenwich; he crossed into Essex that evening and was followed by some of his men the

next day: Gardiner, *Civil War*, iv. 133-44. Broomfield lay between Sayes Court and New Cross; it is now built over. Sayes Court was not yet Evelyn's house.

<sup>5</sup> In Kidderminster. Edmund Waller bought it with some neighbouring property in 1634. He sold it, at what date is unknown, to William Walsh of Abberley. How it came into George Evelyn's possession is also unknown: *V.C.H., Worcs.* iii. 169, 172. For its further history see below, p. 545.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Walker, d. 1658?: *D.N.B.*; C. H. Collins Baker, *Lely and the Stuart portrait painters*, 1912, i. 106-10. The portrait is still preserved at Wotton.

<sup>7</sup> Son of George Villiers, first duke of Buckingham. Born 2 April 1629. He had accompanied his brother, the second duke, on his travels. They had both joined Henry Rich, earl of Holland, when he took the field at Kingston on 5 July; Francis



slaine by the rebels neere Kingston: 13th I returnd to *Deptford*: 17th I went to hunting at my *Lady Lees*, where we kill'd a buck: 25 I return'd & went to *Ebsham*<sup>1</sup> to meete my Bro: *Richard* & so return'd: 28: I went to *Eltam*, to visite my *Lady Gerrard*.<sup>2</sup>

*Aug*: 10th To Lond, return'd: 16 To *Woodcoat* to the Wedding of my *Bro: Richard* who married the Daughter & Coheire, of Esquire *Minn* lately deceased:<sup>3</sup> by which he had a greate Estate both in Land & monie, upon the death of a

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *Eltham* or *Ebt*.

was killed in a rearguard action between Surbiton Common and Kingston on 7 July: Gardiner, *Civil War*, iv. 158–60; for his travels, Foley, (*Jesuit*) records, vi. 629; Padua visitors' album, H. F. Brown, no. 357.

<sup>1</sup> Epsom, a common form of the name at this period.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Jane, 1593–1673, daughter of Sir Thomas Lowe (above, p. 537 n.); married first Sir Moulton Lambarde of Sevenoaks, who died at his house at Westcomb near Greenwich in 1634; secondly in 1636, as his second wife, Sir John Garrard of Lamer, Herts., first bart., who died in 1637; her sister Mary was the mother of George Evelyn's second wife, Lady Cotton (above, p. 537 n.). Alternatively her daughter by her first husband, Jane, 1617–92, who married Lady Garrard's stepson Sir John Garrard, second bart., who died in 1686: G.E.C., *Baronetage*, i. 188–9; *Miscellanea gen. et her.*, 1st ser. ii (1876), 104; Drake's Hasted, p. 52. There are some other possible Lady Gerrards at this period, but one of these two is the most likely; none of them is traceable at Eltham. A letter from Evelyn to 'Lady Garret', 9 Oct. 1651 (Bohn, iii. 57), is probably addressed to the present Lady Gerrard.

<sup>3</sup> Woodcoat is now Woodcote

Park, near Epsom. By about 1626 it belonged to George Mynne, probably George Mynne of Lincoln's Inn, described on his admission there in 1620 as of Mynntowne, Salop, and clerk or keeper of the hanaper in the court of chancery. In 1626 Mynne also bought the manor of Horton, of which Woodcote was held; the previous owners of Horton and Woodcote had also been named Mynne. Mynne married Ann, daughter of Sir Robert Parkhurst of Pyrford; he had a son, George, on whose death in 1663 Woodcote and Horton went to his daughter Elizabeth, c. 1628–92, the wife of Richard Evelyn. She left this property to Charles Calvert, third Lord Baltimore, whose grandmother had been a Mynne: Manning and Bray, ii. 612–13, 617; *V.C.H.*, *Surrey*, iii. 274–6, where the subsequent history of the property is given; *Records of the honorable society of Lincoln's Inn*, vol. i, Admissions 1420–1799, 1896, p. 186. Some part of the existing house appears to have been in existence in Richard Evelyn's time; the decorations by Grinling Gibbons and by Verrio date from after his death.

The licence for Richard Evelyn's marriage was granted on 5 August: *Allegations for marriage licences . . . Faculty Office, &c.* (Harleian Soc.), p. 39.

Brother &c: *Memorandum* that the Coach in which the Bride & Bridegroom were, was overturn'd in coming home, but no harme: 19 I return'd to *Sayes-Court* &: 22: to *Lond*: 25 return'd: 28 To *Lond*, & went to see the celebrated follies of *Bartholomew faire*.<sup>1</sup>

*September* 8. I returnd to *Deptford*: 16 Came my lately married Bro: *Richard* & his Wife to visite me: 17 I shewed them *Greenewich* & her Majesties Palace,<sup>2</sup> now possessd by the *Rebells*: 18 Went my Unkle *Pretyman*<sup>3</sup> into *France*, & my Bro: return'd home. 25 I went to *Lond*: & next day to *Wotton*: 28 to *Alburie* to visite the Countesse of *Arundel*,<sup>4</sup> return'd to *Wotton*.<sup>a</sup> 30th To *Woodcot* & the 3d of *Octob*: to *Lond*: 7 to *Says Court*: 13 To *Lond*: 20 Return'd, next day came my Bro: *Richd*: with whom I went to *Woodcot*<sup>5</sup> & on 26: To *Lewes*, in which journey I escaped a strange fall from my horse in

<sup>a</sup> Punctuation supplied.

<sup>1</sup> The fair at this time began on 23 August; its duration is uncertain, but was perhaps already a fortnight. The fair had lost its commercial importance and was mainly given up to amusements; this year there was a raid on the puppet-shows; as a rule the Puritans did not interfere with it to any great extent: H. Morley, *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair*, 1859; for the duration of the fair, pp. 230-1, where the date 3 September is probably o.s.; *Studies in philology*, xviii (1921), 280-3.

<sup>2</sup> Greenwich Palace was much as the Tudors had left it, except that the old gate-house had been replaced by the Queen's House, which was built in 1617-35 from the designs of Inigo Jones and which now forms part of the National Maritime Museum. By 1660 the rest of the palace was so dilapidated as to require rebuilding; the Royal Hospital, now used as the Royal Naval College, occupies its site and only part of an undercroft survives

from the older building. The parliament took formal possession of the palace after the king's execution: Drake's *Hasted*, pp. 53-65; Royal Commission on Hist. Monuments, *London*, v. 25, 27-30. Views by A. van Wyngaerde, 1558 (reproduced by Drake), and by Hollar, 1637 (reproduced by Hind, pl. 28).

<sup>3</sup> William Prettyman: above, p. 538; for his journey see B.M., Add. MS. 34702, f. 36.

<sup>4</sup> For Albury see above, p. 77. The countess is Elizabeth, d. 1674, wife of Henry Frederick, third earl of Arundel, and daughter of Esme Stuart, third duke of Lennox; cf. B.M., Add. MS. 15857, f. 120. Alatheia, widow of the second earl (above, p. 479), apparently lived in the Netherlands after her husband's death: Tierney, *Hist. . . of Arundel*, pp. 503-8; cf. G.E.C., art. Arundel.

<sup>5</sup> Evelyn apparently left Sayes Court on 23 October: letter to Browne of that date (Bohn, iii. 31-2).

the dark, from an high bank & deepe way about *Chaylie*:<sup>1</sup>  
31 I went to see my Mannor of *Preston Beckhelwyn*,<sup>2</sup> & the  
Cliff house:<sup>3</sup>

1 *November* we return'd with my Bro: R: & *Glanvill* by  
*Shoreham*, *Bramber* (where is a ruinous Castle)<sup>4</sup> *Billingshurst*  
where we lay that night, & next day at *Woodcot*, & on the 6 to  
*Says-Court*: 7: to *Lond*: 11: returned: 14: To *Lond*. 29 My-  
selfe, with Mr. *Tho: Offley*,<sup>5</sup> & Lady *Gerrard* Christned my  
Niecee *Mary*,<sup>6</sup> Eldest daughter of my Bro: *Geo: Evelyn* by  
my *Lady Cotton* his second *Wife*: I presented my *Niepece* a  
piece of *Plate* which cost me 18 pounds & caus'd this Inscrip-  
tion to be set on it

*In Memoriam facti*

Anno CIO. IOC. XLIIX Cal. Decemb: VIII. *Virginum castiss:*  
*Xtianorum Innocentiss: Nept: Suaviss: Mariæ Johann:*  
*Evelynus Avunculus* (et)<sup>b</sup> *Susceptor Vasculum hoc cum Epi-*  
*graphie*

L.M.Q.D.

*Ave Maria Gratia sis plena, Dominus tecum.*

<sup>a</sup> Or *Bechhelwyn*.

<sup>b</sup> MS. & t.

<sup>1</sup> Chailey; on the road between East Grinstead and Lewes.

<sup>2</sup> Situated in Beddingham, about three miles south-east of Lewes. It belonged at one time to the abbey of Bec, called Bec-Hellouin after its founder: Sir W. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 1846, vi. ii. 1068 b. It is identified as the existing Preston Court: A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *Place-names of Sussex*, ii (English Place-names Soc., vol. vii, 1930), 358. Evelyn sold it to Col. Morley in 1655: below, 29 May 1655; for Morley see iii. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 9. Mrs. Newton was still living: below, iii. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Bramber was held for the parliament in December 1643, but this does not imply that the castle was in good order; it seems to have been neglected after 1326: D. G. C. Elwes and C. J. Robinson, *Hist. of*

*the castles . . . of western Sussex*, 1876, pp. 48–9. Billingshurst is six miles south-west of Horsham.

<sup>5</sup> c. 1605–c. 1678. Brother of Lady Cotton; matriculated at Oxford 1621; admitted to Middle Temple 1625. He was noted as a gambler and was appointed Groom Porter in 1665 and cockmaster to the king in 1666. In 1635 he married Mary, widow of Sir Christopher Darcy (Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*), by whom he had four children; she died in 1680: *Genealogist*, new ser. xx (1904), 52; *Cal. S.P., Dom.*, 1664–5, p. 397; *ibid.*, 1665–6, p. 482.

<sup>6</sup> The baptism does not appear in the Wotton registers and was perhaps private. Mary married Sir Cyril Wyche in 1692 and was buried at Wotton on 20 Dec. 1723: Foljambe, p. 74. Further notices below.

*Decemb: 2:* I lent 1000 pounds to Esquire *Hyldiard*<sup>1</sup> on a statute:<sup>2</sup> & this day sold my *Mannor* of (Hurcott)<sup>a</sup> for 3400 pounds to one Mr. *Bridges*<sup>3</sup> & on the 4th acknowledged the fine.

4th I lent 1000 pounds to my Lord *Vicount Montague*,<sup>4</sup> on a (Mortgage)<sup>b</sup> of *Horslay*,<sup>5</sup> in Surry: 10 I went to *Deptford*: 13 to Lond: The Parliament now sat up the whole night, & endeavored to have concluded the Ile of *Wight* Treaty, but were surprized by the rebell Army, the Members disperssd, & greate confusion every where in expectation what would be next:<sup>6</sup> I now also gave Mr. *Christmas*<sup>7</sup> a Receipt for 5000 pounds which being deposited in his hands, had ben repay'd me at severall times.

14. I visited the Countesse of *Arundell*:<sup>8</sup> 17 I heard an *Italian* Sermon in *Mercers* Chapell, one Dr *Middleton*<sup>9</sup> an acquaintance of mine preaching:

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Hurcott*.

<sup>b</sup> MS. *Mortgage*.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Henry Hildyard: below, p. 550.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. on a bond or recognizance by which the creditor had the power of holding the debtor's lands in case of default; the power being conferred by the Statute of Merchants of 1285 or the Ordinance of the Staple of 1353: *O.E.D.*

<sup>3</sup> Col. John Bridges of Kidderminster, parliamentarian and friend and patron of Richard Baxter; he had been governor of Warwick Castle in 1645 and took part in the seizure of Dublin Castle by the Presbyterians early in 1660: *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, ed. M. Sylvester, 1696, i. 88, 105-6; iii. 71; pamphlets in B.M. In 1662 Bridges sold Hurcott to Thomas Foley (*D.N.B.*): *V.C.H., Worcs.* iii. 172, where the later history of the manor is given.

<sup>4</sup> Francis Browne, 1610-82; third Viscount Montagu 1629: *G.E.C.*; for his wife see below, p. 551.

<sup>5</sup> West Horsley manor was granted to Sir Anthony Browne in 1547 and descended to Montagu. He sold it to Carew Raleigh in 1656; the latter

conveyed it in 1664 to Sir Edward Nicholas, who was succeeded by his son Sir John (above, p. 136) in 1669. The house is West Horsley Place, also called the Sheep Leze: *V.C.H., Surrey*, iii. 353-5, where the later history is also given; it has been largely rebuilt.

<sup>6</sup> The all-night sitting took place on 4-5 December; the debate was on the removal of the king from Newport to Hurst Castle. Pride's Purge took place on 6 December. The last debate on the Treaty of Newport was on 1 December: Gardiner, *Civil War*, iv. 265-70.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps William Christmas, who married Susannah (b. 1601), daughter of Evelyn's uncle, Thomas Evelyn of Long Ditton: Foljambe, p. 54.

<sup>8</sup> Above, p. 543 n.

<sup>9</sup> Presumably William Middleton, c. 1603-51; D.D. 1642; rector of Cold Norton, Essex, from 1630 until his death, and of Nutfield, Surrey, from 1641 until his sequestration in 1646; Italian lecturer (preacher) at Mercers' Chapel at the time of his

18. I gott privately into the Council of the rebell Army at White-hall, where I heard horrid villanies:<sup>1</sup> 20: I return'd to Sayes-Court: 28 my Bro: *George* came & dined with me: *Memorand* This was a most exceeding wett yeare, neither frost or snow all the winter for above 6 days in all, & Cattell died of a Murrain every where:<sup>2</sup>

1649. *January* 1. I went from *Sayes Court* (my Fa: in *Laws howse* in *Deptford* where I had a Lodging, & some books)<sup>3</sup> to *Lond*, & on the 2d to see my old friend & fellow Traveller Mr. *Henshaw*, who had two rare pieces of *Steenewicks* perspectives:<sup>4</sup> 3d I din'd at Sir *Cl: Crews*,<sup>5</sup> where was old Sir *Arthyr Gorge*,<sup>6</sup> after dinner I visited my *Lord Montague* where was the Marquis of *Winchester*,<sup>7</sup> Sir *Jo: Winter*<sup>8</sup> & his Lady: 13. I returned to *S. Court*: 17: [To Lond:]<sup>a</sup> I heard the

<sup>a</sup> Interlined.

death: Venn; Sir J. Watney, (*St. Thomas of Acon*), 2nd ed., 1906, p. 165. Watney gives a history of the chapel and some account of the Italian sermons; they continued until the eighteenth century: Strype's *Stow*, iii. 37, 50; see also F. de Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre*, 1892, i. 387-9; ii. 154.

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn gives a fuller account in his letter of this date to Browne (Bohn, iii. 34-5). The Council of Officers was discussing John Lilburne's draft Agreement of the People: *Clarke papers*, ed. C. H. Firth, ii. 135-6 (Camden Soc., new ser., vol. liv, 1894).

<sup>2</sup> See the description of the early winter near Abbeville in C. Easton, *Les hivers dans l'Europe occidentale*, 1928, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> 'I am hanging a chamber in your Villa, where I am going to set up my rest (after Xmas) till you otherwise dispose of mee; having now in a manner settled all myne affayres': Evelyn to Browne, 18 Dec. 1648: B.M., Add. MS. 15948, f. 25 (Bohn, iii. 36).

<sup>4</sup> Presumably the younger Steen-

wyck: above, p. 70. He painted architecture, especially interiors of churches; the figures in his pictures were frequently supplied by other artists. He was in London already c. 1617 and did much work for Charles I. <sup>5</sup> Above, p. 540.

<sup>6</sup> Arthur Gorges, c. 1601-61; son of Sir Arthur Gorges the poet (*D.N.B.*); knighted 1621: T. Faulkner, *Hist. . . . description of Chelsea*, 1829, i. 56; ii. 131.

<sup>7</sup> John Paulet, 1598-1675; fifth marquis of Winchester 1629; the defender of Basing House: *D.N.B.*

<sup>8</sup> John Winter, 1600?-73?; knighted 1624; secretary to the queen, proprietor of iron-works in the Forest of Dean, &c.: *D.N.B.* Like Winchester and Montagu he was a Roman Catholic. His wife was Mary, daughter of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle ('Belted Will'; *D.N.B.*); she was born in 1604 and married Winter in 1627: *Selections from the household books of the Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle*, ed. G. Ornsby (Surtees Soc., 1877), pp. 9 n., 245 n.

rebell *Peters*<sup>1</sup> incite the Rebell powers met in the Painted Chamber, to destroy his Majestie & saw that Arch Traytor *Bradshaw*,<sup>2</sup> who not long after condemn'd him. On the 19 I return'd home, passing an extraordinary danger of being drown'd, by our *Whirries* falling fowle<sup>a</sup> in the night, on another vessell there at *Anker*, shooting the Bridge at 3 quarter Ebb, for which his mercy, God Almighty be prais'd.

21. was published my Translation of *Liberty & Servitude*,<sup>3</sup> for the Preface of which I was severely threatn'd: 22d I went through a Course of *Chymistrie*<sup>4</sup> at *S. Court* & now was the *Thames* frozen over, & horrid Tempest of Winds, so different was this part of the Winter from the former:<sup>5</sup>

The Villanie of the Rebels proceeding now so far as to Trie, Condemne, & *Murder* our excellent King, the 30 of this Moneth, struck me with such horror that I kept the day of his *Martyrdom* a fast, & would not be present, at that execrable wickednesse; receiving that sad (account)<sup>b</sup> of it from my Bro: Geo: & also by Mr. *Owen*,<sup>6</sup> who came to Visite this afternoone, recounting to me all Circumstances.

31 Came to see me my good & deare Friend Mr. *Phil*:

<sup>a</sup> Spelling doubtful.      <sup>b</sup> MS. *account*.

<sup>1</sup> Hugh Peters, 1598–1660: *D.N.B.* No evidence as to his behaviour in the Painted Chamber prior to the king's trial was produced when Peters was tried in 1660; but during the king's trial he preached several sermons against the king, especially one at St. Margaret's, Westminster.

<sup>2</sup> John Bradshaw, 1602–59: *D.N.B.* He pronounced the sentence on 27 January.

<sup>3</sup> *Of Liberty and Servitude. Translated out of the French into the English Tongue.* The original work is F. de la Mothe le Vayer, *De la Liberté et de la Servitude*, 1643. Evelyn adds a dedicatory epistle to George Evelyn, who is mentioned by name on the title-page; it is signed 'Phileleutheros' and dated 'Paris, March 25. 1647'. There are

also a second epistle, 'To Him that reads', strongly royalist, and a Latin poem by Alexander Ross (below, p. 558) to the translator, in which he is addressed by name. I have found no contemporary references to the work or signs of an attack on Evelyn on account of it. Keynes, pp. 34–6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 534.

<sup>5</sup> For the weather in the earlier part of this winter see above, p. 546. For the cold weather at the end of January see the accounts of Charles I's last morning and of his funeral in Sir Thomas Herbert, *Memoirs*, 1702, pp. 128, 143; see also Easton, *Les hivers*, p. 108.

<sup>6</sup> Probably Richard Owen, the sequestered vicar of Eltham: below, p. 552 n.

*Packer*,<sup>1</sup> with whom after dinner, I walked on foote to Lond, it being an hard frost:

*Feb:* 1. I entertaind my *Bro: G:* & his *Lady* with other friends at my Lodgings in the *Temple*: Now were *Duke Hamilton*, *E:* of *Norwich*, *L: Capell* &c at their *Trial*<sup>a</sup> before the Rebels: New Court of Injustice:<sup>2</sup> 15. I went to see the Collection of one *Friars*<sup>3</sup> a rich Merchant, who had some good Pictures, especialy a rare Perspective of *Stenewicke*, a faire *Organ* for the Voice: from whence to other *Virtuosos*,<sup>b</sup> the *Paynter La Neve*,<sup>4</sup> who has an *Andromeda*, but I think<sup>c</sup> it a Copy after *Vandike* from *Titian*,<sup>5</sup> for the Orig(i)nal is in *France*.

<sup>a</sup> Altered from *Tryal*.  
*thing*.

<sup>b</sup> Or *Virtuosas*.

<sup>c</sup> Altered from

<sup>1</sup> c. 1618-86; son of John Packer, sometime a clerk of the Privy Seal (*D.N.B.*); matriculated at Oxford 1635; admitted to the Middle Temple 1640; called to the bar 1647; he was fairly active in the administration of the inn after the Restoration. F.R.S. (Original Fellow). Hemarried Isabel, daughter of Sir Robert Berkeley (*D.N.B.*), and had by her two sons and four daughters. His estate at Groombridge (see below, iii. 72) had belonged to his father: *Hasted, Kent*, i. 432; *Visitations of Berkshire, 1532-1666* (Harleian Soc., vols. lvi, lvii, 1907-8), i. 254.

<sup>2</sup> James Hamilton, third marquis and first duke of Hamilton (Scotland) and second earl of Cambridge b. 1606; Norwich; Arthur Capel, Lord Capel of Hadham, b. 1610?; Henry Rich, first earl of Holland, b. 1590; and Sir John Owen, 1600-66, knighted 1644 (all in *D.N.B.*); were all brought to trial before a new High Court of Justice on 9 February and sentenced to death on 6 March. Hamilton, Capel, and Holland were executed on 9 March; the other two obtained a respite: Gardiner, *Hist. of the Commonwealth*

and *Protectorate*, 1903, i. 10-11. The court was established by an act of parliament passed on 3 February: *C.J.* vi. 128, 131.

<sup>3</sup> Not traceable. There had been a Leonard Fryer, sergeant-painter to Queen Elizabeth: see *D.N.B.*; but the name here is perhaps Evelyn's error for Trion (note the incorrect reading 'Trean' in the former editions of the Diary); Francis Trion, a merchant, sold some arras belonging to Charles I and purchased Van Dyck's picture of the five children of the king from the royal collection: *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 7th Rep., App., pp. 88a, 89a; *Cal. S.P., Dom.*, 1660-1, p. 456.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Cornelis de Neve, c. 1612-78, a follower of Van Dyck: Thieme, *Lexikon*; see also Collins Baker, *Lely and the Stuart portrait painters*, i. 65-6.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably Evelyn refers to a version of the picture now in the Wallace Collection; two old copies are known, and Evelyn might have regarded as the original one of them or the original itself. There is no record of a copy by Van Dyck. For the history of the picture see the *Wallace Collection Catalogue*.

*Webb*,<sup>a1</sup> at the Exchange has some rare things in miniature of *Breugls*, also *Puti* in 12 Squares, that were plunderd from Sir *James Palmer*:<sup>2</sup> At *Du Bois*<sup>3</sup> we saw 2 Tables of *Puti*, that were gotten I know not how, out of the Castle of *St. Angelo* by old *Petit*,<sup>4</sup> thought to be *Titians*, he has some good heads of *Palma*, & one of *Stenewick*:

*Bellcan*<sup>b5</sup> shewd us an excellent Copy of his Majesties *Venus Sleeping*, & the *Satyre*,<sup>6</sup> with other figures; for now they had plunderd sold & dissipat(e)d a world of rare Paintings of the Kings & his Loyall Subjects:<sup>7</sup> After all Sir *William Ducey*<sup>8</sup> shewd me some excellent things in Miniature, & in Oyle of *Holbeins* Sir *Tho: Mores* head, & an whole figure of *Ed: the Sixt*: which were certainly his Majesties; also a Picture of *Q: Elizabeth*, the *Lady Isabella Thynn*,<sup>9</sup> a rare

<sup>a</sup> Catchword at end of preceding page *Webb*.

<sup>b</sup> Or *Bellcars* or *Bellcare*.

<sup>1</sup> Col. William Webb, presumably the Surveyor-general 1649–60: *Notes and Queries*, clxxxix (1941), 114–16. He was one of the more considerable purchasers of the king's goods: B.M., Harleian MS. 7352, f. 150; Harleian MS. 4898.

<sup>2</sup> D. 1657; friend of Charles I and amateur artist; father of Roger Palmer, earl of Castlemaine: *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> Presumably the man mentioned below, iii. 13. I have not traced him elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> Not identifiable; but see the notice of '*Monsieur Petit*' in the 'Account of Signor Giacomo Favi' prefixed to *Sculptura*.

<sup>5</sup> Jan van Belkamp, 'an under copyer to another Dutchman that did formerly keep the king's pictures & when any Nobleman desired a Coppy he d(i)rected him to Belcamp': R. Symonds in B.M., Egerton MS. 1636, f. 100 v. He was in possession of some of the king's pictures in 1649 and purchased one in December 1650: B.M., Harleian MS. 4898, pp. 473–4, 495; cf. Harleian MS. 7352, f. 151 v. He may be the John Belchamp appointed

one of the trustees for the inventory, &c., of the king's goods on 4 July 1649: Firth and Rait, *Acts and ordinances*, ii. 160. He was probably dead by 1652: Symonds, as above; cf. f. 96 v. Two copies by him of portraits were formerly at Hampton Court: E. Law, *The royal gallery of Hampton Court illustrated*, 1898, nos. 407, 776. See also A. von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon*.

<sup>6</sup> Correggio's *Jupiter and Antiope*, now in the Louvre.

<sup>7</sup> Part of this statement is incorrect: the act for the sale of the king's goods was not passed until 4 July 1649. Evelyn may have brought together a number of notes of pictures seen at various times, in which case some of the pictures may not have belonged to the king; his descriptions are generally too slight to make identification possible.

<sup>8</sup> Above, p. 539.

<sup>9</sup> 1623–57. Daughter of Henry Rich, earl of Holland (*D.N.B.*), and wife of Sir James Thynne of Longleat. She is the *Lady Isabella* of Waller's poem. She was with



painting of *Rotenhamer* being a *Susanna*,<sup>1</sup> & a *Magdalena of Quintine* the black-smith.<sup>2</sup> Also an *Hen*: 8th of *Holben*,<sup>3</sup> & *Francis* the first<sup>4</sup> rare indeede, but of whose hand I know not:

16: *Paris* being now streitly besieged by the Pr: of *Condy*,<sup>5</sup> my wife being with her Father & Mother shut up, I writ to comfort her: next day went back to *Says-Court*: 20: To *Lond*: 22. return'd, having recomended *Obadiah Walker*<sup>6</sup> [*since Apostate*],<sup>a</sup> a Learned & most ingenious Person, to be Tutor, [to,]<sup>b</sup> & to Travell with Mr. *Hyldiards*<sup>7</sup> two sonns;

<sup>a</sup> Marginal note, added later.

<sup>b</sup> Interlined in MS.

Charles I in Oxford and was one of the principal ladies engaged in politics. She was in France from June 1649 until September 1653: *Parish register of Kensington* (Harleian Soc., Registers, vol. xvi, 1890), pp. 21, 126; Aubrey, *Brief lives*, ii. 24–5; Lady Faushawe, *Memoirs*, p. 34; T. Carte, *Collection of original letters*, 1739, i. 286, 290; ii. 459; *Cal. Clarendon S.P.*; *Nicholas papers*, i. 208, 306. Dorothy Osborne states that her marriage had been unsuitable and disapproves of her conduct: *Letters*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith, 1928, p. 100; Aubrey is more outspoken (a story in T. Carte, *Life of Ormonde*, 1851, iv. 701, is contradicted by the dates of Lady Isabella's birth and Ormonde's marriage). Evelyn dedicated an etching to her, apparently the frontispiece of his large set of etchings: *Levis*, pp. 99–108. There exist three portraits of her by Van Dyck, as well as a replica of one of them: L. Cust, *Anthony Van Dyck*, 1900, p. 282.

<sup>1</sup> Hans Rottenhammer, 1564–1625, an academic artist evidently admired at this time; Charles I possessed two pictures by him. No *Susannah* by him is known; for his works see *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, xxxiii (1916), 291–365.

<sup>2</sup> Quinten Massys. The picture is not identifiable.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Law, *Royal Gallery*, no. 563, and C. H. Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the pictures at Hampton Court*, 1929, pp. 25–6; but the picture is not identifiable.

<sup>4</sup> There were two portraits of him in Charles I's collection: Collins Baker, *Catalogue*, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Louis II de Bourbon, prince of Condé, the 'grand Condé' (1621–86: *Nouvelle biog. gén.*), at this time in alliance with the court, blockaded Paris from c. 6 January n.s. to 11 March n.s., or slightly longer; the citizens prevented the foreign ambassadors from leaving the city: A. Chéruel, *Hist. de France pendant la minorité de Louis XIV*, 1879–80, iii. 142–221.

<sup>6</sup> 1616–99; M.A. 1638; master of University College, Oxford, 1676–89; *D.N.B.* He became a Roman Catholic in James II's reign. Further notices below.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Hildyard, 1610–74. Son of Sir Christopher Hildyard of Winestead, Yorks.; matriculated at Cambridge 1626; admitted to the Inner Temple c. 1628; compounded as a royalist 1646; M.P. for Hedon 1660; chamberlain of the Exchequer from 1660 until his death. He married Lady Anne Leeke, daughter of Sir Francis Leeke, Baron Deincourt and earl of Scarsdale. The sons here referred to are Henry 1636–1705 (see below, 5 May 1686) and Charles, b. 1637. Genealogy in

25 Came to visie<sup>1</sup> me *Dr. Joyliffe*<sup>2</sup> inventor of the *Lymphatic Vessells*, & an excellent *Anatomist*.<sup>a</sup> 26: Came to see me Cap: *George Evelyn*<sup>3</sup> my kindsman, the greate Travellor, & one who believed himselfe a better *Architect* than realy he was, witnesse the *Portico* in the *Garden* at *Wotton*;<sup>4</sup> yet the greate roome at *Alburie*<sup>5</sup> is somewhat better understood: he had a large mind, but over built every thing:

27 Came out of *France* my Wifes Unkle,<sup>6</sup> (Paris still besieg'd): being rob'd by sea of the Dynkirk Pyrats, I lost among other goods my *Wifes Picture* painted by Monsieur *Bourdon*:<sup>7</sup> 28: *Lond*:

*Mar*: 2: To *S. Court* with my Bro: G: thence with him to *Wotton*; 3d to *Horsley* to visite the V: *Countesse Montague*,<sup>8</sup> return'd by *East Horsley*<sup>9</sup> to see Mr *Hyllyard* & Lady:

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *two* deleted.

Joseph Foster, *Pedigrees of the county families of Yorkshire*, vol. ii, North and East Riding, 1874; Sir W. Dugdale, *Visitation of Yorkshire*, ed. J. W. Clay, 1899-1917, iii. 334.

<sup>1</sup> For this word see *O.E.D.*, s.v. *Vizy*. The latest example of it in the present sense there given is dated 1600.

<sup>2</sup> George Joyliffe, 1621-58; M.D. 1652: *D.N.B.* The notice here of his discovery of the lymph ducts is premature. He first made it known in 1652 to a friend, Francis Glisson, who published it in his *Anatomia hepatis*, 1654, pp. 266-9 (ch. xxxi). On the discovery see also R. Plot, *Natural history of Oxford-shire*, n.d. [1677], p. 300.

<sup>3</sup> His identification is uncertain. He is probably either George Evelyn, born 1593, son of Evelyn's uncle Robert; or George Evelyn of Huntercombe, Bucks., 1593-1657, son of Evelyn's uncle Thomas of Long Ditton. The former went to America, where his father had settled, in 1636; the statement that he had returned to England before

1649 is probably based on the present notice: Foljambe, pp. 73, 56; H. Evelyn, pp. 526, 532.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Evelyn's remarks in V, about May 1643. The portico still exists. It was presumably built after George Evelyn's alteration of the garden in 1652: below, iii. 60-1.

<sup>5</sup> This was not begun until about August 1655; Captain Evelyn also began to build an apartment at Albury; his work there was left unfinished about 1662: Evelyn's footnote to Aubrey, *Surrey*, iv. 66; below, 10 Aug. 1655.

<sup>6</sup> William Prettyman: above, p. 538.

<sup>7</sup> Sebastian Bourdon, 1616-71. Presumably the portrait recovered in 1652: below, iii. 56, 62.

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth, c. 1618-84, daughter of Henry Somerset, first marquis of Worcester (above, pp. 214 n., 367 n.); married Montagu 1637. She is perhaps the 'Lady Mo:' of B.M., Add. MS. 15857, f. 114.

<sup>9</sup> The Bishop's manor in East Horsley was bought by Carew Raleigh c. 1629; he conveyed it c. 1644 to Hildyard. Philip Hildyard,

5. I returnd home by Woodcot.<sup>a</sup> Now were the Lords Murdered in the *Palace Yard*:<sup>1</sup> 9 Came my Bro: in Law *Glanvill* to visite me.

18 Mr. *Owen*<sup>2</sup> a sequesterd, & learned Minister, preach'd in our<sup>b</sup> Parlor,<sup>b</sup> & gave us the *Blessed Sacrament*, which was now wholly out of use: in the *Parish Churches* on which the *Presbyterians & Fanatics* had usurped:<sup>3</sup> 21 I went to Lond:

21 I receiv'd letters from *Paris* from my *Wife* & Sir *Richard*, with whom I kept a political Correspondence, with no small danger of being discover'd:<sup>4</sup>

23 I sealed my Tennant *Harris* his lease of the *Farme* at *Preston* in *Sussex* for 11. yeares at 100 pounds per Ann:  
25. I heard Common-prayer (a rare thing in these dayes) at *St. Peters Paules Wharfe*<sup>5</sup> Lond: & in the Morning the Arch-

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *& so* deleted.

<sup>b-b</sup> Altered from *my Study*.

who inherited it in 1674, sold it c. 1692. The house, now called Horsley Towers, has been completely rebuilt: *V.C.H., Surrey*, iii. 350; Manning and Bray, iii. 27.

<sup>1</sup> Hamilton, Holland, and Capel were beheaded in Palace Yard on 9 March: see above, p. 548 n.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Owen, 1606-83: *D.N.B.* He had held the vicarage of Eltham and the rectory of St. Swithin, London Stone; he was ejected from both livings in 1643 and lived at Eltham. He became rector of North Cray in 1657 and resigned Eltham in 1658. He was created D.D. in 1660. Further notices below.

<sup>3</sup> 'You may well imagine by the manners of the people, and their prodigious opinions, that there is no *Catechism*, nor *Sacraments* duely administred: *The Religion of England is Preaching and sitting stil on Sundaies*': *A character of England*, p. 16 (*Misc. writings*, p. 153).

<sup>4</sup> This correspondence began in 1647. Some letters belonging to it and now preserved in B.M., Add. MS. 15948 are rather badly printed in *Diary and corr.*, ed. Bohn, iii.

5-56. A number of letters from Browne to Evelyn are preserved in B.M., Add. MSS. 15857, 34702; a few of them have been printed by Bray (reprinted in Bohn, iv. 345-51). One of the most interesting passages relates to Edmund Warcupp, the secretary to the parliamentary commissioners at the Treaty of Newport: Bohn, iii. 31-2; for Warcupp at this time see *Archaeologia*, xlii (1869), 258-62; see also B.L., Ballard MS. 53 and Rawlinson Letters 47.

<sup>5</sup> This church 'was very famous some Years before the Restauration of King *Charles* II. by reason the Common-Prayer was much used therein, and the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper duly administred according to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, which brought a great Concourse and Resort to it both of the Nobility and Gentry and the Galleries where they sate were richly hung with *Turky*-Work Carpets, and the like': R. Newcourt, *Repertorium ecclesiasticum parochiale Londinense*, 1708-10, i 527. The rector had been sequestered

Bishop of *Armagh*<sup>a</sup> that pious person & learned man *Usher*<sup>1</sup> in *Lincolns Inn* Chapell. 29 I tooke preventing Physick: & 31 return'd to *S. Court*:

*Aprill* 2. To Lond, & Inventoried my Moveables, that had hitherto ben dispers'd for feare of Plundering: & writ into *France* touching my suddaine resolutions of coming over to them:<sup>2</sup> 5. I visited Sir *Charles Lee*:<sup>3</sup> 8: heard *Archbish: Usher* againe, on 4 *Eph*: 26. 27.

My *Italian* Collection being now ariv'd, came *Moulins*<sup>4</sup> the greate Chirurgion to see & admire the Tables of *Veines & Arteries*, which I purchasd, & causd to be drawne out of several humane bodys at *Padua*:<sup>5</sup> 11 I receiv'd newes out of *France* that the Peace was concluded,<sup>6</sup> & din'd with Sir *Jo: Evelyns*<sup>7</sup> at *Westminster*: 13 I saw a private *dissection* at

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Arm-magh*, broken for end of line.

in 1642; a minister had been appointed in 1645, but there was none in 1648 or 1652: G. Hennessy, *Novum repertorium ecclesiasticum parochiale Londinense*, 1898, pp. 352, 469; Shaw, *Hist. of the English church*, ii. 103, 109. The church was burnt down in the Fire and not rebuilt.

<sup>1</sup> James Ussher, 1581–1656; D.D. 1613; bishop of Meath 1621; archbishop of Armagh 1625; *D.N.B.* He was preacher at Lincoln's Inn from 1647 to 1654: Lincoln's Inn, *Records: The Black Books*, 1897–1902, ii. 375–412.

<sup>2</sup> See Evelyn's letter to Browne of this date (Bohn, iii. 43–4).

<sup>3</sup> c. 1622–1700; son of Sir Robert Lee of Billesley by Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Lowe, lord mayor of London in 1604–5, and therefore a first cousin of Lady Cotton; knighted 1645: *Visitation of the county of Warwick 1682–1683* (Harleian Soc., vol. lxii, 1911), pp. 70–1; J. Le Neve, *Monumenta Anglicana, 1700–1715*, 1717, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Probably a member of the

Molines family: see *D.N.B.*; S. Pepys, *Diary*, 3 Feb. 1667. Dr. Lewis du Moulin (*D.N.B.*) was a physician, not a surgeon.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 475.

<sup>6</sup> Between the court of France and the Parlement of Paris by the treaty of Rueil, 11 March, n.s., ratified 1 April, n.s.: cf. above, p. 550 n.

<sup>7</sup> There were two Sir John Evelyns and the plural, if not a slip, presumably means that both were present. The more prominent of the two was Sir John of West Dean, 1601–85, son of George Evelyn of West Dean, and grandson of John Evelyn of Godstone, the diarist's uncle. He was knighted 8 Aug. 1623; M.P. for Wilton 1626, for Ludgershall in the Short and Long Parliaments, and for Stockbridge 1660. He was a strong parliamentarian and was excluded from a pardon granted by Charles I to the inhabitants of Wiltshire on 2 Nov. 1642: Steele, no. 2288; see also Gardiner, *Civil War*, i. 54, 56. He married Elizabeth, daughter of

*Moulin's*. 14 I heard the AB: of *Armagh* on 15. *Pro*: 18 against the passion of Wrath: 16 I writ into *France* treating with my F in Law about *Warley*:<sup>1</sup> 17 I fell dangerously ill of my head, was blisterd,<sup>a</sup> & let blood, & behind the Eares and forehead: & 23d began to have Ease, by using the fumes of Cammomile on Embers applied to my Eares, after all the *Physitians* had don their best: 28 Went abroad: 29. I saw in *Lond*: an huge *Oxe* bred in *Kent* of 17 foote in length, & higher by much than I could reach:<sup>2</sup>

May 9: I din'd at Eltham with my La: *Gerrard*: 10th Visite my Lo: *Montague* &c:

12 I bought, & seald the Conveyances for *Warley Magna* in Essex a *Mannor*; [Payd 2500 pounds.]<sup>b</sup> This afternoone went to see *Geldrops* collections of Payntings,<sup>3</sup> where I found Mr.

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps *blisted*.

<sup>b</sup> Marginal note, added later.

Robert Cockes of London, and was father of Elizabeth Pierrepont.

The second Sir John, of Lee Place, Godstone, 1591–1664, was an uncle of Sir John of West Dean and a first cousin of the diarist. He was M.P. for Bletchingley 1628, in the Long Parliament, and 1660. He was knighted 25 June 1641. He married Thomasine, daughter of William Heynes of Chessington. His son John was created a baronet 29 May 1660. Evelyn was friendly with Sir John of Godstone, who was godfather to his third son, John, born in 1655. The present owner of Wotton is descended from him. For the two Sir Johns see H. Evelyn, pp. 202–6, 499–505.

<sup>1</sup> Great Warley in Essex. The manor had belonged to Benjamin Gonson, treasurer of the Navy 1549–77; it came into the Browne family by the marriage of Christopher Browne, Sir Richard's father, to Thomasine Gonson. Evelyn bought it from Sir Richard and Lady Browne; references to the negotiation of the sale occur in their correspondence, where the place is

called 'W', 'War', or 'Warley': *Diary and corr.*, ed. Bohn, iii. 43, 50, 53, 54; B.M., Add. MS. 34702, ff. 48, 49; Add. MS. 15857, f. 122. Evelyn completed the purchase on his side on 12 May and afterwards settled the manor on Mrs. Evelyn: *Diary and corr.* iii. 53, and memorandum by Evelyn on fly-leaf of B.M., Cotton MS. App. ii (Warley court-rolls c. 1483–1545). For the Gonson family see M. Oppenheim, *Hist. of the administration of the Royal Navy*. For the further history of Great Warley see notices below.

<sup>2</sup> For another ox of similar dimensions see T. Birch, *Hist. of the Royal Society*, 1756–7, ii. 100.

<sup>3</sup> George Geldorp, fl. 1611–60, artist: *D.N.B.*; see also C. H. Collins Baker, *Lely and the Stuart portrait painters*, 1912, i. 66–70, where some of Geldorp's own paintings are reproduced; ii. 112, 132. Symonds gives a list of pictures which he saw at Geldorp's house in Archer St. on 4 June 1653: B.M., Egerton MS. 1636, f. 93 v. In 1660 he was engaged in the discovery

*Endymion Porter*<sup>1</sup> of his late Majesties *Bedchamber*, where we had collation:<sup>2</sup> 15 I return'd to S. Court & 16 to Lond: 17: To *Putney* by Water in barge with divers Ladys, to see the *Schooles* or *Colledges* of the Young Gentlewomen:<sup>3</sup> 19. to see a rare Cabinet of on(e) *Delabarrs*,<sup>4</sup> he had some good *Paintings* especialy a *Munk* at his beades: 21 I seald my Tennant *Raynolds*, Lease of Ripe<sup>5</sup> in Sussex at the rent of 48 pounds, for 21 yeares: 22. Return'd to S. Court: & 24. Lond: & back at night. 30 was Un-king-ship, proclaim'd, & his Majesties Statues throwne downe at St. *Paules* Portico, & Exchange:<sup>6</sup> 31 I went to Lond:

7. *June* I visited Sir *Arthyr* Hopton<sup>7</sup> (bro: to Sir Ralph Lord Hopton that noble Hero) who having ben *Ambassador* extr: in *Spaine*, sojourn'd some time, with my F. in Law, at

and seizure of the king's goods: *Hist. MSS. Comm., 7th Rep., App. pp. 89a, 92a.*

<sup>1</sup> 1587-1649; groom of the bed-chamber to Charles I from c. 1622: *D.N.B.* He had a taste for art and helped to form the king's collection. He was buried on 20 August of this year.

<sup>2</sup> Geldorp 'usd to entertain Ladies and Gentlemen with wine & hams. & other curious eatables': G. Vertue, *Note books* (Walpole Soc., vols. xviii, &c., 1930- ), i. 116.

<sup>3</sup> These schools have been associated with Bathsua Makin (*D.N.B.*), but the association is conjectural.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably John Delabar (de la Barre), a merchant concerned with foreign exchange: *Cal. S.P., Dom., 1649-50*, p. 474; *1651-2*, p. 411.

<sup>5</sup> Ripe lies about six miles east of Lewes. Evelyn's grandfather John Stansfield had held here a messuage, a barn, and lands called Pellandes Land and other lands called Stuckles; he left them to the diarist's parents: B.M., Add. MS. 33178, f. 128 v.; Stansfield, *Hist. of the family of Stansfeld*, pp. 389-90; see also F. W. T. Attree, *Notes of post-*

*mortem inquisitions taken in Sussex* (Sussex Records Soc., vol. xiv, 1912), p. 215. Further notice below, 8 Aug. 1674.

<sup>6</sup> The act for the abolition of kingship was passed on 17 March; it was proclaimed by the lord mayor and fourteen aldermen at the Exchange on 30 May: Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, i. 39, 57. The statues of King Charles in the Exchange and on the portico of St. Paul's, and that of James I on the portico of St. Paul's, were ordered to be defaced and removed on 31 July and 14 Aug. 1650: *Cal. S.P., Dom., 1650*, pp. 261, 286.

<sup>7</sup> 1588?-1650; knighted 1638: *D.N.B.* He was uncle, not brother, to Lord Hopton and was ambassador to Spain from 1638 to 1642 or later. He helped Arundel to form his collection of works of art: Hervey, *Arundel*, pp. 299-301. There are several references to him, as 'S.A.H.', in Browne's letters to Evelyn in 1648. Lord Hopton is Ralph Hopton, 1596-1652; K.B. 1626; created Baron Hopton of Stratton 1643; the royalist general: *D.N.B.*

*Paris*, a most excellent Person: Also: *Signora Lucretia a Greeke* Lady, whom I knew in *Italy*, now come over with her husband an Eng: Gent: also the Earle & Countesse of *Arundel* taking leave of them & other friends now ready to depart for *France*: This night was a scuffle betweene some rebell Souldiers & Gentlemen about the Temple:<sup>1</sup>

10: Preach'd the A.B.: of *Armagh* in Lincolns Inn, I receiv'd the *B: Sacrament* preparatory to my Journey: his text was 5 *Rom: 13*.

13 I din'd with my worthy friend Sir John *Owen*<sup>2</sup> newly freed from Sentence of Death among the Lords that Sufferd: here was with Sir John one *Carew* who playd incomparably on the *Welsh Harp*.<sup>3</sup> 13. I treated divers Ladys of my relations in *Spring Garden*:<sup>4</sup> This<sup>a</sup> night was buried with greate pomp *Dorislaw*<sup>a</sup> slaine at the *Hague*, the villain who menag'd the Triall against his Sacred Majestie.<sup>5</sup> 16 I kept

<sup>a-a</sup> Substituted for *Now had we the newes of Dorislaw's being*.

<sup>1</sup> The scuffle was due to some abuse offered to the soldiers as they passed by the Temple gates in Fleet Street. It was thought that some members of the Middle and of the Inner Temple were concerned in it: *Middle Temple records: Minutes of parliament*, ii. 978–9. The speaker and the sitting members of parliament, the principal officers of the army, and the council of state, this day dined with the lord mayor: *Kingdomes weekly intelligencer*, 5–12 June 1649, p. 1389. Evelyn mentions the scuffle again in his letter of this date to Browne (Bohn, iii. 56).

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 548 n.; he was reprieved on 8 March.

<sup>3</sup> The triple-strung harp: *O.E.D.*; Sir G. Grove, *Grove's Dictionary of Music*, ed. H. C. Colles, 1927, art. Harp. Carew is not traceable.

<sup>4</sup> This was an enclosure at the north-east corner of St. James's Park; it extended approximately from the street now called Spring

Gardens to the northern limit of the Horseguards' Parade; the newer buildings of the Admiralty and the eastern part of the Mall cover most of the site. It is first mentioned in 1581 and probably took its name from the way in which it was planted. From Charles I's time an ordinary was kept in it. Building on the site began apparently by 1635. For its history see L.C.C., *Survey of London*, vol. xx (St. Martin-in-the-Fields, pt. iii), 1940, pp. 58–63; H. B. Wheatley, *London past and present*, 1891; see also Evelyn's *Character of England*, pp. 56–9 (*Misc. writings*, pp. 165–6); further notices below. The date of this notice apparently should be 14 June: see next note.

<sup>5</sup> Isaac Dorislaus, 1595–1649: *D.N.B.* He had been one of the managers of the king's trial; was assassinated by royalists on 2/12 May; and was buried in Westminster Abbey on 14 June.

Court at *Warley* my late *Purchas*. I receivd of a debt, 320 pounds from my Bro: *Ge: Evelyn: 17*: I got a *Passe* from the Rebell *Bradshaw* then in greate power:<sup>1</sup> & visited Mr. *Lewes*:<sup>2</sup> 19: to *S. Court*, & back that Evening. 20 I went to *<Puttny>*<sup>a</sup> & other places on the Thames to take prospect in Crayon, to carry into *France*, where I thought to have them Engrav'd.<sup>3</sup>

24 I went to Mr. *Lewes's* Wedding, & that Evvning Seald another Will & return'd home. 28 I went to *Wotton* to take leave of my Bro: &c. passing by *Woodcot*: 29 We went all to be merry at *Guildford*, returnd that evening:

30 Riding out my Brothers stonehorse struck me dangerously on the leg: but it soone healed God be blessed:

July 2. I went from *Wotton* to *Godstone*,<sup>4</sup> where was also Sir *Jo: Evlyn* of *Wilton*,<sup>5</sup> where I tooke leave of both Sir *Johns*, & *Ladys: Memorand*, the prodigious memory of Sir *Jo: of Wilts's* daughter,<sup>6</sup> since married to Mr. *W: Pierepoint*

<sup>a</sup> MS. *puttny*.

<sup>1</sup> Bradshaw (above, p. 547) was now president of the council of state. There appears to be no record of a pass obtained by Evelyn at this time; see below, iii. 16 n.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably William Lewis of Levan, Glamorgan, who on 22 May 1649 obtained a licence to marry Margaret Banastre of Thurlowe, Suffolk: *Allegations for marriage licences issued from the faculty office of the archbishop of Canterbury at London, 1543 to 1869* (Harleian Soc., vol. xxiv, 1886), p. 42; see below.

<sup>3</sup> 'One of these he etched himself. The plate is now at Wotton': note to this passage, *Memoirs*, 1819 (and later editions); its title is given as '*Putney ad Ripam Tamesis*', with a note, 'corrected on one impression, by himself, to *Battersey*': *ibid.* ii. 94.

<sup>4</sup> The home of Evelyn's cousin, Sir John of Godstone (above, p. 554 n.). The first Evelyn to acquire land in Godstone was George, the diarist's grandfather,

whose land here descended to Sir John Evelyn of Wilts, or the latter's brother Arthur Evelyn, and was bought by Sir John of Godstone c. 1638; the latter had bought some other land here c. 1630-5. The property descended to his son, Sir John Evelyn, bart., and was broken up on the latter's death in 1671. The house occupied by Sir John was Lee Place; it was built by John Evelyn, the diarist's uncle, and had fallen into decay by 1671; the old walled garden and a few foundations survive. The Evelyns retained some of their property here until 1734: *V.C.H., Surrey*, iii. 286-8; U. Lambert, *Godstone*, 1929, pp. 264-97; Manning and Bray, ii. 326-8; further notices below.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 553 n.

<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth, 1639 (baptized 20 Nov.)-1699; married, 1658, Robert Pierrepont, 1634-69: Foljambe, pp. 19, 56. For her sons see V, 31 Oct. 1620; the eldest of them succeeded to the earldom in 1680.



& mother of the present Earle of Kingston: I return'd to S. Court this night. 3. To Lond. 4th Visited *Lady Hatton*,<sup>1</sup> her Lord sejourning at *Paris* with my F. in Law:

5 I went to see my God-daughter Evelyn at *Chesewick*<sup>2</sup> at Nurse. 6 home: 7 *Lond.* dind at a Merchants, who furnishd me with bills for France. 9. din'd with Sir *Walter Pye*<sup>3</sup> & my good friend *Mr. Eaton*<sup>4</sup> (afterwards a *Judge*) who corresponded with me in *France* & return'd to *S. Court*. 11 Came *Old Alexander Rosse*<sup>5</sup> the Divine, Historian, & Poet: *Mr. Henshaw*, *Scudamor*<sup>6</sup> & other friends to take leave of me: The next day about 3 in the Afternoone I tooke Oares for *Gravesend*

12 accompanied by my *Co: Stephens*,<sup>7</sup> & my *Sister Glanwill*,

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth, d. 1672, daughter of Sir Charles Montagu of Boughton; married, 1630, Christopher Hatton, first Baron Hatton (below, p. 562).

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Chiswick.

<sup>3</sup> 1610-59; admitted to Middle Temple 1626; matriculated at Oxford 1627; knighted 1630; returned M.P. for Herefordshire and for Wendover in the Short Parliament (he had property in both places). He was present in Oxford when it surrendered to Fairfax in 1646; and compounded. By his first wife he was father of Walter Pye, created Baron Kilpeck by James II after his abdication: *D.N.B.*, art. Pye, Sir Robert; C. J. Robinson, *The mansions of Herefordshire*, 1872, pp. 85-8; *Visitations of Essex and Visitation of the county of Buckingham* (Harleian Soc., vols. xiii, xiv, lviii, 1878-9, 1909); *V.C.H., Bucks.*; *Cal. Committee for Compounding*, p. 1482.

<sup>4</sup> Letters from him to Evelyn from 30 July 1649 to 27 Jan. 1649/50 are preserved in B.M., Add. MS. 15948, ff. 38-52. They are signed, if at all, 'Tho: White'; on one of them Evelyn has made a later note: 'This is a fain'd name for Mr: pr: Eaton, who was my Correspondent severall years during the Rebellion: He was afterwards a Judge in his

County . . . Wales . . . a most worthy person': f. 42 v. (blank spaces as indicated). He is probably Kenrick Eyton; admitted to Inner Temple 1625, called to the bar 1634; M.P. for Flintshire 1660. He held various offices in Wales, &c., and in 1672 was appointed justice in the court of the Council of the Marches at Ludlow (the post was probably almost a sinecure). Knighted 1675; dead before June 1682: *Cal. S.P., Dom.*, vols. for 1660-2, 1670-2, 1682; &c.

<sup>5</sup> 1591-1654: *D.N.B.* He was apparently already known to Evelyn: above, p. 547 n. Two letters from him to Evelyn are extant (Bohn, iii. 56, 57).

<sup>6</sup> Not strictly identifiable; perhaps James Scudamore, 1617-c. 1659, fourth son of William Scudamore of Ballingham, Herefordshire, admitted to Middle Temple 1632, barrister 1639; otherwise James Scudamore, 1624-68, son of the first and father of the second Viscount Scudamore: Robinson, *Mansions of Herefordshire*, pp. [21, 142-3]; &c.; see also below, iii. 66.

<sup>7</sup> Probably James Stephens, b. c. 1623, now or later of Clowerwall (Clearwell in Newland), Glos.; or, less likely, his brother Matthias, d. 1651; their mother, Christian

who there supp'd with me, & return'd: Whence I tooke post immediately to *Dover*, where I arived by 9 in the morning, & about 11 that night went on board in a bark, Guarded by a Pinnacle of 8 gunns, this being the first time the *Pacquett* boate had obtain'd a Convoy, having severall times before ben pillag'd:<sup>1</sup> I carried over with me my Servant *Ri: Hoare*<sup>2</sup> an<sup>a</sup> incomparable writer of severall hands, whom I afterwards preferd in the Prerogative Office, at returne of his Majestie. We had a good passage, though chased by a *Pyrate* for some houres, but he Durst not attaque our fregat & so left us: But we then chased them, til they got under the protection of the Castle at *Calais*: The vessell was a small *Privateere* belonging to the *Prince of Wales*:<sup>3</sup> I was very sick at *Sea*, till about 5 in the morning that we landed,

\* Substituted for *that*.

Bourchier, was a second cousin of Sir Richard Browne and an aunt of Lady Browne: *Visitation of Gloucestershire, 1682-3*, ed. Fenwick and Metcalfe, pp. 20, 174; *Visitations of Essex*, i. 360 (Harleian Soc.); &c. Matthias Stephens was a witness of Christopher Browne's will in 1646: Foljambe, p. 14. There are a number of references to 'Cousin Stefens' in Browne's letters to Evelyn; see especially B.M., Add. MS. 15857, f. 115. James is mentioned again several times below.

<sup>1</sup> I have found no contemporary references to this.

<sup>2</sup> For him see Evelyn's letter to Browne, 5 April 1649 (Bohn, iii. 45; he is not named there). He had been in William Glanville's service; he had lost one of his eyes through small-pox and Evelyn consequently describes him as 'mine own *Monoculus Hoare*': *Numismata*, p. 268. About 1650 he copied for Evelyn an 'Officium Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis', which Evelyn had compiled; Evelyn later gave it to Mrs. Godolphin; it is now at Wotton:

Evelyn, *The life of Mrs. Godolphin*, ed. H. Sampson, 1939, pp. 192-3. In 1653 he wrote for Evelyn a catalogue of his library: Keynes, pp. 13-14, 22, and facs. Pepys saw on 26 Dec. 1665 'some fine writing worke and flourishing of Mr. Hore', who is almost certainly this Richard Hoare; 'it is the story of the severall Archbishops of Canterbury, engrossed in vellum, to hang up in Canterbury Cathedrall in tables, in lieu of the old ones, which are almost worn out'. A letter from Hoare to Evelyn, Paris, 9 July 1650, is preserved in B.M., Add. MS. 15948, ff. 53-4; further letters in Keynes, pp. 22-4. For Browne's references to Hoare's entering his service see B.M., Add. MS. 34702, ff. 46, 48 (Hoare is not named in either passage). See also below, iii. 84. The Prerogative Office was the archbishop of Canterbury's court for dealing with questions of probate; the registrar *c.* 1665 was Mark Cottle (below, 1 Oct. 1665).

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn's use of this title at this date is curious.

before the Gates were open: & so <did><sup>a</sup> my Lady *Catherine Scott*<sup>1</sup> daughter to the *Earle of Norwich*, that follow'd us in a Shallop, with one Mr. *Arth: Slingsby*,<sup>2</sup> who came out of England *Incognito*. At entrance of the Towne, the Lieutenant Governor being on his horse with the Guards let us passe Courteously: I went to visite Sir Richard Lloyd<sup>3</sup> an English Gent: in the Towne, & walked in the Church,<sup>4</sup> where the Ornament about the high Altar of black-marble is very fine, & there is a good picture of the Assumption:<sup>5</sup> The Citadell seemes to be impregnable, & the whole Country about it, to be laied under Water by sluces for many miles.<sup>6</sup>

16 We departed for Paris, in company with that pleasant Lady, Scott, one Slingsby, and a Spanish don call'd *Sanchez*<sup>7</sup> whom I found to be a very good Schollar, and one that had seen the World: The 2d days Journey passing through *Marquise*<sup>8</sup> there being a Faire that day, I lost a Spaniel

<sup>a</sup> MS. *dod*.

<sup>1</sup> D. 1686. Wife of Edward Scott of Scot's-Hall, whom she married c. 1632; in 1656 he tried to divorce her on the grounds of her desertion of him and misconduct with other men, but eventually acknowledged her son Thomas as his heir: J. R. Scott, *Memorials of the family of Scott, of Scot's-Hall*, 1876, pp. 229–34, and app., pp. xxxiv–xli; Thomas Burton, (*Parliamentary*) *Diary*, 1828, i. 204–6, 334–7; Pepys, 30 July 1663. She was a royalist and was now engaged in collecting money for the king: *Cal. Clarendon S.P.* ii. 19. There seems to be no foundation for the statement that Prince Rupert was one of her lovers.

<sup>2</sup> c. 1623–66. Brother of Sir Robert Slingsby (*D.N.B.*). On 7 August, n.s., Sir Edward Nicholas acknowledges the receipt of a letter brought to him by Slingsby from Ormond: Carte, *Original letters*, i. 295. He is probably the Slingsby who was secretary to Lord Bristol in Brussels in 1656 and 1657. He

was created a baronet 1657; soon afterwards he was trying to remove the future duke of Monmouth from Mrs. Barlow. He married a Flemish lady and owned the estate of Bifrons near Canterbury. After the Restoration he ran lotteries: G.E.C., *Baronetage*, iii. 17; *Cal. Clarendon S.P.*, vol. iii; Evelyn's notices below.

<sup>3</sup> 1606–76; knighted 1642: *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> Notre Dame.

<sup>5</sup> By Gerard Seghers (1591–1651). It and its setting are still preserved.

<sup>6</sup> For the citadel see above, p. 83 n. The sluices at Nieulay controlled the height of the water in the land to the south of Calais and ordinarily had to be opened when the tide ebbed: C. Demotier, *Annales de Calais*, 1856, p. 206.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps Zanches d'Avila: below, iii. 17.

<sup>8</sup> Between Calais and Boulogne. The second day's journey perhaps on account of the time spent by Evelyn in Calais.

which I brought with me out of England, taken up I suppose by the Souldiers: We were in all this Journey greatly apprehensive of Parties,<sup>1</sup> which caused us to alight often out of our Coach, & walke separately on foote with our Guns ready, in all suspected places.

1. August<sup>2</sup> 3 afternoone we came to *St. Denis*,<sup>3</sup> saw the rarities of the Church & Tresury & so to *Paris* in the Evening: The next day, came to Wellcome me at dinner my *Lord High Treasure(r) Cottington*,<sup>4</sup> *Sir Edw: Hyde Chancellor*,<sup>5</sup> *Sir Ed: Nicholas Secretary of State*,<sup>6</sup> *Sir Geo: Cartret Governor of Jersey*,<sup>7</sup> *Dr. Earles*,<sup>8</sup> having now ben absent from my Wife above a Yeare & halfe, & were very cherefull.

The rest of the Weeke was taken up with visites from, & to my friends: On the 18<sup>o</sup> I went to *St. Germain* to kisse his Majesties hands;<sup>10</sup> In this Coach (which was my *Lord Willmots*),<sup>11</sup> went *Mrs. Barlow*,<sup>12</sup> the Kings Mistris & mother

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp. 83-4. The principal operations in the war against Spain at this time centred round Cambrai and Valenciennes; the French court was at Amiens or Compiègne; Mazarin was at St. Quentin from 14/24 to 20/30 July: Chéruel, *Minorité de Louis XIV*, iii. 265-8. Evelyn's dates are still o.s.

<sup>2</sup> The chronology now n.s.

<sup>3</sup> Above, pp. 85-90.

<sup>4</sup> Francis Cottington, c. 1579-1652; created Baron Cottington of Hamworth 1631; lord high treasurer 1643-6: *D.N.B.* He and Hyde apparently arrived at Paris on 1 August: B.L., Clarendon MS. 37, f. 208 v.

<sup>5</sup> Edward Hyde, 1609-74; knighted 1643; chancellor of the Exchequer 1643-60; lord chancellor 1658-67; created Baron Hyde of Hindon 1660; earl of Clarendon 1661; the statesman and historian: *D.N.B.*

<sup>6</sup> Above, p. 136 n. He was not secretary of state at this time, but is sometimes given the title. He had arrived in Paris on 7/17 June:

3811.2

Carte, *Original letters*, i. 320-1, 294.

<sup>7</sup> George Carteret, c. 1610-80; created a baronet 1645: *D.N.B.* He was lieutenant-governor of Jersey from 1643 until it was taken by the Commonwealth in 1651 but acted throughout as governor. For his presence at St. Germain on 6 September, n.s., see *Cal. Clarendon S.P.* ii. 20.

<sup>8</sup> Above, p. 536.

<sup>9</sup> The dates here are questionable; the notice for 19 August is certainly wrong: see note below.

<sup>10</sup> Charles II. For his presence here at this time see *Cal. Clarendon S.P.* ii. 18-19; cf. Mme de Motteville, *Mém.*, ed. Michaud and Poujolat, 1838, p. 291.

<sup>11</sup> Henry Wilmot, 1612?-58; created Baron Wilmot of Adderbury 1643; succeeded as second Viscount Wilmot of Athlone (Ireland) 1644?; created earl of Rochester 1652: *D.N.B.* He was at St. Germain on 10 August, n.s.: Carte, *Original letters*, i. 304.

<sup>12</sup> Lucy, d. 1658, daughter of William Walter of Roch Castle,

to the Duke of *Monemoth*,<sup>1</sup> a<sup>a</sup> browne, beautifull, bold, but insipid creature: 19, I was to salute the French *King*, & Q: Dowager:<sup>2</sup> 21. I returnd in one of the queenes Coaches with my L: German,<sup>3</sup> Duke of Buckingham,<sup>4</sup> Lord Wentworth,<sup>5</sup> & Mr. Crofts, since Lord Crofts:<sup>6</sup>

September 5. Dr. Earles preached in our Chapell on 22. Psal: 15. & my Wife received with me the H: Sacrament the first time: 7th We went with Deane *Cousin*<sup>7</sup> to St. *German*s, kissed Queene-Mothers hand: Din'd with my L: Keeper,<sup>8</sup> Lord *Hatton*.<sup>9</sup> 10 Saw the Duke of *Rohan*,<sup>10</sup> *Del Boeuf*,<sup>11</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Followed by *fine* deleted.

near Haverfordwest: A. Fea, *King Monmouth*, 1902, pp. 1–26; a vindication by G. D. Scott, ed., M.C. La Mothe, Countess d'Aulnoy, *Memoirs*, 1913, pp. 343–425. The authenticity of the alleged portraits of her is questionable.

<sup>1</sup> James Scott, born 9 April 1649 at Rotterdam, d. 1685; created duke of Monmouth 1663: *D.N.B.* For his Scottish title (duke of Buccleugh) see below, 16 March 1673.

<sup>2</sup> Louis XIV and Anne of Austria had returned to Paris on 18 August, n.s.; they lived in the Palais-Cardinal: Chéruel, *Minorité de Louis XIV*, iii. 282–3. They were there on 19 August, n.s.: G. Patin, *Lettres du temps de la Fronde*, ed. A. Thérive, 1921, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Jermyn, d. 1684; created Baron Jermyn of St. Edmundsbury 1643; earl of St. Alban's 1660: *D.N.B.* For his presence here at this time see Carte, *Original letters*, i. 306; *Cal. Clarendon S.P.* ii. 20.

<sup>4</sup> George Villiers, 1628–87; second duke 1628; Dryden's 'Zimri': *D.N.B.*; I.H.R., *Bull.* ix (1932), 140. He was created K.G. at St. Germain on 19 September; for his presence in Paris in May see Lady Burghclere (W. H. C. Gardner), *George Villiers, second duke of Buckingham*, 1903, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Wentworth, 1613–65;

son of the first earl of Cleveland (below, 24 May 1663); knighted 1626; summoned to the house of lords 1640 in his father's title of Baron Wentworth of Nettlestead: *D.N.B.* For his presence with the king at this time see Carte, *Original letters*, i. 304.

<sup>6</sup> William Crofts, 1611?–77; created Baron Crofts of Saxham 1658: *D.N.B.*, Supplement. He seems to have attended the king or Henrietta Maria regularly at this time.

<sup>7</sup> John Cosin, 1594–1672; D.D. 1630; dean of Peterborough 1640; bishop of Durham 1660: *D.N.B.* He is frequently mentioned below, generally as 'the Dean'.

<sup>8</sup> Richard Lane, 1584–1650; knighted 1644; lord keeper of the Great Seal from 1645 until his death: *D.N.B.* For his presence with the king about this time see Carte, *Original letters*, i. 305.

<sup>9</sup> Christopher Hatton, 1605–70; created Baron Hatton of Kirby 1643: *D.N.B.* He was a distant relation of Evelyn's cousin, Serjeant Hatton. For his presence here at this time see Carte, *Original letters*, i. 311.

<sup>10</sup> Henri de Chabot, duke of Rohan, son-in-law of Henri de Rohan, 1579–1638, the memoirist.

<sup>11</sup> Charles II, duke of Elbeuf, 1596–1657: *Nouvelle biog. gén.*

*D'Allenson*<sup>1</sup> & divers greate Monsieurs, that came to visite his Majestie. The next day the Pr: of Condy<sup>2</sup> came to see the King: & so returning, went to see *Maisons*,<sup>3</sup> a noble pile built by a President of that name, 'tis inviron'd in a dry, but sweete moate, the offices underground, the Gardens very magnificent, with extraordina(r)y long Walkes set with Elmes, & a noble Prospect on the *Siennie*<sup>4</sup> toward *Paris*, but above all, what best pleas'd me, the Artificial Harbour cut out of the River: The house is well furnish'd, & it may compare with any Villa about Rome: 12: Dr. *Crichton*<sup>5</sup> (the Scotch man & on(e) of his Majesties Chaplains, a learned Gretian, who set out the Council of Florence) preach'd. 13 The King invited the Pr: of Condy to supper at *St. Clo's*:<sup>6</sup> There I kiss'd the duke of *Yorks*<sup>7</sup> hand in the Tennis Court, where I saw a famous match 'twixt Monsieur *Saumeurs*<sup>8</sup> & Coll: Cooke, & so return'd to *Paris*: 'Twas nois'd about I was knighted, a dignity I often declind:<sup>9</sup> 1 Octob: I went

<sup>1</sup> The duchy of Alençon at this time formed part of the apanage of Gaston, duke of Orleans; there was no separate duke.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 550.

<sup>3</sup> A small château built by Francois Mansart in 1643-50 for René de Longueil, d. 1677, seigneur, and from 1658 marquis, of Maisons, president of the Cour des Aides, 1620, first president, 1630. Longueil was a second-rate statesman and financier; the house was to be suitable for entertaining royalty and no expense was spared. The exterior is well preserved but the original balustrade surrounding the house and the out-buildings have been destroyed. The park has been sold and the garden has been frequently altered. The house is now state property and contains a museum of seventeenth-century decorative art. The village is now called Maisons-Laffitte from a later owner of the château: J. Stern, *Le Château de Maisons*, 1934;

3811.2

Blunt, *Francois Mansart*, pp. 53-62. Edward Browne describes Maisons as it was in 1664: *Journal of a visit to Paris*, p. 21. Further notice below.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. the Seine. There was no embankment: J.-A. Piganiol de la Force, *Descr. . . . de Paris*, 1742, viii. 259. The bridge was built in 1811-22.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Creighton or Crichton, 1593-1672; D.D. 1643; bishop of Bath and Wells 1670: *D.N.B.* He published *Vera historia unionis non veræ inter Græcos et Latinos: sive Concilii Florentini exactissima narratio*, Hague, 1660, from the Greek MS. of S. Sgouropoulos, adding a Latin translation and notes.

<sup>6</sup> i.e. St. Cloud.

<sup>7</sup> James had been at Paris or St. Germain since February.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps Paul de Saumur: see below, iii. 42.

<sup>9</sup> See below, 19 April 1661, 29 Jan. 1666 n.

with my Co: Tuke<sup>1</sup> (afterwards Sir Samuel) to see the fountains of St. Cloe, & Ruel,<sup>2</sup> & after dinner to talke with the poore ignorant & superstitious (Anchorite)<sup>a</sup> at *Mont Calvarie*<sup>3</sup> & so to *Paris*. 2: Came Mr. William *Coventrie*<sup>4</sup> (afterwards Sir William & the Dukes Secretary, &c) to visite me. 5. I receiv'd the B: Sacrament, Dr. *Crowder*<sup>5</sup> the Dukes Chaplain, preaching on 91. Psal. 11. & din'd with Sir *Geo: Radcliffe*,<sup>6</sup> that greate favorite of the [late]<sup>b</sup> *Earle of Straffords*, formerly L: Deputy of Ireland, decapitated. 7th. To the Louvre to Visie the *Countesse of Morton*<sup>7</sup> Governesse to

<sup>a</sup> MS. *Ananchorite*.

<sup>b</sup> Interlined in MS.

<sup>1</sup> D. 1674; royalist and author: *D.N.B.*; for his parentage and further biographical information, *Notes and Queries*, clxi (1931), 345-7. He was probably a second cousin of Evelyn's wife. He was knighted on 3 March and created a baronet on 31 March 1664. Evelyn, who was strongly attached to him, mentions him frequently below; and, as 'your cousin, S.T.', in a letter to Browne, 5 June 1648 (Bohn, iii. 27).

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Rueil: above, pp. 108-10.

<sup>3</sup> Generally called Mont Valérien. Hermits had been settled on it in the middle ages and there was now a small community of them; there was also a small congregation of the missionary order of Mt. Calvary. Since 1841 the summit has been occupied by a fort: J. du Breul, *Le theatre des antiquitez de Paris*, 1639, pp. 948-50, and supplement, p. 89; Soc. de l'hist. de Paris, *Mém.* xlviii (1925), 130-40. Edward Browne visited the hill in 1664: *Journal of a visit to Paris*, p. 19. View of it from the east in Zeiller, *Topog. Galliae*, pt. i (B.M. copy). The country about it is the scene of Racan's *Bergeries* (1625); see especially ll. 2028, 2053, as originally printed.

<sup>4</sup> 1627-86; politician: *D.N.B.*; I.H.R., *Bull.*, ii. 95; for his parliamentary career Anchtel Grey,

*Debates*, 1769, *passim*, and H. C. Foxcroft, *Life and letters of Sir George Savile, marquis of Halifax*, 1898, *passim*. He was knighted on 3 March 1665 and was secretary to the duke of York from 1660 to 1667. Further notices below.

<sup>5</sup> The date should be 3 October. Joseph Crowther, c. 1610-89; D.D. 1660; regius professor of Greek at Oxford 1660-5; principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, 1664-89: Wood, *Fasti*, ii. 236-7. It was he who married the duke of York to Anne Hyde: W. Kennett, *Register*, vol. i (all published), 1728, p. 382. Further notices below.

<sup>6</sup> 1593-1657; knighted 1633: *D.N.B.* From about 1627 he was attached to Strafford, who was related to his second wife, and was Strafford's chief adviser and assistant in legal and financial matters in Ireland from 1633. For his presence here at this time see *Nicholas papers*, i. 148.

<sup>7</sup> Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Villiers (1585?-1626; *D.N.B.*) and wife of Robert Douglas, seventh, eighth, or ninth earl of Morton (Scotland), who died in 1650 (*D.N.B.*, art. Douglas, William, seventh or eighth earl, 1582-1650); her husband was known as Lord Dalkeith until his father's death. She was given charge of the princess

*Madame.*<sup>1</sup> 15 Came newes of *Droghedas* being taken, by the Rebels & all put to the Sword, which made us very sad, fore-running the losse of all *Ireland.*<sup>2</sup> 21. I went to heare Dr. D'Avinsons Lecture<sup>3</sup> in the Physical Garden, & see his Laboratorie: he being *Prefect* of that excellent *Garden* & professor *Botanicus*: 30 I was at the funerall of one *Mr. Downes* a sober *English* Gent, we accompanied his Corps to *Charenton*,<sup>4</sup> where he was interr'd in a Cabbage-Garden, yet with the Office of our Church, which was said before in our Chapell at *Paris*: Here I saw also where they buried the Greate Souldier *Gassion*,<sup>5</sup> who had a Tomb built over him like a Fountaine, the designe & materials meane enough: I returnd to *Paris* in Coach with Sir *Phil. Musgrave*,<sup>6</sup> & Sir *Marmaduk Langdal*, since Lord *Langdale*:<sup>7</sup> *Memorandum*: this was a very sickly, & mortal Autumne:

Henrietta (see next note) from her birth and brought her from England in 1646; she is said to have died in 1654: I.H.R., *Bull.*, ix. 138 and references there (she is incorrectly identified in *Cal. Clarendon S.P.*, vol. i, index).

<sup>1</sup> Henrietta or Henrietta Anne of England, sister of Charles II, 1644-70: *D.N.B.*; C. H. Hartmann, *Charles II and Madame*, 1934. She was known as Madame after her marriage in 1661 with Philippe, duke of Orleans.

<sup>2</sup> Drogheda was taken on 11 September, o.s.

<sup>3</sup> William Davison or Davidson, 1593-c. 1669; M.D., Montpellier?, before 1629; chemist and physician. He was *intendant* of the garden from 1647 to 1651 and delivered his first course of lectures here in 1648; his announcement for the course has been preserved. For him see Muséum (national) d'histoire naturelle, *Nouvelles archives*, 3rd ser. x (1898), 1-38; some additional matter in Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland, *Proceedings*, vol. x, pt. i (1874), pp. 265-80, and in *D.N.B.*

For the garden see above, p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> Jean, comte de Gassion, 1609-47, marshal of France: *Nouvelle biog. gén.* Tallemant des Réaux, writing about 1657, describes the tomb as 'une espee de tombeau qui ressemble à un regard de fontaine; la pierre en est desjà bien mangée': *Historiettes*, ed. Monmerqué and Paulin Paris, 1854-60, iv. 188. It was destroyed in 1685; O. Douen, *La révocation de l'Edit de Nantes à Paris*, 1894, i. 151. The Huguenots very rarely set up funeral monuments.

<sup>6</sup> 1607-78; second baronet 1615: *D.N.B.* For his presence in or about Paris at this time see Gilbert Burton, *Life of Sir Philip Musgrave*, ed. S. Jefferson, 1840, p. 16; for his arrival in Jersey, J. Chevalier, *Journal* (Soc. Jersiaise, [1906-14]), p. 734.

<sup>7</sup> 1598?-1661; knighted 1628; created Baron Langdale of Holme in Spaldingmore 1658: *D.N.B.* For his presence here about this time see Burton and Chevalier, as above. He was a Roman Catholic.



5 *November* I received divers letters out of England, requiring me to come over about settling some of my Concernes: 7 Dr. *Geo: Morley*<sup>1</sup> [officiating]<sup>a</sup> (since Bishop of Winchester) [& Cousin]<sup>a</sup> preaching on 4 Matt: 3. I received the B. Sacrament: in our Chapell.

18 I went with my F. in Law to his Audience at the French Court,<sup>b</sup> where next the *Popes Nuncio*,<sup>2</sup> he was introduc'd by the Master of Ceremonies, & after delivery of his Credentials (as from our King, since his Fathers<sup>c</sup> murder) he was most graciously receivd by the King of France & his Mother, with whom he had a long audience:<sup>3</sup> This was in the *Palais Cardinal*:<sup>4</sup> After this, being presented to his Majestie & the Queene Regent, I went to see the house, built by the late greate *Cardinal de Richlieu*: The most observable thing is, the Gallerie<sup>5</sup> painted with the portraicts of the most Illustrious Persons, & signal actions in *France*, with innumerable Emblemes twixt every table: In the middle of the Gallery is a neate Chapell,<sup>6</sup> rarely paved in works<sup>d</sup> & devices of severall sorts of marble, besides the Altarpiece, & 2 statues of white marble, one of St. *John*, the other of the *Virgin Mary* &c: of *Bernini*:<sup>7</sup> The rest of the Apartments are rarely Gilded & Carved, with some good modern Paintings: In the Presence hung 3 huge branches of Chrystal: In the French Kings Bed-chamber, was an *Alcove* like another Chamber, set as it were in a Chamber like a<sup>e</sup> moveable box, with a rich

<sup>a</sup> Interlined.    <sup>b</sup> Followed by *now in the Louvre* deleted.    <sup>c</sup> Altered from *fathers*.    <sup>d</sup> Or *worke*.    <sup>e</sup> Followed by *box* deleted.

<sup>1</sup> 1597–1684; D.D. 1642; bishop of Worcester 1660; of Winchester 1662: *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> Niccolò de' Conti Guidi di Bagno, 1584–1663, nuncio in France 1644–56, created cardinal 9 April 1657.

<sup>3</sup> I have not found any other notice of this audience.

<sup>4</sup> For the name at this time see above, p. 133 n.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Brice, i. 47. The Galerie des hommes illustres, situated on the

west side of the garden court. For it and its decoration see Champier and Sandoz, *Le Palais-royal*, i. 56–66; for the portraits, M. de Vulson, sieur de la Colombière, *Les portraits des hommes illustres françois*, 1664.

<sup>6</sup> The chapel lay to the west of the gallery; the door into it was half-way along; for it see Champier and Sandoz, i. 72–4.

<sup>7</sup> These two statues are mentioned in Champier and Sandoz, i. 72. No further notices of them are traceable.

embroidred bed: The fabric of the *Palace* is not magnificent, being but of 2 stories, but the *Garden* is so spacious, as to containe a noble basin, & fountaine continually playing, & there is a Mall, with an Elbow or turning to protract it: so I left his Majestie on the *Terrace* buisie in seeing a Bull-baiting, & return'd home in *Prince Edwards* Coach<sup>1</sup> with Monsieur Paule,<sup>2</sup> the Pr: Electors Agent.

19 I went to visie Mr. Waller, where meeting Dr. Holden<sup>3</sup> (an English Sorbonne divine) we fell into some discourse of Religion:

29:<sup>a</sup> I christned Sir *Hugh Rilies*<sup>4</sup> child (with Sir Geo: Ratcliffe) in our Chapell, the Parents being so poore, that they had provided no Gosships; so as severall of us drawing lotts it fell on me: the Deane of *Peterborow*, Dr. Cosin, officiating: We nam'd it Andrew, being on the Eve of that *Apostles* day:

⟨December⟩ 5. I receiv'd the B: Comm: in our Chapell: Dr. *Morley* preaching on 12: Heb. 5. The like also on 25: Dr. *Cosin* preaching on: 18 Gen: 12. where were (besides all the English) divers *French* it being *Christmas* Day:

28 Going to visite Mr. *Waller*, I considered St. *Stephens* church,<sup>5</sup> the building though *Gotic*, is full of Carving, especially the Lapidation;<sup>6</sup> within it is beautifull, especially

<sup>a</sup> Altered from 20.

<sup>1</sup> 1625–63; son of Frederick V, the Winter King, and of Elizabeth, daughter of James I. He became a Roman Catholic on his marriage in 1645 to Anne of Gonzaga, 1616–84. For her see *Nouvelle biog. gén.*

<sup>2</sup> Probably von Pawel-Rammingen; he is called '[le] residen Paul' by the Electress Sophia: *Briefwechsel . . . mit . . . Karl Ludwig* (Publicationen aus den K. Preussischen Staatsarchiven, vol. xxvi, 1885), p. 37; see also *Diary and corr.*, ed. Bohn, iv. 242, 339. The Prince Elector was Charles Louis, 1617–80, who had recently been restored to the Palatinate.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Holden, D.D., 1596–

1662: *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> He is mentioned in a letter from Charles II dated 24 Jan. 1650, o.s.: *Cal. Clarendon S.P.* ii. 41; he is not traceable elsewhere.

<sup>5</sup> St. Étienne-du-Mont. The building is partly Gothic, partly early Renaissance, but in a style which Evelyn naturally classes as Gothic. Brice, ii. 18–20; Faudet and L. de Mas-Latrie, *Notice hist. sur la paroisse de St. Étienne-du-Mont*, 1840.

<sup>6</sup> This appears to have been a relief in the tympanum of the main door of the church; cf. B.M., Harleian MS. 1278, f. 28; the relief now there is modern: Abbé J.

the *Quire* & winding Staires:<sup>1</sup> The Glasse is well painted, & the Tapissry hung this day up about the *Quire* were of the Conversion of Constantine exceeding rich.<sup>2</sup> 31 I went to that excellent Ingraver *Du Bosse*<sup>3</sup> for his instruction about some difficulties in *Perspective* deliverd in his booke: Concluded this yeare in health, for which I gave solemn Thanks to Almighty God:

Lebeuf, *Hist. de la ville et de tout le diocèse de Paris*, ed. H. Cocheris, 1863–70, ii. 652.

<sup>1</sup> The winding stairs form part of the rood-loft.

<sup>2</sup> For the glass, of which a considerable amount survives, see Faudet and Mas-Latrie, pp. 35–42. No set of tapestries relating to Constantine is traceable here; the church possessed a set illustrating the life of St. Stephen: *ibid.*, p. 42. St. Stephen's day is 26 December.

<sup>3</sup> Abraham Bosse, 1602–76: A. Blum, *Abraham Bosse*, 1924. Evelyn

here refers to his *Maniere universelle de Mr Desargues, pour pratiquer la perspective par petit-pied, comme le geometral*, 1648. His other literary works include *Traicté des manieres de graver en taille douce sur l'air(a)in*, 1645, of which a part was translated by Evelyn and read by him before the Royal Society on 14 May 1662; it is printed by Mr. C. F. Bell as book ii of *Sculptura*, in his edition of 1906. For Bosse see also *Sculptura*, pp. 96–7. His works include a large number of scenes of social and family life.

# GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

ON EVELYN'S SOURCES FOR HIS ACCOUNTS OF HIS TRAVELS IN THE NETHERLANDS, FRANCE, AND ITALY, AND HIS VISITS TO ROME AND NAPLES, AND ON THE TOPOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER LITERATURE, MAPS, AND VIEWS USED IN ELUCIDATING THEM

## *Evelyn's visit to the Netherlands: sources, literature, and chronology*

EVELYN'S account of the Netherlands is mainly original ; but there were a number of topographical works available and it is certain that he used at least one of them. The basic work was L. Guicciardini, *Descrittione . . . di tutti i Paesi Bassi*, 1567, which not only ran through a large number of editions in various languages (latest edition, 1662 ; bibliography by P. A. M. Boele van Hensbroek in *Hist. Genootschap (Utrecht), Bijdragen en mededeelingen*, i (1877), 199–286), but which was freely drawn on by compilers of other works. Evelyn possessed a copy of the Latin edition of 1646 (his library catalogue, 'Libri historici', no. 29 ; references here are to this edition except for special matter) ; there is, however, no clear evidence that he used it directly. Among the derivative works must be included the account of the Netherlands in Dr. Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, 1652, which, however, also contains some original matter ; Evelyn undoubtedly made use of this book (above, pp. 34, 73, &c., and notes ; all references here to the second edition, 1657). Evelyn refers in his text (p. 37) to another derivative work, Jan Blaeu, *Novum ac magnum theatrum urbium Belgicæ fœderatæ*, n.d. [c. 1648], a series of magnificent view-plans of the various cities, &c., with some other views and plans and an adequate text ; there is a companion volume by Blaeu for 'Belgica regia' ; Evelyn apparently made no direct use of these two books. There were two guide-books available : G. Hegenitius, *Itinerarium Frisio-Hollandicum*, published with A. Ortelius, *Itinerarium Gallo-Brabanticum*, 1630 (other editions, 1661, 1667 ; all references here to that of 1630), a slight work largely devoted to inscriptions, apparently used by Evelyn (above, p. 51 n.) ; and A. Gölnitz, *Ulysses Belgico-Gallicus*, 1631, of which Evelyn possessed a copy (his library catalogue, 'Libri historici', no. 614 ;

another edition 1655; all references here to that of 1631), and which he almost certainly used; it is a good work, although largely a compilation.

The principal illustrative material is to be found, apart from these works, in the following books: Sir William Brereton, *Travels in Holland . . . England, Scotland, and Ireland*, M.DC.XXXIV.–M.DC.XXXV. (Chetham Soc., vol. i, 1844), a very detailed account; the 'itinerary' mentioned by Brereton (p. 41) is almost certainly Hegenitius; Peter Mundy, *Travels*, vol. iv; Mundy was here in 1640, and gives an excellent account of what he saw; John Ray, *Observations, &c.*, 1673, with the companion work by Sir P. Skippon, 'Account of a journey', &c., in *A Collection of voyages and travels* (published by A. and J. Churchill, &c.), vol. vi, 1732, pp. 359–736. Ray and Skippon were here together in 1663; B. de Monconys, *Journal des voyages*, 1665–6; Monconys was here in 1663; his account is valuable mainly for his meetings with scientists, artists, &c., but includes good incidental notices; and Edward Brown(e), *An account of several travels through a great part of Germany*, 1677; Browne was here in 1668. The best general work at a rather later date is [J. B. Christyn], *Les delices des Pais-Bas*, 1697; this was amplified and ran through about eight editions, the latest 1786; besides the original edition use is here made of that of 1720, which bears the engraved title *Les delices des Pais Bas* and a printed title, *Histoire generale des Pais-Bas* (the book is here cited as Christyn, with date of edition). French travellers' accounts of Holland are listed by R. Murriss, *La Hollande et les Hollandais au xvii<sup>e</sup> et au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle vus par les Français*, 1925, pp. 261 ff.

For the United Provinces, the modern Holland, there is a valuable descriptive gazetteer, A. J. van der Aa, *Aardrijkskundig woordenboek der Nederlanden*, 13 vols., 1839–51. The local literature is listed by J. T. Bodel Nijenhuis, *Topographische lijst der plaatsbeschrijvingen van het koninkrijk der Nederlanden*, 1862; with supplement, 1868. There are no similar works for the Spanish Netherlands, the modern Belgium; some information is, however, to be obtained from H. Pirenne, *Bibliographie de l'histoire de Belgique*, 3rd ed., 1931.

Apart from the view-plans of the towns and other views in Blaeu, there are a number of views in the later editions of Christyn and in various editions of Guicciardini, notably the Latin edition of 1613 (repeated in the Latin edition of 1646). The best maps are contained in J. Blaeu, *Le grand atlas (Géographie blaviane)*, vol. iv, 1667. The British Museum possesses a good collection of maps,

plans, and views, formed by C. Beudeker in 1718, and called by him 'Germania inferior'; it is partly drawn from Blaeu's publications.

Evelyn's chronology for his Netherlands tour is old style throughout, but there are errors in detail. The general system is established at certain points: (1) The day after 20 August is a Saturday, when Evelyn attends the synagogue service in Amsterdam. (2) His Leyden matriculation took place on 6 September, N.S., a Friday; he gives the date as 28 August, a Saturday, but as in his account the next day is said to be a Saturday his date for the matriculation is clearly a slip for 27 August, O.S. (3) On 10 September he goes to Dort for the arrival of Marie de Médicis; she arrived there on 20 September, N.S.: *Cal. S.P., Venice, 1640-2*, p. 217. (4) He arrives in England on 14 October; Arundel's return is mentioned in a letter from London dated 25 October, N.S.: *ibid.*, p. 230. There is one serious difficulty: Evelyn arrived at Gennepe on 2 August, O.S.; the surrender took place on 27 July, N.S.; Evelyn's four or five days was over a fortnight. The discrepancy probably arose through his trying to reconcile his original notes with the dates which he found in Blaeu. There are also some slips: (1) The date, the 10th, for his visit to Rhenen is not 10 August, N.S., but a slip for 30 July; the requisite new style date is 9 August. (2) The date 12 September for his departure for 's Hertogenbosch is perhaps wrong, as this date fell on a Sunday; the journey could have been made in two days or perhaps less. (3) The dates in October are confused by the repetition of the date 8 October for two separate days, and there is a further error, 4 October being a Monday. I suggest as the chronology for this part of the journey the following bracketed dates: 2 Oct., Bergen; (3 Oct.) Sunday, arrive Antwerp 11 a.m.; (4 or 5 Oct.) leave Antwerp at night; (5 or 6 Oct.) arrive at Brussels 9 a.m.; (7 Oct.) leave Brussels 11 a.m., arrive Ghent 6 p.m.; 8 Oct., Ghent to Bruges, and the further dates as in the text.

#### *Evelyn's travels in France: sources and literature*

EVELYN'S account of his travels in France is largely based on Claude de Varennes, *Le voyage de France*. This book, which is very largely derived from the *Itinerarium Galliae* of Jodocus Sincerus (Justus Zinzerling), is comprehensive and able, though restricted by its size to little more than lists and historical notices of places and monuments. It was first published in 1639 and ran through

ten editions, the latest 1687; Evelyn possessed a copy of that of 1643 (his library catalogue, 'Libri historici', no. 215), and all references here are to that edition. He used Palladio for his account of Chambord; this and the special works which he probably used for his accounts of the treasury at St. Denis and of Paris are noted in due course.

There is an annotated list of the principal descriptive works written or published between 1610 and 1715 by French authors on France in general and the various provinces and towns in É. Bourgeois and L. André, *Les Sources de l'histoire de France, XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vol. i, 1913, pp. 72-118; this volume also contains lists of French travellers' narratives for France and abroad, and of maps of France. The writings of some foreign travellers are described *ibid.*, vol. viii, 1935; see further, A. Babeau, *Les Voyageurs en France depuis la Renaissance jusqu'à la Révolution*, 1885.

I have not investigated the sources of the statements made by Varennes or by Sincerus. The latter is very reliable, but his statements are valid for 1616, when his book was first published; there were at least seven later editions, the latest 1656, but the text apparently remained unaltered. All references here are to that of 1616.

Illustrative material is to be found especially in the following writers: Gölnitz (above, p. 569); E. Brackenhoffer, *Voyage en France, 1643-1644; Voyage de Paris en Italie, 1644-1646*; both trans. H. Lehr, 1925, 1927 (the German original not printed), a detailed account containing a number of references to Gölnitz, and good for notes of costs of travelling, sightseeing, &c.; Richard Symonds (*D.N.B.*), extracts from his note-books printed in P. Mundy, *Travels*, i. 217-35 (Hakluyt Soc., 2nd ser., no. xvii, 1907); Symonds crossed France in 1649 and gives useful notices of expenditure; and S. Locatelli, *Voyage de France*, trans. A. Vautier, 1905 (the Italian original not printed); Locatelli, travelling in 1664-5, gives valuable accounts of French manners and of the crossing of the Simplon; he appears to have made some use of Varennes. Further matter is to be found in Coryat, travelling in 1608 (above, p. 38 n.); Resesby, in France at various times between 1654 and 1660 (above, p. 51 n.); F. Mortoft, *Francis Mortoft: his book, being his travels through France and Italy, 1658-1659*, ed. M. Letts (Hakluyt Soc., 2nd ser., no. lvii, 1925); B. Grangier de Liverdis, *Journal d'un voyage de France et d'Italie . . . 1661, 1670* (published anonymously; other editions); and Richard Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy*, Paris, 1670.

The finest collection of views is that contained in M. Zeiller,

*Topographia Gallix*, 13 pts., small folio, 1655-61; this was published by C. Merian. Many of the plates are copied from other prints and the book requires careful usage; but a few, notably the plans of the Norman ports by Gomboust, are valuable originals. A further collection is provided by C. de Chastillon, *Topographie françoise*, 1641; later ed., 1655. The maps, town-plans, and views, in N. Tassin, *Les Plans et Profilz de toutes les principales Villes . . . de la France*, 1634 (and later editions to 1652), are frequently useful despite the smallness of their scale.

*Evelyn's travels in Italy: sources and general literature*

FOR his account of Italy Evelyn made habitual use of two of the available guide-books, J. H. von Pflaumern, *Mercurius Italicus*, 1628, and John Raymond, *An itinerary contayning a voyage, made through Italy, in the yeare 1646, and 1647*, 1648 (engraved title *Il Mercurio italico*). Pflaumern is to some extent derivative, using some general works as well as the local history of the various places, but also giving a large amount of original matter. His book is the best of the seventeenth-century guide-books to Italy. Raymond's is a slight work, largely based on Schott and some local materials for Rome, but showing some freshness of observation. Until 1670 it was the only guide-book describing the journey from Antibes to Genoa; it also contains a noteworthy account of the passage of the Simplon. In the later part of his account, from about the time of his final departure from Rome, Evelyn also made use of Monconys's *Journal des voyages* (see above, p. 570; he also interlined passages from this book in the earlier part of his account) and probably of Lassels. He also used local literature for Rome and Naples and a manuscript instruction for his journey from Padua to Milan (see above, p. 479, &c.).

Of the works dealing with Italy in general two are important for their influence. The first is Leandro Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia*, 1550, which reached its fullest form in the edition of 1588 (Latin trans. 1566; all references here to the edition of 1588), an admirable work dealing with every place in turn, but historically rather than descriptively. The second is S. V. Pighius, *Hercules Prodicus*, 1587, which includes an account of a tour in Italy made by a German prince in 1574-5. Pighius naturally made some use of Alberti, but both works are outstanding.

In 1600 François Schott published *Itinerarii Italiae rerumq. Romanarum libri tres*, the longest lived of all guide-books to Italy.



Parts i and iii are almost entirely derived from Pighius, all the passages relating to the prince being omitted and a very little new matter added; part ii, dealing with Rome, is compiled from various sources. An edition published in 1601 contains important additions and alterations, in part based on Alberti and other sources, in part original, the work of Fra Girolamo da Capignano; all later editions descend from this one. In 1610 appeared the first edition in Italian; the anonymous translator again made considerable alterations, omissions, and expansions, using Alberti in the process. All the later Italian editions descend from this one and the text remains unchanged, apart from some additions, until 1649 (the two latest Latin editions and all Italian editions from 1610 to 1649 are wrongly stated on the title-pages to be by André Schott, Latin Schottus, Italian Scotto, in some editions Scotto and Scotti). The latest edition appeared in 1761. In some editions there are important new passages (see above, pp. 453 n., 490 n. Account of Schott's book in *The Library*, 4th ser. xxiii (1943), 57–83). Evelyn himself made no direct use of the book, but derived matter from it through Raymond and Sandys (see below, p. 578). The editions used here are principally the Latin 1610 (for Sandys) and the Italian 1643, the latest available for Raymond (other editions are cited for Padua; all citations as 'Schott' with the date of the particular edition, except when it is a source for Sandys).

For illustrative matter the following are the travellers' accounts dealing with the whole or large parts of the country that I have used most frequently: Fynes Moryson (travelling 1593–5; above p. 32); Coryat (1608; above, p. 38); François van Aerssen (1630–58; *Nieuw Nederlandsch biog. woordenboek*, iii. 9; travelling c. 1654; published by L. G. Pélassier in *Congresso internazionale di Scienze storiche, Roma, 1903, Atti*, vol. iii, 1906, pp. 177–256 here cited as Aerssen); Mortoft (1658–9; above, p. 572); Grangie de Liverdis (1661; above, p. 572); and Skippon (1663–5; above p. 570).

The local literature is given under the various places. There is a very fine guide to it in J. Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur*, 1924, pp. 493–530 (Italian trans., 1935; addenda, by O. Kurz, 1937). This supersedes all earlier general works. The modern works are given in the bibliographies attached to the various articles in the *Enciclopedia italiana*, 1929–38. The series 'Italia artistica' gives no bibliographies, but is useful for its numerous illustrations.

Maps and views are largely local and are specified as required. In the general illustrated works on Italy in this period the illustrations are as a rule derivative.

*Evelyn's account of Rome: sources, literature, &c.*

FOR his account of Rome, besides Pflaumern and Raymond, Evelyn used two special works, P. Totti, *Ritratto di Roma antica*, 1627, or the reissue, 1633, which contains some additional matter at the end (I have used the reissue; here cited as 'Totti, R.A. '), and the same author's *Ritratto di Roma moderna*, 1638, or the reissue, 1645 (here cited as 'Totti'). He also derived some notes from G. Baglione, *Le nove chiese di Roma*, 1639, of which Henshaw bought a copy on 25 November. He inserted a few notes from Monconys, and towards the end of the account incorporated in the text (for its date see Introduction) a few notes from Lassels.

When Evelyn is describing a large monument or a homogeneous group of monuments, the relevant passages in Pflaumern, Raymond, Baglione, and the two books by Totti are cited in the general covering note; the specific sources for the various parts of the description are cited in the notes to them. When Evelyn is describing a separate smaller monument, his source is first cited, then the relevant passages in the other books.

The names of ancient monuments are given in the forms used in S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A topographical dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 1929; this book is my source for all my statements about them, unless otherwise indicated, and it is not referred to by name except for special purposes. The names of modern monuments—churches and palaces—are generally those of Baedeker. The sources for my statements about them are fully indicated.

The bibliography of the printed guide-books for Rome, from the earliest dated editions of the *Mirabilia* to about 1830, is given by Dr. L. Schudt, *Le guide di Roma*, 1930 (in German; here cited as Schudt); they are characterized in the introduction, especially in connexion with the art-history of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Their value for the study of the topography of ancient Rome is discussed by H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, 1878–1907, I. i. 79–97.

The most important work on the topography of ancient Rome current at the time of Evelyn's visit was A. Donatus, *Roma vetus ac recens*, 1638, reissued 1639. I have made some use of the 1639 reissue, as well as of Totti, R.A.; my chief source for modern information has been Platner and Ashby.

For the modern monuments in general Totti was in its time the best work; Baglione's *Le nove chiese* is better, however, for the special churches. The most valuable of the nearly contemporary

works is F. Titi, *Ammaestramento utile, e curioso di pittura, scoltura, et architettura nelle Chiese di Roma, Palazzi Vaticano, di Monte Cavallo, & altri*, 1686 (here cited as 'Titi'), a new and much-improved version of the same author's *Studio di Pittura, &c.*, 1674 (another edition, 1675). Another important work in this connexion is G. Mancini, *Viaggio per Roma*, written in 1625, first published by Dr. L. Schudt, 1923.

Incomparably the finest of the modern works on the churches is C. Huelsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo*, 1927. This is valuable not only for its information, but also for its bibliographies. Schudt lists the older monographs: nos. 823–1083. A series of small monographs, 'Le chiese di Roma', c. 1923–31, includes a number of good works; they are in general too small to be of much value for the more important churches; most of them give bibliographies.

There is no general work of any value for the palaces; L. Càllari, *I palazzi di Roma*, 1932, gives short notices that are sometimes useful. Schudt lists the older works on the various palaces and villas in nos. 1084–1110. There is an index of street-names with short historical notices by B. Blasi, *Vie, piazze, ville, di Roma*, 1923; new ed., as *Stradario Romano*, 1933.

Ancient inscriptions are given in the *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. i, 2nd ed., 1893–1931, and vol. vi, 1876– , and can be found from Platner and Ashby. Post-classical inscriptions in churches, public buildings, &c., are given by V. Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edificii di Roma, dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri*, 1869–84 (index in vol. xiv); I have not given references to Forcella except where necessary.

Ancient sculptures preserved elsewhere than in the museums are catalogued by F. Matz and F. von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*, 1881–2 (cited by numbers); the most important of those preserved in the public museums are catalogued by W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 3rd ed., 1912 (generally cited by number). There are additional catalogues for the various collections.

The principal general work on the history of Rome at this time is L. von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, vols. xii–xiv, 1605–1700, 1927–30 (an English translation has also appeared; I have used the German original throughout). Minor occurrences are recorded in a series of news-sheets published in Florence; they bear no title and are here cited as '(Florence gazette)' with both the place of origin of the report and the date as given at the head of each number; the dates are fre-

quently in Tuscan style, with the new year beginning on 25 March (file in B.M., catalogued in periodicals, Florence). F. Cancellieri, *Storia de' solenni possessi de' sommi pontefici*, 1802, is valuable for its incidental notices.

Religious festivals are given in a number of almanacs: see Schudt, nos. 454-77. I have used F. A. Tani, *Guida angelica perpetua*, 1668; further information is given in F. D. P. [F. Deseine], *Description de la ville de Rome*, 1690, vol. iv. P. Totti, *Ristretto delle grandezze di Roma*, 1637, is a pilgrim's guide; it includes an index of relics.

The bibliography of the older printed plans of Rome is given by C. Huelsen, *Saggio di bibliografia ragionata delle piante iconografiche e prospettive di Roma dal 1551 al 1748*, 1933 (revised reprint from R. Soc. Romana di Storia Patria, *Archivio*, vol. xxxviii, 1918). Photographic facsimiles of the principal plans have been published by Cardinal F. Ehrle, some of them with valuable introductions. The most important plans for Evelyn are A. Tempesta, 1593 (facsimile of the reissue of 1606 published by Ehrle, 1932; reduced version in Pflaumern, ed. 1625, where the numbers to the monuments serve as an index to the account of Rome); woodcut plan by Maupin, c. 1625 (facsimile of issue of 1774 published by Ehrle, 1915; no copies of the original are known); G. B. Falda, 1676 (facsimile published by Ehrle, 1931); and G. B. Nolli, 1748, the first geometrical plan (facsimile published by Ehrle, 1932; reduced facsimile in *The Mask*, vol. xi, 1925).

There is no general bibliography of the views or even of the more important collections of views. The trade-lists of the firm of de' Rossi (see Huelsen, *Saggio*, p. 114; in the Bodleian Library *Indice*, 1677, with *Aggiunta*, 1686; *Indice*, 1689; both published by G. G. de' Rossi, alla Pace) are useful. Drawings, largely of the seventeenth century, are reproduced, with valuable criticisms, by H. Egger, *Römische Veduten*, 2nd ed., 1932-1. The most interesting drawings are those by L. Cruyl, who, however, first came to Rome in 1664; I have seen very few of his prints, but reproductions of some of them (or of drawings by him) are given by J. G. Graevius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum Romanarum*, 1694-9, vol. iv. A series of drawings by É. (S.) Du Pérac has been published by T. Ashby with an important text and additional illustrations as *Topographical study in Rome in 1581* (Roxburghe Club, 1916); these drawings served as the basis for many of the views of the antiquities published in the seventeenth century, notably for those of E. Sadeler, 1606, &c. Restorations of ancient monuments are given by G. Lauro, *Antiquae urbis splendor*, 1612 (bibliography by

T. Ashby in *La Bibliofilia*, xxviii (1927), 453–60; xxix (1928), 356–69); some of them are probably derived from sixteenth-century works; Lauro adds a few modern views. Interiors of a number of churches, c. 1612–30, are given by J. Maggus (copies in B.M., King's Library, vol. with shelf-mark 134. g. 11). The etchings in both of Totti's works are in part derivative and are on a very small scale; they are, however, worth consulting. The prints in other guide-books of this period frequently go back to sixteenth-century originals and should be used with care.

To Evelyn's own time belong a number of works by Israel Silvestre. One of his chief works is a general panorama of Rome, as seen from outside the Villa Medici, dated 1687, but apparently taken c. 1642–6 as it shows the tower of St. Peter's (see above, pp. 258–9). Silvestre appears to have been too attracted by the picturesque to be trustworthy in detail. One of his draughtsmen was L. de Lincler (below, 21 June 1650), who made a drawing of St. Peter's from the north-west which was etched by Silvestre. To the second half of the century belong a number of albums, mainly undated. The most important artists were G. B. Falda, G. F. Venturini, and A. Specchi; the most important publisher, G. G. de' Rossi.

#### *Evelyn's account of Naples: sources and literature*

FOR his account of Naples and its environs Evelyn used, in addition to Pflaumer and Raymond, George Sandys's *Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610*. This work was first published in 1615; its eighth and final edition appeared in 1673. Evelyn used either the third edition, 1632, or the fourth, 1637; in his library catalogue he lists the latter ('History', no. 65), but a copy of the former in the British Museum contains marginal notes in what may well be his writing. The pagination of the two editions is identical; quotations here are taken from the fourth.

The portion of Sandys relating to Campania is almost entirely a series of translations of passages from other works: for it see *The Library*, 4th ser. xvii (1937), 458–65. He and Pflaumer naturally drew from the same or from related sources; the difference in language makes it easy to distinguish which of the two Evelyn is following. Pflaumer generally indicates his sources and it is easy enough to find them; Sandys generally does not indicate his, and references to his book are here as a rule followed by references to them; owing to frequent repetition by the various topographical writers,

certainty as to the exact source is not always obtainable (Sandys used a Latin text of Schott, either the edition of 1601 or that of 1610; I have given all citations in connexion with him to the latter). Raymond follows Pflaumern and Schott (above, p. 573), supplementing them with some original matter.

The modern topographical literature for the district begins in the first half of the sixteenth century; good guide-books for the Phlegræan Fields (above, p. 336 n.) towards the end of the century, for Naples not until the end of the seventeenth. There is a very full list of works for the whole area, excluding Vesuvius (above, p. 332 n.), by R. T. Günther, *Bibliography of topographical and geological works on the Phlegræan Fields*, 1908. The most important for Evelyn of the older works relating to the whole area is G. C. Capaccio, *Neapolitanae historiae . . . tomus primus*, 1607 (no more published); this work includes, in a revised and augmented form, almost the whole of the same writer's *Puteolana historia*, 1604, and part of his *De Balneis*, appended to the preceding; it adds much new matter relating to Naples itself. It is the most important of Sandys's sources; references to Capaccio here are to the *Neapolitana historia*, unless otherwise indicated. The best of the guide-books for Naples is Carlo Celano, *Notitie del bello, dell' antico, e del curioso della città di Napoli*, 10 vols. ('giornate'), 1692; this is fuller and more satisfactory than P. Sarnelli, *Guida de' forestieri . . . [per] Napoli*, 1685, and D. A. Parrino, *Napoli città nobilissima*, 1700 (the latter contains interesting illustrations; all three works ran through several editions). There is no important recent general work. L. Collison-Morley, *Naples through the centuries*, 1925, reproduces a view of Naples in 1465 and Micca Spadaro's picture of the Piazza del Mercato during Masaniello's rising (1647).

The most important of the older plans of Naples is that by Alessandro Baratta, 1627 (copy in British Museum; another state, 1628, copy in Museo di S. Martino, Naples). This is a bird's-eye view from the harbour, measuring about 246 × 89 cm.; it is very good for some details, including street-scenes and the shipping in the harbour, but is not in the first rank either as cartography or as engraving. There is a fine plan of the city and its environs by N. Carletti and G. Aloja, on 35 sheets, 1775.

Evelyn's account of his visit to Naples was reprinted in 1913 by Dr. H. Maynard Smith, with an admirable and sympathetic commentary.

PRINTED IN  
GREAT BRITAIN  
AT THE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS  
OXFORD  
BY  
CHARLES BATEY  
PRINTER  
TO THE  
UNIVERSITY

Copyright © 1955. Oxford University Press. All rights reserved.