

INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM POLONICUM ROMAE

**E L E M E N T A  
AD FONTIUM EDITIONES  
XIII**

**RES POLONICAE  
EX ARCHIVO MUSEI BRITANNICI**

**I PARS  
“RELATION OF THE STATE OF POLONIA  
AND THE UNITED PROVINCES  
OF THAT CROWN ANNO 1598”**

**edidit**

**Dr. CAROLUS H. TALBOT**



**NON EXSTINGUETUR**

**ROMAE 1965**



INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM POLONICUM ROMAE  
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- XI — MEYSZTOWICZ V., *Repertorium bibliographicum pro rebus Polonicis Archivi Secreti Vaticani*. Vaticani, 1943.
- XII — MEYSZTOWICZ V., *De archivo Nuntiaturae Varsaviensis quod nunc in Archivo Secreto Vaticano servatur*. Vaticani, 1944.
- XIII — SAVIO P., *De Actis Nuntiaturae Poloniae quae partem Archivi Secretariatus Status constituunt*. Romae, 1947.
- XIV — MEYSZTOWICZ V., *Prospectica descriptio Archivi Secreti Vaticani*. (Ed. chirotypica, exhausta).

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# Agelation of the State Polonia, and the United Provinces of the Netherlands Anno 1698

The Poles have the same original with the Boheimians, led into Sarmatia by Lechus, brother of Erichus founder of the Boheimian nation, for which they are yet called of the Mogorians and Tartarians Lechi. After they had felled the woods, and manured the land, they were called Polabi (Polabi in the Dutch tongue signified the same rubbish field in Dutch and English). Of others for their delight in hunting Polani, and now Poland. They are large of body, tall, handsome, and reasonable. Their country full of ceremonies, diuall and custous in intertinement, bountifull as a table, restless, in great gouernance, and quaffers, not free in their diuotinesse, as the Dutch, but furious, and quarrelsome, haughty, and proud, but in a walky, and not sturdy, as the Germans; As yet in their dealinges, so laborall, that they are rather prodigall, and having auarice, they distaste the adre, and trouble of payning, great stiffness to buye brauch, which they much affect, and therefore had paymasteres highly conceited of themselves, and so the more easily led, and seduced by parasites, whoe adoring them, buye them of their wealth. Their natur being such, and so well knowne to the Italians, hath drawne great numbers of them into Polonia, whoe partly followe great men, and partly trade, both rooting vpon the magnificence of the Poles. In Italy their carelesnesse, and simplicitie in payning, and bargayning, hath almost silenced the prodigall of Cresco, Tuasco, and brought in the Non Sono Polano. Their traualling into foreigne countries, to which they are muche curious, knowledge of state and languages, makes them now beginne to looke better to their guests, insomuch that the Italians in Polonia beginne to complaine, that they are growne worse, for that some hauing ben overtaken in their ruyes, et all afterwarde their over laus, by quaffes. They are without any of a waste strength, as in

The originall of Poles

Their name

Their description for body and qualities

their neighbours







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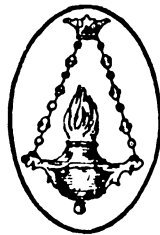
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**R O M A E 1 9 6 5**

SUMPTIBUS  
FUNDATIONIS  
MEMORIAE  
CAROLI DE BRZEZIE  
LANCKOROŃSKI  
DICATAE

EDIDIT:  
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VALERIANUS MEYSZTOWICZ  
CAROLINA LANCKOROŃSKA



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## PRAEFATIO

*Magna Relatio de Statu Poloniae, quae in Museo Britannico servatur, quaeque anno 1598 composita esse censetur, et Georgio Carew communiter etsi non unanimiter adscribitur, Polonicarum et Anglicarum rerum studiosis sat bene nota est. Nihilominus hic primum typis in lucem editur.*

*Relatio haec facta est a viro illustri, qui non solum in patria, a propria regina, ad res aliarum nationum bene intelligendas paratus esse putabatur, sed qui etiam re vera de eisdem rebus optimam habebat experientiam, quique ad res Polonicas cognoscendas multum studium adhibuit.*

*Etsi in lingua Anglica tempore Elisabethae scriberet, quae non parum a lingua quae nunc apud Anglos in usu est, differt, res ab auctore bene expositae faciliter intelliguntur. Multum ad claritatem expositionis confert divisio totius textus in parva capitula, quorum unumquodque proprium titulum seu inscriptionem in margine habet. Desideratur divisio in summa, id est maiora, capita; quam divisionem nemo nisi auctor facere potuisset.*

*Incipit auctor describens territorium Regni, seu Reipublicae Polono-Lithuanae, secundum provintias quibus constat; optime ponit in lucem totius huius territorii, non exceptis ducatibus vassalibus Prussiae Ducalis et Livoniae, intrinsecam unitatem. Quomodo singulae terrae, palatinatus, ducatus in Senatu partes haberent, optime explicat auctor. Optime intuitus est orator Anglicus, alienigena in Polonia, Senatum praecipuum esse instrumentum, quo terrae Reipublicae, distinctis semper manentibus nationibus, in unum corpus coadunabantur.*

*Clare exposita est iuridica constitutio Regni, duarumque partium eum componentium. Auctor videtur non solum collectiones legum, seu Statuta Poloniae et Lithuaniae prae oculis habuisse; scit etiam historiam de qua aliquas fabulas, quibus hodie iam non creditur, refert; multa tamen vera scit de rebus actis,*

*nec dubitandum est eum historias Poloniae, quae hoc tempore habebantur, prae oculis habuisse. Privilegia singulorum statuum: nobilium magnatorum, et etiam nobilium pauperum, nec non plebeiorum, civium et rusticanorum, clare perspecta habet et exponit.*

*Nec latet auctori maximum momentum rerum religiosarum. Enumerat et describit omnes hoc tempore in Polonia existentes confessiones; non latet eum in aliquibus partibus Reipublicae etiam paganismi residua adhuc adesse; quod non est mirum; Lithuani enim a duobus tantum saeculis baptizati erant. Quamquam ipse non sit catholicus, recognoscit in Polonia, ex maxima parte catholica, plenam tolerantiam aliarum religionum vigere; notat quoque lites religiosas in sinu regni vix adesse; indicat tamen pericula, quae ex tanta diversitate religionum Poloniae instare credit.*

*Res militares Poloniae describens de militia terrestri eiusque compositione, indole, modo convocandi refert. Laudat equitatum, scit eum in « hussaros » et « cosacos » dividi; parum tenet de Polonorum peditatu, deque eorum arte castra munita obsidendi. Scit, quam magna sit potestas bellica status Moscovitici, in quam Poloni plures victorias obtinuerunt: clare exponit quam difficile sit Polonis plenam et definitivam victoriam de vicinis orientalibus — de Moscovia et de Tartaris — referre.*

*Nec latent auctori res oeconomicae; optime etiam exponit quaestiones de commercio cum exteris nationibus, quod fiebat praecipue per portus maris Baltici, Gedanum et Rigam; distinguit bene inter conditiones oeconomicas nobilium divitum et pauperum, ponit etiam in lucem paupertatem multorum inter rusticos, eorum praesertim, qui gravabantur obligationibus erga nobiles. Citat multa data statistica, quae etsi, uti omnes huius generis data, caute accipienda sint, attamen ad intelligendas res Poloniae non parum conferunt. Ita numerum nobilium in Polonia « ad minimum 300.000 » esse dicit (p. 40); alio in loco 140.000 terras ad eosdem nobiles pertinere putat.*

*Maximi tamen valoris est descriptio conditionum in quibus Polonia inter alia regna versatur. Non sufficit ei relationum Poloniae cum vicinis finitimis expositio; etiam illas cum regionibus procul ab ea dissitis describit auctor. Quae descriptio ultimam partem relationis occupat, et ad plus quam 20 folia manuscripti se extendit. Demonstrat auctor suam optimam rerum diversarum nationum scientiam; optime versatus in relationibus inter illas nationes apparet. Edocet etiam eos, qui ad negotia tractanda*

*cum Polonis mittuntur, quomodo se comportare debeant ut desiderata obtinere possint. Hic optime in arte, cui nomen artis diplomaticae datur, peritus apparet. Videt etiam bene pericula, quae regno Poloniae instant: et quod illis temporibus vix facile intellectu apparebat, indicat periculum ex crescente potentia marchionatus Brandenburgensis, cuius principes e dynastia Hohenzollern ad dominium Prussiae protendebant manus scit etiam optime quae sit Moscoviae extensio et virtualis potentia.*

*Clare apparet auctoris erga Poloniam benevolentia, quae ei permittit res Polonicas bene intelligere et iuste iudicare; quae benevolentia certe non facilis erat, praesertim dum de rebus Polonicis aliquando ab exteris, et saepe ab aemulis edocebatur; ut clare patet ex iis, quae de terris, olim ab ordine Teutonico dominatis, refert.*

*Auctor potius negotia et problemata politica videt, quam personas; de Polonis, quorum certe multos cognovit, minus quam de rebus Polonicis refert. Palam facit suam erga Ioannem Zamoyiski maximam reverentiam et admirationem. Stanislaum Żółkiewski, aliosque, sed non multos, nominat. De rege Sigismundo III scribens videtur iniuste ei nimiam simplicitatem tribuere; clarum est auctorem regi amicum non fuisse; quae inimicitia potest tam a Ioanne Zamoyiski inspirata esse, quam etiam ex propria cum rege discordia provenire; discordia haec orta videtur tam ex negato a rege Sigismundo reginae Angliae titulo « Defensoris fidei », et etiam ex relationibus auctoris cum duce Suedermaniae, regis Poloniae in regno Sueciae aemulo.*

*Auctor multas res particulares refert, bene et accurate a se notatas; etiam generalia iudicia de rebus Polonicis, quae profert, saepe recta sunt, etsi aliquando in conclusionibus formandis errare videatur.*

*Ex dictis clare apparet quam magnus sit suae Relationis valor, et quam multum ea conferre potest ad res non solum Poloniae et Angliae, sed et totius Europae sub finem saeculi XVI melius intelligendas.*

*Clarissimo Domino Carolo Talbot, omnibusque qui ei in hac editione complenda assistentiam et operam dederunt, Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae gratias dicit.*

## EDITIONUM CURATORES





## INTRODUCTIO

*Codex qui continet textum praeferentem titulum « A relation of the State of Polonia and the United Provinces of that Crowne, Anno 1958 », inter libros manuscriptos bibliothecae regiae Londinensis asservatur, ubi Royal 18 B. 1 annumeratur. Est chartaceus, (symbolum chartae officinale deficit) continens 112 folia, mensurae 28.5 x 18.5 cm., unumquodque habens in se 33 lineas et margines satis amplas. Textus integer una manu est scriptus: omnes tituli et prima verba periocharum litteris aureis maioribus sunt descripti, tituli autem in marginibus litteris minusculis. Quod textus e manu auctoris non editur ex eo deduci potest, quod plures omissiones hic inde occurrunt, ubi amanuensis aut verbum legere non potuit, aut sensum non plene intellexit. Insuper codex incompletus manet. Explicit enim imperfecte eo in puncto, ubi genealogia domus regiae Suevicæ instrui deberet. Quod scriptor alia adiungere in mentem habuit ex eo liquet, quod alia quattuor folia, cum lineis et marginibus praeparata ad scribendum, vacua manent. Alium indicium demonstrans manuscriptum originale non esse eruitur ex eo quod in marginibus eventus anni 1600 referuntur, quanquam corpus textus originalis anno 1598 redactus fuerit.*

*Manuscriptum est ligatum corio fusco, inscriptum litteris aureis M[useum] B[ritannicum], in cuius dorso legi potest: « State of Poland and its Provinces 1598. Mus. Br. » cum antiquo numero « PLUT. XV. E. ». Haec ligatio ad eam speciem ligationis pertinet, quæ initio saeculi decimi noni apud Museum Britannicum in usum erat. Utrum manuscriptus antea fuerit ligatus, aut in quaternionibus tantum asservatus, non liquet.*

*Qua aetate, quibus circumstantiis, quo auctore in collectionem regiae bibliothecae receptus, penitus ignotum est, nullibi enim in catalogis antiquis huius bibliothecae annumeratur. Forsitan erat exemplar reginae Elizabethae praesentandum.*

*Collectio codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae regiae iam saeculo decimo quinto initium suum sumpsit<sup>(1)</sup>, quando Eduardus IV (1461-83) emulatione leviri sui Caroli, ducis Burgundiae, coactus, multos libros acervavit mira arte conscriptos et picturis ornatos, quos ex Flandria sibi acquisivit. Huic bibliothecae successor eius, Henricus VII (1485-1509) anno 1492 Quintinum Poulet bibliothecarium Gallicum praefecit. Libri manuscripti autem inter diversas mansiones regis dispersi, paulatim in catalogis redacti sunt. Instante reformatione religiosa et monasteriorum dissolutione sub rege Henrico VIII (1509-47) Ioannes Leland antiquarius mandatum accepit, ut omnes bibliothecas monasticas et collegiales inviseret et quos libros inde in regios usus aptos inveniret, colligeret. Erant eo tempore in Anglia plusquam octingenta bibliothecae magnae et sumptuosae, in quibus libri manuscripti ab aevo Saxonico usque ad ultima tempora conscripti asservabantur. Ex his perpauci tantum ad regem devoluti sunt, reliqui, pro*

*maxima parte, ex incuria, negligentia, immo ex odio antiquae religionis aut destructi, aut in usus vulgares deieci. Regnantibus Maria et Elizabetha bibliotheca regia non omnino languit, sed crevit solummodo operibus auctorum contemporaneorum ipsi reginae praesentatis. Adveniente autem Iacobo I res in melius mutabantur: bibliothecam Lumleianam, 400 manuscriptos et 2200 libros impressos continentem, pro filio suo Henrico comparavit, et bibliothecarium Patricium Young nominavit, qui inter alia laudabiliora 28 libros manuscriptos graecos ex collectione Casaubon carpsit. Sic decursu temporis complures codices ab aliis antiquariis collectos emerunt reges Angliae. Quanquam sub Carolo II pars bibliothecae in Aula Alba collocata ab incendio diversis vicibus combusta fuerit, alia pars in aula Divi Iacobi incolumis mansit et accretione 300 librorum manuscriptorum ereptorum ex naufragio monasteriorum aucta fuit. Sic paulatim collectio regia, hereditate, donis et propriis sumptibus amplificata est.*

*Maria iam regnante Ioannes Dee anno 1557 petiit ut bibliotheca publica erigeretur in qua codices manuscripti monastici superstites, quasi fluctibus natantes, salvarentur, sed propositum exiit incassum. Iterum anno 1589 tres socii Societatis Antiquariorum noviter fundatae consilium inierunt, ut bibliotheca publica historiae causa investigandae sub tutela reginae Elizabethae institueretur: nucleus autem istius bibliothecae cum e codicibus regis esset formandus, auribus surdis suggestio recepta est. Hac defectione excitatus unus e tribus sociis, Robertus Cotton, ad libros manuscriptos, quam plurimos posset, undique colligendos se accinxit, et post diuturnum laborem collectionem illam incomparabilem conflagavit, quae hodie sub ipsius nomine ab omnibus laudatur. Illam nepos patriae legavit. Accedentibus aliis collectionibus, Sloane et Harley, et tandem anno 1757 bibliotheca regia, a Georgio II legata, Museum Britannicum efficaciter fundatum est.*

*Relatio de Statu Poloniae, quae, ut iam diximus, inter libros manuscriptos regios annumeratur, tempore Elizabethae reginae probabiliter in illam collectionem intravit. Quaestio nunc adorienda, cum textus nomen auctoris minime fert, quisnam sit ille auctor. Stanislaus Kot<sup>(2)</sup> videtur ascribere relationem hanc cuidam Scoto nomine Gulielmo Bruce, quondam professori Academiae Zamoysciana a Ioanne Zamoyski, cancellario Regni Poloniae, fundatae. Ille Scotus enim, post studia academica apud Cadurcum anno 1586, Tolosam anno 1588 et ultimo apud Herbipolim, in Poloniam recessit ubi anno 1595 librum scripsit editum Lipsiae cuius titulus: « Ad pricipes populumque Christianum de bello adversus Turcos gerendo non diminutis vectigalibus, neque expectata discordantium principum concordia... consilium ». Paulo post ad obiectiones contra opinionem suam a Ioanne Gostomski factas replicationem edidit intitulatam: « Epistola ad... I. G... qua breviter refutatur Responsum oppositum ad summa consilii capita ». Deinde anno 1598 publicavit « De Tartaris diarium », Francofurti editum et Georgio Talbot, familiari Gulielmi Ducis Bavariae dedicatum, in quo refert se anno proximo praeterito cum Ioanne Zamoyski in Russiam ivisse, et ibi ab Antonio Spinola, e familia celebri Genuensi orto, et tunc temporis Imperatoris Tartarorum Precopensium legato, informationem de Tartaris hausisse. Pluribus annis elapsis Iacobo I Angliae regnante varias relationes de rebus Polonicis epistolari more ad secretarium principalem regis transmisit. Nullibi autem dicitur opusculum, de quo tractamus, ab eo compositum esse.*

*Sunt rationes non facile contemnendae cur « Relationem » a Gulielmo Bruce abiudicamus: et sunt tres. Primo, quod in libro suo in quo principibus Christianis ad bellum contra Turcos gerendum persuadet, consilia quaedam adhibet quae ab auctore « Relationis » omnino contravertuntur. Secundo, quod fere omnia quae in suo Diario de Tartaris recitat valde dissident ab eis quae refert auctor « Relationis », multa enim de historia antiqua Tartarorum narrat, pauca vero de consuetudinibus. Tertio, quod Bruce lingua Anglica non bene callet, ut ex epistola sua ad Robertum Cecil, anno 1606 scripta (id est annis octo post « Relationis » compositionem) patet, in qua se excusat his verbis<sup>(3)</sup>: « Pardon me my Lord that I wrytte to your honor in Scottis. I had not ane that I might truste quha culde wrytte Inglysse at this tyme ». Auctor « Relationis » econtra satis eleganter lingua Anglica utitur.*

*Warner et Gilson autem, qui catalogum manuscriptorum bibliothecae regiae instruerunt, « Relationem » Georgio Carew ascribunt, hac unica freti ratione, quod anno 1598 ab Elizabetha regina Carew legatus in Poloniam missus est. Dubium non est quin Carew in reditu suo de Polonia, ut mandata a regina sibi concredita compleret, res a se gestas plene descriperit. Narratio vero ista ad Elizabetham missa et ad annum 1598 tantum spectans (ut videri potest ex editione quam iam fecimus, Elementa IV, pp. 238-51), totaliter differt ab opusculo praesenti. Illa enim solummodo res Suevicas et Polonicas tunc temporis instantes refert, haec autem, quae sub oculis est, Regni Poloniae topographiam, leges, consuetudines, religiones, res militares, statum oeconomicum et alia multa res Polonicas tangentia describit.*

*In eundem errorem (si revera ad hoc opusculum alludit) lapsus est auctor qui vitam Georgii Carew in « Dictionary of National Biography »<sup>(4)</sup> compilavit. Ibi enim dicit: « De Thou, or Thuanus made use in his book CXXI of his history of Carew's narrative of events in Poland ». De facto narratio quam Carew inter annos 1606-1609 Thuano, auctori « Historiarum sui temporis », communicavit non aliam spectat quam epistolam ad Elizabetham reginam missam, ut ex epistola 3 Octobris 1612 scripta elucet: nam in responso ad Thuanum, qui illo tempore historiam Reipublicae Venetae recentiorem impetravit, Carew scripsit<sup>(5)</sup>: « [Rogasti] ut quae ipse haberem de commentariis rerum Danicarum et Suevicarum itidem ad te mitterem... Quod ad res Danicas, Suevicas, attinet, post legationem ibi peractam, mandataque ibi edita, quae a felicitis memoriae regina Elizabetha acceperam anno 1598, nihil mihi ex illo tempore de illarum negotiis fuit commercii aut operationis. Eorum vero quae illo anno inter Sigismundum regem Polonum et Carolum patruum suum gesta sunt, dum Lutetiae essem apud te commentarium reliqui. Quod si perierit, et operae pretium existimes, aliud eiusdem exemplar et ad te deferri curabo ».*

*Ex quibus verbis liquet Georgium Carew non aliam quam epistolam iam impressam in « Elementa IV » auctori Gallico communicavisse.*

*In eo autem quod dicit se nihil ex illo tempore de negotiis Polonicis curavisse, Carew intimare videtur se hoc praesens opusculum non compilasse. Sunt tamen rationes non minimae quare illud Georgio Carew ascribamus. Sed primum de vita, indole et dotibus eius pauca referemus.*

*Erat fraterculus Ricardi Carew, historiographi comitatus Cornubiensis, qui de eo scripsit<sup>(6)</sup>: « Master George Carew, in his yonger yeeres gathered such fruit, as the Universitie, the Innes of Court, and forrayne travel could yeeld him: upon his returne, he was first called to the Barre; then supplied*

the place of Secretarie to the Lord Chauncellour Hatton; and after his decease performed the like office to his two successours by speciall recommendation from her Maiestie, who also gave him the Prothonotaryship of the Chauncery, and in anno 1598, sent him Ambassadour to the King of Poland, and other Northern Potentates, where, through unexpected accidents, he underwent extraordinary perils, but God freed him from them, and he performed his duty in acceptable manner, and at this present [1602] the common wealth useth his service, as a Master of the Chauncery ».

Inter annos 1584 et 1604 diversis vicibus locum in Parlamento obtinuit ut deputatus Cornubiae. In vigilia coronationis regis Iacobi I, 23 Julii 1603 honorem Equitatus adeptus, anno sequenti unus e commissariis ad unionem inter Angliam et Scotiam stabiliendam nominatus est. Epistolae ab eo scriptae illo tempore de processibus legum, de consuetudinibus antiquis, de minutiis historiarum investigandis, ingenium, studium et zelum hominis clare demonstrant. Illum quidem Scaligerus in epistola Casaubono directa « virum amplissimum et sapientia et eruditione, et pietate praestantissimum » vocavit, dum Thuanus in libro CXXI « Historiarum sui temporis » ut « adolescentem summi animi et prudentiae » depinxit.

Termino anni 1605 vergente legatus in Galliam missus est, ubi annos quattuor usque mensem Julii 1609 remansit. In reditu suo « Relationem de statu Galliae » regi Iacobo I dicatam redegit, opus praeclarum quod in umbris latuit usque dum Thomas Birch ex exemplari sibi a Domino Hardwicke communicato in lucem illud prodidit anno 1749 <sup>(7)</sup>. De aliis suis officiis nil est dicendum nisi quod in summo honore habitus est, magnas opes conflagavit et morte correptus 13 Novembris anno 1612 in ecclesia S. Margaritae Westmonasterio sepultus est.

In sua « Relatione de statu Galliae » quaedam narrat quae sunt digna notatu. In proemio enim methodum suum in historia illius patriae investiganda delineavit his verbis: « I began first in England to read and meditate upon the stories of that country... being chiefly holpen therein by books, and notes, which I received from the Earl of Salisbury... During the time of my abode in France, I continued the same course, seeking further to inform myself thereof, by conferences with men of that nation, and of strangers, who in my time followed that court ». Praeterea, confitetur se in scribendo narrationem suam Relationes legatorum Reipublicae Venetae imitavisse: « which they made at their return from their several services, both in settled and continual speech before the Privy Council of the State, and likewise by reducing it into writing afterwards ».

Haec duo puncta maximi momenti sunt ad paternitatem praesentis opusculi de statu Regni Poloniae adiudicandam. Nam cuilibet sedulo examinanti et diutius meditati occurrunt iidem indoles, methodus, observatio qui in opere de statu Galliae inveniuntur. Non solum citat libros et auctores quibus in opere elucubrando usus est, ut sunt, exempli gratia, Ioannis Bodin <sup>(8)</sup>, Ioannis Boteri <sup>(9)</sup>, Taciti et alii, sed etiam relationes legatorum Venetorum, Duodonis <sup>(10)</sup>, Morosinii <sup>(11)</sup> et Lippomanni <sup>(12)</sup> adducit. Si quis diceret (et iam a quibusdam dictum est) quod Carew non potuit infra tam breve tempus (scilicet infra paucos menses legationis suae in Polonia) historiam, consuetudines, religiones, res militares et alia plura investigare, obviam venit responsio ex ore proprio: fere omnia iam praeparata et investigata sunt antequam legationem suam in Polonia suscepit. Quae omnia iam in Polonia existens corroboravit et confirmavit tam ex familiaritate eruditorum quam ex interrogationibus aliorum advenorum. Quod



*non adiutorio illius Scoti, Gulielmi Bruce, ut quidam somniunt, relationem suam compilaverit, verba ipsius ad Thuanum scripta innuere videntur. Dixit enim: « Ex illo tempore, qui res serenissimi regis domini mei ibidem [in Polonia] procurarunt, Scoti fuerunt, quibuscum mihi exigua aut nulla consuetudo est »<sup>(13)</sup>. Hoc verum esse probat commercium epistolarum quod cum eruditibus, legatis, ministris regis et aliis multos per annos habuit: nullum vestigium familiaritatis inter eum et Bruce aut alium factorem intercedit.*

*Adest aliud indicium, minor quidem sed non despiciendum, commune cum relatione illa priore de Polonia ad Elizabetham reginam missa et opusculo praesenti. In illa, manu ipsius Carew scripta, dantur in margine et in capite cuiusque periochae tituli, vel potius resumptiones breves, ut lector facile et cursim quid sibi velit inveniat: in isto iterum adsunt. Ad operibus Gulielmi Bruce penitus alieni sunt tales tituli.*

*Rationes igitur recomponendo nominare possumus Georgium Carew auctorem probabilem praesentis opusculi.*

*Quanquam textus relationis nunc pro prima vice in extenso publicatur, non tamen hucusque incognitus erat. Siegfried Mews enim anno 1936 Lipsiae excerptiones quamplurimas in lingua Germanica translatas dedit cum commentario sub titulo: « Ein englischer Gesandtschaftsbericht über den polnischen Staat zu Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts », in der Serie « Deutschland und der Osten », Bd. 3.*

*De orthographia textus pauca verba addimus. Ut mos erat illius aevi non omnino uniformiter verba describuntur, ita ut in una pagina « Relationis » idem verbum duobus, vel tribus et amplius modis vel formis apparet. Non igitur turbetur lector neve errorem in transcriptione irrepisse suspicetur: omnia quae iam diximus in volumine praevio (IV, p. X) hic valent.*

*Nihil aliud dicendum remanet, nisi ut gratias agam Curatoribus librorum manuscriptorum in Museo Britannico, qui me multis et variis modis adiugarunt et ut textus publicaretur gratiose concesserunt.*

*Londiniis die 2 Junii 1965*

CAROLUS H. TALBOT

## NOTAE

(1) *Omnia haec resumpta sunt ex libello The Old Royal Library, a Museo Britannico publicato, (1957): et C. E. Wright, The Dispersal of the Libraries in the Sixteenth Century, The English Library before 1700, (London, 1958), pp. 148-75.*

(2) *Stanisław Kot, Gulielmus Brussius, Kraków, 1937, (Odb. z Polskiego Słownika Biograficznego).*

(3) *Elementa ad Fontium Editiones, VI, p. 18.*

(4) *Dictionary of National Biography, (London 1908), iii, p. 959.*

(5) *Thuanus, Historiarum sui Temporis, VII, pars V, p. 26.*

(6) *Ric. Carew, The Survey of Cornwall, (London 1769), I, p. 61.*

(7) *Thomas Birch, An Historical view of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France and Brussels, from the year 1592 to 1617... to which is added A Relation of the State of France, with the characters of Henry IV and the principal persons of that Court. Drawn up by Sir George Carew upon his return from his embassy there in 1609. Never before printed. London, 1749.*

(8) *Jean Bodin, Les six livres de la République, (Paris 1576).*

(9) *Giovanni Botero, Le Relazioni universali di Giovanni Botero, Venetia, 1612. (Translatio Anglica huius libri facta est anno 1601).*

(10) *Relazione di Polonia di Pietro Duodo del 1592 in Eugenio Alberi, Le Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato, serie I, vol. V, pp. 319-48. (Firenze, 1861).*

(11) *Gian Francesco Morosini, ibid. pp. 249-69.*

(12) *Girolamo Lippomanno, ibid. pp. 273-316.*

(13) *Thuanus, loc. cit.*

**TEXTUS**



A relation of the State of Polonia and the United  
Provinces of that Crowne  
Anno 1598

THE ORIGNALL OF  
YE POLES

are yet called of the Moscovites and Tartarians, Lechi. After they had felled the woodes and manured the lande, they were called Polachi (ffor

THEIRE NAME

*F. 1* The Poles have the same originall with the Bohemians, ledd into Sarmatia by Lechus brother of Czechus of the Bohemian nation, for which they the Pole in the Sclavish tongue signifies the same which Feld in Dutche and English), of others for their delighte in hunting Polani, and now Poloni.

THEIRE DESCRIPTION  
FOR BODY AND  
QUALLITIES

They are large of body, tall, uprighte, and personable. The gentry full of ceremonies, civill and curteous in enterテインement, bountifull at table, costly in dyett, greate gourmandes, and quaffers, not sleepy, nor heavy in their dronkenesse, as the Dutche, but furious, and quarrellsome, highe-mynded, and proude, but in a iollity, and not surly, as the Germans. Apert in their dealinges, so liberall, that they are rather prodigall, and hating avarice; they distaste the artes, and trouble of gayning, great shifters to lyve bravely (which they much affecte) and therefore badd payemaisters, highly conceipted of themselves, and so the more easely ledd, and cosened by Parasites, whoe adoring them, stripp them of their wealthe. Their nature being suche, and so well knowne to the Italians, hath drawne greate numbers of them into Polonia, whoe partly followe greate men, and partly trade, both working upon the magnificency of the Poles. In Italy, their carelesnesse, and symplicity in gyving, and bargayning, hath almost silenced the proverbe of Fresco Tudesco, and brought in use Non sono Polacco. Their travailing into foraigne contreys (to which they are muche gyven) for knowledge of state and languages, makes them now begynn to looke better to their purses, in so muche that the Italians in Polonia begynn to complayne, that they are growne wiser, synce that somme having ben overtaken in their cuppes, recall afterwarde their overlavishe guistes. They are active and of a vaste strengthe, as

*F. 1 v* their neighbours the Hungarians, Transilvanians etc, in so much that dyvers of bothe sexes are founde, which can breake a doller with their fyngers. Thys makes them continewe the use of the sable,



and other hewing weapons, the Easterly nations as yet not applying themselves to the Westerly fighte. For that fighte in private quarrells they are valiant, as commonly not being mortall, but will hardly adventure against the rapier as too murderous. Syngle combate, equality of number, and weapons, or any other lawe of equall duelle they use not, but every one useth what advauntage he can against hys adversary, wheresoever he fyndeth hym. Thys makes, that a gentleman having a quarrell ys often undone by the multitude of followers, and partakers, whome to make hymselfe stronge, he must mainteyne with greate chardge in all manner of ryot. In publique service they are most hardy, and have allwayes shewed greate valoure.

The boundes of the allegiance of Polonia have ben divers, according to the varietie of their ebbing, and flowing fortune. Westward it hath lost Silesia, but on all other sydes hath mightly accesse. At thys tyme the utmost boundes acknowledging that Crowne are, Westward the Oder, towards the Easte the Nieper <sup>a)</sup> (by Ptolomy called Borysthenes), Northward Parnavia in Livonia, and Sowthwarde the Niester <sup>b)</sup> or Tyras, and the Sarmatian mountaines. So that the lengthe where it is most ys 240 Germane myles, at the least, graunting ffifteene myles for one degree, the bredth 200, the forme being almost quadrate. The accesse, and enlargementes I will sett downe in the particular discourse of the Provinces. Thys contrey was wonte to be called Sarmatia, the most Easterly region of Europe, which Mela distinguished from Germany by the Vistula, but the Modernes by a parte of the Oder. Ptolomy, in hys thirde booke makes twoe Sarmatias, the fyrst that of Europe, of whiche we now entreate, The other of Scythia in Asia beyond the Tanays. Tacitus erroneously reckons the Sarmatians amonge the Germanes, because they ayded Vanianus in the recovery of hys kingdome, whome hys subiectes the Sueuians had expelled. The position of it for the longitude is betweene 37 and 55 degrees,

*F. 2 r* the latitude betweene 49 and 61. The whole state ys devided into twoe generall members, which were wonte to have their peculier parlamentes, being now united by a most stricte league. The first ys that, which ys properly and of auncient called the kingdome of Polonia. The other ys the greate Dutchy of Lithuania. The kingdome of Polonia hath these provinces, Polonia maior et minor, Siradia, Lancicia, Rana <sup>c)</sup>, Cuiania <sup>d)</sup>, Mazovia, Podlassia, Russia rubra, Podolia, Prussia, Livonia, Volhinia.

The greater Polonia confynes with Pomerania, the marke of Brandenburg and Silesia by the ryvers Warta, Gwda, and Odra, on which standes their greate forte of Myedzyrzecz, both by nature, and arte, so stronge that it is thought inexpugnable. It is opposite to Frankfort on the Oder and the seate of a Castellane. Thys province as all the rest is distinguished into Palatinates Territories (which have their peculier Senators, Courtes of iustice held in the districtuall citties) and Standards. The Senators are ordinary, viz. the Bysshopp (yf the territory have any), the Palatynes whome is cheife governoure, and certayne Castellanes. It hath twoe Palatinates. The first of Posnania, a faire cittie on the Warta, which accomp-

a) Dnieper.  
b) Dniester.

c) Rava.  
d) Cuivia.

anieth the Oder to the Baltike sea. The Senators of which are, the Bysshopp, Palatine, Castellane of Posnania, and fower other Castellanes. The second of Calisch <sup>e)</sup> on the Proznia <sup>f)</sup> which enters into the Warta. The Senators, the Archbisshopp of Gnesna, the Palatyne and Castellane of Calisch with fower other Castellanes. Gnesna in thys territory is now the Metropolitane sea of the whole kingdome, and a Castellanate, the seate of the princes in the infancy of the state, builte anno 674 by Lechus, and so called of the number of eagles nestes which he founde there, Gnizdo in the Polish speache sygnefying a nest.

The lesser Polonia ys favoured by the Vistula, Piloza <sup>g)</sup>, Wysprz <sup>h)</sup> and other ryvers which enter the Vistula in that province. It

*F. 2 v* hath three Palatinates, fyrst Cracow, the heade of the whole state of Polonia and Lithuania, whose Senators are the Bysshopp, Castellane and Palatyne of Cracow, with fower other Castellanes. Thys territory reacheth to the confynes of Hungary, and farther comprehendes Libowla and thirteene other townes of Scepusium <sup>i)</sup> morgaged to Casimire the thirde by the kinge of Hungary, and not as yet redeemed nor lykely ever to be, the whole kingdome being now scarce able to discharge the interest. Besydes it mainteynes the Dutchies of Zathor and Ozwyecin <sup>j)</sup> which being parcells of the Appennage of Silesia, returned by purchase to the Crowne of Polonia, howsoever their possessors had subiected them to Bohemia. Fyrst Wenceslaus Duke of them bothe united them to Polonia in kinge Casimires tyme, on these conditions: 1. that he should enioye all priviledges immunities etc graunted hym by the kinges of Bohemia. 2. to be free from service of warre, tolles, customes etc. 3. that the kinge should admitt no appeale from hys courtes.

Anno 1457 Janusius Duke of Oswyecin with the consent of hys brethren solde Casimire kinge of Polonia hys Dutchy of Oswyecin for 50000 markes of Pragish broade grosch at 48 for the marke, which in regarde of the goodnes of the money of that tyme makes 480,000 florens of the moderne.

Anno 1494 Janusius solde John Albert, and hys successors kinges of Polonia the reversion of the Dutchy of Zathor after hys and the Dutchesse decease for 80000 Hungarisch Ducketts, an annuity of 200 markes during their lyves and 16 banckes of salte yearly. Howsoever those Dutchyes returned to Polonia, yet were they not united to the righte and laws of the kingdome, the kinges leaving it to their owne choice whether they would continew in their auncient estate, and lawes which kepte them in a kynde of bondage, or be incorporated with the kingdome, and so have the priviledges etc which other subiectes of Polonia enjoyed. The Komorowskyes and dyvers other gentlemen gave themselves to Polonia, but the rest persisted in their auncient estate, which they would not have done, had not Miskowsky <sup>k)</sup>, which was Captayne of them for the kinge tempered with greate moderation the rudenes of their provincial lawes and governed them with greater mildnes then Provinces use to be.

e) Kallsz.

f) Prozna.

g) Pilica.

h) Wieprz.

i) Spiż.

j) Oświęcim.

k) Myszkowski.

The second Palatinate of thys Polonia is Sandomiria, the Senators, the Palatyne, and Castellane of Sandomiria with sixe other Castellanes.

The thirde, Lublin, whose Senatours are the Palatyne and Castellane of Lublin. The Senators of Siradia are the Palatyne, the Castellane and three other Castellanes. The Senators of Lancitia, the Palatyne, the Castellane and fower other Castellanes. The Senators of Rava (sometymes a parte of the Dutchy of Masovia) the Palatyne, the Castellane and twooe other Castellanes.

*F. 3 r* These three are betweene the twooe Poloniaes and were partes of the greater Polonia, but being once severed by Appennage, they so continewd after theire revertirey to the Crowne.

Cuiavia or Vladislavia sometymes allso the Dutchy of a younger brother of Polonia, and before that accopted parte of the greater Polonia, hath twooe Palatinates. The first Vladislavia, whose Senators are the Palatyne, Castellane, and one other Castellane. The seconde Brzesty 1), whose Senators are the Palatyne, the Castellane and twooe other Castellanes. To thys some add the territory of Dobrzin, whose Senators are three Castellanes.

Mazovia having ben longe alienated from the Crowne, possessed by a younger howse, returned 1526 by the fayling of that lyne. Notwithstanding before that tyme dyvers members of Mazovia fell to the kingdome by the deathe of the possessors, as Ploczko m), Wischna n), Gostian o), Rava, Sochazovia p), and Belzen q). For though they had brethren and male kyndred, yet because they dyed ysueles, being divided in possessions (which was allso in force in Silesia, and Bohemia) theire estates escheated to the Crowne. In regarde whereof John and Stanislaus brethren, and last males of Mazovia, obtained for a greate favore to succede one another. The Mazovites after they were

*F. 3 v* returned, of a long tyme would not be incorporated with the kingdome, but desyred to have the kinges sonne for theire Duke, which was denyed them. Lastly 1529 the kinge and States of Polonia urged them greatly, especially for the union with the greater Polonia in military expeditions, seing that theire Dukes in that poynte ioyned themselves with it. They yealded, but with reservation of all theire rightes, priviledges, customes, liberties, prerogatives etc. Further that all theire statutes, customes, articles, etc belonging to theire iudgementes both Terrestria and Castrensia, should no waye be ympeached of any customes of the kingdome, from which allso the Polonians oft soughte to bringe them. In so muche that 1540, when the Mazovites desyred to be had in the same regarde for priviledges, honors etc with the Poles, and others subjecte to the same lawe, it was aunswered that it could not be, except they woulde unite themselves with the kingdome in lawes, and customes as the other six parcellis of Mazovia had don, which they refused, and therefore are still at greater charge for the kinges courte, which they must mainteyne when it is at Warsaw, and for other paymentes, howsoever somme Palatynes and Castellanes of Mazovia are free from the payment of the 2 grosch.

1) Brześć.  
m) Płock.  
n) Włzna.

o) Gostynin.  
p) Sochaczew.  
q) Belz.

The Metropolis of the Dutchy is Warsaw. It hath twooe Palatinates. The one which ys properly called Mazovia, whose Senators are the Palatyne and Castellane of Mazovia, with fower other Castellanes. The other Ploczko, whose Senators are the Palatyne and Castellane with twooe other Castellanes. Under Mazovia is allso the territory of Lewyn <sup>r)</sup>, having twooe Castellanes for Senators.

Podlasia, until 1569, that Sigismundus Augustus united it to Polonia, belonged to Lithuania. The cheife place of it is Tycoczin <sup>s)</sup>, invironed with a ryver and marishes, the castle by nature stronge and fortified with good rampiers and bullwarkes. In it is kepte the kinges treasure, and greate store of Munition, there is allso the mynt.

Russia <sup>\*</sup>) (as some Chronicles reporte) was so named of Russus, brother

F. 4 r of Czechus and Lechus, others saye of the tawny coloure of the people, but the lykeliest ys of Roscia, which in Sclavonish signefies a dispersing, the people in tymes past being named Roxolani. The contry

RUSSIA UNITED TO  
THE CROWNE BY  
WHAT MEANES

CAPABLE OF ALL  
HONORS ETC.

ys very large, comprehending the greatest parte of the Muscovites dominion, Lithuania, and that parte which ys now commonly called Russia rubra, as the other is called Alba. Russia rubra fell to the Crowne of Polonia by escheate, conquest, and as the inheritance of Jagello and hys brother, Alexander Vitoldus <sup>u)</sup>, Dukes of Lithuania. The inhabitantes willingly united themselves to the Crowne in all lawes and customes etc. And therefore enioye all honors and priviledges which the Polonians have.

FREE FROM THE  
TRIBUTE OF OATES

Of there tribute of oates they were freed, 1433 by Jagelloes priviledg that after hys deathe they should paye it no more. It borders Southward Hungary and Moldavia. The gentry as descended from the Polish Collonyes followe the latyne Church. The vulgar the Greeke. That parte which belonges to Polonia (for the rest ys incorporated to Lithuania)

F. 4. r contaynes twooe Palatinates. The fyrst Lublyn, a very stronge Citty, and well furnished with munition, at thys tyme the Metropolis of Russia and of greate trade, which with the Territory of Halijcz hath for Senators the Archbisshop of Leopolis, the Palatine generall of Russia, The Castellanes of Lublyn, Halijcz and Lubaczow. The second Belz united to the Crowne 1462. Thys lande may not by any meanes be morgaged. The Senators are the Palatyne and Castellane. Besydes the twooe Palatinates there are twooe Territories, Chelm (whose Senators are the Bysshop and Castellanes) and Promislia <sup>v)</sup>, which hath the lyke Senators.

Podolia westward buttes on Russia rubra, Northward and Eastward on Russia alba, and the vast deserte playnes of the Turkes and Tartars, and Southward on Moldavia and Walachia. It farr excells any place of Europe for grayne and pasture. It yealdes store of horsse, tame and wylde, hony, waxe, and salte made of the lakes. Notwithstanding

r) Liw  
s) Tykocin

Alba. Russia hodierna denominatur quasi  
semper Moscovia.

\* *Russiae nomine designatur in hoc opere* u) Vitoldus, Vytautas  
*Ruthenia, Ruś, hodie Ucraina et Russia* v) Premislia

*F. 4 v* the wonderfull fertilitie it is uninhabited 60 Germane miles because of the Tartars incursions, whoe robb the lande and carry awaye the people. It hath but one Palatyne, whoe ys generall of all Podolia. The Senators are the Bysshopp of Camijeniecz <sup>w)</sup>, the Palatyne of Podolia, and the Castellane of Camijeniecz, which is the Metropolis of Podolia held inexpugnabile because of the Strange craggy situation and the Bullwarke of the kingedome against the Turkes, Tartars and Walachians.

Prussia [is] the most riche and populous province of the Crowne of Polonia, 1658 Germane or Polonish myle longe and 50 broad. So named (as some wrighte) of Prussus a brother of Czechus, Lechus and Russus, but the true name of Borussia, refutes it. On that fabulous name Johannes Basilius greate Duke of Moscho 1579 grounded hys title to Polonia, Lithuania and the provinces of the Baltike sea, as descended in the 14 degree from Prussus whome he made most ridiculously brother of Octavius Caesar. Thys contrey as having ben the seate of the Germane Colonyes hath store of fayre castles and citties of greate name for trafique, which ys favoured by the opportunitie of the sea and commodity of havens, having for neighbours towardes the continent Polonia, and Lithuania, which by ryvers ymparte to them their commodities, which Prussia by sea communicates to England, Fraunce, Spayne, Italy, Scotland, Netherland, Denmark and the Hans citties. Those are corne, haye, waxe, tymber, Deale boordes, planckes for shipping, hydes, ashes, tallowe, tackling etc, broughte out of Russia, Lithuania and Samogithia. For which they communicate to the whole estate of Polonia the native commodities of their contrey, which are hoppes, flaxe, and amber, and exoticall as wyne, oyle, silkes, cloathes, lynnens, spices, sugar, drugges and other commodities of Portugall, Spayne, the Indies etc. Salte also it affordes them which cannot so conveniently have it from the lesser Polonia. The contrey abounds with fische, cattall and game, hath many forrests and lakes. Northward it is bounded by the sea and the Curish lake. Eastward by Samogithia and Lithuania. Southward

*F. 5 r* by the forrest of Mazovia, and Westward by parte of the greater Polonia and Pomerania. It was fyrst inhabited by Gentiles, whoe defecting from the Poles and Mazovites greatly dammaged their neighbours. In so much that Anno 1211 Conrade Duke of Mazovia, forced to demaund succoure of Fredericke the 2 Emperour, was ayded by 20000 Dutche Knightes of Hierusalem to whome the Mazovite gave the Territory of Culme, and conditioned that what was wonne should be devided equally betweene the Dukes of Mazovia and the Order. Thys order called Ordo beatae Mariae hospitalis Hierosolymitani de domo Teutonica afterwards subdued the whole contrey to themselves, and florished untill they fell to open hostilitie with the Poles, whoe still encroched on them, the order in their treaties of peace (as not ayded by the Empire)

being forced to yealde some parte of their terretory. The first transaction was made 1404 betweene Wladislaus kinge of Polonia and the Order. Some of the articles were for bounding of the Orders terretory to their greate losse. The others as unequal as those, were these following.

Fyrst perpetuall peace with Polonia. That the greate maister of the Order should enter no league against the kinge or Crowne. The kinges

THE FIRST TRANSACTION OF YE ORDER WITH THE POLES

w) Kamieniec



subiectes of Lithuania and Russia shoulde freely trade in the States of the Order, be in their protection, free from all newe customes and exactions excepting suche as the naturall subiectes of the Order shoulde be bounde to paye. (Thys was of greate importance, For that the Poles subiectes having no sea coaste were to passe all their commodities through the Terretory of the Order). They should suffer no souldiours to passe through their lande for any service preiudiciall to the kinge, nor permitt any Polish outlawe to staye in their lande. The greate maister should not leade hys army without the kinges consent thorough Lithuania or Russia. They should not enterteyne any of the kinges kindred flying out of the lande, whereby the kinge might be molested.

THE SECOND  
TRANSACTION

Afterwardes 1436 there was another accorde betweene the kinge Wladislaus, the greate Maister, the Order, and Provinces of

F. 5 v the Order of Prussia, Alemania, Livonia and the newe marke, That the Channell of the ryver Drwencza should be the common lymites of the kingdome, and the Orders terretories, till it enter the Vistula, or Weissell (which should continewe the boundes), the Ilandes, fysshing royalties etc, of them pertayning equally to both, as farr as Duszmar <sup>x)</sup> betweene the landes of Bydgostia and Pomerania, the castle of Jasynieczech remayning in the possession of the Order. But Nyesow, Murzynowe, Orlow, Nova Wyess etc with their terretories assigned to the kinge: That the Byrzenick <sup>x)</sup> and the Notesso after it receyveth the Birzenick should be the boundes of the kingdome and the newe marke: That the Order should paye all arrerages to the Churches of Gnesna, Vladislavia, Ploczko, Poznania, and all other religious persons suffering them to enjoye all tithes, revenewes, rightes etc belonging to them in the Orders dominions: That the Order should renounce all confederacies with the States of Lithuania, Samogitia, and Russia, not ayde them, or repute any greate Duke of Lithuania, except the kinge of Polonia, consented to the election etc.

THE THIRD  
TRANSACTION

Afterwardes by the contracte betweene the kinge Cassimire, and the greate Maister Lewis <sup>\*)</sup>, it was agreed, that the Order should gyve over Pomerania, Culme, Plichalowe <sup>y)</sup>, Marienberg, the twooe Ilandes, Fyssannisse <sup>z)</sup> and Herwerder <sup>z)</sup>, Stum, Elbing, Tolkmith with all that Districte: That the Maister, and Commendators should be Senators of Polonia, the Maister having the first place in all Assemblies, on the kinge hys left hande. So the Order a longe tyme free, became first feudatary, and after subiect to Polonia, forced to departe from a greate parte of their possessions. Thys last calamitie, which forced them to a composition, so muche to their disadvauntage, came by the revolting of the greatest parte of Prussia to the kinge of Polonia, for the greate greivances which they suffered under the Order. The Pole, as patrone of the Citties, having both that pretence, and their helpe within the bowells of that lande, overlayde the Order, and so gott Marienburg, their seate, whose castle being inexpugnable, as fortified with a

x) sic in ms., cfr. *Mews* o.c. p. 8

y) Michałów

\*) Ludwig von Erlichhausen

z) sic in ms. cfr. *Mews* o.c. p. 8

*F. 6 r* treble wall, and compassed rounde with the ryver, was solde by the garrison to the Pole, whoe gave them for it with Gilania <sup>aa)</sup> and Dersaw <sup>ab)</sup> 476000 Crownes. The Order recovered the Cittie, but coulde never gett the Castle, and therefore were fayne to leave the citty. Synce that tyme, that parte of Pomerania which was subiect to the Order hath ben united to the Crowne of Polonia, for which the Poles and the Order had warred together 150 yeares. Upon the former composition the Maister did homage to the kinge 1489, which neyther hys successor nor after him Albertus of Brandenburg would ever doe, upon which the warre was renewed 1519. Notwithstanding 1515 Maximilian the first, Emperoure of Germany, in preiudice of the Imperiall soveraingntie over Prussia, and Pomerania, that the warre betweene Polonia, and the Order (which he sawe too weake, as being neglected by the Empire), mighte be ended, exhorted the greate Maister to doe homage to the kinge, and withall by hys Imperiall authoritie released Dantzic, and Elbing, of the Imperiall proscription, wherein they stode for their defection to the Pole, promising to signefy so muche to the Imperiall Chamber, and to commaunde that Courte, that hereafter for no cause it shoulde proscrib them, nor any waye molest them, nor admitt any suite against them, or any other of Prussia subiecte to the kinge. These letters beare date xxii<sup>th</sup> of July 1515.

Albert of Brandenburg having held out to hys uttermost power, after he had longe in vayne sollicitated the Empire for protection, was forced to make meanes of peace, which was graunted by hys uncle kinge Sigismund, the articles being compromitted to George Marquesse of Brandenburg of Onoltzbach <sup>ac)</sup> and Frederick Duke of Lignitz and Briga, whoe favouring Albert as being brother to one by byrthe, and the other by mariage, drewe such as were to the advauntage of the Crowne of Polonia, because of their alliance with the kinge and advaancement of Albert, and the howse of Brandenburg, to whome all that lande, which the Order possessed in the begynning of thys warre, was passed in inheritance. The reason whereby the Arbitratours pretended themselves to be moved to so straunge a composition, was that whylest Prussia should be

THE FOURTH  
TRANSACTION

*F. 6 v* administred by a maister, that he, as not interested in propriete would still be in tearmes of dissention with the Crowne of Polonia, as more desirous of glory by trouble, then the repose, and secure estate of that lande, of which he should be but usufructuary, whereto also he should be continually egged by the Order: But indeede, they were induced to thys by the benefitt of the howse of Brandenburg, and the profession of religion, which bothe they, and Albert made. Sigismund howsoever a Catholicke yet was contented bothe to have hys owne state by it increased, and to be ridd of so daungerous and warlike a neighbour as the Order, which had so longe warred with Polonia, he by it being the better able to defende hymselfe against hys other most potent neighbours, when he should be secure on that parte. Hys purgation to the Pope, whoe he knew would not lyke of the change of a spirituall State to a secular and Lutheranish, was thys, as appears by hys instructions sent to his

aa) *sic in ms.*  
ab) Dirschaw  
ac) Ansbach

Ligier in the Popes courte: That whereas the Pope, Emperor and other princes, had ben mediators for fower yeares truce to be graunted to the Order, hys subiectes had resolutely denyed it, as most daungerous for the Crowne then warre, whereuppon, he yealded to the suite of hys kinsmen, intercessors for Albert; That with the religious estate of the Order, they had not medled, for that he thoughte it not to belonge to hym, as not being founder nor protector of it, but hereditary lorde, and because the Catholicke religion was almost cleane extincte in the Dominion of the Order. Abusi sumus (saide the kinge) ea conditione depravati temporis in rem pacis cum ea aliter transigi non potuit.

THE ARTICLES.  
SUBIECTION

The articles of the transaction were these:

1. Albert should sweare fealtie to the kinge, as hys naturall and hereditarie liege, and beare hymselfe toward the kinge as a vassall prince should doe.

2. That George, brother of Albert, for hymselfe and in the name of hys brethren Casimire and John, should in the admission with Albert houlde one corner of the banner of that infeudation, and that those 2 absent brethren should within one yeare, accept, and approve of that contracte.

F. 7 r 3. The kinge should leave to Albert these landes, Citties, Castles etc, viz. the 3 citties and castle of Konisberg <sup>ad)</sup>, Lochstett, Vargen, Girmaw, Pobetten, Rudaw, Scoka, Kaymem, Kremeten, Waldaw, Tapiaw, Taplawken, Narbetten, Insterburg, Allenburg, Mordenburg, Labian, Lawkislen, Fridland, Demenaw, Barten, Letzen, Balge, Heyligaw, Beyhell, Cniten, Landspurg, Preusischenlaw, Bartenskyn, Sescen, Saynsburg, Rayen, Rastenburg, Lick, Johansburg, Holand, Leibstad, Muslhawsen, Moring, Paszenheim, Ortelsburg, Osterrodt, Hogenstayn, Neydenburg, Soldom, Gillgenburg, Schoppenpayle, Tentschelaw, Preusischmarck, Libmul, Salfelt, Risenburg, Marienvarder, Tirenburg, Labraw, Schomberg, Bowunden, Jorgenburg, Rosenburg, Gordensche, Newhawse, Freyentstatt, Solaw, Fischawsen, Bischoffverder, Medenaw as Duke of Prussia in hereditary fief; That hys male lyne being ended, the other 3 brethren and their male lynes successively should inherite that Dutchy.

THE ENTAIL OR  
ESCHEAT

All which being extinct, that then it should retorne to the Crowne, as a Feudum vacuum, Provided that in such case, the kinge make the daughters in money a princely dowry according to their estate.

4. The kinge should confirme to the Dukes, and their subiectes, all their priviledges not contrary to thys transaction, nor preiudiciall to hys soveraigntie, and should defende and protect them against all force and violence.

ad) 66 nomina locorum quae auctor hic adducit, inventuntur in limitibus Borussiae Ducalis. Haec nomina quae anno 1598 in usu erant, neque sunt ea quae ab origine his locis propria erant, neque illa quibus eadem loca nunc vocantur. Inveniuntur nimirum fere omnia in Theatro Orbis Terrarum Abrahami Ortelii (Antverpiae ap.

Joan. Moretum MDCI). Nonnulla solum nomina locorum in ms. discrepant cum iis quae apud Ortelium inveniuntur, e.g. Scoka - Schoka; Mordenburg - Nordenburg; Preusischenlaw - Preussisch Eylaw; Tentschelaw - Deutsch Eylaw; Gordensche - Gardensee.

THE DUKES PLACE

5. Hys place should be next the kinge in Councils, Dyetts of the Territories and publicke meetings.

THE LANDS NOT ALI-  
ENABLE BUT WITH  
CONDITION

6. That the former landes mighte continewe united, It was agreed that the Duke should not sell any parte of the Dutchy, except in case of necessitie, and having made the kinge the first offer, and gyven hym respitt of a yeare, after which he mighte freely sell, but with reservation of the kinges soveraigne

righte, and royalties. Likewise he mighte lett or morgage any towne or castle to hys owne vassalls.

7. In defensive warre, the king going personally in the generall expedition of hys subjectes, the Duke should accompany hym, as farre as the boundes of Prussia, with 100 horse at hys owne charge, and

F. 7 v those further to serve the kinge for suche paye as he gyves hys other horssemen.

TRIAL OF DIFFER-  
ENCES BETWEENE  
THE KINGE AND YE  
DUKE.

8. Suites betweene the kinge and the Duke, concerning themselves, should be hearde by the kinges Counsellors, released for that tyme of their oathe to the kinge, and sworne to judge uprightly. Their session to be at Marienburg or Elbing.

TRIAL OF DIFFER-  
ENCES WITH PRINCES

9. If any prince ecclesiasticall or secular sue the Duke in Prussia, the kinge should appoynte 6 of hys counsellors, and the Duke as many of hys owne for absolute judgements without appeale.

TRIAL OF YE DUKES  
DIFFERENCES WITH  
INFERIOUR PERSONS.

10. If any under that degree sue the Duke, he should doe it before the Dukes vassalls appointed by the Duke, that from their sentence the Actor mighte appeale to the Counsellors deputed yearely by the kinge and Duke in case of busines, at the feaste of

St. Frances at Marienburg.

SUITES OF YE  
DUKES SUBJECTES

11. The subjectes of Prussia should be sued in their owne courtes onely.

SUITES OF YE  
KINGES AND DUKES  
SUBJECTES

12. The subjectes of neyther should be arrested, or deteyned in other, then their owne courtes.

LIBERTY OF TRADE

13. The inhabitantes of Prussia, should have free libertie to trade reciprocally by sea or lande, to passe with wagon, or otherwise by the highe wayes without hinderance and enjoye all their auncient priviledges.

NAVIGATION

14. They should have free navigation, and passage, Allso all the entrances of the sea, the heade of the Visla and all other ryvers of Prussia free.

LIBERTIE FOR FOR-  
REIGNE MARCHANTS.

customes and priviledges.

15. Forreigne marchantes should not be forced to goe to Konisperg, Braunsberg, Elbing, Dantzic or any other City, but mighte freely saile to what place they would, but without preiudice of the auncient

NO NEWE CUSTOMES  
TO BE IMPOSED.

16. No newe tolles, customes, unladinges, or other grievances should be commaunded by eyther partie, contrary to the auncient customes and priviledges.

WRECKES.

ing further exacted

17. The wreckes should continewe in their state, seeing that they are of force in Holland, Zee-land and Brabant, but so that there should be nothing further exacted of the maryners.

COMMUNITY OF  
EMNITY

18. The enemy and Dammager of eyther of the 2 contracters should be helde as

*F. 8 r* common enemy of bothe.

PURSUIT OF  
ENEMYES AND  
MALEFACTORS

19. Each partie should have libertie of pursuing hys enemyes and dammaggers in the others Territorie, and the malefactors judged where they were apprehended.

FORBEARANCE OF  
COYNING

them aboute the canon of the allay.

20. The Duke, Dantzic, Elbing and Thorne should forbear coyning till the feaste of Penthecoste of the yeare following, that the kinge might agree with

RESIGNATION OF  
PRIVILEGES

21. The Duke should resigne all priviledges graunted by the Popes, Emperours, or Knightes of Polonia contrary to this transaction.

THE DUKES  
YEARELY ANNUITIE

22. The kinge should gyve the Duke Albert yearly for hys lyfe tyme in regarde of his dammages 4000 florens.

RATIFYING BY YE  
STATES OF PRUSSIA.

made 1525 to which the Nobilitie and Citties of Prussia consented 1526.

23. Lastly, if any man seeke to make thys contracte voyde, the Duke, and hys 3 brethren, whome it dothe alyke concerne, should ayde the kinge with all their forces. Thys is the accorde of Cracow

THE ARTICLES  
INTERPRETED AND  
ENLARGED

For the interpretation and amplification of some of the former articles, the kinge 1526 graunted these prerogatives.

Fyrst, That the Dukes should holde their lande free from all service, and exactions, other then were specefied in the former agreement.

TO AUNSWEARE FOR  
THE DUTCHY ONELY  
BEFORE YE KING.

2. That being sued in regarde of that Dutchy, they should not be bound to aunswear otherwise then before the kinges owne person.

HIS POWER AND  
ROYALTIES.

3. That for their owne benefitt, they mighte in their lande commaund customes and tolles for passage, graunte fayres and marketts, coyne according to the lawes of the contracte, ordayne assises, make statutes, and have as greate power, and jurisdiction, as any prince of the kingdome of Polonia hath.

LIBERTIE OF TRANS-  
PORTING THINGS  
NECESSARY.

4. Further the Dukes, and Nobles should have libertie of free transporting and carrying by lande or water, through the kingdome, of all things for their owne proper use, but not for trafficke.

Since the former grauntes, the Duke desyred of the kinge 3 thinges, which were denyed him.

DEMAUNDES

*F. 8 v* 1. That the kinge would relinquish hys righte of graunting safe conducts thorough the Dukes terretory.

YE DUKES DENYED  
BY YE KINGE. THE  
2 FIRST AS PRE-  
JUDICALL TO HIS  
SOVERAIGNETY

2. That there should be no appeale from the Duke to the kinge. To which the kinge aunswared, that the appeale of the subiectes and vassalls to the superior Lorde was so proper to soveraigntie, that it being taken away, there remayned no appearance of superioritie.

DAUNGEROUS TO AD-  
MITT PRINCES AS  
SUFFRAGANTS IN THE  
ELECTION OF YE

KINGE AND AGAINST  
YE PRACTICE OF  
POLONIA.

3. That the Duke mighte have voyce in the kinges election. To which he aunswared by the advice of hys counsaile, that it had allwayes ben observed most strictly in Polonia, that besydes the Senators of the kingdome, no man of suche eminent dignitie, should have righte in the kinges election, In so muche, that neyther the Dukes of Masovia, (though of the bloude royall of Polonia) nor the kinges sonnes (though naturall lordes of the kingdome) after their fathers deathe mighte have session or voyce, in the election of the kinge. So likewise the maisters of Prussia, homagers of the Crowne, though they had session in the Senate as being Counsellors of the kingdome, notwithstanding had not that righte. That he should therefore content hymselfe, especially seeing the nobilitie of the kingdome, urged in all Dyetts and assemblies that nothing should be concluded against the auncient rightes and customes of the kingdome.

THE DUKE ADMITTED  
TO ALL OTHER  
ASSEMBLIES.

That he had no cause to complayne, whoe having place in the Councells, Dietts of the terretories, and the generall conventes, was onely excluded from the kinges election, seeing the Princes of the Empire, having voyce in the Imperiall dietts, meddle not with the election of the Emperoure, which onely belonges to the Electors.



THE PRESENT  
CONFEDERATORIES  
OF PRUSSIA

THE ELECTOR OF  
BRANDEBURG  
JOINED IN THE  
ENTAIL

the Elector of Brandeburg and hys male yssue

F. 9 r

THE NOBILITIE  
PROTESTING  
AGAINST IT

BENEFITT TO YE  
POLISH NOBILITY BY  
YE ESCHEATING OF IT

THE ELECTOR OF  
BRANDEBURG HIS  
GREATE ALLIANCE

PRUSSIA REGALIS

Of those 4 Marquesses of Brandeburg, to whose male yssue the Dutchy was entailed, are left onely Albertus Fredericus, the present Duke, (sonne to Albert the first Duke) and George Frederick of Onoltzbach <sup>ac)</sup>, sonne of George one of the authors of the accorde. Thys George Frederick by a Dyet of Polonia was made curator of hys cozen of Prussia, as being hys next heyre. Longe after the first contract Sigismundus Augustus entayled the Dutchy in reversion, after the ceasing of the former lynes, to the Elector of Brandeburg and hys male yssue

admitting him Anno 1569 at the investiture of the moderne Duke to the holding of the lower Canton of the Prussisch banner, as allso kinge Stephen did, when Onoltzbach was invested as Curator. Notwithstanding the Nuncii of the Nobilitie at thys last act protested against the Electors omission as not being comprehended in the entaile of the first contract, but afterwarde admitted by the kinges private authoritie, without the consent of the States, which it seemes the kinge (except by righte of proper purchase or conquest, by which at pleasure he might alter the first conditions) could not doe in prejudice of the Crowne, to which it should escheate after the deathe of the Duke and the Curatoure. The Nobilitie standes for the righte of the Crowne in regarde of there owne common benefitt, for that it escheating should be devidid into Palatinates, Castellanates, Captaynshipps and many other offices, to the advaancement of many of the Nobilitie. The Electoure of Brandeburg hath by all offices, and benefitts to the kinge, Crowne, and perticuler men, soughte to oblige them, and wynn the favoure of the Poles, for the easier obtayning of thys Dutchy which (as is to be feared) he will gett, with greate difficultie, the Nobilitie being (as I have shewed) so farr interested in that riche estate. Notwithstanding, he hath greate meanes by his convenient bordering on Polonia, hys owne power and mightier alliance to Denmark, Saxony, Hassia, Brunswick and Scotland lincked with Denmark. Neyther in thys are the Poles too muche to presume upon the auncient patience of the Germans, whoe though they are negligent in the common, as was seene in the losse of Prussia and Livonia, yet are they quicke inoughe, when they are touched in there perticuler inheritance.

To returne to the other parte of Prussia called Regalis, as being immediatly subject to the Crowne (thys distinction rising upon the former accord), it hath for heade Marienburg, sometymes the seate of the Order, till by the Garrison it was soulded and so came to the handes of the Poles, synce which tyme bothe the Order and the Duke helde

ac) Ansbach

*F. 10 r* their court at Konisberg, a city of greate importance for the Courte, Universitie, haven, and greate traffique. The first seate of the greate Maister was at Hierusalem, removed to Ptolemais, from thence to Venice, and Marpurge, after to Marienburg. The castle of Marienburg is the strongest forte of Prussia commaunding the entrance of the Vistula into the sea, where the kinge of Polonia hath a garrison. It is furnished and provianted for six yeares. This Prussia hath 3 Palatinates, Culme (wherein is Torumna on the Vistula), Marienburg (wherein is Elbing) and Pomerania Citerior, whose Metropolis is Dantzic.

3 PALATINATES OF  
PRUSSIA

By transaction with the Poles, the Prussians, when they defected from the Order, retheyned their owne lawes, customes and landes, convenanted to have their proper counsell, dietts and treasury, severall from the kingdome of Polonia, righte of voyces in the Dyetts of the kingdome, and election of the kinge; they were made capable of honours and offices of the kingdome, had confirmed to them their tolles and customes, the Pfundzell or poundage, which is 2 Pfenniges of the Prussisch Marke for all manner of wares, that wreckes (which the Order had gotten to themselves) should belonge to the owners, and their heires, that the kinge should remitt his pension in Pomerania called Narvas or Porcus, that none but borne

PRIVILEGES OF THE  
PRUSSIAN

Prussians should in that state have any publike honoure, or Magistracy. The Dantzigers should be freed of their tribute of 700 markes etc. The Municipal lawe through all Prussia (excepting Elbing, Braunsberg, Frawenburg, whoe use the Lubeck) is Culmish, conteyned (as also that of Lubeck) under some fewe heades. In defecte of them they have recourse to the Saxish, and Magdeburgish, and where they faile (yf the case be not provided for by some popular decree, or the kinges statute) to the Civill lawe. The Culmish law being uncertaine as not entered in any authentically

THEIR LAWES

recorde, was collected by certayne Commissioners at the kinges appoyntment, Anno 1526. The Constitutions were passed then first by Sigismundus Augustus, and synce by other kinges.

*F. 10 r* The forme of the publike government of Prussia was constituted 1526 by the common consent of the kinge, Counsaile of Prussia, and Commissioners for the Nobilitie, and Citties. Synce which tyme the conditions are muche weakened, as appears by their greavaunces exhibited in the Interregnum 1587, especially that by land, and water there were newe customes, and exactions commaunded. That offices and honours were gyven to straungers and the borne members of the state neglected; That many greate causes were brought to the Dyet of the kingdome and hearde, none of the Prussish counsaile being present; That the free election was taken from the Colledge of Warmia; That the kinges, according to Casimire and Sigismund the first their promises, were not perticularly sworne to Prussia etc.

THE COUNSELL OF  
PRUSSIA

THE FREE BISHOP-  
PRIK OF VARMIA

The provincially counsell of thys Prussia consisteth of 2 bisshoppes, 3 Palatines, 3 Castellanes, 3 Succamerarii, and 3 potent Citties. The one is the Bisshopp of Varmia, whoe is president of the Counsell, and hath a severall forme of oathe. The other is the bisshopp of Culme.

The Bisshoppricke of Varmia is a territory se-

verall from the Regall Prussia, though united with it in common affaires,  
subject onely to the Bisshopp (whoe hath <sup>2</sup> — of it) and to the Chapter <sup>3</sup>

which possesseth the other 3<sup>rd</sup> free from the iurisdiction of the kinges officers, and otherwise greatly priviledged, as having ben subject to the Order, though inferiour in the confederacy, and after accesse of Prussia to the Crowne ioyned to Polonia uppon perticuler covenantes. The subiectes of the Bisshopprike besydes the Municipall lawe of Prussia, have their owne peculiar ordinaunces and conventes wherein they passe them. To them the Nobilitie, Citties and Schulthoy or Advocates, send their commissioners, which deliberate and consult with those of the Bisshopp and Chapter. They doe all sweare to the kinge (that oathe being renewed every change and heretofore every tenth yeare) to the Bisshopp and the Chapter. The Bisshopp is chosen by the

*F. 10 v* kinge out of the 4 cannons of the Chapter, and created by the Pope, to whome onely he is subiecte in spirituall matters, being before tymes suffragane to Riga. The Provost is chosen by the kinge. The cannons by the Bisshopp and Chapter in course.

THE BISSHOFF OF  
CULME

The other Bisshopp (as I saide) is of Culme, whose revenewes are greatly decayed; he was suffragan to Gnesna, but by the Order subjected to Riga, when the Bisshopprike and City were brought under the Orders dominion.

THE PALATINES OF  
PRUSSIA

The Palatines are Culme, Marienburg and Pomerania. They have greater authoritie and iurisdiction, then the Palatines in Polonia. To them belongs the punishing of the persons condemned. They have the greatest parte of the Mulctes, the executing of sentences, and the charge of the publike peace without the Citties.

THE CASTELLANES

The 3 Castellanes are of Culme, Elbing, and Dantzig.

The Succamerarii are of Culme, Marienburg and Pomerania: they as also the Castellanes having the same authoritie which they have in Polonia. The Citties who have session according to their Palatinates, Thorne, Elbing and Dantzig. All are sworne excepting the deputies of the Citties. Those Senators have all place and voyce in the Dyetts of the kingdome. The 3 Citties have their governement to themselves, as also the Captayneshippes of their citties, onely the king, of 7 or 8 Consulls presented to hym by the City, dothe yearely name one for Captayne. Dantzig and Elbing have their owne portes, but without the kinges leave they cannot shutt them upp. The governement is after the Dutch, the Burgers being of that nation, whome will not admitt the Poles to the learning of their craftes, howsoever by Statute and composition they should not repell them uppon penaltie of 50 Ducketts.

Dantzig is the strongest, fairest, richest and mightiest Cittie of

*F. 11 r* that Crowne, hath no proper ordonance for the daunger of the kinges borrowing, but hath allwayes stoare from the shippes in the porte. The trade is wonderfull greate, which it hath with England, France, Scotland, Denmark, Norway, Netherland, Sweden, Germany and Spayne, from which receyving wyne, oyle, cloathes, spices, drugges, silkes etc. it communicates them to the other provinces of Polonia, imparting to the former countreys her neighboures commodities which searve for shipping, waxe, wolle, Tymber, Deale boardes, wainscote, beere, Russish commodities, Tallowe, Grayne (there being dayly solde here 1000 lastes), sope, asshes, flaxe etc. It freed it from the yoke of the Order by the protection of Polonia, and would since upon confidence of the Hans Societie, and her owne strength, have taken absolute libertie, as their standard of Aurea libertas imported, which peradventure it might have donne, had not Polonia then being governed by a prince of valure, whoe though he could not expugne it, yet forced it to yealde to conditions of subiection, and losse of the moietie of their customes, which notwithstanding they made upp with increasing them. The Cittie by agreement hath the Mills and the Ilande adiacent, for which it payes the kinge yearly 2000 florens, which were wonte to yealde the Order 60.000. For the Castle which they destroyed, as preiudiciall to their libertie, they builte the kinge a stately pallace, wherein they are to enterteine hym and hys courte at their proper charges 4 dayes, when he commes thether. The gathering of the amber, the kinges reserved to themselves. There are also in Prussia 4 other greate martes for Dantzic commodities, Elbing, Brunsberg, Konisberg, especially for Deale borde and wainscote and [ ] affording hempe and flaxe in greate quantitie.

OFFICERS OF PRUSSIA

The publike officers of Prussia, not Senators, are the Tresorer, 2 Swordbearers, 9 Judges and the Scabines. The Citties and townes have their proper Judges. The appeale is first to the Counsaile, and then to the kinge, whose authoritie is greater in

*F. 11 v* Prussia then in Polonia. The Nobilitie is judged by their Terrestria Judicia, held twice a yeare, the benche consisting of the Palatine (whoe is president), the Judges of the Terretory, and the Scabines. The appeale the same with the Citties and Townes. Cases of infamy of the State, Exchequier and Appeales belonge to the kinge, For which the kinge may cite to hys courte any subject of Prussia, as being causes of hys proper iurisdiction, otherwise not. Judgements by commission from the kinge are Exchequier causes, the dislimiting of the kinges landes from private mens, and deviding of common inheritance. Magistrates may be called to the Courte by hym onely for defaultes in their office.

THE DYETT  
OF PRUSSIA

SUBSIDIES PASSED  
BY COMMON  
CONSENT

The Dyett of Prussia is held twice every yeare, at Marienburg in May, and Grudent at Michaelmas; therein are handled matters of the State, Appeales, and causes delegated by the kinge. For matters of common taskes, and subsidies, the Nobilitie, and lesser citties send their Nuncios to the Dyett, which without their consent cannot impose them, no more then the kinge. Suche impositions are upon goodes, landes and beere. In the graunte of them the Prussians are more forward,

and liberall then the Polonians, considering they are for the publike good.

PRUSSIA IOYNES  
WITH YE CROWNE  
IN MILITARIE  
EXPEDITIONS

They were to defende their owne lande with their owne forces, and not bounde to the defence of the kingdome before the last complete union, which fully ioynd them, and their forces with the Crowne, the Poles having a longe tyme urged it, as most reasonable, seeing they had ben freed by them from the tyranny of the Dutche Order.

THE NOBILITIE

The Nobilitie is subject to the same lawes with the common people, having onely some priviledges above the vulgar. The state of the people is much better then in Polonia; they may purchase mannors, are capable of honours, magistracies and spirituall prefermentes, and admitted to the Counsaile, which made that the Prussians standing allwayes upon their Germane libertie would

*F. 12 r* not leave their owne lawes for those of Polonia, nor in that poynte ioyne with the kingdome, which in tyme would have made the people slaves to the Nobilitie, and so have impoverishd and ruined the cuntry. The kinges renews in Prussia is very small, raised by pensions from the Citties, landes, and Captainships, which are most parte morgaged or alienated by donation, and sale.

THE KINGES REVE-  
NEW IN PRUSSIA

THE CAPTAINSHIPPES

In the Palatinate of Mariemburg there are 5 Captainships, in Culme 8, in Pomerania 5, besydes the 3 Captainships of the greate Citties. The captaynes have charge of the kinges Castles, gather hys rentes, exacte hys mulctes, and have iurisdiction, but not so greate as in Polonia; for over the Nobilitie they have almost none at all, over the Townsmen little, so that their cheife is over the Bawres. Onely the Captayne of Mariemburg neyther medleth with the rentes, nor hath iurisdiction, but onely charge of the Castle and garrison. Notwithstanding, he is above all other Magistrates, as being the kinges Leivetennant Generall in thys Prussia.

THE CAPTAIN OF  
MARIEMBURG  
LEIVETENNANT OF  
PRUSSIA

THE FORCES OF  
PRUSSIA

What forces Prussia is able to make, and how muche it hath strengthened the Polish State may easely be conceyved by the longe warre of the Order with the Polonians, and Lithuanians, against whome they have had in feilde 50,000 horsse, neyther could the Order ever be subdued, till their owne subjectes fell from them.

Livonia along the sea is 4000 stadia, the bredth 2300. Some saye the length is 90 Germane miles, others 400 Italian, and the bredth 50 German, or 240 Italian. Eastward it is devided from the Moscovitish Russia by the ryver Narva (on both sydes whereof stand 2 fortes named as the ryver, the Livonish belongeth to the Sweden, and the other is the Moscovitish) and by the lake Pelbas <sup>ae)</sup>, which is 48 Italian mile longe. And then a lyne drawne from the Welyka, betweene the lake, and Plescovia by Sillake <sup>af)</sup>, and Opotzko <sup>ag)</sup>, dislimes it from Lithuania, till it comes to

ae) Peipus  
af) Sillack  
ag) Opoczka

Drissa on the Duna, where the East syde of Livonia endes. Southward it butts uppon Lithuania

*F. 12 v* Samogitia and Prussia. On the west it hath the sea, and Northward the Goulfe and continent of Fynland. The auncient inhabitants different in language and customes are the Eastlanders, Leiflanders and Curlanders, which dwell not in citties but in townes, and villages, onely following husbandry. The others come in by conquest, and trade, are first the Germanes, whose nation and language swayes most by reason of their greate traffique, and the Dutche Orders longe possessing of it; the other longe after, broughte in by severall lordes are the Swedens, Danes, Poles, Lithuanians, and some relickes of the moscovitish colonyes, sent by the greate Duke after he had conquered a greate parte of it. The province is full of fortresses, both as having ben longe the seate of warre, and the seminarie of Knightehood, as also for that at thys tyme it is possessed by potent lordes, and bordered by a mightie enemy, which makes that all partes being in ielousy of their neighbours, stand uppon their garde. It is most fruitfull (though lightly husbanded), yealding stoare of grayne, Cattaille, wilde beastes, fyshe, and in generall all necessaries belonging to sustenance, excepting suche, as are proper to hotte countreys, for which the Germanes call Leifland, Bleifland, For that the fertilitie of the Country invited them there to seate themselves. The countrey is playne, full of lakes, and navigable ryvers, which causeth greate opportunitie of traffique, and transporting the commodities of Russia, Lithuania and the countrey it selfe, the site of it being also most convenient, seeing that from those countreys the commodities cannot be any other waye so oportunely transported to the west sea. The trade is much decayed since our nation seated in Mosco, and navigated aboute by Norway, at which the Poles, Danes, and Hans Citties. for their greate interest, ill affection to us and the Moscovite, do greatly repyne. The cheife commodities are Rye, and other grayne, hony, waxe, leather, cow hydes, fells, Russian leather tackling, Mastes, tymber, planckes for building of shippes and other apparant, wainskott, sope, ashes, Furres,

*F. 13 r* Stone, pitche, tarre, flaxe, hempe, tallowe, trayne oyle. They are passed to the sea by these waters. Fyrst the Velika, which having hys originall from a lake in Russia, passes by Opacka, Ostrovia and Plescovia, beneath which 5000 paces, being encreased by other waters, it streameth into the lake Pelbas, which receyving the Russian commodities from it affordes them 2 courses. The first is Northward, where the Velika yssuing out of the lake leeseth hys name and is called Narva, and passing by a cittie of the same

THE FIRST  
INHABITANTES

THE OFFSPRING  
OF COLONYES AND  
CONQUERORS

FULL OF FORTES

FRUITFUL

FYTT FOR TRAFFIQUE

HINDERED BY OUR  
MOSCO TRADE

HOW THEY ARE  
TRANSPORTED BY  
THE RIVER.

THE VELIKA

THE LAKE PELBAS

NARVA

name falls into the sea, 30,000 paces from the city, the Chanell whereof is so deepe, that shippes of burden arrive to the very walles, and from thence upward almost to Plescovia, and further, were it not that a Cataract of 20 cubites intercepted the course. Against thys citty of Narva on the farther syde, John

THE NARVISH  
NAVIGATION

Duke of Moschovia built a stronger forte (then thought invincible) called Juangorod <sup>ah)</sup>, and of the Livonians the Russish Narva, so neere that with

THE MOSCOVITES  
BENEFITT BY IT

shott they mighte easely annoy one another; from it he wonne the other Narva, which he made the marte for the Russish trade with the Germanes, and other westerly nations. Before which tyme because that marte was at Derpt, Narva was of no greate accompte. Thys Narvish navigation was prohibited by the kinge of Sweden 1563, for which the Hans citties, and especially Lubeck which there pretended a Monopoli, warred with hym 8 yeares untill 1571 that he revoked hys edict, though

THE AUNCIENT USE  
OF TRAFFIQUING

he restrayned it agayne the yeare following. It hath ben a matter of greate quarrell, the Sweden and the Pole taking themselves greatly preiudiced by it for twooe causes: Fyrst, for that their enemy, the Moschovite was not onely enriched by that trade, but also armed, the English, French, Danes, Netherlanders and Germanes, furnishing hym from that place with armour, munition etc. The second, for that contrary to the aunciunt custome of trading, their havens were neglected, and overpassed, whereas before tymes they had had the first benefitt of the Russish commodities. which by them were ymparted to others, whilst the common traffique was but betweene neighboures. For the Russians were wonte to trade with

*F. 13 v* the Livonians and Lithuanians, they with the Poles and Russians, these with the Germanes, or Hans Citties, they with the English, French, Netherlanders etc. Whereas now all nations make their voyages directly to the heade of each trade, to the greate hurte of the Prussians and Hans Citties, but to the benefitt of the more remote nations, which have those commodities now cheaper, then when they passed the Customes of so many portes. The same was donne by the Hans Citties themselves, whoe passing Dantzic, Revell, Riga, and many other portes of Prussia, and Livonia, frequented the new Moscovitish marte of Narva sited in the extremitie of Livonia. With the Sweden the case is now altered ever synce he hath ben lorde of Narva (which hath impaired that marte, there being now scarce 5 shippes laden with hempe and flaxe, whereas before there were 100 that took their cheife lading from thence of those commodities), and somewhat better with the Pole, in regarde that the Moschovite is not armed, nor benefitted by it, onely in the second poynte of the dammage of hys portes, he is touched, which is thought to be of so greate importance, that in all competitions of the kingdome, bothe the house of Austria, and some other competitors have assured them to cause that trade to be abolished, to restore the Hans Societie, and bring in force the Covenantes and Compactes of it for traffique, which (as is commonly thought) dothe greatly concerne the Polish estate. On the other syde, for the libertie of

ah) Ivangrod

the Narvish trade, have stooed most resolutely the Dane and Hans Citties, the Lubecans especially as most interested in it. The other nations of the west sea, in that quarrell never shewed themselves, as not hable in the East sea to open that trade by force, but used the libertie, and benefit of it when it was freed by the Lubecans.

TRADE OF DERPT

The second trade of the lake Pelbas is at Derpt, sited at the nether parte of it on the Livonish syde, not farr from another lake or meare. Whilest the Dutche Order possessed Livonia, thys was the onely marte for the Moschovitish trade, the wares being conveyed from thence to Revel, a porte now belonging to the Sweden, and Parnania <sup>ai)</sup>, now

F. 14 r under the Poles.

THE DUNA

The second mayne ryver, which enricheth Livonia, and makes frequent and famous the Mart and porte of Riga, is the Duna, the most pleasant and noble ryver of the Northe, springing in Moschovia, not farr from Turopecia <sup>aj)</sup>, and running by Polotia, after a longe course 2 mile beneath Riga, dischargeth itselfe into the Livonish sea. It enterteynes dyvers other famous ryvers, which from severall quarters increase the opportunitie of traffique, as Drysa and Usuata out of Moschovia, Dysna and Ula increased by the Lepel out of Lithuania, from Smolensko, the Caspla <sup>ak)</sup>, besydes the Churlandish ryver Boldera, which emptyeth into it beneath Riga, and in regard whereof the Duke of Curland pretendeth immunity, trade, and the use of the haven, which those of Riga denyed hym, the matter at last being brought to the kinges judgement. The trade of Riga hath florished agayne ever since that the kinge Ste-

THE DUKE OF  
CURLANDS CLAIME  
IN YE HAVEN OF RIGA

phan 1579 recovered the countrey of Polotia from the Moschovites, and gott the possession of the Duna, which is of greate importance for the defence of Livonia, and to keeping out of the Moschovite. That province being 150,000 paces long and as many broade, not inferiour to any neighbour Province for store of grayne, lakes, and ryvers, was 29 yeares in the handes of the Moschovite, whoe had conquered it in the tyme of Sigismundus Augustus. And wher-eas before the whole Province was defended by no other fortes then Jeseriscia <sup>al)</sup> (sited towards Mosco-

THE AUNCIENT  
FORTES OF DUNA

via on the Duna and a lake (out of which taketh hys heade the Obola) and Polotia standing in the confluent of Palotta <sup>am)</sup> and Duna, which for thys opportunitie of trade, whilest it was under the Pole, farr exceeded Vilna for wealth. After that Polotia was wonne by the Moschovites, bothe parties for the securing of their confynes, and the commaunde of the ryver, and trade by it, built on eache syde many fortes, especially where some other ryver entered the Duna. Sigismundus Augustus, kinge of Po-

ak) Kasplija, Kaspla

al) Jeseriscia, Jezierzyszczce, Ozleryszczce

am) Polota

ai) Parnavia

aj) Toropez, Toroplec



lonia, built Disna, Voronek <sup>an)</sup>, Lepel in an Iland made by the Lepel, and Cyasnicia <sup>ao)</sup> where the Lepel

F. 14 v and the Ula ioyne.

The Moscovite builte a forte at the mouth of the Ula, Krasna, Kasianum <sup>ap)</sup>, (wonne all 3 from hym by Sigismundus Augustus), Sokol in the peninsular of Drissa, and Niscia <sup>aq)</sup> opposite to the Castles of Drissa perteyning to the Poles. Niserda <sup>ar)</sup> on the lake of that name 30,000 paces from Savolocia <sup>as)</sup>, Sitnum <sup>at)</sup> on the Palota, Usuiata on a navigable ryver of that name to confront Viteps, and Surasse <sup>au)</sup> on the Lithuanish syde, Turoulia <sup>av)</sup> and Sussa of greatest importance in a lake, out of which yssueth the Turoulia: this being by nature most stronge, he fortified by arte, mynding to make it the seate of his warre for the conquering of Vilna, and Lithuania, which he had designed. All these are now Lithuanish.

OPORTUNITIE OF TRADE BY SEA Besides the oportunities of the Inner land, the sea coast hath so many bayes and harboures, as scarce any countrey is in that pointe comparable to it, which are secured by Ilandes and most convenient capes.

5 LORDES OF LIVONIA The lande is possessed by 5 severall lordes, the Sweden, the Dane, Prussian, Curlander (the partes of these last 3 being counted fiefes of Polonia) and the Pole. The Sweden posseseth 40 Dutche mile from Narvia, the extremitie of Livonia, Northward to Revel, and Habsell.

THE SWEDEN POSSESSIONS BY CONQUEST Narva a fortification, Jamborod <sup>aw)</sup>, Koporia <sup>ax)</sup>, and other coaste places, even to Osilia, Pontus Gardianus, a Frenchman, whoe had married the kinge of Swedens base daughter wonne, whilst the Moscovite, overlayed in his owne countrey by kinge Stephan of Polonia 1579 and 1580, could not succour his garrisons in Leifland. This Pontus begann to passe farther within the lande, wonne Weissenstein, a place of marveilous strength both for arte and nature, and mynded to have seised on the greatest parte of Livonia, had not the Poles uppon that cause by accepting of the Moschovitish offers stayed hys course. The Swedish provinces are first the greatest part of Vikeczland, which is 14 mile longe and 12 broade belonging to

F. 15 r the Bishopricke of Habsell. In it he hath 6 castles, and a garrison at Lehall <sup>ay)</sup>. The second province Virland 8 myle begynning at Narva. In it he hath 6 castles besides Narva. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Haria, 16 myle longe, and 8 broade, wherein he hath Revel, a place of greate importance,

an) Voronech, Woron  
ao) Casniki, Czaszniki  
ap) Koziany  
aq) Niszcz  
ar) Niewiedra?  
as) Zawolocz

at) Sitno  
au) Suraz  
av) Turowla  
aw) Jama  
ax) Koporje  
ay) Leal

seised on by king Ericus, and Bades <sup>az)</sup>. The 4 German land, 7 myle longe and 6 broade, wherein he holdeth the most strong fortresse of Weissenstein. In the decaye of the Order the Danes seised on the Bisshopricke of Curland (to which belong 6 castles) and of Osilia, which hath that whole Iland, wherein are 2 stronge citties, and castles, Arnozburg and Zonenburg, delivered to the Dane by the Order. Thys Iland being 12 Italian myles from the continent is 14 Italian myle longe and 7 broade. These were possessed by title of administration by Magnus duke of Holsatia, brother

THE DUKE OF  
PRUSSIA HIS POSSES-  
SIONS IN LIVONIA

to the kinge of Denmarke, and the Paris of Livonia, after whose deathe, there grewe greate controversie betweene the kinge of Polonia and Denmarke for the Bisshopricke of Curland, which 1585 being committed to the Duke of Prussia, he gave to the Dane for hys righte 30,000 Dalers, and receyved it in fief of the Pole. Thys Magnus being possessed of Osilia, and the Curlish Bisshopricke, fell to the Moschovite, and 1573 married Mary daughter of Wlodomirus sonne of Andrew, which was brother to Basilius greate Duke of Moskow. The

MAGNUS KINGE OF  
LIVONIA

THE DANES TITLE  
TO LIVONIA

Moschovite used hym for the wynning of Livonia, sent hym thether with the title of kinge to hym and hys heires, with entaile to the kinge of Denmarke, which was ill taken by the Emperour for the interest of the Empire in that lande. Upon this occasion the Leiflanders weary of the Poles government, as strangers and very insolent, accepted of Magnus, as being of their owne language and contrey, upon which the Moschovite entered Livonia, subdued many places, and soughte how to gett into hys handes, that which Magnus possessed, whome he meant to carry captive with hym into Moschovia: whereof Magnus being advertised, practised by the Duke of Curland with the Pole, retired to hys confynes, and finally by Nicholas Radzivil, Palatine of Vilna, was receyved into

F. 15 v the protection of the Crowne of Polonia, on condition that he

MAGNUS IN PROTEC-  
TION OF POLONIA

THE DUTCHIES  
OF CURLAND AND  
SEMIGALLIA

should holde hys estates in Livonia as feudatary to the Crowne of Polonia. This was donne 1578. The Prussian gott hys parte, as is before specefied. The Dutchies of Curland and Semigallia with their 16 castles Anno 1561, when Livonia gave it selfe to the Crowne of Polonia, was by Sigismundus Augustus conferred in fief upon Gothard Ketler, a gentleman of the Dutche Order of Livonia, whose sonne now enjoyeth them. The Poles have muche repined at it, and at every Investiture have soughte to force the kinge to laye harder conditions on the Duke, then were agreed on in the first composition.

THE POLES FIRST  
FOOTING IN LIVONIA

The first landes, which the Poles had in Livonia, were those which belonged to the Archbisshopricke of Riga, upon this occasion. The Order having forsaken Popery, by publike agreement in their Dyett, denounced warre against the Archbishop of Riga, William Marquesse of Brandenburg, brother to the Duke of Prussia, and having taken hym kepte

az) Pades

hym in prison, for that he would not admitt the Lutherane religion. But when Sigismund of Polonia, uncle to the Archbishopp came to hys ayde with 100,000 Poles, uppon composition he was released. After Williams deathe uppon clayme by proximitie of bloude (though the Duke of Prussia was nearer) the Pole seised on the Archbisshopricke, as next heire of the deceased. Afterwardes, when the greate Maister was caried away captive into Moscovia, the Livonians 1561 gave themselves wholly into the protection of the Poles, and were accepted, though the Poles could never free them from the tyranny of the Moschovite untill kinge Stephans tyme. Whilest the Order enioyed Livonia, the Moschovite wanne Narva, Derpt, Felyn, Marienburg, and divers other places belonging to the Bishopricke of Derpt, and the Order, and by oportunitie from them so greatly infested the whole lande, that the Livonians were (as I saide) forced to seeke the protection of the Pole, which besydes the auncient controversyes betweene that Crowne, and the Moschovite aboute pretension of some

CHURCH ESTATE  
CLAIMED AS  
INHERITANCE OF  
YE POLES

LIVONIA IN PROTEC-  
TION OF POLONIA

THE POLES TITLE BY  
VOLUNTARY CESSION

THE MOSCHOVITES  
CONQUEST OF  
LIVONIA

*F. 16 r* places in Russia broughte in newe causes of emnitie which made Livonia and Lithuania the states and stages of their warre, the fortune whereof was on bothe sydes very variable. Afterwardes the Moschovite using Magnus, whoe was departed out of Denmark uppon discontentment, for the easier inviting of the Livonians to defect from the Poles, and then by taking from hym, that which he had so gott, and seising on Marienhansen, Rositten, Ludfen, Duneburg, Ascherot <sup>ba)</sup>, Wenden and Rumburg, he became lorde of all Livonia, except Revel, Riga, Curland, and some other places of those confynes. The Moschovites pretension (as all hys titles to hys entended conquests are) is fabulous, uppon a tale of a devised genealogy from Suenteslaus sonne of Micislaus, whoe embracing the gospell was christened Jurg and builte the castle and city of Jurg, named by the Germanes Derpt; hymselfe he saide to be the onely heire of that race.

THE MOSCHOVITES  
TITLE TO LIVONIA

The Narva, Jamborodo, Koporia, and Weissenstein were wonne from the Moschovite by the Sweden 1580, when Stephan of Polonia beseiged Plescovia, the Sweden then being sure that those garrisons could have no succoure, useth celerity uppon that opportunity, plyed Livonia, and by publike edicte, assured the Inhabitantes, that would accept hym for lorde, the restitution and assurance of their inheritances. Of this the Poles greatly complayned, and doe yet continewe their pretension to that parte, which the Sweden possesseth, for dyvers reasons. Fyrst, for that the whole lande belonged to them by the voluntary cession of the Inhabitantes, whoe for feare of the Moschovite farre entered within the lande, being forsaken of other princes, and destitute of all other hope, betooke themselves to the protection of the Pole, and were accepted: that therefore Ericus, kinge of Sweden, in the calamitie of that State coule not enter uppon it, as a common spoyle, having (which hymselfe by letter

ba) sic in ms.

confessed) thereto no title. Secondly, that the Sweden had covenanted with the Pole, to gyve Revel over to hym (which hymselfe had by letter confessed to have ben wrongefully preoccupied by hys brother) and

*F. 16 v* that in their ioynte warre with the Moschovite, whatsoever should be conquered on thys syde the Narva should be the Poles, and all beyond that bounding upon the Swedish dominion, the Swedens. Thirdly, that seeing the Pole had taken upon hym thys warre onely for Livonia, and that he had allready so weakened the enemy, that he had offered hym whatsoever he had in it, that the Sweden did hym wronge to make advauntage of hys victory and greate charges and to prevent hym

THE SWEDENS  
CUNNING IN USING  
THE ADVAUNTAIGE OF  
YE TYMES AND HIS  
NEIGHBORS  
CALAMITIES.

when there coude be no restistance made, in the surprising of those places allready offered to the Pole, and so belonging to hym and no more to the enemy. Certainly the Sweden dealte very cunningly in seising upon the coaste townes of Livonia, both in the fall of the Order, and upon the Moschovites weakening, which he could doe without resistance, and daunger of battaile. For the first he thought that in that calamity of Livonia, when it laye as free praye for the first occupiers, the State being dissolved by the overthrowe of the Order, and the Moschovite striving to gett the

THE SWEDENS  
DEFENCE

greatest share, he thought he might well make hys benefitt of it being in nullius possessione, as well as others, without any other title then Primi occupantis, especially for the preventing of their common enemy the Moscovite. For so stode it with Livonia, on which the Pole, Sweaden, Dane and Moscovite seised practising that which falles out in the dissolution of all estates, expressed in thys Senary. For the other parte of invading that which the enemy possessed, he held it equall, that he should not [be] prescribed in what sorte, nor where he should wyne upon hym, seeing that, what is wonne from an enemy by righte of victorie is Occupantis even without wronge to hym that lost it. So that considering those places had never ben possessed by the Pole, he could not complayne, but onely that the praye was erepta faucibus, and hys hope prevented. The conveniency and securitie for hys owne estate seemed reason enough to the Sweden as it doth to all Potentates, for he seeing in what daunger he should stand, yf the Moschovite should be lorde of that sea, and so have opportunitie

INTEREST OF STATE  
SUFFICIENT REASON  
FOR SWEDEN

of invading hym at hys pleasure

*F. 17 r* and on the other syde, what advauntage hymselfe should have by possessing on the other sea coast within the enemyes country cities, and fortes for the safetie of his owne estate, which should keepe the enemy farr off, and travaile hym at hys owne home, he thought it folly to rely upon the Poles fortune, when he might secure hymselfe (seeing that he also upon that advauntage of that coast might proove a daungerous

THE SWEDEN PRE-  
FERRED INTEREST  
BEFORE KINDNES.

neighbour to hys Crowne) and therefore he would not weighe matters of suche greate importance in the nice or ticklish ballance of friendship, or stand upon tearmes of kyndnes, (reputed now a dayes but private and wayne vertues), especially seeing he robbed not hys ally of any thing, which he actually

THE POLES CLAYME  
BY CONQUEST AND  
CAPITULATION

MOSCHOVITE TO  
SEEKE TO RECOVER  
NARVA ETC FROM  
THE SWEDEN

BREACH OF PEACE  
TO INVAD E A PLACE  
POSSESSED BY A  
THIRD, BUT CLAYMED  
BY ONE OF YE  
CONTRACTORS

WHY THE POLES  
WILL NOT SUFFER YE  
MOSCHOVITE TO  
ASSAILE THE SWEDEN  
IN LIVONIA

But questionles, the Moschovite might have don it without prejudice of hys honoure, if he would have adventured the Poles enmitie, or at the least after

possessed. And thys is the state of the pretension and clayme made by the Poles to that parte of Livonia, which is under the Sweden. In reservation whereof, after the Moschovite had made peace with the Pole, and thought to have besieged Narva as the Swedens, the Pole signified to hym, that though it were in the possession of the Sweden, yet he reserved hys clayme, and therefore if the Moschovite should attempt it, he would accompt it as a breache of the peace: howbeit, when the peace was concluded the Poles urging the Moschovite to gyve over hys righte to Narva etc then in the Swedens possession, he refused as not having ben mentioned in the capitulations of hys first offer, but hys title to Weissensteine he relinquisht, for that it was before specefied, though lost before the conclusion. Whereuppon for the first the Poles were forced onely to protest their righte against the Sweden, and the Moschovite, the Sweden in that kynde (by league of necessitie) being the more secured from the Moschovite, whome the Poles would not suffer to seeke the recovery, knowing themselves to be better able, and with lesse danger, to deale with the Sweden by way of negotiation, or open hostilitie, then with the Moschovite.

*F. 17 v* the tearme of 10 yeares truce expired, where to by a second capitulation uppon thys question was added, that the Moschovite should not meddle with any thinge on thys syde the Narva, nor the Pole beyond it. The places which in that warre were wonne by the Poles from the Moschovite were Wenden <sup>bb)</sup>, Lenowart, Dunberg, Pirkell, Saliun, Kirmpse, Elsen and Fabian. The Moschovite gave over uppon the peace, Derpt, Felyn, Laisum, Marienburg, Kokenhawse, Parnavia, Wolmaria, Rumburg, Hassel, Novogrodeck, Marienhawse, Ludsen, Rositten, Trikate, Berson, Landesk, Sesweg, and hys title to Weissenstein, all in Leifland, from which and from the Sarmatian sea, the Moschovite was cleane excluded by that contract, after he had warred for it 29 yeares.

DERPT

Derpt is a cittie of greate consequence for trade with Russia, and the defence of the lande, being one of the keyes of Livonia, on the lake Pelbas against Russia, the territory being the most fruitfull of all Livonia. The whole lande from the sea to the lake, and Plescovia, was first inhabited by the Sudetes, and being subdued by the Germanes, and broughte to Christian religion, was subjected to the Bishopp of Derpt, untill that the Moschovite carryed captive with hym the last Bisshopp, Hermannus Vesselius, after

bb) *hic sequuntur 26 nomina locorum in Livonia, quae exceptis Pirkell, Fabian, Novogrodeck in Theatro Ortelii inveniuntur.*

which, it was inhabited by Livonians, and Moschovites, till the Livonians conspiring against these for their tyranny in the execution of their designement were overcome, as far the weaker, and so all either destroyed, or caryed into Moschovia.

Novogrodeck is a fortress of great importance, and because of the nearness to Russia treble walled and well fortified. The Metropolis is Riga, governed by her own magistrates, and no way subject to the Captayne. It is the chiefest porte and marte of Livonia (there being yearly 40 shippes discharged of salte, and about 100 freighted with their commodities) mainteyned by the famous ryver Duna, secured by thys conquest of kinge Stephan, whoe therefore 1580 commaunded a custome upon all marchandable goodes, whereof

2

*F. 18 r* — should belonge to the kinge simply, without any condition

3

PARTE OF THE  
ARCHBISHOPS LANDES  
GRAUNTED TO RIGA

LIBERTIE OF  
LUTHERANISME  
AND POPERIE

THE RAMPIRE  
AGAINST YE CITADELL

2 CASTLES WHICH  
COMMAUND YE EN-  
TRANCE OF YE RIVER

ALL SHIPPES  
TWICE SEARCHED

GREEVANCES OF RIGA

THE ARCHBISH.

5 SUFFRAGANES TO  
THE ARCHBISH. ALL  
NOW SUPPRESSED

1 NEWE BISHOPRICK  
FOUNDED IN LIVONIA

THE ORDER OF  
LIVONIA

and the other to the Cittie for the mainteyning of the haven. The same kinge 1581 graunted them suche landes of the Archbisshopps as they had seised into their handes and the use of the Augustane confession in all Churches excepting 2, which he reserved for the Romish, with the renewe belonging to them (of thys the Rigans complayned 1587 requiring to have onely the Augustane confession, and that the Jesuites should be putt out). Farther he graunted, that the Rampire raised against the Citadell should stand, and that if the kinge should compass the Citadell with a Rampier, they might make theirs proportionable to it, but on condition that there should be a gate beaten out in the city wall into the Castle. The shippes comme upp to the very city, which is 2 Dutche mile from the sea. The 2 Castles of the Poles are very preiudiciall to it, as bothe commaunding it, and the trade. The one is called Dunamunt, a very stronge holde at the mouthe of the Duna, wherein is a good garrison and the custome exacted. The other is Blockhause betweene it and the cittie, at bothe which places all shippes are searched before they can come to the city or enter the sea. Amongst other thinges in the interregnum, those of Riga sued to the State to have that Dunamunt raced, but could not obtayne it. Whilest Livonia florished it was the Archbishopps seate, whoe had almost equall power with the Maister of the Order. He had 5 bisshopps for hys suffraganes, viz. Derpt, Habsell, Osel, Curland and Revel. Riga and Derpt are possessed by the Pole, whoe instituted Anno 1581 the newe Bisshopricke of Wenden; Habsell and Osel by the Dane, the Diocese of Curland by the Prussian, and Revel by the Sueden. The Order incorporated itselfe with the Prussian, and became tributarie to it 1234 taking the same habitt, crosse, and rules, and so continewed till Anno 1513, that they

INCORPORATED WITH  
THE PRUSSISH  
FREED

purchased their freedom of the great Maister of Prussia, Albert of Brandenburg, and ceased 1558 when they gave themselves into the protection of Polonia, as being almost cleane spent in their

F. 18 v warre with the Moschovite 1556, at what tyme Firstenburg <sup>bc)</sup>,  
EXTINCT IN LIVONIA

THE ORDER IN PRO-  
TECTION OF POLONIA

SUBJECTED TO  
POLONIA

Maister of the Order, was carried captive into Moschovia. Then also the Order renounced their profession, the Maister and great parte of the Knights bothe taking wyves, and appropriating to themselves the Commendes. The effect of the accorde with the Poles, was that the Order should give upp certayne fortes for assurance, which the warre being ended, they should redeeme of the kinge for 600,000 crownes, but neyther was that money payde by them, nor demaunded by the Poles.

Anno 1561 the Livonians gave themselves more absolutely into the Poles protection, covenanting that the great Maister Gottard should holde of the Crowne of Polonia the Dutchies of Curland and Semigallia.

NEW GOVERNMENT  
ERECTED

USED AS A CON-  
QUERED NATION

KING SIGISMUNDS  
COVENANTES NOT  
KEPT

WHAT KINGE STE-  
PHAN ALTERED

The moderne forme of government, the lawes etc of Livonia, were constituted by kinge Stephan, Anno 1582, by which their estate as being lyke a conquered lande reduced almost into the forme of a province, and not admitted to the priviledges nor Dietts of the kingdome, is worse then that of the other subjectes of the Crowne, and not so good, as they capitulated for with kinge Sigismund, when they gave themselves to the Crowne, which they sued to have confirmed. Those were that the Magistrates of Livonia should be all Germanes, that every man should retayne his landes in as good estate as ever he had donne, that all the priviledges, lawes, and customes should remayne in force. But in each, kinge Stephan altered somewhat, as especially, that other subjectes of the Crowne should not be excluded from the offices of Livonia, because they had freed it from the yoke and servitude of the Moschovite: he reserved to himselfe the constituting of the Provinciaill counsaile, offices, judgements etc. Lastly, he excepted the righte of such landes, as had ben conferred by the Lordes of Livonia, after the deathe of the last Archbishop of Riga. Besydes, bothe for the brideling of the Livonians, and the better securitie of the lande, he commaunded to raze their Castles, as he had donn many of his owne, pretending

CASTLES RAZED BY  
KINGE STEPHAN

bc) Fürstenberg

*F. 19 r* their common good, that the strength of the countrey, as before tymes should not be distracted by the garrisoning of them. He pretended for the avoyding of kinge Sigismundes covenantes, that there had ben greate alteration since by conquestes, and severall lordes, the greatest parte now being wonne by armes from the Moschovite, that by hys conquest they had lost their former righte, and could not clayme it agayne Jure postliminii. He devided the landes into 4 partes. The first he appointed for the publike securitie, viz. for the building and mainteyning of fortresses. The second for the Bishopricke, Religion, and publike treasure. The third he assigned to the true heires, or, in change of their inheritances, which lying more fitt were allotted to the fortresses. The fowerth he devided amongst those, whose valure in thys warre had ben most eminent.

PRETENCE FOR YE  
BREACH OF SIGIS-  
MUNDS COVENANTES

PARTITION OF LANDES  
INTO PUBLIC FOR THE  
CHURCHE AND  
COMMON WEALTH

PRIVATE FOR YE  
OWNERS

REWARDES

POLITICAL DIVISION  
OF LIVONIA  
3 SHEIRES

The Politie he constitutes in thys forme. The Governoure, Leivetennant generall or Commissarie at the kinges appointment. The Province is distributed into 3 sheires both for Justice and militarie expeditions. The first of Venden betweene the Duna and the Govia, to the confynes of Moschovia towards Opoczka including Marienhausen, Ludfen and Rozythen. The second of Derpt, from the Govia to the Moschovite frontiers and the Vilscher <sup>bd)</sup> lake towards Felin. The third of Parnania comprehending Parnania, Felin and other places betwixt the Govia, the Sea, and the Vilscher lake. Eache sheire hath a president, Succamerarius, Standerd bearer and Judicia Terrestria a parte. The president must leade the forces of their sheires upon commaunde from the kinge or governoure. The Succamerarii as in Prussia qui presunt etiam finibus inter Nobilitates. Under the Standerd bearers of the sheire in all expeditions bothe the Nobilitie and Plebeians marche. The Judicia Terrestria are held at 2 tearmes yearely in eache sheire, no twoe sheires concurring in tyme. The Judge, 6 Scabynes, hys assistantes, and the Notarie are

GOVERNOURS OR OF-  
FICES OF THE SHEIRES

PRESIDENT

SUCCAMERARII

JUDICIA TERRESTRIA

*F. 19 v* chosen by the kinge out of a certaine number presented by the Nobilitie to which those judgementes pertaine, the priviledged citties having their proper courtes. The appeales are to the convent of Livonia. The generall conventes are ordinary or extraordinary. The ordinary are held at Venden for lawe matters twice a yeare at sett tymes. The President is the governoure or Leivetennant of the province or a Commissarie appointed especially by the kinge. The Assessoures are the Bisshopp, the 3 Presidentes of the Sheires, the Captayne of Venden the Treasurer of Livonia, the 3 Succamerarii and the deputies of the free citties, viz. 2 for Riga and for Derpt, Parnania and

GENERALL CONVENTES

ORDINARY

THE BENCHE

bd) Virts



Venden eache one. In them are heard all appeales from the Judicia Terrestria, the Citties and the Duke of Curlandes courtes. From them there is no appeale but to the kinge onely, in causes of losse of inheritance and infamy, not chardged with [ ] of facti recentis. They judge according to the Municipall lawe of Livonia corrected and allowed by the kinge.

LAWES

EXTRAORDINARIE  
CONVENTES

The extraordinary conventes are for matters of State at the kinges appointment for the summoning, tyme and place. In them there are added to the benche of the ordinary Conventes, the Duke of Curland whose Nuncius hath in it honorable place, and the Nuncii or deputies of the Nobility of the 3 Sheres, which make the States of Livonia.

THE STATES OF  
LIVONIA

TENURE

Landes of Knightes service and Burgerly tenure may be lett alyke of Gentlemen or Burgers undergoing the service and chardge they are tyed to.

BAWRES

Bawres may beare no armes except in the kinges service, or commaunded by there lordes in there hunting.

F. 20 r

Volhinia is a parte of Russia bounded by Podolia, Russia rubra and Lithuania, wasshed by dyvers ryvers which discharge themselves into the Boristhenes. In it are Wlodimir, and Korec, sometymes Dutchyes, and at thys tyme Ostrog, and Zbaras, possessed by 2 mighty and militarie famelies. The Duke of Ostrog, named Constantyne, a greate souldioure, and of greate service for the Crowne, as other hys auncestors, famous for notable victories against the Moschovites, Tartars and [ ], but blunt and not so wise a Senatoure, according to the nature of hys cuntry. He is palatyne of Kiovia. He hath 2 sonnes, the one Castellane of Cracow, which is the cheife temporall dignitie of the Crowne, and the other Palatine of Volhinia. Uppon difference with Zamoytsky (which is now compounded) he came to the Dyett with 7000 horsse. Thys famely is Austriacall.

VOLHINIA

DUKE OF OSTROG

DUKE OF SBARAS

The Duke of Sbaras<sup>be)</sup>, Palatine of Braslaw served in the warres of kinge Stephan against the Moschovites. These 2 famelies are the staye and strengthe of the Crowne against the Precopensian Tartars, bothe they and there auncestors having shewed greate valoure in repelling them. Besydes them, there are many lordes and gentlemen in Volhinia and Russia, which wrighte themselves Dukes, or in Russian Knes, but are hardly so acknowledged of the Poles, neyther by it have any prerogative above other gentlemen. Suche are the Knes of Visnowijecz<sup>bf)</sup>, Zaslav, Bulia<sup>bg)</sup>, Rogens<sup>bh)</sup> etc.

MANY POORE  
DUKES IN RUSSIA

be) Zbaraż  
bf) Wiśniowiec

bg) Biała  
bh) Rożana

THE VOLHINIANS  
HARDY SOULDIOURS

VOLHINIA ONCE A  
MEMBER OF LI-  
THUANIA NOW OF  
POLONIA

The Inhabitantes of Volhinia are the most valiant and warlike of all the Russians as continually exercised with the incursions of the Tartars, which makes that bothe the Princes, and Nobles are more feirce, rude and unlearned then the Polonians, as bordering and so participating of the nature of those barbarous nations. Their language, customes, and rightes are Russish. It is governed by a Palatyne, and Castellane, devided into 3 districtes. It belonged to Lithuania, but was by Sigismundus Augustus incorporated with Polonia 1569.

The second mayne State of the Crowne of Polonia is Lithuania, conteyning little lesse then 200 Dutche myles, which in regarde of dyvers appennages assigned to younger brethren of the Dukes famely

*F. 20 v* is called the greate Duchy. Northward it hath Livonia and Russia alba under the Moschovite. Towardes the East the Moschovites and Tartarians, Southward Volhinia and Podolia, both which once belonged to it, and Westward Samogitia, Prussia, and parte of Livonia. It hath the oportunity of famous ryvers for receyving and communicating both forreine and native commodities, as the Volga, which springing about the confynes of Lithuania passeth thorough Moschovia and so to the mare Caspium. The Duina receyving on eache syde many other navigable ryvers falleth into the Baltike sea. Niemiens discharge themselves at the Curisch Haff<sup>bi)</sup> into the same sea. The Beresina is swallowed by the Boristhenes. These afforde suche an oportunitie for trade, and wealthe as can hardly be founde in any other midland contrey. For the Lepel mixt with the Ula, both navigable and conducted by the Duina, into the Baltike sea, is but 5000 paces from the Beresina, which being also navigable breakes with the Boristhenes into the Euxine sea, whereby the trade of the East might easely be ioyned with that of the North and West. It is onely hindered by the Moschovites and Tartarians, whose bordering upon the Boristhenes make it unsure. This trade would growe in use if eyther the Poles could make themselves lordes of the Boristhenes (which were no harde matter for them) as they did of the Duina, or those barbarous nations could conceive the benefites of peace, and trade, which they might reape by commaunding customes upon it and securing the navigation by capitulation. The Duina from the confynes of Moschovia is secured by many strong holdes, builte on eache side of it by the Poles and Moschovite, which kinge Stephan added to the Crowne of Polonia. The boundes of this greate Duchy have ben towardes Moschovia uncertayne, according to the fortune of warre, and on the other syde also, in regarde that the Poles have united many provinces to Polonia, which belonged to the Lithuanians, and are yet claymed by them, viz. Livonia, Volhinia, Russia and Podlasia, which notwithstanding were

*F. 21 r* but necessary partes, accrewed by victory, compact and inhe-

bi) Curisch Haff

ENLARGED BY KINGE  
STEPHANS CONQUEST

ritance. At thys tyme Lithuania holdeth the Duchy of Polotia, recovered from the Moschovite 1579 under Kinge Stephan by the united forces of Polonia and Lithuania.

POLOTIA

This Polotia is 150,000 paces longe, and as muche broade, full of ryvers and lakes, and very riche in grayne, united to Lithuania about Jagelloes tyme, when the royall stocke of the princes of the Southerley Russia was extincte, and so continewed till 1563, that Johannes Basiilius Duke of Moschovy conquered it. The cheife cittie is Polotia, seated

FORTES BUILTE ON  
THE CONFLUENCE  
OF RYVERS

on the confluence of the Polotta and the Duina (for so commonly are all the stronge holdes of Russia and Lithuania, builte where some small ryver entereth a greater, taking theire names from the lesser for that the greater is common to all standing upon it).

Thys Polotia before

FRONTIER TOWNES  
AND CASTLES IN  
POLOTIA

it came to the Moschovites handes, greatly exceeded Vilna for wealthe, by reason of the trade of the Duina. In the Duchy are Sussa <sup>bj</sup>), Sokola <sup>bk</sup>), Krosna, Usuiata, heade of the Duchy of Viteps, Sitna <sup>bm</sup>), Kosianum <sup>bn</sup>), Nescerda <sup>bo</sup>) and Osiricze <sup>bp</sup>), all stronge fortes on the frontiers against the Moschovite, the last excelling the rest, as forfeied with good bulwarkes, and 14 stronge towres, standing on a lake, and so unaccessible, but onely one waye, which is so straite that scarce one man can passe it. Besydes Polotia, there was added at that tyme to Lithuania above the Duchy of Viteps, Velissium, whose territorie is 120,000 paces, being of the Moschovites auncient patrimony.

THE LJTHUANIANES  
CLAYME TO LIVONIA

The Lithuanians title to Livonia hath ben since that Firstenberg, Maister of the Order 1551 persuaded by Nicholas Radzivil of Lithuania, generall of the forces of Polonia, and Lithuania, sent against the Livonians, yealded hymselfe to the Crowne, and allied the Livonians with Lithuania. Synce which tyme that contrey, as Eris apple, cost the Lithuanians much bloude, whilest they soughte to defend it against the Moschovite, whose forces they drewe upon themselves and

*F. 21 v* derived the warre into Lithuania, wherein they lost the Duchy of Polotia, and some other places, in all 60 Duche myles. Thys warre with Lithuania lasted 30 yeares, which they alone susteyned, and kepte the Moscovite from passing over the Duina, whoe had allready conquered all

PROVINCES ALIENATED

Livonia beyond it. Upon this title they challeng Livonia, as theire proper province, boughte with their bloude and valoure, the rather for that the cheife forces used by Stephan in the Moschovitish expedition, were the

bj) Susza  
bk) Sokol  
bm) Sitno

bn) Koziany  
bo) Niewiedra?  
bp) Ozieryszcze



otherwhere to be founde. It hath greate store of fures, the richer for the coldnes of the climate, hony, waxe, hempe, corne (the 4 first being the naturall benefittes of the woddy, and the 2 last of the champaine Northern contreys) COMMODITIES  
 fysh by reason of the lakes, and waters caused by the greate snowe, cattle and horsse innumerable, though small, and therefore not serviceable in warre. In tymes past it was more wast, and silvis horrida, as not being well peopled, nor the Inhabitantes industrious, as NOT WELL  
 as yet it is not eyther comparable to Polonia or Prussia, HUSBANDED  
 as being farther from civilitie and commerce with civile nations, and their plebeians, whose industry bringes in muche wealthe more oppressed. Notwithstanding it so aboundeth with all sortes of victualls, that they are farr cheaper then in Polonia, and the lande hath longe susteyned dyvers mighty armyes without way in the campe, or contrey. It was governed allwayes by a prince, whoe had the title great Duke hereditarily, untill the

ORIGINAL OF THE DUKES *F. 22 v* death of Sigismundus Augustus kinge of Polonia, the founder of which stocke was Gedimin Maister of the Horsse of Vitenes prince of Lithuania, whoe Anno 1300 slaying his Maister, married his wife, and usurped the State, which he enlarged by the conquest of a greate parte of Russia, and hys posteritie with Volhinia, Podolia, Plescovia, Novigrod, Smolensko. These 3 last are now under the Moschovite etc. In this howse Lithuania remayned 271 yeares, but the greates parte of that tyme as united with Polonia viz from 1386 untill 1571, for then Hedwig daughter to Ludowike kinge of Hungary, and Polonia, was married by the States of Polonia to Jagello Wladislaus greate Duke of Lithuania, with the dowry of that Crowne, upon these 2 conditions, viz. that he and hys should receyve the Gospell, and that his states of Lithuania, Russia, Volhinia, Samogitia etc should be united with the crownne. The articles of this union agreed, and confirmed by the Charter of Jagello Wladislaus kinge of Polonia, and Vitoldus Alexander, to whome he, being made kinge, resigned Lithuania, bearing date 1400, were, that the forces of Polonia, and Lithuania, should be ioyned for the resisting of all common enemyes; That the Lithuanians after the death of Vitoldus without heires, should not acknowledge, or admitt any for greate Duke of Lithuania, but suche as shalbe chosen by the Kinges, Prelates and Barons of Polonia, and Lithuania: And on the other syde, yf the kinge dyed without lawfull heires, the Poles should not chuse their kinge without the consent of the States of Lithuania. This was ratefied 1401 by the States of Lithuania, specified in these dignities, the Prelates, Princes, (for that there were then many Dukes lyving of Gedimins stocke) Barons and gentlemen of Lithuania and Russia. According to this was Sigismund

CONTINUANCE

JOYND WITH POLONIA

ARTICLES OF THE UNION

COMMON DEFENCE

CONSENT OF POLONIA IN THE ELECTION OF THE DUKE

CONSENT OF LITHUANIA IN CHOSING THE KINGE

THE ARTICLES RATEFIED BY THE STATES OF LITHUANIA

THAT UNION TOOKE  
NOT AWAY THE  
SEVERALTIE

made greate Duke of Lithuania by the consent of the kinge of Polonia, howbeit many favoured and sett upp against hym Boleslaus. Notwithstanding thys union, the Lithuanians held their state severall

NOR MADE THEM  
ONE COMMON  
WEALTHIE

*F. 23 r* from the Crowne, accounting it but as a stricte confederacy, and themselves not obnoxious the Maiestie of Polonia, In so muche that they grewe into emulation of Empire, and contention, making leagues in severall with their neighbours. Whereuppon Wladislaus kinge of Polonia in his accord with the Prussian Order covenanted that they should forsake their confederacies with Boleslaus, the forenamed, the Prelates, Dukes, Barons, and subiectes of Lithuania, Samogitia and Russia; that they should not ayde them against the righte Duke Sigismund, nor accounte any greate Duke of Lithuania and Russia, but hym to whose election the kinge should consent. Afterward the greate Duchy fell as inheritance to the kinges of Polonia, whoe though there were dyvers other princes of the Dukes stocke lyving, soughte by all meanes to incorporate thys their patrimony with the Crowne, Which the Lithuanians would never suffer untill a little before Sigismundus Augustus his deathe, whoe effected that, about which his auncestors had longe laboured in vayne.

Thys kinge soughte by all meanes the mightines of thys elective state, and therefore gave to those 2 nations all his righte of inheritance which he had in the greate Duchy, and the dependant provinces, the Lithuanians then yealding (after longe suite made by the Poles) as fynding themselves not stronge enough without the Poles help to resist the Moschovite, whoe had wonne a greate parte of their

THE LITHUANIANS  
YEALDED UPON  
NECESSITIE

lande, they being the more unable, for that their kinges, as Dukes of Lithuania, had united to the Crowne divers greate provinces of Lithuania intised by large priviledges and exemptions from many greate charges, which they were to undergoe for the defence of the Duchy. And thys was one of the meanes, which the Poles cunningly used for the forcing of the Lithuanians to this union, to which otherwise they would never have consented. And certainly the matter was of suche consequence, that had not Augustus effected it before his death, it had distracted the

THE CONSEQUENCE  
OF THE ACCORDE

whole state into 2, the Duchy being hereditary, and the kingdome elective, except the Poles had consented againe to chuse the Duke of Lithuania

*F. 23 v* for their kinge.

WHY THE LITHU-  
ANIANS MAINTYENED  
SEVERALTIE

The reasons which witheld the Lithuanians so longe from it, were, Fyrst the authoritie of the princes of the Dukes famely, whoe for their interest hindered that union as much as they could. Secondly, for that the Lithuanians (which is the naturall disposition of all men) were loath to alter their government, which had stode firme from the first foundation of the State. Thirdly, for that by it they should be overswayed by the Poles, whose number both in the common Diets, and elections of the kinges, should farr exceede theirs,

wherby theire suffrages should be deluded, lawes, and statutes enforced on them, and other matters concluded to theire prejudice. Fowerthly, For that the Poles keeping about the kinge and lyving not farr from the courte, would easely obtayne of hym the prefermentes of Lithuania. For the third pointe, it was agreed that there should for the equalling of the

A NEW CANNON OF  
THE COMMON SENA-  
TE OF BOTHE STATES

grand Senatours voyces, be new dignities erected in the Duchy, and her provinces, which should be intermixt with them of the kingdome, whereuppon there was a new cannon made of the grande Senate of the whole State. Some of those dignities were but imaginary of suche places as were in the possession of the Moschovite, and others of suche provinces, as being distract from Lithuania, were added to Polonia, but not before admitted to the Senate.

OFFICES PROMIS-  
CUOUS IN BOTHE  
STATES NOT LIKED OF  
THE LITHUANIANS

For the promiscuous capabilitie of offices of eyther nation in bothe states; howsoever it should be of force, yet will not the Lithuanians satisfy the kinges commaundement in that poynte. For though he to bring it in use, and the easier to induce the Lithu-

anians unto it nominated George Radzivil borne of the most potent and gracious famely of Lithuania to the riche sea of Cracow, yet notwithstanding the Lithuanians would not admitt Maciepoahsky <sup>br)</sup> Bishopp of Luceoria to that of Vilna, which the kinge had bestowed on hym, standing uppon theire auncient priviledges, howbeit to satisfy the kinge they have assigned hym out of the Bissshopricke a pension of 10000 florens yearely, and the kinge made hym 1598 Coadjutor of Gnesna. So that howsoever they are ioyned by the kinges cession, and statute, yet will

*F. 24 r* they hardly growe into one body, the Lithuanians uppon the former causes still seeking a severaltie from the kingdome.

PALATINATES  
OF LITHUANIA

Omitting Russia rubra, Kiovia, Volhinia, and Podlasia, incorporated with Polonia, though of righte members of the Duchy, Lithuania hath these Palatinates. Fyrst, Vilna, which hath 3 greate districtes. Second, Troky, having 4 large ones. Thirde, Minsken, which hath but one, and was sometyme a Duchy. Fowerth, Novogrod having 2 districtes, sometymes an Appennage of a younger brother of Lithuania. Fyft, Bresty which hath one large districte called Pinsko, heretofore also an Appennage. Sixte, Msczislavia, sometymes a Principalitie. In the citty of that name

VITEPS A FORTE

FORTES IN POLOTIA

is a continuall garrison. Seventh, Viteps sometymes a Duchy recovered from the Moschovite 1579. The citty hath 2 Castles, seated on the confluence of the Viczba <sup>bs)</sup> and Duina, and is the Bulwarke of Lithuania against the Moschovite. It is distant from Vilna 80 German myles, and hath but one districte. Eight, Polotia, which was also a Duchy, the citty well fortified, as also the Castle. In thys Palatinate are the stronge fortes of Disna and Druha.

br) Maciejowski

bs) Widźba

These last confining Palatinates have many fortifications, as being Dubiae possessiones, and obnoxious to the enemy. Their manner of fortifying is with oake, and earth, though those of their neighbour Livonia are of stone, as being the Germans workes, whose till of late were lordes of Livonia. The Lithuanians account also Smolensko one of their Palatinates, and have the dignities of it assigned, though it be in the possession of the Moschovite.

SAMOGITIA

THE SOYLE

PEOPLE

The Duchy of Samogitia lyeth beyond the Niemen betwene Prussia and Lithuania and Livonia, very fruitfull and riche. The Champayne yealding grayne, and the woodland the best honey, waxe, and store of game. But of the people may be said Mira feritas, foeda paupertas, they resting in their barbarousnes and not desyring wealth, or troubling themselves with ambition, covetousnes, or other cankers of mans mynde. Of body very large, tall, and stronge as growing from their cradle in hardnes, and unacquainted with delightes, studies, and exercises of the intellectuall facultie, so onely passing their lyfe in sustayning it, and labouring for it, Caetera securi. In warre they are hardy, not upon resolution, and valoure, but their naturall ferity, and brutall passions. It is a proper member of the greate Duchy, the people being lyke the Lithuanians in language and in manners, but that they are more barbarous, and the Lithuanians made mylder and civiller by a greater knowledge, and fixed profession of Christianity. Their horssees are very little, yet most hard, enduring both the laboures of their husbandry, and service in the warre, the Samogitians making no difference, nor keeping any idely in their stables for warre service. Thys contrey hath no Palatinate, but is governed by a grande Captayne, whose is perpetuall.

The provinces of the Crowne are signed with these peculiar epithites: Polonia Minor audax, Maior magnanima; Lithuania ampla, armigera, mater hospitalitatis, Seminarium Regum.

Massovia bellicosa, as abounding with military nobility.

Russia fertilis, strenua.

Prussia dives, vigilantissima, nobilis.

Podolia opima.

Volhinia ferox.

Livonia portuosa.

Samogitia opulenta.

FEUDATARIES OF  
POLONIA

The feudataries of Polonia are the Duke of Prussia for Prussia; for feifes in Livonia the Dane, the Duke of Curland, and the Prussian; the Duke of Pomerania for Bitow, and Lunenberg, in Pomerania. Besides the Poles challeng Moldavia, and Wallachia, whose Waywodes were of auncient [tymes] their hommagers, of which I will speake hereafter amongst their pretensions, as also of the Duchy of Barry, and principality of Rossan in the kingdome of Naples. The forme of the homage is thus sett downe in the

FORME OF THE  
HOMAGE



*F. 25 r* Chauncery. The feudatary Prince carrying his owne banner rydeth to the chaire of estate, wherein the kinge sitteth crowned, having, on eache hande the Prelates and Barons of the Senate; there alighting he dothe hys reverence to the kinge, and Senate, pronouncing theise formall wordes:

Serenissime Rex, ego Serenitati vestrae homagium facio cum omnibus terris, et hominibus nostris, et peto tuitionem Serenitatis vestrae et circa iura, et in iure meo Ducali, et dignitatibus conservari.

Then swearing by the Crosse he doth hys homage in thys sorte:

Clementissime Rex, ego homagium praesto, et promitto sine dolo, et fraude vestrae Serenitati, et Coronae regni Poloniae, de omnibus terris et hominibus nostris fidelitatem, et esse fidelis, etc.

So the kinge kissing hym receyveth hym into hys protection, and taking hys banner breaketh it, and throweth it away. Afterwarde all the Barons Vassalls, and hommagers of the same prince carrying their penons in their handes doe also their homage to the kinge, their penons being lykewise so broken. The homage of Moldavia is somewhat different, in that the Princes and hys hommagers banners are not rent, nor hys throwne on the grounde.

Besydes, he kneeleth not but bowes hys body and banner very lowe. The investiture of the Duke of Prussia, by delivery of the banner of Prussia, is sett downe by the Polish Chroniclers.

The forme of Administration of Polonia (to speake properly) is Aristocraticall, whereof one is heade, which the Romans called Principatum, because of that heade, whome they tearmed Principem. Suche at thys tyme is the State of Venice. That it is no monarchy, it is too manifest, seeing that no parte of the soveraintie is in the prince alone, but eyther in hym and the Senate joyntly, or in the united states of the Parliament, the Maiesty being the forme of every common wealth, which gyves denomination according to that parte to which it belongeth. Notwithstanding, some will not have it an Aristocracy, seeing the Senate can doe nothing without the kinges consent, nor in matters of absolute Maiesty, without consent of the Parliament, swayde by the

THE MAIESTY IN  
THE NOBILITIE

CITIES ADMITTED TO  
THE DIET NOT AS  
PLEBEIANS

*F. 25 v* Authority of the Nobilitie, which sendes thither their Nuncios whereby some would inferre that it is a Democracy, seeing the Summum Imperium is cheifly in the Nobility, which maketh an huge multitude, those not being excluded, whome for their poverty are but serving men. And also for that the Burgesses of some Citties as Cracow, Dantzic, Thorn and Elbing, are also admitted, which represent the Plebeian Order. But others will not graunte that inference, for that the whole Commonalty is excluded save onely those Citties, which represent not that member, but have place in the Dyetts by their proper priviledges, onely for themselves, united to the Nobility, and not for the other. The Poles will have it to be a monarchy, tempered with the other, for that the kinge is eminent above all other states, without whome (except in the

Interregnum) they can ordayne nothing, he having also absolute disposition of the offices and magistracies. The Senate makes shewe of the

THE AUTHORITIE OF  
THE SENATE

Aristocraticall forme, with whome the kinge is to advise in all matters of any consequence. The Democraticall is represented in the huge multitude of gentry, wherein is comprehended the Vulgus Nobilium, making at least 300,000 since the stricter union of Lithuania with thys Crowne. The Axiome of thys Empire beganne and was founded in the Poles, which inhabited the Countreys on bothe

THE ORIGINAL OF  
THE KINGDOME

sydes of the Vistula, and Warta; Russia, Prussia, Lithuania and Livonia being but accessory and accrewed by dyvers meanes. It hath continewed Monarchicall from the first foundation till thys tyme, though it be now muche altered, except that for some lyttle tyme it was governed Aristocratically by Waywodes. Theirre originall princes lyne (viz. Lechus, whoe parting from his brother Czechus 9 yeares after they had taken possession of Bohemia, brought the first colony into Polonia) was soone extinct in Vanda, whoe dyed a virgin Anno 728. After whome succeeded by common election Premislaus a goldsmith, and then the 2 Leschi, and the 2 Popieli; After whome by

PIASTUS A BAWRE  
CHOSEN PRINCE  
THE CONTINEWANCE  
OF HIS HOWSE

F. 26 r the agreement of the whole lande the governement was committed to Piastus an husbandman of Cruswik <sup>bt)</sup> about 806, in whose male posteritie it continewed (excepting that Wenceslaus of Bohemia was interserted) until 1370 that Casimire the greate

dyed, leaving no male yssue. Thys stemme was devided into many braunches, of which at thys daye there remayne onely the 2 Dukes of Lignitz and Teschin in Silesia. The same Casimire (the Senate thereto consenting) substituted hys sisters sonne Lewes of Hungary, whose daughter brought it by marriage and composition into the howse

2 DUKES IN SILESIA  
OF PIASTUS LYNE

of the greate Dukes of Lithuania, in which (though she bare her husband no issue that survived) it continewed from father to sonne by a mixte righte of succession and election until 1572, that Sigismundus Augustus the last male of that royal race called Jagellonicall, dyed.

CONTINEWANCE OF  
JAGELLOES LYNE

Synce which tyme there have ben 3 kinges foreyners, of severall famelyes and nations, whereof Henry of Fraunce had no other righte then of election. Stephen Bathory of Transilvania added to that another

FORREYNERS KINGES  
OF POLONIA

by marriage of Anne, Sigismundus Augustus hys younger sister. And thys present Sigismund the thirde, broughte also the righte of hys mother, another sister of Augustus. But thys is accounted no title at thys daye

POLONIA NOW  
MEERELY ELECTIVE

in Polonia (the Poles making the kingedome meereley elective) but onely it served for a favourable argument of persuasion, the Nobility desyring to continew the Crowne in the yssue of those kinges, from whome they had receyved theirre greate priviledges, Immunities, estates,

whome they had receyved theirre greate priviledges, Immunities, estates,

bt) Kruszwica

and dignities, the rather also thereby to cutt off all quarrells and pretensions, which might be made by the Sweden to the inheritance of the howse of Jagello. The righte of election (howsoever the Poles saye the contrary) was never used before Ludowike of Hungary hys choyse, but onely when the royall stocke was spent, as appeares by these reasons; Fyrst, for that they have no statute, precedent, or recorde of any suche election before that tyme, though they have ben allwayes very curious in recording and in stretching by large interpretations whatsoever might make for

WHEN ELECTION  
BEGAN

F. 26 v their libertie in that poynte. Secondly, for that the Charters of acknowledgment of election passed by the kinges (the auncientest bearing but date of 1433) are called in the Polish statutes, priviledges graunted by the kinges to the States of Polonia. And thirdly, for that the kinges of Piastus lyne gave absolutely of themselves in inheritance to their younger sonnes, and brethren, many Duchyes of the kingdome, which their posteritie possessed in that

APPENNAGES  
GRAUNTED BY THE  
KINGES

righte, whereby the Crowne was much dismembred, which they could not have donne had they not had righte of inheritance to the Crowne. Suche were Silesia, Massovia, Cuiavia, Siradia, Sandomiria, Lublyn, Lancicia etc., which are now all (saving Silesia) returned to the Crowne, onely by the ceasing of those lynes and not by the invalidity of suche partitions. Farther, even after that Piastus lyne was excluded from the Crowne, the male yssue had righte of succession, as appeareth by the Charter of the sayde Lewes, whereby in way of covenante he excluded onely hys daughters, thys exclusion also being cancelled 1374, and they by the consent of the State enabled to succede according to the appoyntment of the kinge or Queene, which statute because it mentioneth bothe, I will sett downe.

Nos Ludovicus etc. Cum alias instrumentis et privilegiis promiserimus, et obligati fuerimus, Nobilibus Regni Poloniae, quod decedentibus nobis ex hac vita masculinam tantum prolem nostram, et non foemininam deberent habere, et recipere in haeredem et successorem regni Poloniae, demum Baronum, Militum, Nobilium et aliorum omnium consensu accedente, filias nostras (non extantibus masculis) sibi in haeredes Regni acceptarunt, et consensere ut illa Regina esset quam nos, vel uxor nostra, designaverit, omnes autem alias literas et instrumenta inter nos, et Barones, Nobilesque regni quibus excluduntur filiae nostrae a successione hiis literis ex eorum consensu cassantur.

So that by thys it appeares, that the kingdome was successive for bothe sexes, untill that thys Ludovike excluded the females by convenante, thereby the easier to wynn the favoure of the Poles

F. 27 r for the getting of the Crowne from the Dukes of Silesia and Massovia, whoe seemed to have better righte then he descended onely from Piastus by hys mother.

WHETHER THE KINGE  
COULD PREIUDICE  
THE TRUE HEIRES OF  
LITHUANIA ETC, BY  
GIVING IT TO THE  
CROWNE

The acknowledgements of election, whereof I spake before, are these: First of Wladislaus Jagello king of Polonia by his wife, for the free entailing of the Crowne to his twoe sonnes, Wladislaus, and Casimire the third, whoe had no righte, as not borne of the former mariage. That instrument was dated 1433. Secondly, the acknowledgment of his elder son Wladislaus the third 1434. Thirdly, of his second sonne Casimire the thirde 1470. The fourth was of his sonne Johannes Albertus 1496. The fifth of Alexander another of his sonnes 1505. Sixtly of Sigismund the first, thirde sonne of Casimire the thirde, 1507, and lastly of the same Sigismund for the protection of his sonne Sigismundus Augustus 1530. By these meanes the kingdome is now become meereley elective, but of other members, which are not of the auncient patrimony of the Crowne, but were the inheritance of the howse of Jagello, it may well be doubted, whether they belong not of righte to the heires of that stocke, and probably be disputed whether Sigismundus Augustus could so unite them, or the Provinces ioyne themselves to the Crowne in prejudice of

DUKES OF SLUTZKOW  
DESCENDED FROM  
THE DUKE OF  
LITHUANIA

the naturall heyres, which were his sisters, and the Dukes of Slutzkow <sup>bu)</sup> in Lithuania being a braunche of the greate Dukes stocke. Their Duchy is 1530 Dutche or Polish miles longe and broad, governed almost absolutely. The whole inheritance is now fallen to a younge gentlewoman (whose brethren dyed unmarried aboute 10 yeares since) betrothed to John Radzivil sonne and heire of Christopher Palatine of Vilna, whereby he will growe so greate, that his estate may be compared with those of the greatest princes of Germany or Italy, which are not absolute. The mariage is sought to be hyndered by dyvers, especially by Chiodkievitz <sup>bv)</sup>, a man very potent in Lithuania, upon emulation of the famelies, and by others in regard of religion, for that Radzivil is a professed protestant.

To returne to the question. The Poles fearing the Swedens

THE POLES ACCORD  
WITH SWEDEN FOR  
HIS RIGHTE

*F. 27 v* pretension as mighty, and their neighbour separated from them but by a narrowe sea, and bordering upon Lithuania by his parte of Livonia, chose hym upon condition that he should surrender his title to Lithuania etc, and also to Barry and Rossan.

THE ORDER OF THE  
ELECTION NOT  
CERTAIN

EVERY INTERREGNUM  
DAUNGEROUS

STATUTES CONCERN-  
ING THE ELECTION

The manner and order of the kinges election is not established by any lawe or statute, which makes that every change synce the fayling of the Jagelloes stocke hath ben daungerous for the kingdome, and might have ben fatal to it. Onely by Sigismundes Statute of 1530 the Senators of both States are to summon a generall Dyett for the election, and by statute of 1538 the election must be libera, ita ut ex omnium regni Senatorum, Consiliariorumque Prelatorum, Baronum, Militum, Nobilium, quicumque comitiis interfuerint, consensu, novus Rex eligatur. By statute Anno 1550

bu) Stuck

bv) Chodkiewicz

none may be crowned kinge donec prius ab omnibus regni ordinibus libere iuxta privilegia regno a Regibus data electus fuerit, which is commonly understood of an universall consent, and not, that the greater parte of the Suffrages should cary it; In which regarde the stronger parte hath soughte to enforce the other to lyke of their choise, which never yet was universall synce the endinge of Jagelloes famely. For the establishing of a sett forme, and making lawes against the ambition and factions in that greate action, on which relies the publike estate, have ben made dyvers motions in the Dietts of the kingdome, especially in the tyme of Stephan Bathory, but allwayes hindered by turbulent heades, who soughte their greatnes by plotts, practises and factions, which they might make in the uncertaine election, and troubles of the kingdome, which thereby might ensue. Their reasons were, that it could not be donn without rubbing of olde soares, not yet well healed; occasioned in the former vacancy, nor without laying open to the worlde some secrete maymes of the common wealthe which were better concealed; That if there were any sett order by lawe, it would easely be perverted, and deluded by devises and

*F. 28 r* projectes of ambitious heades, which cannot be plotted when the forme and order is constituted in the very action: That kingedomes could not be disposed by mans advise, but onely Godes direction; That it were not good for the State, that ambition and suite should be prohibited; That it were prejudiciall to the publike libertie to have the election circumscribed, and directed by lawes, affirming that the more the election were at random, the larger were the libertie, and that being limited and ordered, the more should the other be coercted, and curbed, seeing that it was more founded on the kinges election, then on any other thinge.

Others more iudicially replied that the liberty of the Nobility should be the greater, and securer, if by lawe there were order taken against all fraude, cunning and ambitious suite, by which a few heades of factions might circumvent and betraye the common libertie, which is the patrimony of the Polish Nobilitie; That the former daungers wherein the State had ben in the Interregnum required that they should prevent the lyke, which might ensue by the distracting of the State into partes, as it had ben for severall princes: That howsoever those were overpassed without any reall dammage, further then making discordes, and exulcerating mens myndes against one another, yet were not they to presume upon those calmer eventes, which seemed miraculous, and more then in mans reason could be hoped. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, and that by common consent it had ben putt upp in Augustus hys tyme, urged in the league, and diet of Andreiovia (wherein were moved many matters of necessary reformation), continewed in kinge Stephans tyme, all the Senatours (except 2) and the Nuncii for the No-

bility concluding it should be effected, but that onely they desyred respitt to referr it to their districtuall conventes for the better settling of so weighty a matter, yet was it never effected, but so frustrated by putting it off, the kinge and Zamoisky not greatly caring how it went forward, after that certaine seditious heades (which thought their artes and power that were mighty in turbulent Dyetts and elections would be

*F. 28 v* infirmed) putt ielousies into mens heades, as yf by it the kinge intended to make the Chauncellour hys successor.

PRECEDENTS OF THE  
POLISH ELECTION

THE ELECTION OF  
HENRY DUKE OF  
ANIOU 1573

NECESSARY CARES  
IN THE VACANCY  
UPON 2 DANGERS

THE ARCHBISHOP  
OF GNESNAS  
AUTHORITIE IN  
THE INTERREGNUM

THE SENATES  
AUTHORITIE IN  
THE INTERREGNUM

The state of the Polish election will be the better understood by breife relation of their latest. For whilst Jagelloes howse flourished by continuance it seemed successive, and so had no danger nor difficultie. After Sigismundus Augustus was deade, leaving the State destitute of heires male of hys howse, the kingdome seemed to stand on very ticklish tearmes, but was preserved notwithstanding by the concorde and wisdom of the Senate, which mett at Lowicz, the Archbishop of Gnesna hys citty, to the number of 37 dayes after the kinges deathe, where deliberating for the publike safety, besydes the mayne action, they agreed upon twoooyntes, wherein the publike safety consisted; The first for the strengthening of the confynes with greater forces for doubte of their neighbours, whoe in that widdowehood of the realme, might attempt against it. The second, the constituting of newe formes and iudgements and orders for the publike peace, and quietnes, to last till the election were consumate, ffor that the kinge being deade, all ordinary iudgements are silenced. Then they prescribed meanes and order of election the most popular they could, by which no man that had righte of voyce should be circumvented. Lastly the appoynted the tyme and place of the Dyett. The president of thys counsaile, whoe moderated and directed the whole course of the election, and the state of Interregnum (e sententia senatus) was and is the Archbishop of Gnesna, not by statute, but more Maiorum, it being thought just and convenient, Fyrst because he being the Metropolitan, and second person of the lande taking place next the kinge, is thought to have vicariam potestatem when there is no heade. Secondly, For that he being a clergy man is cleare from suspicion of affecting the Crowne, of which he is not capable. The disposition of all, and the whole administration of the State, is also deryved upon the Senate

*F. 29 r* by the kinges deathe in reason (though it be not provided for by statute) and necessity, for that in the kinges lyfe tyme, they have the mannaging of the whole State under hym, and because in dignity, age, condition, knowledge and experience of the publike affaires (besydes their speciall oathe to the realme) they are above the Order of the No-

bility, and more interested in the security of the realme. The order prescribed by the Senate for the election to passe by pluralitie of voyces was muche distasted by the Lithuanians, whoe of a longe tyme would not consent to the newe choise, because they sawe that thereby the Poles being farr more in number would swaye the Dyett, and therefore (though in vayne) they protested against it, urging the auncient forme of universall consent, which seemeth to be prescribed by the common receyved opinion, and for that it had ben before observed, whilst there were no competitors, nor contradiction, every man approving the succession of the next heire. The manner of election of 1573 was in thys order. The place of the Dyet by the appointment of the Senate being Warsaw (as most convenient for the greatest parte of the realme) the Marshalls, because the city could not receyve suche multitudes, assigned to severall Palatinates severall townes, and villages, there abouts for their lodging, the generall Colo<sup>bw</sup>, or Rota (as the Poles tearme it, which is the assembly or Diet) being kept in a large playne about Warsaw, where were erected severall tentes for every Palatinate, eache capable at least of 5000 persons, all pitched about the greate pavillion of the Senate. After that the embassages were hearde in thys greater, the whole multitude called upon the Archbishopp to procede to the choise, which was donn thus.

THE LITHUANIANS  
MISLIKE THE  
ORDER PRESCRIBED

THEY URGE  
UNIVERSAL CONSENT

WARSAW THE  
FITTEST PLACE FOR  
THE ELECTION

By the appointment of the Senate every man repayred to the tent of hys Palatinate, and amongst them the Senators allso with charge of directing and instructing their Provincials. They with the Commissioners named by the Nobilitie of eache Palatinate for the hearing of the Princes embassages repayred to their Palatinate summarily

COMMISSIONERS  
FOR AUDIENCE OF  
EMBASSADOURS

*F. 29 v* the heades and reasons of eache. After which every man that would speake to the poynte of the election, discussed reasons pro et contra, as he favoured or disfavoured eache competitors suite, and in generall without interruption discoursed what and as longe as he would. The Senatours after thys receyved the suffrages sealed with eache Suffraganes seale, which at pleasure they had liberty to alter. The Senate as better acquainted with the State matters, for the reconciling of the voyces, using persuasion, and demonstrations of good or hurte that might befall the realme, induced those which favoured the unlikliest to ioyn with them, which had most voyces, and by that meanes still broughte the competition to fewer heades. So that first the Piasti, which were about 36 of the cheifest lordes of the Realme surceased their suite, persuaded by the Senate (and not as Bodin saythe excluded by a lawe then passed) onely Fyrley Palatyne of Cracow trusting to hys faction of Protestantes, secretly persisted, though openly he gaynesayed. Afterwarde the Moschovite was excluded as infamous for tyranny and crueltie, and for that in a haughtines he had neglected to sende embas-

EXCLUSION FIRST  
DEGREE IN ELECTION

PIASTI EXCLUDED

THE MOSCHOVITE  
EXCLUDED AND WHY

<sup>bw</sup>) Koto

THE SWEDEN  
EXCLUDED

ROSENBERG  
EXCLUDED

THE TARTAR  
EXCLUDED

HIS OFFERS

3 STRONGE  
COMPETITORS

PLURALITY OF VOICES  
FOR THE FRENCH

AN EXAMINATION

THE FRENCH  
PREVAILED

A SECESSION OF  
12000

ARMED DIETTS

THE GREATER VOICES  
MEANES TO FORCE  
THE LESSER

sadours, onely intimating hys suite by letter. Then the Sweden was discarded because of his emnity with certayne greate lordes of Lithuania. Lastly the lorde Rosenberg though (without any suite on hys parte) greatly favoured, as halfe counted a Piasti, because a Bohemian, of great revenewe that he needed not pill the state, not lykely to tyrannise as wanting meanes, and power, no waye daungerous for bringing of emulations, or emnity with other princes, seeing he was but a subiect, lastly without any passions of faction, favoure, disfavoure, alliance, or quarrell with any subiect as being a stranger. The Czar of the Precopensian Tartarians, as barbarous, was disdayned, and not at all regarded, howsoever he offered to be baptised, or to receyve what religion soever the Poles would apoint hym. So at the last the competition was drawne to 3 heades, Ernestus Arche

*F. 30 r* duke of Austria, Henry of France, and Firley. The suffrages which (I saide before) were gyven in the assemblies of the Palatinats were broughte to the greate tent of the Senate, there openly readd and nombred, all the other competitors together not equalling the French kinges brothers onely, so that he seemed to carry it. Notwithstanding the Senate for the better contentment of all men, and the publike good, devised a farther tryall of hym, that should be chosen by way of examen, wherein was appointed for each of the three an advocate out of the Suffragantes, whoe should urge the reasons, and benefitts which eache competitor, whome he defended might bringe to the estate, and laye open the dangers, hurtes, and inconveniences which might befall the realme by the choyse of the other, but all without wronging any parte in hys honoure. Montluc orator for the Frenche to make the Poles conceyve his suite the better, had sett down in a draughte the commodities which should arise by the choise of eache competitor. Likewise righte against it the evils and discommodities, demonstrating in the conclusion, that greater good and fewer and lesser inconveniences should ensue by the French. There was also a fowerth advocate appointed for the State which should discusse the reasons, commodities, and hurtes by them all. In thys also the French prevayled, many of the other syde uppon thys falling to hym, and some other stif fer uppon their first apprehension, at the exhortation and intreatie of the Senate which soughte to have it passe by an universall consent. Notwithstanding Firley, persisting with 12000 that followed hym, separated hymselfe from the rest, and and having certayne peices of ordonance (for the Poles come to Election as to a battaile, and doe all as it were in procinctu) encamped hymselfe in another parte of the playne, protesting against the election by reason of the absence of the Duke of Prussia, whoe favoured hym. But after that the kinges faction was resolved to defend their suffrages by armes, and that they were



HOW THE AUSTRIAN  
FAILED

lykely to comme to battaile, Firley being overruled by some peacemakers yealded to the other (as he said) because the greater parte. Ernestus had once the fairest, but lost all by hys agents

*F. 30 v*

4 FACTIONS IN  
THE DIET

Laskyes of Siradia  
FOR FEARE OF THE  
FOWRTHE

3 FACTIONS IOYNE  
FOR FEARE OF THE  
FOWRTHE

unskilfullnes, whoe soughte to make hys suite more sure. For whereas the whole swaye of the Dyet consisted in 4 factions, the first being Firleys of the lesser Polonia, the second Sborowskyes <sup>bx)</sup>, Palatyne of Sendomiria, and hys 4 brethren of the greater Polonia, the thirde Laskyes of Siradia whoe had the Massovites devote to hym, and the fowrthe that of Lithuania, the principalls being Chodkievitz, Captayne of Samogitia, and the Radzivils with whome afterwarde the Sborowskies ioyned; The imperiall agents for Ernestus whilset they dealte onely with Lasky and Chodkievitz were the most potent, but when they practised also with the Dukes of Slutzkow, and Ostrog, most potent in themselves, but not in mighte of faction, they lost the former, for that these were Laskies enemyes. So after Ernestus was shaken off, the 3 factions ioyned against Firley for the French least the protestants should carry it.

THE PUBLISHING OF  
THE CHOISE DEFERRED

PREIUDICIALE TO BE  
ELECTED

CONDITIONS PRO-  
POUNDED TO THE  
ELECTED

THE MARSHALLS  
PUBLISH THE CHOISE  
THROUGH THE LAND

THE NUMBER OF THE  
THE KINGS ELECTED  
HIS FOREIGN TRAYNE  
PRESCRIBED

The publishing of the choise (which is don by the Metropolitane according to the custome in the Senators tent) was not till twoe dayes after, before which the elected is not sure, every man having libertie to repent hymselfe, and change hys voyce, many thinges chauncing on a suddayne, which alter the favoures of such a multitude, ledd commonly by faction, dependency, private respectes and hopes. After the renuntiation the Frenche embassadours were dealte withall touching suche conditions, as they had mentioned at their first audience, and others propounded by the Senate, which they would not move before the choise was finished, least they should seeme to sett the Crowne to sale. The Marshalls by edicte proclaymed the newe kinge thorough the Realme, the Senate summoned perticuler conventes of the Nobilitie of the Palatinates for the choosing of the Nuncii to be sent to Cracow to the kinges coronation, where the Senate being assembled the newe electe dispatcheth a messenger to gyve warning of hys counting, and to knowe with what trayne of hys owne countrey he should enter. Thys whole processe after the election is Translatitium and hath ben used

ever since Sigismundus Augustus hys deathe.

NEW FORME OF  
JUDGEMENTES TILL  
THE KINGE ARIVE

*F. 31 r* After the election the Senate settis downe an other forme of iudgmentes, to be of force till the kinges comming. In thys election as being the first, and therefore handled with greater care, and lesser

bx) Zborowski

EVERY ELECTION  
MORE DAUNGEROUS  
THAN THE OTHER

INQUISITION FOR  
CORRUPTION

KING STEPHANS  
ELECTION

dyvers Provinces and

OBECTIONS AGAINST  
THE EMPEROR

CHOSEN BY THE  
SENATE ETC

disputed uppon but civilly, and without contumely was putt off to the nexte daye. Secondly, that having taken a new place, they besett it with

OBECTIONS  
AGAINST STEPHAN

SENATORS HAVE  
VOYCES BUT AS  
GENTLEMEN

STEPHAN CHOSEN BY  
PLURALITY OF VOICES  
AND AFTER OF  
PALATINATES

THESE 2 COURSES  
DANGEROUS FOR THE  
DISTRACTING OF THE  
STATE IF ONE CROSSE  
THE OTHER

STEPHAN PREVENTED  
THE EMPEROR

apparance of humors and factions, every man obeying the Senate, and studious of the publike peace, as fearing in that change the ruine of the State, were made inquisitions which they called Rug, concerning corruption by money, or otherwise even uppon bare surmise without argument of probabilitie or accusation. Thys was not used in the other twooe, wherein all corruptions, bandinges, and disunions, which happen in suche competitions, were openly practised, and not sought to be concealed.

Stephan Bathory of Hungary was chosen onely by the greater parte of the Nobilitie, had against hym the Archbishopp, almost all the Senate, besides dyvers Provinces and citties which chose Maximilian the Emperor, and was pronounced but by a gentleman Succammerarius of Chelm, then made Marshall by the Nobilitie. Against the Emperor it was objected, that the Senate, and that parte of the Nobilitie which chose hym, severed themselves from the rest, and lefte the constituted Colo uppon no iust cause, when onely the farther deliberation touching difference in opinions was put off to the nexte daye. Secondly, that having taken a new place, they besett it with armed men, sent embassadours to the Nobilitie of the other place, and in the meane tyme proceeded to the nomination, not expecting theire aunswere. Contrarywise, against Stephan was urged the authoritie of the Senate, (whereas a Senators voyce was no more in that act then the least of the Nobilitie) and that he was not pronounced by the Archebishopp to whome belonged that prerogative. To defyne thys controversy, the matter was referred to the perticuler Conventes of the Palatinates, wherein Stephan had allso the better. Thys last course was allso observed in the confirmation of the election of thys present kynge. But by that meanes, it may fall out, that he which caried it at the

*F. 31 v* election, may leese it in the Conventes of the Palatinates, for 3 reasons. Fyrst, because many men may change theire myndes. Secondly, for that though they stande firme, he that had the most voyces single, may have the fewer of the Palatinates, seeing he might have almost all the voyces of the greater Palatinates, and the fewer of the other, there being greate difference in passing matters per capita et per curias. Thirdly, in the conventes comme many, which for charges, or uppon other impedimentes would not, or could not be at the Dyett, which onely by lawe, because of theire absence have no voyce in the Dyett, but in the Conventes as present. Kinge Stephan obtayned the Crowne by preventing the Emperor with hys celeritie, though it is thought if the Emperor had lived, he would not

have lett hys title fall, nor hys faction have continewed in obedience to Stephan, but have shewed themselves in armes uppon the Emperors comming, as might appeare by Dantzig which thought to free itselfe uppon pretext of the Emperors choise.

DANTZIG WOULD  
NOT ACKNOWLEDG  
STEPHAN

SIGISMUNDES  
ELECTION

ORDERS NOT  
OBSERVED

After Stephans deathe the Archebishopp, and Senators, which mett at Warsaw, before they came to nomination, constituted many thinges, violated afterwarde by the authors themselves, amongst the rest, that the kinge should not be held chosen Nisi unanimi consensu omnium Ordinum, et comprobatus concordibus suffragiis, et renuntiatus publice; That whoe so should make factions, receyve guiftes, or otherwise plott for the electing of any, should be held as an enemy of the Crowne: That Zamoisky should gyve over hys office of Generall of the kingdome, That the libertie of religion, established in kinge Henries election should stande, and that Christofer Sborowskyes proscription should be reversed. Thys was wroughte by the Earle of Gorke <sup>by)</sup>, and the 4 brethren Sborowskyes, with some other of their

THE SBOROWSKIES  
BANDING AGAINST  
THE CHAUNCELLOR

faction, (the Chauncellor Zamoisky being not yet comme) and dyvers being against their act, especially the Bisshopps for the article of Religion. Shortly after came the Chauncellor and some other

F. 32 r Lordes armed and guarded with good troupes of horsemen, because of the quarrell betweene the Chauncellor and the Sborowskyes for the executing of their brother Samuell in kinge Stephans tyme. These encamped halfe a myle from Warsaw, and spent some tyme about meanes of reconciliation, and in discussing of the Articles passed in the

SECESSION

former convocation in prejudice of thys parte. Lastly after the Embassadors had ben hearde, dyvers Senators departed from the generall Colo for wronges offered to the Archbishopp, and other Senators, and tooke to themselves another place on that playne, which they called the blacke Colo, of the Chauncellors trayne that [ ] with them were the Palatynes of Cracow, Massovia, Plotzko and Kiovia, the Chauncellor, Vice Chauncellor, Marshall, and Treasurer of the realme, and afterwarde all the

THREE CAMPES OF  
THE NOBILITIE  
DISTRACTED

THE BLACKE COLO  
CHOSE THE SWEDEN

THE FIRST COLO  
CHOSE THE AUSTRIAN

bishoppes except hym of Kiovia. The Lithuanians by reason of thys tumultuous proceeding, and some greivances of their owne, which they would have redressed, would not ioyn with eyther, but incamped themselves on the other syde of the Vistula. The Blacke Colo having nominated a Piastus, and the Sueden, the[y] signefied it to the other, requiring to knowe their myndes, which they longe putting off, lastly refused to deale, or communicate with them, except they would come and ioyn with them, whereuppon the blacke Colo proceeded and chose the

by) Gôrka

THE NOBILITIE OF  
LITHUANIA  
PROTESTETH AGAINST  
BOTHE.

Sweden; the Sborowskyes, Gorke, and their adherents, who were the greater parte of Polonia maior, 3 dayes after chose Maximilian of Austria, whom the elected bishop of Kiovia pronounced at Midnight. But of those Suffragantes (as the Senate affirmed in their letters and protestations) there persisted in their election not above 7 Senators and 60 gentlemen, and of Lithuania onely the Cardinall Radzivill, and his brother, the greater parte of the Senators of that Duchy assenting afterwards to the Sweden, but the whole Nobilitie protesting against bothe, as chosen by faction of the mighty families, and force against the liberty of the lande, and peace of the Diett. Notwithstanding Duodo the Venetian Embassadoure following the Austrians

THE SUEDENS  
ELECTION APPROVED  
BY THE PALATINATES.

OBJECTIONS AGAINST  
THE AUSTRIAN  
FACTION

F. 32 v rumors reportes that the Austrian had 40000 Suffrages. Those that held with the Sweden for the confirming of their choice, summoned according to the order of Bathories election particuler Conventes of the Palatinates wherein the other was approved, which was not don by the Austrians, as knowing their owne paucitie. Against these was objected that the heades of that faction were corrupted and suborned, that they were cheife authors and furtherers of the Andreiopian constitution against the howse of Austria, the cheife leader a Bandito (viz. Christofer Sborowsky) for treason against the State, their small number, all almost ayded to the heades or Clyentes, the renuntiation (which is the pronouncing of the elected) donn by a byshopp, last of the Order, and not yet consecrated, and that at Midnight. Lastly that there were but twoe Lithuanians which favoured hym, whereas by capitulation, and the league of union there can be no kinge nor greate Duke of the lande chosen, or accounted lawfull without the consent of the Lithuanians. Against the Sweden the other parte urged that he was chosen by those which had severed themselves from the other States, not in the place appoynted for the election, by generall consent, and consecrated by the Archebishopp, who accursed and excommunicated all those which should attempte an election in any other; That Maximilian was chosen in that appointed place, where the orators of foreigne Princes had audience, and other consultations were held, That it was forsaken by the greatest parte without iust cause, That the renuntiation by other then by the Archebishopp was no ympediment upon precedent of the former election. For the better understanding of the iustice and righte in these actions, there are to be considered 5 pointes in the election, viz., the place, nomination, choice, renuntiation, and tryall, all other circumstances being rather complementes, then solempnities. These are the more difficult, and minister allwayes occasion of Civill broyles, secession, and severall choice, because they are not defyned by

5 POINTES TO BE  
CONSIDERED IN THE  
ELECTION

THE ELECTION CAN  
HARDLY BE WITHOUT  
EXCEPTION

F. 33 r Statute, which hath onely ordered that the Senate shall summon the Diet for the election, which must be libera, and the kinge chosen by the free consent of all the Orders, otherwise not to be ac-

FORCED CONSENT

ENTIER STATES DIS-  
SENTING

the Nobilitie. In

CONTRARY TO THE  
ACCORDE BETWEENE  
THE REALME AND  
GREATE DUCHY

THE PLACE

NOT LIMITED

WHOSE PRESENCE  
MAKES THE COLO

CONSECRATING AND  
PRIVILEDGING OF  
THE PLACE HINDERS  
NOT THE CHANGE

EADEM AUTHORITATE  
QUIDQ: DISSOLVITUR

THE ARCHBISSHOPPS  
AUTHORITIE IN  
NOMINATING AND  
RENUNTIATING LIM-  
ITED

HATH NOT LIBERTY

was accounted no impediment as in

counted nor crowned kinge. By which meanes it is almost impossible, that any election should be lawfull, and without exception. In the election of kinge Henry, Firleyes faction was forced to yealde to the greater parte. In the next, Bathory and against hym the Senate, and the Emperour, the greater parte of thys last the dissension grewe to open warre, and all three (flatt against the accorde betweene the realme, and the greate Duchy) wanted the consent of Lithuania. For the place, the righte may not be held so strictly, but that those which departe to some other thereby, not deviding themselves into wills and counsaile, but communicating theire intentes, nomination, progresse, etc, with the others, doe retayne theire righte of suffrage, and are presumed to be still in the Colo, which cannot be circumscribed with listes and barrs, nor the Dyet so tyed to it, but that it shalbe accounted to be, where the Electors, or greatest parte of them are, which make it. And for the religious consecration, and politike priviledging, or securing it with publike peace, the authors might by the same authority free it of religion, and franchise another with the like conditions, although that the first byndes not Christians, whoe are not tyed to any Augurall necessity. Henryes election was severally, in places appointed and assigned to eache Palatinate, and in the other twooe, the States were divided bothe by place, and affection into three. The Archebissshopps prerogative of nomination, and renuntiation as Prince of the Senate is so limited, that he must doe bothe according to the will of the States, neyther hath he that authoritie of hymselfe but as theire mouthe and so cannot be privileged with an absolute negative voyce. And for thys cause, when the Archebishopp dissented from the States (which never happened but twice) hys prerogative

F. 33 v the election of kinge Stephan, and before that when the Archebishopp opposed hymselfe obstinately against John Albert, chosen by consent of all the States, notwithstanding he protesting hys owne dissenting pronounced hym kinge, adding that it was not a matter of hys private authority, but depending upon the universall consent of the realme.

THE CHOISE

consent, but reason shewes, that the lesser parte should not commaunde, or withstand the greater, and that suche difference must some waye be

PARS MAIOR

The choise itselfe, which is the onely essentiall poynte in thys busines, should passe by universall consent, which cannot otherwise be, but by the prevailing of the greater. Whether the consente of the greater parte of eache State be by statute required,

WHETHER THE CHOISE  
SHOULD PASSE PER  
ORDINES OR CAPITA

PER ORDINES GOOD  
FOR THE SENATE

PER CAPITA MAIN-  
TAYNES THE COM-  
MON LIBERTIE OF  
THE NOBILITIE

amongst them many prying eyes, which soone deprehend plotts, and cunning arcana, by which their mighte and libertie may be any way abated, or infringed. The Suffragation by Palatinates used in Henries election might in tyme proove preiudiciall to the libertie of the Nobilitie, the Senators by their greate authoritie being so easely able to assure to their partes most of the voyces of the gentlemen of their province, contrary to their owne myndes, whereby the Senators agreeing might the easier dispose of the Crowne at their pleasure.

TRIAL OF ELECTIONS BY  
EXAMEN ODIOS

Their triall of elections is double. The one by way of Examen used in Henryes

*F. 34 r* choise is but arbitrary, and seemeth odious by comparing and paralleling princes in their vertues, defectes, mighte, weaknes, intelligences, correspondencies, alliances, affections, designementes, and ability of hurting the State, or impaying the publike libertie. The other of summoning particuler Conventes after the election is of custome, and serveth for the confirming of the greater parte in their opinion, and animating them against the force of the lesser. But if by them the choise should be cast contrary to that of the Dyet, it should, and in reason it could not be of any validitie. howbeit it might gyve the iniust cause a greater coloure of righte. So that it is no substantiall parte of the election.

EMBASSAGE TO  
THE ELECTED

After the capitulation with the orators of the elected, the States send an honorable embassage unto hym, to gyve hym knowledge of hys election, and to accompanye hym into the realme.

CORONATION

The coronation is at Cracow, where are kepte the Crowne, sceptre, Orbe, sworde, robes, sandalls, and mittens. It is donn by the Metropolitan, to whome it appertaynes by Statute Annorum 1451 and 1550. The order of the Crowning and anoynting of the kinge with the solempne rightes is recorded by their Chro-

nicles. The kinges oathe is for the maintenance of iustice, the Church, and Clergy in their estates, the laity in their rights, and for his owne profession of Catholike religion. In the election greates regarde is had of the publike [libertie] of the realme, and common benefitt of the Nobilitie, that the elected stand not in harde termes with any of their neighbours, especially the Turkes, and so bringe them into quarrell and warr and that by suche choise, their mightie neighbours be not offended nor made iealous.

WHAT IS RESPECTED  
IN THE ELECTION

BENEFITT OF ONE HEADE

The kinge, whoe in regarde of his small authoritie, is properly but as a prince of the Senate, is chosen by the Poles, that in hym as in a Center, the Maiestie otherwise diffused, might be united, which in all daungerous tymes and greates actions is donn even by all Polycratyes, which could not otherwise stand then by imitating

F. 34 v in thys union the Monarchy, and combining the forces in one for that [ ] collectes and conserves, but [ ] or alteritas brings discord and ruine in all thinges bothe phisicall and politicall. Thys we

BARE NAME OF  
KINGE OF FORCE

THE POLES AFFECT  
BUT THE NAME OF  
MONARCHY

THE FIRST PRINCES  
OF POLONIA ABSOLUTE

THE PRINCES  
WILL, LAWE.

THE PRINCES  
AUTHORITIE LIMITED

HOW THE PRINCES  
HAVE BEN DAILY  
WEAKENED

THE PRINCES CURBED  
WHERE THE ELECTORS  
ARE IELOUS

see in Polonia, where the bare name of the kinge suppresseth the exorbitancies of factions, which breake out in every change to the greates danger of the State. And for thys cause the Poles though they have broughte the Maiesty upon themselves, yet retayne the shadowe of a Monarchy, not caryng how weake or symple the kinge be, so that they have one which beareth that bare title; Under whome (the weaker the better) they may enjoye the benefitts, dignities, and liberties of the lande. The authority of the Prince at first was absolute, not directed, nor limited by positive lawe. (The Poles then having none written) but arbitrary to the prince, whoe did all thinges according to aequum et bonum, as farr as hys iudgement could instruct hym. Afterwardes in the vacancies the Poles forced by the tyranny of some princes, leadd more by passion, then reason, passed some lawes for the restrayning of their over large government, which in severall changes uppon newe accidentes were increased and the princes authoritie more and more abridged. But the greatest impayingr bothe of the kinges power and domayne, was by the ending of the royall lyne of Piastus, the claymer by an heire generall, yealding in bothe to the nobilitie to assure hymselfe of the crowne. Thys patterne was studiously plyed and followed by the Poles in all changes of the princes, every one for hys owne assurance, and the bynding of the state to hys sonne, yealding mucche of that righte whereof he was but the usufructuary. So falls it out in all elective States, where the Electors holde their righte strictly, and suffer it not to be weakened by prescription, and shewe of succession, that they growe riche, potent, and almost exempt

from the Princes authority, which on the other syde ebbeth as fast as theires encreaseth. Thys is scarcely observed, and the libertie mainteyned any where, but in

THE POLES INCROCHE  
TOO MUCHE UPPON  
THE PRINCE

THAT DANGEROUS

WHAT ELECTIVE  
STATES KEEP A  
SHEWE OF SUCCES-  
SION

them made playnly hereditary by entayle. So that theire libertie in that poynte is allmost lost, though certainly to the good of the contreys, which otherwise would be obnoxious to all the mischeifes, which followe elections and vacancies.

RESTRAINTES OF THE  
KINGES POWER IN  
POLONIA

At thys present to begynn negatively, the kinge without the authority of the Senate, or Dyet, can make no lawes, warre, peace, league, or truce, commaunde no tributes, or dispose of them being gathered, heare no Embassadors sent to the State, iudge no cause of any of the Nobility, create no gentelman that should be capable of honors, and prefermentes of the lande, cannot coyne or marry, (which was hotly urged by the Chauncellor and other Senators against thys kinge) grounded upon the example of Sigismund, whoe propounded hys mariage to the Senate 1516, and uppon a statute (as they tearme it) of Sigismundus Augustus made at Petricovia 1548, which indeede is but a personall promise in these tearmes:

Ne imparem uxorem ducat Rex, et regni sui Senatorum consilium in eo negligat nunquam nos commissuros esse recipimus.

DIFFERENCE BET-  
WEENE CONSILIIUM  
AND CONSENSUM

Further, without theire authoritie he cannot alienate or morgage any parte of the Domayne, and lastly by Sigismundus statute 1548 can doe no publike acte without them. All these poyntes were ordered by perticuler statutes and comprehended in the kinges oathe under 3 heades, viz. not to violate the lawes, customes, rightes, priviledges etc

*F. 35 v* of the kingdome, any state, incorporation, or private person. Secondly to seeke to redeeme, and recover whatsoever is alienated from the Crowne. Thirdly, not to alienate any thinge of the publike, but rather to seeke to encrease the Domayne and enlarge the boundes. These twooe last articles were omitted in kinge Henryes oathe, but another added for the validitie of lawes made during the Interregnum, and a conclusion of freeing the subiectes of theire obedience if the kinge violated hys oathe. The forme wherof is sett down by Bodin lib. 1<sup>o</sup> de Republica.



His power is in these poyntes. He bestoweth all magistracies, Dignities, offices, and benefices at hys pleasure, he disposeth of hys revenewe (which is called *Reditus Mensae Regiae*) freely, and is not any way accomptable for it; he propoundes all matters in the Diet when and how he will, he iudgeth, and executes sentences arbitrarily; some causes allso which belonge onely to hymselfe, and are called *Causae Curiae* he iudges onely calling to the hearing of them suche of the Senate, as are present. These are matters of suche consequence (though the first onely be of maiesty) that by the advauntage of them he might increase hys power, and authoritie, yf he have sufficient courage to mainteyne owne righte, and doe not stand greatly uppon common favoure for succession of hys posterity, as appeared by kinge Stephan, whoe mainteyned hys reputation, bestowed the prefermentes uppon those which deserved best of hym, curbed the seditious, and feared not the calumniations, and repynning of the factious amongst the Nobilitie.

For the first poynte he hath the bestowing of above (some say 40000) 20000 spirituall and secular promotions, whereof the yearely renew of many is betweene 50000 and 60000 flornes, and some more, which makes, that all seeking advaancement, depend on hym, and apply themselves to hys humor, and religion, especially if he dare use hys libertie, and feareth not the offence of the mighty, if he should keepe

OFFICES ONELY IN  
POLONIA MAKES  
MEN POTENT AND  
RESPECTED

*F. 36 r* them from offices, which especially in Polonia maketh men mighty, and without which not many famelies are very potent. Thys mayne prerogative the kinges had almost lost by the oversight of kinge Alexander, whoe graunted by statute 1504

that the Chauncellors and vicechauncellors should have the refusall of the Archebshopricke, Bishoprickes, Prelacyes and other Dignities, and benefices, and that he should conferr those offices of Chauncellor and vicechauncellor by the advice of the Senate in the generall Convent. But Sigismund 1507 soone fynding his owne weakenes by it reversed that statute, and by a newe reserved the olde righte to hymselfe and hys successors. Notwithstanding in some kynde the kinges libertie in conferring the dignities and offices is restrayned by tying the capacitie of them onely to gentlemen landed in the same province, which maketh that the great famelies do retayne commonly the greate dignities, as yf they were proper to them.

CAPABILITY OF  
OFFICES

GREAT DIGNITIES  
COMMONLY IN  
CERTAYNE HOWSES

The kinges renew, if the realme were ordered in that poynte as the most moderate states in Europe, would be wonderfull, in regarde of the greatenes of the lande, the commodityes of greate advauntage on which without oppressing hys subiectes he might raise mighty customes, and the oportunity of hys havens of Prussia and Livonia. The first decaye of it was Anno 1374 under Lewes of Hungary, whoe remitted of hys land tribute 31 kreutzers (a kreutzer 73 gilders sterling) and one busshell of rye, and another of oates uppon every Mansus or Laneus throughe the Realme, on condition that they would entayle the Crowne to one of hys daughters, so that he onely reserved 4 kreutzers, whereby may be gathered how greate

the renewe of the Princes of Polonia should have ben if the kinges had held their righte, especially considering the coyne was then worthe fower tymes as muche as it is now, the Hungarish Duckett beinge esteemed then but at 28 kreutzers, now worthe 118. One subsidiary contribution of 24 kreutzers, payde onely by the Bawres for

400000 BAWRES  
LANEI IN THE OLDE  
KINGDOME

*F. 36 v* lande of their owne husbandry. Anno 1403 (the Clergie and Nobles landes being free) amounted to 100000 Markes at 96 kreutzers the Marke (which is 400000 Mansi) the realme being then little,

as not having Prussia, Livonia, Massovia nor Lithuania with her dependant provinces of Samogitia, Podolia, Volhinia, Podlasia and Kiovia. Wladislaus Jagello 1433 freed all gentlemen, their officers, servauntes and cittizens dwelling in citties of the payment even of the 4 kreutzers. The Clergie is also exempt from all payementes whatsoever, which immunity, they challenge from Boleslaus Pudicus and Casimire the greate, though granted but to the Church of Cracow, howbeit they

IMMUNITILY OF THE  
CLERGY

were forced to paye the 4 kreutzers till they were privileged with the Nobility. Neverthelesse, the monasteries for a certayne tyme after kinge Lewes graunte payed the whole auncient tribute of 36 kreutzers and 2 busshells of grayne by the Bishoppes connivency, and of late have ben forced to paye to the kinge certayne pentions to allow hym stations, and their Bawres compelled to delyver the kinge certayne grayne, to husband hys land, and tyed to other services of cariage etc. Whereas the Bawres and subiectes of the Nobilitie, and the rest of the Clergy are free from the kinges authoritie, and exempt from all services, tributes, customes, and paymentes whatsoever, excepting that of the 2 Grosch. That renewe

TAXE OF LANDE

uppon the akere is called by their Statutes Fumalia, or in Polish Poradlne which is Rastrale. That of breade and horse corne, called Sep, was remitted at the same tymes, to the auncient Provinces of the Crowne, and afterwarde to somme others, but not

TAXE OF PROVIVANT

to all, insomuche that amongst others the subiectes of suche Dignitaryes of Massovia, as are not specially privileged, are still tyed to the provision, which makes that the kinge holdeth Courte at Warsaw, where he hath hys provision free.

The names of the other partes of the kinges auncient renewe

OLDE TITLES OF THE  
RENEWUE OUT OF USE

*F 37 r* are Przwod <sup>bz</sup>), Porces <sup>ca</sup>), Stroza, Sta <sup>cb</sup>), Povudove <sup>cc</sup>), Targone <sup>cd</sup>), Crono <sup>ce</sup>), Podwod, Vogenia <sup>cf</sup>), Narzas, Podworove, Opilie <sup>cg</sup>). At thys tyme he hath these viz. Fumalia, otherwise called Rastralia, or Jugeralia, Frumentaria, Telonea, Foralia, uppon contractes, and thinges solde in the markt, Vectigalia, aquatica, Pontalia, Aggeralia, Littoralia, Piscaria, Mulctes, Excrescences, by the mynt, Feuda caduca, et bello acquisita,

TITLES OF THE  
KINGES REVENUE

bz) przewód  
ca) *sic in ms.*  
cb) stan - stacja  
cc) *sic in ms.*

cd) targowe  
ce) *sic in ms.*  
cf) *sic in ms.*  
cg) opole

Custome uppon commodities, Royalty of mynes, mineralls, and salte, besydes services of tillage, cariage, harvest, free labour in building of hys castles, etc. In Polonia, and her members privileged by dependency, the Clergy (excepting monasteries) Nobility, and their bawres by the later kinges liberality are freed from all, in buying for their owne use, and selling corne, and other their owne domesticall commodities, wherein cattale boughte and kept for one sommer is accounted: all graunted by Johannes Albertus 1496, and Alexander 1504. For the newe customes uppon commodities caryed out of the land, they had greate controversy with the Sigismundes, but obtayned immunity for themselves 1550. Those 2 Orders are also freed by Lewes hys priviledge from the Stations, that is charge of the kinges howshold when he commes to any of their howses, so that he must allwayes make hys owne provision. Besydes the empoverishing of the Domayne by the former exemptions, the Mensa Regia is otherwise pulled by the Captaynes, whoe being receyvors of the kinges rentes, and baylies of hys landes, delyver to the Treasurer but one fowrth of the renewe, reserving the rest to themselves. And kinge Sigismundus Augustus graunted also one fowrth of that to a common treasury at Rava, onely to be employed uppon the warres.

WHOE ARE FREE  
FROM CUSTOMES,  
PONTAGE, WHARFAGE

STATIONS OR  
ENTERTEYNMENT OF  
THE KINGES COURTE

THE CAPTAYNES  
RECEYVE A GREATE  
PARTE OF THE  
DOMAYNE  
 $\frac{1}{4}$  OF THE KING  
 $\frac{3}{4}$  PUTT INTO THE  
TREASURY

THE REVENEW IN  
SIGISMUND THE LAST  
HYS TYME

In hys tyme the Mensa Regia had yearely one million of Dollers, viz. for the custome uppon every heade of horse, and oxen caryed out of the lande, 52000. For the kinges parte of the Captayneshipp in the kingedome 150000. The renewe

F. 37 v of the Duchy of Massovia 50000. Of the Duchy of Lithuania (as being not so free as Polonia, because it was hereditary, and could not so well worke her libertie by capitulating with the Prince) 500000. Out of the twooe mynes of Salte (all charges deducted) clearly 126000. The rest was raysed by the other petty titles. Of thys Augustus morgaged some parte, and Henry of Fraunce one moneth before hys departure alienated 500000 of the Domayne to certayne potent men, whereby they being ingaged to hym might hynder hys deprivation for hys sodayne forsaking the realme. So that there remayned to hym lyttle more than 200000 almost all in the lesser Polonia.

AT THYS TYME

HELPS

THE DOMAYNE IN  
ELECTIVE STATES  
EMPOVERISHED

At thys tyme the kinge hath by new [ ] almost a million, to which may be added hys free keeping of courte in some provinces, and hys provision of all manner of grayne. He hath meanes enough to encrease the Domayne, yf he were obfirm against the mighty Noblemen, which too muche ymportune the kinges liberality. But so it falls out in all elective states, that the Electors inriche themselves in the changes, by the ympaying of the Crowne, and the Usufructuaries purchasing it with alienation of some

parcell. The speciallest meanes would be by a courte of augmentation,  
THE KINGE MORE  
ABSOLUTE IN  
LITHUANIA THEN IN  
POLONIA

SALE OF CAPITAINE-  
SHIPPS

THE KINGES EXTRA-  
ORDINARY EXACTIONS  
THE JEWES ONELY  
SUBJECT

founded upon the improoving of hys rentes in Lithuania, where he is more absolute, and the uniting to the Domayne suche landes, as escheate, the Capitaineshippes he should hardly be able to holde amongest so many suitors, though he might allso doe that, or at least suppress some of them upon the deathe of the possessors. Or if not that, he might doe as the auncient kinges, whoe made greate benefitt of their sale, receyving for some 20, 60 and some tymes 100,000 florens, which might be donne without dishonoure, seeing it is in steade of a fyne for the farming of the Crowne renew. Extraordinarily the kinge can exacte nothing upon any subiecte, but onely on the Jewes.

EXTRAORDINAR  
CONTRIBUTIONS

The extraordinary contributions for gratefying, or ayding of the kinge in hys greate necessities, are not to be broughte into thys

F. 38 r canon, seeing they are but voluntary, and as the kinge is loved, though the States in extraordinary cause of charges should graunte them without difficulty, seeing they are enriched by the rightes of the

A SUBSEDY  
GRAUNTED TO THYS  
KINGE

3 MEANES OF  
RAISING SUBSEDIES

Crowne, which thereby ys impoverished. To thys moderne kinge the last yeare, the kingdome, and greate Duchy graunted a subtedy of 560000 florens for the recovery of Sueden, and redeeming the landes of the Crowne, which are morgaged. Of it Polonia payed 300000, and Lithuania the other 260000. All extraordinary subtedies eyther for the kinge, or State are rayed by these meanes. Fyrst, upon beere, secondly upon lande, Thirdly by poll. In kinge Stephans tyme was graunted for the Moschovitish warre 1/18 upon every tonne of beere, and one floren upon every Mansus, which was the greatest that ever had ben raised in Polonia. But of these subtedies I shall have occasione to intreate in an other place.

OF WHAT RESPECTE  
THE KINGE IS

As the authoritie of the kinge is smalle being too strictly limited in matters of Maiesty, and hys power over the Clergy, Nobility and their subiectes greatly abated, so is hys respecte and estimation which allwayes dependes upon the former. If the prynce be mylde, softe naturde, or sadd witted, they contemne hym, daring openly in common discourse traduce and disgrace hym in all sortes, more then a gentleman of accompte whoe will redresse hys wronge. Their dishonourable using of thys moderne prynce prooves it, against whome they libell bothe by pictures and wrightinges. The like liberty (for thys poynte allso it is stretcht) they used against Sigismundus Augustus, whoe in Parliamente oft tymes patiently endured not onely bitter reprehension, but allso contumelious speeches, as is testefied in hys funerall oration made by a Polish gentleman of greate accompte. If the prynce be courageous, resolute, and one, which will not suffer suche

insolencies, but restrayne them, and execute the lawes so farre as hys authority reacheth, then doe they make factions, raise seditions, suggest

*F. 38 v* suspicions of affected tyranny, and oppressing their libertie, and lastly to breake his stomacke, crosse him in all his publike motions, all which they doe not onely underhande, but those, which are the most seditious, dare also publikely in the Conventes intimate such ielousies. Thus did they use Stephan Bathory, whose notwithstanding no whit there-with discouraged, went forward in his course, and curbed the most turbulent. But it is necessary that he which will doe so, be able to sitt sure in despite of his oppugners. So Bathory of himselfe magnanimous, famous for his warres and conquestes, stronge by the Hungarians, whome he hadd broughte into the Realme in the service against the Moscovite, under pretence of want of Infanterie in Polonia, backed by Zamoisky, the Radzivils, and their freindes, lyncked to him by allyance whome he advanced, and made greate, that they might be the better able to helpe him, mainteyning his state, against the fierbrandes of the state, whose would be counted Tribunes of the common libertie, and therefore made profession of curbing the kinge, and swaying the Dyets and Conventes by their factions grace, which by suche artes they had with the multitude. These men oppugned the kinge by averting the heartes of the subiectes, calumniating the bringing in of the Hungarians, conferring all honours and prefermentes upon his allyes, and favourites, making Zamoisky generall of the forces of Polonia, and Radzivil of Lithuania (as if he soughte faction and strength severall from the State) sinisterly interpreting all motions made in the Dyets, as that by establishing the election, he ment to plotte that Zamoisky should succede, by desyring to have the souldiours payde, and rewarding the most valiant with some parte of the conquerd lande, he meante to oblige them for the making of himselfe absolute, and lastly by practising disagreement betweene him and the Queene, whome they would have sett upp against her husband, suggesting that he soughte to be divorced, as excepting against her yeares, now past hope of children, and that the righte of the kingdome was hers

*F. 39 r* Stephan being especially elected for the respecte of her descente and title. But the valure of the kinge strengthened by so sure alliance, and directed by Zamoiskyes wisdome, overcame all those troubles, assured and settled the State, leaving at his deathe so honourable memory of himselfe in Polonia as never did any of his predecessors. For suche is the Poles nature, that he esteemes of courage undaunted even in his enemy, and contemnes yealding mildnes, or basenes (as they thinke) tryumphing over it, though it be to their advauntage. By that example of Stephan

THE KINGE MAY  
MAKE HYMSELFE  
STRONGE

it is apparent that the kinge, if he dare stand it out, and will use his liberty, may strengthen himselfe upon the advauntage of honours in his bestowing, and by course of iustice make the others stoope. Stephan not regarding the repynning, and censuring ielousies of the factious almost at one tyme made

STEPHAN ASSURED  
OF THE STATE BY  
MAKING HIS FAVOURITES GREAT

the Chauncellor Zamoisky generall of the forces of Polonia, Nicholas Radzivil Palatyne of Vilna, Generall of Lithuania, hys sonne Christofer gouvernour of Livonia, Castellane of Troky, and vicechauncellor of Lithuania, hys other sonne Nicholas Radzivil Palatyne of Novogrod, George Radzivil bishopp of Vilna, hys brother Christofer Marshall of Lithuania, and hys other brother Albert Marshall of the Courte of Lithuania all three sonnes of Nicholas sometymes Palatyne of Vilna, and their cozen Walowitz <sup>ch)</sup> Castellane of Vilna, and Chauncellor of Lithuania, by which meanes the kinge was possessed of the forces, and Civil estates of the kingdome, and Duchy. Thys might seeme occasion enoughe to a nation of that libertie to take armes against their kinge, which notwithstanding they did not, though he also executed Samuel Sborowsky, and banished hys brother Christofer, being of the most mighty famely in Polonia, and the most potent by faction, and followers, whereby they had cast the elections of Henry, and thys Stephan. For contrarywise, whereas all men presumed he durst not doe it for feare of drawing the whole Nobility on hys necke, after that the heade was cutt off, the lande was more peaceable

MILDNES WYNNE  
NOT STUBBORNE  
AND FEIRCE NATIONS

WHY THE PRINCES  
OF SUCH CONTREYS  
PROOVE TYRANTS

THE LAWES OF POLONIA  
SUFFER NOT THE PRINCE TO  
PROOVE A TYRANT

PRINCES NOT DEPOSED  
IN POLONIA

MEANES OF RESTRAYNING  
THE KINGE

NO FORTES THAT  
MAY BRIDLE THE  
REALME

*F. 39 v* and the factions became more temperate, standing in awe of the kinge and the lawes. Suche is the nature of the Poles, Hungarians, Transilvanians, Moldavians, and Wallachians, that by mildenes they growe insolent, and by roughe dealing more obsequious, which maketh that when the princes have sufficient power, by using necessary severity, they at last becommen tyrantes, and so odious to their subiectes. Stephan by nature and education somewhat feirce, and vehement, as having sucked of that sower milke, hitt in Polonia upon the iust mediocrity befitting the government, and humor of that people, for that hys heate was tempered and restrayned by moderation of lawes, which suffer no prince how cruell so ever to prove a tyrante. And thys makes that neyther the Poles openly rebell, or depose their prynce, because they can have no iust cause, nor the prince tiranniseth, because he cannot though he woulde, as appeares by course of 300 yeares.

For the restrayning of the kinge, they have not onely clipt the eagles wynges, and with the spoyles of the Domayne made the Nobility able to resist all tyranny, but yf he should be sufficiently mighty of hymselfe cutt off all meanes of seising on the State by three courses. Fyrst by not suffering any fortifications in places, which may commaunde the Realme, in thys poynt flatly denying the motion of Sigismundus Augustus for the fortifying of Cracowe, whoe urged it as being the Metropolis of the Realme, where the Cleinodia were kepte by statute,

ch) Wołkowicz

and oportune for surprise as not farr from the borders. Thys they did, not that they mistrusted hym, whoe had adopted the Polonians and Lithuanians ioyntly, and made them the heyres of hys whole inheritance, but for that they doubted after hys deathe it might proove a neast of tyranny. Secondly, they suffer not the kinge to bringe in any multitudes of strangers. Thirdly, by statute he is forbidden to conferre any honours uppon strangers, or to place them in any castle, or forte in the lande. Besydes which they have allso confederacies with

BRINGING IN OF  
STRANGERS NOT  
PERMITTED THE  
KINGE

STRANGERS EXCLUDED  
FROM DIGNITIES AND  
COMMANDES

LEAGUES OF THE  
CROWNE FOR THE  
COMMON LIBERTIE

NATIONS THAT  
SUFFER NOT THEIRE  
KINGE TO BE TOO  
ABSOLUTE

SOME WOULD ORDER  
THE KINGES PRIVATE  
LIFE

*F. 40 r* other nations, severall from their kinge, for the defence of their libertie, as also the Danes have. For all the Scithian and Northerne nations which retayne Monarchies ielous of their libertie will still stande on suche tearmes, that they may at pleasure create and depose their kinges, as we see in Polonia, Hungaria, Denmarke, Sweden and Boemia. Some Poles not content to have thus curbed the princes authority seeke dayly to make hys condition worse then of any free subiect, in so muche that one exhibited to the Parliament these following articles to be enacted, and to which every new kinge should be sworne.

Fyrst, to lyve chastly and honestly, not violating wedlock etc.

Secondly, to take no bribes for iudgement nor sett magistracies to sale.

Thirdly not to bestowe the dignities of the lande at hys owne pleasure, but by the common consent of the Senate.

Fowrthly to have noe Exchequier or treasury severall from the publike, whereby should be cutt off all enticementes to avarice, and care of gathering.

Fyftly, not to exceede in spending but to lyve moderately without superfluitie etc.

Sixtly, that the Treasurers should not disburse or spende the treasure at the kinges pleasure, but uppon the publicke necessities by consent of the Senate.

Seventhly, that he should not lyve idly, but be diligent in iudgements, not deferring any mans cause above three dayes.

Lastly, that he be easy of accesse, and no suiter barred from hys presence.

By these absurde articles, which of a father of the realme make the kinge a pupill, as not onely dispoyled of authoritie, but schooled with morall, and Oeconomicall preceptes, whereto no private gentleman would be sworne, it appeares to what tearmes they would have the kinge broughte, viz. that he should be but Imaginary, depending uppon the Senate, and nobility. Of suche fantasticke statewrightes, and Censors, voyde of politicall iudgement, the liberty of Polonia affourdes a greate number, whoe though private men, doe Censuram sine lege agere, and being no way

*F. 40 v* interested in the government, make new modles uppon disproportionate ioyntes, borrowed from most different nations, whereby the

troublesome humors and spirites are moved to the manifest hurte  
 and daunger of the whole body. The patterne  
 which they propound to themselves is chieflie  
 the Venetian State (though that prescribe not  
 the interiour life of the prynce) the rather because  
 they see that their Senatours affecting an Aristocraticall government,  
 fetch also their Presidentes from their Administration, iudging it the  
 most perfect and sure Aristocracy of all other, and in forme most lyke  
 to theirs, because a Principatus, it being lykely that at the last they will  
 shapen their kinges authoritie according to the Dukes of Venice, except  
 that for the better sale of it to forriners, whoe are fayne to make large  
 proffers if they meane to have it, they suffer it to have a fayre shewe of  
 maiesty.

TITLE OF KINGE  
 FIRST GRAUNTED

FORFEYTED

RESTORED

POLONIA AN ARRIERE-  
 FIEFE OF THE EMPIRE

POLONIA TRIBUTARY  
 TO BOHEMIA

POLONIA PAYES  
 PETER PENCE TO THE  
 CHURCH OF ROME

THE QUEENE OF  
 POLONIA

The title of kinge was first graunted to Boleslaus Chabri Anno 1001 by Othe the third Emperour, forfeited 1082 by ecclesiasticall censures, pronounced by Gregory the 7 against Boleslaus the second for killing St. Stanislaus bishopp of Cracow at the altar (for which it is also thoughte that the Poles were enioyned the shaving of their heades used yet by them, though (I thinke it is to be attributed to some other cause sythence the Hungarians, Dalmatians and Sclavonians doe the lyke) the title was restored 1320 by John the 22 Pope with the consent of the Emperour (Polonia being then an arrierefiefe of the Empyre, though Bodyn wrightes that it hath ben allwayes free) and the kinge of Bohemia to whome Polonia was tributary, as I have shewed in my discourse of Bohemia. For the restitution of the regall dignity the Poles were bounde to paye a yearely tribute to the Church of Rome, which was called Peter pence.

The Queene of Polonia hath all the same officers proper to herselfe, her dowry is assigned out of the publicke Domayne

*F. 41 r* and is crowned at the kinges suite but hath no power.

THE NOBILITY

CITIES ACCOUNTED  
 NOBLE

ORDO EQUESTRIS  
 THEIR TENURE BY  
 MILITARY SERVICE

WHEREIN OBNOXIOUS  
 TO THE CROWNE

The greate state of the lande which with the kinge, and in the vacancy absolutely possesseth the Sovereignty, is the Nobilitie, which is eyther proper, or by union, as Cracow, and the 3 Cityes of Prussia united and incorporated with the Nobility in the Dyets, Conventes and the whole government. The proper is called Equestris Ordo, holding their landes onely by the service of the sword and almost absolutely free, saving that in 3 cases they acknowledged the Crowne. Fyrst that their Bawres pay the Fumalia for their proper Coppingholdes. Secondly, as tyed to the Courtes of Justice. Thirdly, as bounde to service of the defensive warre. Thys came by the



liberality of the kinges, whoe did not onely make them partakers of the government, and graunte them their lande in inheritance, but also almost made them absolute lordes over their possessions, and subiectes in so much that no prince in Europe hath so absolute power over his subiectes, as the gentlemen of Polonia have over theirs, bothe for goodes, and life, the villanes being accounted in their lordes chattells, which makes the Gentry almost as insolent over the plebeians as the Mamelukes were over the Egyprians.

ALMOST ABSOLUTE  
IN THEIR LANDES

PRIVILEGES OF THE  
NOBILITY

exercise armes.

BURGERS MAY NOT  
HOLDE LANDES BY  
KNIGHTES SERVICE

GENTLEMEN MAY  
HOLDE LANDES BY  
BURGERLY TENURE

BURGERS PERMITTED  
TO HOLDE BONA  
TERRESTRIA

THE SOVERAIGNETY  
IS IN THE NOBILITY

MAY DOE WHAT THEY  
WILL IN THE VACANCY

PUBLIKE PERSONS  
OF THE NOBILITY

THE SENATORS OFFICE  
UNDER THE KINGE

ioyned with the kinge (whoe then is their heade in particular, as in

The priviledges of the Nobility are these. Fyrst, immunity from all paymentes, services, greivances, customes, etc. Secondly, that they onely by lawe exercise armes. Thirdly, that they have all the honours prefermentes, offices, Magistracies, and advancementes (excepting the Burgerly) by that meanes possessing both the military and Civill estate. Fowrthly, they onely possesse Mannors and landes called Bona terrestria, that is, belonging to the terrestriall Judgementes, For that by Statute Burgers and Plebeians may not holde any suche eyther in propriety or by morgage for 2 reasons. Fyrst because the Burgers would not suffer gentlemen to possesse howses, or landes

*F. 41 v* of the Burgerly tenure, and that secondly for that Burgers possessing terrestriall landes tyed to military service to the greate prejudice of the lande, as making a profession different from armes founde meanes to free themselves from personall service in military expeditions.

Notwithstanding after that by Sigismundus statute of 1550 gentlemen were admitted to the righte of Burgerly tenure upon condition of subiecting themselves to the lawes of it. Burgers have ben also permitted to enjoye the other upon the lyke conditions. Fyftly, the Nobility is greatlye privileged in villany, if that may be called a priviledge, and not a dampnable licentiousnes prejudiciall to itselfe. Sixtly and lastly (to omitt the more petty) the Nobility conioyned hath the sovereignty and disposition of the Crowne arbitrarily, tyed in it no wayes to the other members of the lande, and in the Interregnum the making of lawes, which also bynde the future kinge (whoe is sworne to them) so that then they may gyve themselves what authority, or priviledge they will, and alter the very forme and administration (if they please) therein being obnoxious to no man.

This Nobility is divided into publike and private persons. The publike are suche as have parte of the publike charge, whether it be in commaunde or onely in administration. These are eyther Senators, or other inferior magistrates, and officers. The Senators charge is eyther ioyntly in counsaile, or particuler to eache mans office. The first is doubly considered as

generall he is of the whole realme) or in the Interregnum, their president then being the Archebishops of Gnesna cheife man of the lande.

Their office with the kinge is to procure the publike good in all matters, to mannage the whole state, to heare and decide causes, to gyve audience and dispatches to ambassadors, to conferre the olde fiefes, and also those of newe conquestes, etc, to gyve their

*F. 42 r* direction and advice for the Dyet, place, tyme, and matters to be therein propounded. All which they doe onely as the kinges assessors, and Counsellors, the kinge communicating by lettres, matters of ymportance with them which are absent upon their charge, for onely parte of them followe the Courte. In the wydowehood of the realme their charge and care is greater. They take order for the securing of the confynes against externall force, looke to the peace of the land, constitute extraordinary iudgements, appoynte the tyme, place, and order of the election and in generall see *Ne quid Respublica detrimenti capiat.*

IN THE INTER-  
REGNUM

THEIR NUMBER

THE GREAT

AND PRIVY  
COUNSAILE

The Senate consistes of 140 persons, was devided into twoe by Sigismundus Augustus viz. the grande Counsaile and the privy Counsaile, there being out of thys excluded the 50 Castellani minores, which he did for the many inconveniences in communicating matters of sodayne execution, and to be passed with greate secrecy to suche a multitude. Thys moderne Senate is according to Sigismundus constitution at Lublin, when he incorporated Lithuania, with Polonia and made one common Senate of bothe, whereas before they helde severall Dyetts, and were distinguished in all matters, save that being under one heade, they weare combyned by a perpetuall league. The persons are eyther spirituall or secular. The spirituall are the 2 Archebishops and 13 Bishops. They in the Senate and Dyet representing the whole clergy have the charge of the religion, in which regarde that State is considerable in thys place.

SPIRITUALL  
SENATORS

DIVERS RELIGIONS  
AND SECTES  
IN POLONIA

Religion in thys lande is manifold, bothe for manyfest opposition and diversity of sectes, which comes, for that it confynes with nations of most contrary rites, all men drawing by nature some novelty from their neighbours. And therefore borderers upon severall religions doe never sincerely observe that of their contrey, but mixe it with borrowed superstitions. These we see in the confynes of Polonia, Wallachia, Moldavia etc, where

*F. 42 v* besydes the wonderfull numbers of heretikes, especially in the capitall article of the Trinity, there are many Qui aut nullos, aut Deos tantum colunt impios, the collision of dyvers opinions easely corrupting, if not altogether extinguishing the religious affection of mans mynde.

[ ] doe generally distinguish the religions of thys kingdome. The first is devided upon difference about the Messias into Christianisme, acknowledging Christ, Turcisme, Mahumet and Judaisme, in expectation, these twoe last retayning circumcision though diversly.

The Christians are subdevided into the Latyne and orientall Churches. Thys latter into the Greeke and the Armenian, The Latyn into suche as have publike churches and those which eyther communicate in Conventicles, or privately mainteyn, and propagate theire opinions. Those which have publike churches are the Papistes, Calvinistes and Lutheranes. The first are onely allowed of the State, and the Clergy of it admitted to the Senate, the other twoe tollerated by articles of publike peace, and the Layemen of them capable of all publike offices though Massovia suffers no religion but Popery.

BORDERING RELIGIONS  
SELDOME SURE

IN WHAT PLACE  
EVERY RELIGIONS IS  
NOT SETTLED.

Of Protestantes the Calvinistes in Polonia are in greatest number, In Prussia and Livonia the Lutheranes (Lutheranisme being almost onely proper to the Germanes through all Europe). These twoe are most rooted in Prussia (the Ducall being alltogether Evangelicall) and Livonia, where the Eastlanders retayne some dregges of the Romish superstition, otherwise without religion for wante of clergymen. In bothe Poloniaes are some store of Calvinistes, but most in the lesser, where they had in Cracow itselke a publike church, destroyed by the studentes 1587, and lastly 1592. In Lithuania and Samogitia, they have made meetely progress, and would have don more, yf the Cardinall Radzivil, and hys three bretheren had not defected from theire fathers profession. Thys howse cheife for authority, and mighte in Lithuania planted the religion in it. For the twoe Cozen Germanes bothe called Nicholas being

THE RADZIVILLS  
PLANTED TRUE RELI-  
GION IN LITHUANIA

*F. 43 r* Commaunders of Lithuania (for that the one after the other was Palatyne of Vilna, generalls of the forces and Chauncellors of Lithuania) made profession of the Ghospell. The one (thys moderne Cardinalls father) defended the Evangelicall openly, and caused the byble to be translated into Polish, which cost hym 10000 florins. The other was father of the present Palatyne of Vilna.

SECTARIES AND  
HERETIKES

HOW POPERY IS  
MAINTENEYED

In these contreys are also greate stoare of Anabaptistes, Osiandristes, Ebionites, and of all sortes of Antitrinitaries. The Romish religion is held upp by twoe meanes, the kinges hott profession, whoe perswaded by the Jesuites preferreth not (if he can choose without too greate inconvenience) any other then of the Romishe Church, or yf he doe, it is with an intent to weaken hym, as he served Leschinczky, whome he made Palatyne of Brzesty, which office hath not above 300 florins yearely profit, that thereby constrained to maynteyne the greater state after the Polish fasshion, he should be forced to spend hys inheritance, and therefore gave hym not for hys helpe in that charge any Captayneshipp or other office of profit, as commonly those greate Dignitaries have. Thys did he, for that Leschinczky was bothe of a fayre lyving, and a man of a greate courage and zealous in hys profession. The second meanes is the care of the Byshopps and dilligence of the Jesuites, whoe nestle themselves everywhere in that lande, growing very riche, that being lykely to worke theire ruine, for that they become now odious to the Catholikes themselves for invegling and fetching in gentlemen to endowe theire Colledges with theire inheritances to

the prejudice of their howses. Their cheife colledges are at Bransperg, in Prussia, founded by Cardinall Hosius, besides a seminary there instituted by Gregory the 13. In Livonia at Riga, suppressed by the Burgers 1587 and restored by Parliament 1591, and at Derpt, bothe founded by kinge Stephan, at Calisia in the greater Polonia, founded by the Archebischopp of Gnesna, Stanislaus à Carnkow, at Vilna founded by Gregory the 13, Polotia by kinge Stephan 1579 bothe in Lithuania. And at thys

*F. 43 v* present the kinge for all hys povertie, buildes at Cracow very stately for them. Besides these they have many schooles, Preache at Dantzig, and would fayne have the inspecting of the Universities, but neither Zamoysky whoe doth not greatly fancy these busybodies will committ hys universitie to them, nor the Schollers of Cracow by any meanes admitt them, it beinge aunswere by the Rector, Professors and studentes, that they would not alter their founded state nor subiect it to them, which are onely good in Pedanterie, and never yet in Polonia made sounde clerkes as the Universitie had don, which furnisheth the whole realme bothe with Church and Statesmen, their aunswere much agreeing with the motion of the University of Padova to the signory of Venice, for the excluding of Jesuites from schoole governementes.

ZAMOISKY FAVOURS  
NOT THE JESUITES

THE UNIVERSITY  
OPPOSITE TO THE  
JESUITES

POLONIA MADE  
CHRISTIAN

Polonia receyved the gospell Anno 966 the Nones of Marche, and therefore in remembrance of the destroying of the Idolles, on that daye the boyes carry about Images, which they throwe into the water, and synge songes of the expelling of the Devill, muche after the olde rite of the Romanes.

LITHUANIA RECEIVED  
THE GOPPELL

THE LITHUANIANS  
WONNE TO CHRISTIANITY  
BY PRIVILEGES

THE LAY NOBILITIES  
SERVICE AND CHARGE

LANDES INHERITABLE

DIGNITIES ERECTED.

CATHOLIKES ONELY  
CAPABLE OF THEM

Lithuania receyved it 1386 upon convenante with the Poles, whoe gave Jagello Duke of Lithuania the kingdome in dowry with kinge Lewes daughter. He to drawe hys subiectes to the same profession granted dyvers greate privileges to the Christians, whereas before the Lithuanians as their other Northern neighbours were almost slavishly subiect to their princes. Those were, fyrst, that the Churches Catholically, Barons and Nobles should have lyke privilegdes, Immunities etc with the Polonians, onely that those lay states should be bounde to the service of building, and repaying the Princes Castles, and highe wayes, and to paye their ordinary tribute. Secondly, that they should succede their fathers in their possessions, as the Poles doe, have power to sell, exchange or morgage them, but with the princes consent, and by resignation before the Prince and hys officers, according to the Custome of Polonia. Thirdly that

*F. 44 r* Vilna and Troky should be erected into Palatinates and Castellanyes and other offices should be instituted after the forme of Polonia, all to be bestowed onely upon the Catholikes. By thys

THE PROTESTANTES  
ARE ALSO HELD  
CATHOLIKES

tearme of Catholike the Evangelicall are not excluded, for that by it was understoode the latyn Church, which had then no disunion.

GREEKISH RELIGION  
WHERE MOST  
GENERALL

The Greekish religion prevailes universall in Russia alba, and for the most parte in Lithuania, Russia rubra, Volhinia, Podolia etc. In the Polish allegiance onely the Gentry followeth the Romish, the Evangelicall, hereticall, and some fewe the Greekish. It is also spredd in Samogitia and some provinces of Livonia, peopled by the Moschovites when they were lordes of it. The cheife pryncce of thys religion is the olde Duke of Ostrog, Palatyne of Kiovia, whoe notwithstanding suffers hys twooe sonnes to follow the Romish. Thys church and Moschovitish acknowledgeth for their heade the Patriarch of Constantinople.

FEW GENTLEMEN OF  
THE GREEKISH

THE PATRIARCH OF  
CONSTANTINOPLE  
HEADE OF THE  
GREEKISH

GREEKISH HIERARCHY

That of the Crowne of Polonia is governed by twooe Archebishops and 6 byshops, whome they call Vladikes, the 2 first are of Leopolis, the Metropolitan, and Vilna, the other 6, Polotia, Wlodomiria, Liveoria <sup>ci)</sup>, Pinsko, Kiovia and Praemisla, but they are not Senatours, neyther meddle they with any parte of the State. The Russians were converted by Basilius Archebischopp of Constantinople, which, as also their continuall commerce with the Gretians, of whome they borrowed their characters, hath kept them from ioyning with the Latyn Church.

THEIR PRELATES  
NOT SENATORS

THE RUSSIANS  
BAPTISED

Their trade was by the Maesians, and Illyrians, bothe as well as themselves Sclavonians by originall, and from Kiovia, which by the Boristhenes communicates with the Euxine. At thys daye in both the Alba and the rubra the rites are somewhat different from the Greekish altered by tyme, and the Metropolitanes yealding and applying themselves to the Princes, so that now in the Polish State the Vladitians begynn to acknowledge the Popes Supremacy.

THOSE OF THE  
POLISH CROWNE  
BEGYNN TO YEALD  
TO THE POPE

THE ARMENIAN  
RELIGION

GREATE MARCHANTES

*F. 44 v* The Armenians subiect in spirituall matters to their owne Patriarche, whose seate is at Leopolis, dwell most parte there, and in Camieniecz in Podolia. They are most skillful and riche marchantes, have greate trade in the remotes contreys of Turkey, Egipt, Persia and India, which commes for that they are muche favoured by all Mahumetanes and greatly privileged amongst them being free from toll and custome by Mahumetes lawe, which he made in thankfullnes for benefittes receyved of them.

FAVoured BY THE  
MAHUMETANES

ci) Luceoria

TARTARS IN LITHU-  
ANIA MAHUMETANES

The Mahumetanes descended from the Tartarian horde transplanted 1396 upon their captivity by Vitoldus, Duke of Lithuania and placed not far from Vilna, were privileged with liberty of religion, which they still retain, and serve the king for wages against any enemy whatsoever.

JEWES

The Jewes have their chiefest residency at Cracow, Leopold in Russia, and Troky in Lithuania, where they use great trade of furs, those which dwell in the towns and villages are artisans and husbandmen. The gentlemen may have of them in their towns, but such are not in the king's protection nor have benefit of the laws passed in their favour, except the king have some commodity by them. Those laws, or privileges more in favour of the Jewes than Christians, were granted by Boleslaus Duke of the Greater Polonia 1264 and confirmed by Casimira the great 1363 only for that province, because Boleslaus not being monarch could not give them more largely. By them according to the Civil, and Canon laws they may only lend upon pawns, and not upon bills or bonds. They make a great part of the inhabitants that be coming to pass for 3 causes: First almost all trade is in their hands, the Poles esteeming it sordid. Secondly their usury is not limited: Thirdly the Princes sufferance for the great benefit of the Crown by their extraordinary payments. At one time they were charged

F. 45 r with 40000 Crowns for a present sent to the Emperor of Constantinople, for the king may at his pleasure impose upon them extraordinary tribute.

GENTILES

Those which retain Polytheistical Idolatry are the Pagans dwelling in Livonia, Samogitia, Lithuania, and at Ceremissa on the borders of Russia, whose worship several creatures, and idoles, retaining still Ethnical rites and sacrifices. For these there are no statutes or laws written, only in those vast regions they live at their pleasure, not forced to Christianity, no man being over hasty to instruct them, or seek their conversion, save that of late the Jesuits began to teach, and win those which are neighbours to their stations.

RICHES OF THE  
ROMANE CLERGIE IN  
POLONIA

To returne to the Clergymen of the Romish church, which are partakers of the government: they possess in the kingdom 76560 villages or Mannors (though they are not the 200<sup>th</sup> part of the people) besides their tithes, offerings, and other fees, whereas the whole secular nobility possesseth only 140000. The praediall tithes are in some places exacted manipulatively, that is, in specie, and in some places in money, viz. 36 kreutzers upon the Laneus, but lesse in Pomerania.

MANNORS OF THE  
NOBILITY

THE ARCHBISHOP  
OF GNESNA

The head and Metropolitane is the Archbishop of Gnesna, Legatus natus, by the Popes granted about Anno 1200, second person of the realm and chiefest

authority in the Interregnum. Hys revenewe is aboute 100000 florens. This sea was founded 966 by Miecislaus the first Christian prynce, as allso Cracovia, then an Archebisshopricke, Posnania, Samogorovia <sup>ck)</sup> (now Wratislavia) Cruswike afterwarde translated to Wladislavia, Plotzko, Lubuss and Camin <sup>cl)</sup>, for so farre then stretched the Polish dominion westward. He gave them the tythes of all the landes of the Crowne, Nobility and Commons. The bisshoppes out of that at their owne

ENDOWMENTS OF  
CHURCHES

F. 45 v arbitrement assigned some parte to the rest of the Clergy. Gnesna was muche enriched by Jaroslaus the Archebisshopp whoe died about 230 yeares synce. He improved the rentes of Lowiecz <sup>cm)</sup> from 2 Markes to 800, which now must yealde of necessity farre a greater somme, in regarde of 4 to 1 that the Coyne was then better then now. For thys place and the large districte round aboute the Archebisshopp was wonte to paye to the Prince as cheife Lorde one marke of goulde, valued then at 13 marke of grosch (the marke at 48 Grosche) which was remitted hym, and that terratory absolutely freed from acknowledging of any superiour iurisdiction, or dominion by Casimire the greate. Vladislaus Anno 1228 gave the Archebisshopp the royalties of Coyning and hunting in hys owne lande, which before onely belonged to the Prince. But the Mynt righte that sea hath lost longe synce, and almost the kinge hymselfe, whoe in it is prescribed by the State. The present Archebisshopp is Stanislaus a Czarnkow <sup>cn)</sup>, a very old man, learned and eloquent. His Coadiutor appoynted by the kinge 1598, and whoe shall succede hym is Machiewsky <sup>co)</sup> bisshopp of Luceoria, a man of greate name for hys exemplar lyfe.

THE ARCHBISHOPS  
PRIVILEGES,  
IMMUNITIES ETC

THE ARCHBISHOPS  
SUFFRAGANS

The Archebisshopp of Gnesna hys Suffraganes are these.

THE B. OF CRACOW  
THE CARDINALL DYED  
AT ROME 1600

First, Cracow sometymes an Archebisshopricke in the possession of George Radzivill of Lithuania, Cardinall of the title of St. Sixtus and Legate in Polonia, Notwithstanding by it he dothe not preiudice Gnesna in hys superiority as was adiudged in the Parliament 1451 uppon the same occasion, at what tyme it was enacted, that no Archebisshopp, or Bisshopp should seeke those 2 dignities from the sea of Rome, without the consent of the kinge and all the Senators. Radzivill aunsweared for thys, that he soughte them not, but that they were imposed on hym. Thys churche is riche by divers increases, and hath greate priviledges. Premislaus the first gave the Bisshopp for ever 1/20 of the salte revenewe out of the mountaynes of Cracow, and Wenceslaus kinge of Bohemia and Polonia an other 20<sup>th</sup> so that he hath the 10<sup>th</sup>. Sbigneus

THE RICHES

F. 46 r Cardinall and Bisshopp of Cracow 1443 boughte the whole Duchy of Severia for 6000 Pragisch Markes and gave it to hys sea. Wladislaus the first gave to the Cathedrall Churche the county of Croppen <sup>cp)</sup>. Bo-

ck) Smogorzew  
cl) Kamień  
cm) Lowicz

cn) Carnkow (Karnkowski)  
co) Maciejowski  
cp) sic in ms.

PRIVILEGES

leslaus Pudicus Duke of Cracow freed the Clergy of that Diocese and their villanes of all tributes, pensions, customes, Tolles, services and secular iurisdiccions. He graunted the Bisshopp in hys landes all Ducall prerogatives and rightes, Onely bounde hym to enterteyn the Prynce once every yeare. and to fynde hym carriage when he should passe through hys terretory. To every Prelate and Canon of the Cathedrall Church authority to free from military expedition 6 Gentlemen and 12 Plebeians for their service, and to the other Collegiate Churches halfe that nomber. Lescus Niger 1280 gave the Bisshopp the tythe of all mettalls what soever within hys diocese. The Bisshoppes revenew now with hys copper and azure mynes lately founde is almost 200000 Dollers. He may gyve safe conducte and admitt protestation against the kinge and the Captayne, which hath the kinges iurisdiction.

THE B. OF  
WLADISLAVIA

Wladislavia is the second Suffragane of Gnesna. To thys Bysshoppricke Wladislaus the fyrst gave the terretory of Lagonia <sup>cq</sup>). The upper Pomerania is wholly in thys Bisshoppes diocese, wherein he hath also greate possessions. Anno 1330 the Order of Prussia by warre forced the Bisshopp and Clergy to be content with 6 grosch or 9 sterling upon the Mansus for their tyethes in Pomerania, whereby the State of that church was muche impayred. The Bisshopp at thys tyme is the Earle of Bodzyrzanow <sup>cr</sup>). The revenew 50000 florins, the floren 3s. 9d. sterling.

DIED AT ROME 1600

THE BI: OF POSNANIA

Thirde Posnania whose bysshopp is of the howse of Tarnow, yealdes about 30000 florens.

THE BI: OF VILNA

Fowrthe Vilna (the citty is the Metropolis of Lithuania) now vacant though bestowed upon Machiewsky <sup>cs</sup>), whome the

*F. 46 v* Lithuanians will not admitt, but allow hym out of it 10000 florens yearly. Thys citty was builte 1305 by the Counsaile of Ledziciko <sup>ct</sup>) an Ethnicke Preiste and Sowthsayer whoe was therefore called Radzivil (from whome the Radzivils are descended) as it[s] Counsellor and author of the building of Vilna. It is on the confluence of the Vilna and Ulia <sup>cu</sup>). The Bisshoppricke is [worth] 40000 florens yearly.

THE BI: OF SAMOGITIA

Fifte Samogitia.

THE BI: OF CULME  
ESTRANGED FROM  
GNESNA

Culme hath not ben Gnesnaes suffragane of a longe tyme being by the Order of Prussia subiected to Riga. It was taken out of the Bisshoppricke of Plotzko, and had mighty revenewes by purchase and donation till that the Order of Prussia wrounge them from it. The Bisshopp now is Peter Kostka. The revenewe 12000 florens. Camin in Pomerania, Wratislavia in Silesia, and Lubuss in the Marke of Brandeburge, doe no more acknowledge Gnesna.

cq) Lagovia, Lagów  
cr) Rozrarszewski  
cs) Maciejowski

ct) Lizdejko  
cu) Vilna *recte* Wilejka, Ulia *recte* Wilia



THE ARCHBI: OF  
LEOPOLIS

The Archebisshoppricke of Leopold translated  
thether from Cracow Anno 1075 \*) hath but slight re-  
newes, viz. 10000 florens. The moderne Archebisshopp  
is Solicowsky <sup>cv)</sup>, whose suffraganes are:

THE BI: OF CHELM

1. Chelm of 6000 florens revenewe, whose biss-  
hopp is Tilicky <sup>cw)</sup>, vicechauncellor allso of Polonia.  
For it is to be noted that no 2 Senatoriall dignities  
can be held by one man, except those of the Chaun-  
cery, which are competible with the Bisshopprickes  
of Premisla, Culme, Chelme, and Camieniecz and no  
other.

WHAT 2 SENATORIAL  
DIGNITIES ARE  
COMPETIBLE

THE BI: OF PREMISLA

Premisla. The bisshopp Nicholas Gosliczsky.

THE BI: OF CAMIENIECZ

Camieniecz in Podolia.

THE BI: OF LUCEORIA

Luceoria. Maciewsky <sup>cx)</sup> made allso coadiutor of  
Gnesna. The revenewe 10000 florens.

THE BI: OF KIOVIA

Kiovia. Thys is called the Bisshoppricke of the  
Cosackes whoe doe dominiere in those confynes, and  
are therefore fytted commonly with a bisshopp of lyttle Religion, or  
learning, but suche

*F. 47 r* an one as is a good fellowe, and standes on hys manhood. The  
Bisshopps name is Veiesczinsky <sup>cy)</sup>.

THE BI: OF VARMIA.  
SINCE THIS THE  
PRINCE WAS RECON-  
CILED TO HYM OR  
RESYNTED TO HYM HIS  
ESTATE.  
THERE WAS SLAYNE  
BY MICHAEL THE  
WAYWODE OF  
VALACHIA 1600 \*\*)

The Bisshoppricke of Varmia of good renew  
(viz. at least 40000 florens) is almost absolute domi-  
nion exempt from all Archiepiscopall iurisdiction,  
founded by Bruno bisshopp of Moravia or Olmutz,  
Anno 1254, whoe allso builte Brunsberg, and annexed  
it to the same sea. It is possessed by Andrew Bathor,  
Cardinall, kinge Stephans brothers sonne, whoe is  
the Prince of Transilvaniaes professed enemy, for the  
making away of hys brother Balthasar.

THE BI: OF PLOTZKO

The Bisshopp of Plotzko is Baronowsky <sup>cz)</sup>.

THE KINGE NOMINA-  
TES THE BISSHOPPS

THE BISSHOPPS ELECT  
SENATORS BEFORE  
THE POPE CONFIRMS  
THEM

The Bishoppes are named absolutely of the kinge,  
the Churches retayning but a shewe of election by a  
cange d'essire <sup>da)</sup>, which was wont to be free. By the  
kinge they are commended to the Pope, whoe confir-  
mes them, before which they are admitted to publike  
Counsell as Senators, but not to the ecclesiasticall  
function and Iurisdiction. In vacanyes the Bis-

\*) error

\*\*\*) error, recte 1599

cv) Solikowski

cw) Tylicki

cx) Maciejowski

cy) Wereszczyński

cz) Baronowski, Baranowski

da) congé d'élire

ELECTION OF ABBOTS  
AND PROVOSTES

ABBAYES FOR  
GERMANES ONELY

ABBAYES CHARGED  
WITH THE EDUCA-  
TION OF YOUNGE  
GENTLEMEN

PRIVILEAGES OF THE  
SPIRITUALTY

THEIR TENURE  
BY DEVOTION

TAXES FOR TURKISH  
OR DEFENSIVE WARRES

DEFENDED BY THE  
NOBILITY

OFFICES BELONGING TO  
THE CLERGIE

SPIRITUAL CAUSES

APPEALES

WHEREIN THE  
SPIRITUALTY IS  
SUBJECTE TO THE  
TEMPORALL COURTE

THE LAITY ENCRO-  
THETH UPON THE  
SPIRITUAL COURTE

shoppes estates is administered by the Chapter. The election of the Abbotts and Provostes is almost wrounge clean from their Chapters by the kinge and Bisshoppes whose consentes are necessarily required. By the foundation of many Abbeyes onely Germanes might be admitted, but Anno 1511 they were forced to accept also of Poles, and 1538 it was enacted, that the Abbotts, and Provostes should be onely Polish gentlemen or Plebeians in their defect, excluding Germanes upon pre- tence of bringing in heresies, but the next yeare after the Germanes were admitted with the Poles by course in suche Abbeyes as had any parte of their landes without the Realme. Anno 1550 because by defection from Popery Abbayes became not so frequent, it was enacted that their number should be made upp with younge gentlemen to be trayned upp by the Abbayes in study (the Polish Nobility dilligently seeking out meanes of mainteyning their frye). For the Fumalia the Bawres of Abbayes paye no more than the Nobilities.

*F. 47 v* The whole spiritualltie is of special authority and exempt from all paymentes contributions, subsidies, services etc, holding their states onely by prayer, and devotion for the laity, as the Nobility, by the sworde. Onely, within these 60 yeares it hath growne into custome, that if the Turkish invasion be feared, or the Realme be in any danger, they should be cessed in money. In the Interregnum the Church, as well as the borders must be defended by the Nobility. The Maisters of the Requestes must be clergymen. The offices of Chauncellor and vicechauncellor belonge alyke to the Spiritualltie and Temporality. Matters of the spirituall iurisdiction doe belonge absolutely to themselves, neyther may they be broughte to the secular Courtes. The appeales from the Bisshoppes to the Archebisshoppes, from hym of Leopoldis to Gnesna and then to the Pope. Suche causes by Statute upon disagreement betweene the twoe states were defined 1545 to be these: Differences of faythe, heresy, schismes, blasphemyes, tythes, 7 Sacramentes, benefices, sacrilegies, Simony, usury, the slaughter, wounding, or striking of spirituall persons, causes of sanctuary, witchcrafte, ecclesiasticall revenewe, endowmentes of religious places, personae miserae et derelictae, trialls of lawfull birth, all offences againts churches, and spirituall persons, titles of patronages, Advowsons, Divorces (onely dowries of persons divorced belonge to the kinges

courte) altars, parsonages, Prebendes etc. Testamentes are mixti fori, but if they have any legacie bequeathed to the church or in pios usus, they belonge to the spirituall courte. If they are made before the kinge or in a secular courte (except in the former case) they belong onely to the Temporall. For landes subject to the Common lawe, trespasses, dammages, etc in them

are to stande to the terrestriall courtes. Suche are towching theire boundes, fugitives, villanes etc. In these cases, and in all other not meerey spirituell, the Spirituall inhibitions hynder not the secular processe. Notwithstanding the former statute, the Nobility begynns dayly to ineroache upon the spirituell

*F. 48 r* courtes. For first it is enacted that gentlemen for matter of tithes cannot be cited to the Spirituall Courtes, but being cast in the secular, the Churche may then proceede against them for the payment.

APPEALE TO THE  
KINGE

Secondly, in the cause of heresy a gentleman condemned by hys Ordinary may appeale to the kinge, it seeming unreasonable that the Bisshopps *ratione clavium* should be counted iudges in matters towching the estate, honor and lyfe of a gentleman. For heresy being *crimen laesae maiestatis* induceth them all, and therefore properly belonges to the kinge and the Senate. Whereuppon Jagello in the statute for heresy, reserved the appeale, protesting not to diminish hys terrestriall rightes, and iudgements by that statute. In thys case the Venetians appoynte certayne Senators to assist the Spirituall iudges. Thys poynte for heresy

STATUTE OF HERESY  
OF NO FORCE

HOLY LEAGUE IN N  
POLONIA AGAINST  
HERESY.

Thirdly the Nobility would have forced the Clergy 1577 to stande to the same courtes that they did, which they denied as preiudiciall to them, by reason, that men of different religions were admitted to the benche. Zamoisky also making it playne to them, that if they consented to that iurisdiction, they were alyke subiecte to the penalties of contumacy, yf they refused at any tyme to stande to the awardes, as they mighte see by the example of the Metropolitane amerced 150000 florens, whereuppon by hys advise they agreed upon thys, that for ecclesiasticall suites brought into the Nobilities Courtes there should be chosen 6 Iudges out of the Clergy, and as many out of the Nobility of equall authority, and yf the sentences were even, the causes should be broughte before the kinge in the Dyet.

ONELY GENTLEMEN  
CAPABLE OF  
PRELACIES ETC.

*F. 48 v* Of Bisshopprickes and Prelacies none under gentlemen of the second heade are capable, as also of parsonages, Offices and Prebendes of the greate Cathedrall Churches, viz. Gnesna, Cracow, Wladislavia, Posnania and Plotzko. Notwithstanding least the Commons should thinke that statute to be passed in their contempte, and too greate debasing, it was excepted, that in eache of them, where are no plebeians founded, there might be one plebeian Doctor of eache of the 3 faculties, and in the other twooe Divines, twooe Canonistes, and one Phisition. For the Plebeians to aspire higher to Bisshopprickes, or other prelacies is by statute bannishment and confisca-

DOCTORS PLEBEIAN  
CAPABLE OF SOME  
PLACES

tion both of their owne, their parentes and nearest allies goodes, Statuto Anni 1505. The reasons mentioned in the Statutes for the appropriating those dignities to the Nobility are: Fyrst, for that the Nobles stronge by alliance are better able to defend the Church and spirituall landes from iniuries and wasting in military expeditions, and to obtayne redresse against the wasters. And secondly, for that the Nobility being to defend the realme against invasion, etc, is to be provided for, especially seeing it dothe dayly increase, and hath no other meanes of maintenance, then their inheritance, and publike prefermentes, their Order being forbidden to trade or use any plebeian meanes of gayne. Contrary to this Statute the Plebeians following the Courte of Rome, prevented them in spirituall prefermentes by Provisions, collations, resservations, Coadiutoryes, pensions and many other Romish faculties, which kept them out of the compasse of the positive lawe. Whereuppon the Nobility made Anno 1530 most strict statutes bothe against those meanes, and men (whome in their statute they call Cortesanos) the[y] being ipso facto proscribed, and their goodes confiscated, the whole processe made by lawe of no force, and the execution of suche sequestrations, provisions, censures, etc unlawfull, every subiect incurring the like penalties, that should accepte, acknowledge, or doe any acte

F. 49 r in the furtherance of them.

UNIVERSITIES Under the Clergy are comprehended all Incorporations and persons of study, and learning with their officers servantes, etc. The heades of these are the Universities, which are 4: Cracow, Vilna, Konisberg, and that which Zamoysky hath erected in hys newe city. Of all Cracow hath the greatest priviledges, founded and richly endowed by Jagello for the publike profession and learninge of Divinity, Cannon Lawe, Phisicke, Common Lawe, and the 7 liberall Sciences. Pope Urbane confirmed it by hys Bull, excepting Divinity, which Boniface afterwarde graunted. From all tolles, customes, paymentes etc all the members are absolutely free. Onely the Rector is their Judge, without appeale in Civill causes, and in Criminally not too haynous. Sentences of nullity the Counsaile of the University defynes, otherwise condemned cannot remedy hymselfe by appeale, supplication or any other meanes. For theft, manslaughter, adultery, etc the malefactor being a lay man is remitted to the kinges Courte, yf a clerke to the spiritualltie. Amongst other priviledges this is in that kingdome of greate accompte that in the cheife Cathedral Churches the Doctors of any faculty in that University (though Plebeians) are capable of a certayne number of Prebendes. They wante famous professors, which makes that they are not frequented. In thys poynte the Austrians in their suites for the kingdome have offered to furnish that of Cracow.

THE LAYE SENATE

The Laye Senate as well as the Ecclesiasticall is tyed to certayne dignities as Palatinates, Castellانات, the Captayneshipp of Samogitia and greate officers.

PALATYNES

The Palatines, vulgarly Waywodes, that is Captaynes of warre, are in their Provinces Presidentes of the meetinges, and Courtes of the Nobility, Patrons and Judges of the Jewes, In Military expeditions leaders, and Commaunders over the forces of their Provinces, have authority over the Nobility, and the

*F. 49 v* Benches of the Terrestriall courtes, taske and looke to Marchantes, and artificers wares, and workes, prize victualls, looke to the weightes and measures etc, have charge of dislimiting Crowne landes, and many other matters. There wonte to be 15 Palatines in Polonia, and Russia of the Senate, and 10 of Lithuania and her provinces, but synce that Lithuania, Prussia being united with the Crowne in priviledges and Dyet made one body, there are 31.

CASTELLANES

The Castellanes next to them in dignity are their leivetennants and under them leaders of the forces of their proper districtes, allmost eache Palatinate having divers Castellanes, partly for the easier government, whilst it is communicated to dyvers, and partly that the kynge mighte have the more of the Nobility beholding to hym for their advauncement. They are so called, as Primi Castellatorum, that is of the Nobility dwelling in Castles, which they interpret in oppidis, et vicis suis. Of them before the newe Constitution there were in Polonia 65, whereof onely 6 were called Maiores, and admitted to the privy Counsaile. At thys tyme in the kingdome, and Duchy, are 30 Maiores, and 50 Minores, besydes the 3 eminent placed amongst the Palatines. Those 2 ranckes of Palatines, and Castellanes, are called Dignitarii, which offices by statute are incompetible with Captayneshippes of Jurisdiction in their owne terretory, neyther can any man be Dignitary, but where he is landed, that is, hath free land. So that the kinge conferring any contrary to that, is by statute presumed to have violated hys oathe, and the priviledges of the lande. And thys makes that they commonly continew famelies. Further, they cannot be graunted in reversion, suppressed, nor weakened, in any righte, pention or iurisdiction. They are perpetuall, neyther can the kinge deprive any Dignitary, because that inferrs a greate note of infamy, and so cause civill

ORDERS FOR DIGNITY

in certayne greate

THE KINGE CANNOT DEPRIVE DIGNITARIES

broyles, by the discontentment of suche great parsonages, which cannot endure to be towched in their honor.

OFFICERS THAT ARE DIGNITARIES

*F. 50 r* The greate officers admitted into the Senate are 10, the Marshalls, Chauncellours, and Treasurers.

HIGHE MARSHALLS OF POLONIA AND LITHUANIA

The Marshalls being of greate authority, goe before the kinge with their warders, execute hys commaunde bothe in the Courte and Campe, iudge all matters, and controversies in the kinges howsholde, are arbiters and moderators of his combates, Comptrollers of the Courte,

Maisters of the Ceremonies, have the generall commaunde of the kinges Courte, the placing, displacing, and paying of the howshowld servauntes; they enterteine foraigne states, and the Counsellors of the lande, prize all victualls, where the Courte is, and in Campe ioyntly with the Marshall of the feilde, having for it tolle uppon all victualls called Foralia. In the Senate they make silence and audience, appoynting the Senators their course in speaking, they bringe in the Embassadors, pronounce the kinges sentence in causes capitall, and of infamy, proclayme the Senators decrees, etc. In the presence of the MARSHALLS OF THE COURTE the high Marshall he of the Courte dothe nothing, but in hys absence hath the same full authority. The Lithuanish have the same authority in the greate Duchy.

CHAUNCELLORS AND VICECHAUNCELLORS The Chauncellors keepe the greate seale, and the vicechauncellors the lesser of the Estate, whereof they are officers. The Polish dispatcheth all matters belonging to Polonia, and the Lithuanish those of the greate Duchy. They keepe the Rolles, wrighte and signe all Charters, Edictes, Mandates, letters, and whatsoever els is passed by the kinge, they receive and reade petitions exhibited, and letters sent to hym. They are the kinges mouthe, gyve hys aunswares, intimate in the Senate and Dyet hys prepositions, promulgate the kynges, Senates and Dyets decrees, oversee the secretaries, Clerkes, Preistes and preachers, (this belonging specially to the Spirituall officer) with

*F. 50 v* the Maisters of the Requestes, and other officers of the Chauncery, they have the suites of the Nobility, which fall out in the Duche Courtes, and relate them to the kinge. They may and must deny to passe any thinge contrary to the Common lawe, though the kynge commaunde. Suche cases are specefied in kinge Alexanders statute 1504. For the Nobility the Chauncery was tasked 1511 by Sigismund, but for Burgers, and strangers it was left arbitrary to the officers to exact what they would, whoe also enacted 1503 that one of those officers should be a secular person because of the incidency of many matters not to be committed to the spirituality whoe before had them bothe.

The Treasurer of Polonia receyves from all other officers the kinges revenewes, and what money soever belongs to hym, he keepe the Crowne, Scepter, etc of the kingdome, hath the charge of all expenses for the kinge, or State. For thys office he hath very large fees out of the Salt mynes. Hys deputy in hys absence is the vice treasurer. Besydes, the Treasurer is Maister of the Mynt, out of which he hath 4 markes weekly besydes some other fees.

THE ORDER OF THE SENATORS OF POLONIA AND LITHUANIA ACCORDING TO THE LAST CONSTITUTION, THOSE WHICH ARE NOTED WITH A CROSSE, BEING ADDED UPON THE UNION OF THE KINGDOME, AND THE GREATE DUCHY UNDER SIGISMUNDUS AUGUSTUS.

2 Archebishops: Gnesna, Leopolis.

13 Bishops:	Cracow		Luceoria +
	Wladislavia		Premisla
	Vilna +	} have preseance } by course	Samogitia +
	Posnania		Chulme
	Plotzko	} by course	Chelme
	Varmia		Kiovia
			Camijenez +

*F. 51 r* Palatines and other eminent Dignitaries intermixt.

Castellane of Cracow.	Janusius, a papist, sonne of the Duke of Ostrog.
Palatynes of Cracow.	Nicholas Firley, Catholike
Posnania.	Gostamsky <sup>da</sup> ), Captayne of Sandomiria, which yealdes hym yearely 18000 florens. Catholike.
Vilna +	Christofer Radzivil, Duke of Bierze <sup>db</sup> ) and Dubinky. Generall of Lithuania, very potent. Evangelicall
Sandomiria.	Minszek <sup>dc</sup> ). Catholike.
Castellane of Vilna +	Eustathius Wolkievicius <sup>dd</sup> ). Cathol.
Palatynes of Calisch.	Potwoiowsky <sup>de</sup> ). Cathol.
Troky +	Nicholas - Christofer Radzivil, Cathol. Duke of Olyka, and Nessvisz <sup>df</sup> ), brother to the Cardinall
Siradia.	Albert Lasky, learned, well languaged, famous for hys service against the Tartarians and in the Moldavish warre 1561, too magnificall whereby he dissipated a greate patrimony, and disgraced hymselfe by dishonorable shiftes at home, and abroade, now in grace with the kinge. Cathol.
Castellane of Troky +	Nicholas Talwosz. Evangelicall
Palatine of Lancicia.	Minsky. Cathol.
Captayne of Samogitia +	A place of greate honor and power, and therefore soughte for with greate ambition. Radzivil Duke of Olika and Niessvisz <sup>df</sup> ). Cathol.
Brzestije <sup>dg</sup> ).	Lessczynsky <sup>dh</sup> ). Evangelicall very zealous in hys profession.
Kiovia +	Constantyne Duke of Ostrog, Greekish, very olde, hath don greate service against the Tartars

da) Gostomski

db) Birze

dc) Mniszech

dd) Eustachius Wołłowicz

de) Potworowski

df) Nieśwież

dg) Brześć nad Bugiem

dh) Leszczyński

Wladislavia	<i>F. 51 v</i>	Moschovites and Wallachians.
Russia		Nicholas Sieniawsky *) Cathol. hys father was Marshall and a great souldiour.
Volhinia +		The younger sonne of the Palatine of Kiovia. Cathol.
Podolia		Sieninsky. Evangelicall
Smolensko +		In the Moschovite possession.
Lublin		Sokiesky di). Evangelicall
Polotia +		Zolkievius **). Lorde Marshall of the feilde of Polonia hys daughter is married to the Palatyne of Posnania.
Belz		
Novogrod +		Skumin. Greekish
Plotzko		
Viteps +		
Massovia		Stanislaus Krisky dj). Cathol.
Podlasia +		Radziminsky
Rawa		Mitszkowsky dk), learned, riche. Cathol.
Brizestie di) +		
Culme		
Mscislavia +		
Marieburg.		Thys is the cheife forte of Prussia, which bridles the whole contrey, scited on the Vistula, uppon an hill invironed with fences, held inexpugnable.
Brazlaw +		Duke of Sbaravia, a good souldiour
Pomerania		Stanislaus Kostka, Cathol. learned, travailed, wise, greatly allyed, and in favoure with the kinge. He is allso Captayne of Marieburg.
Minsko +		

*F. 52 r* CASTELLANI MAIORES 31

Posnania	Earle of Bozrzadow dm). Evangelicall
Sandomiria.	Stanislaus Earle of Tarnow, Cathol. He is Captayne of Stobnicza.
Calisch	Voynicz. Miszkowsky. Cathol.
Gnesna	
Lancicia	
Samogitia +	

di) Sobleski  
 \*) *sic in ms.*  
 dj) Kryski  
 dk) Myszkowski

di) Brześć Kujawski  
 \*\*) *sic in ms.*  
 dm) Rozrzazewski



Brzestye	
Kiovia +	
Wladislavia	Susky
Lublyn	
Volhinia +	
Camijenez	
Smolensko +	
Leopolis	Marcus Sobiesius, Evangelicall
Novogrod +	
Plotzko	
Viteps +	
Czern <sup>dn)</sup>	
Podlasia +	
Rawa	Nicholaus Trzansky <sup>do)</sup> , Evangelicall
Brzestye +	
Culme	
Mscisslavia +	
Elbing	
Braczlaw +	
Dantzig	
Minsko +	

CASTELLANI MINORES 49

Sandecz	Nicholaus Komorowsky, an Earle. Cathol.
Miedzyrzecz	
Visliczka <sup>dp)</sup>	Nicholaus Ligeza, Cathol.
Byecz	Sborowsky
Rogoszno	
Radom	Firley brother of the Treasurer
Srem	
Zarnowiecz	
Malagoszcz	Nicholaus Olesmicius <sup>dq)</sup> . Evangelicall renowned for magnificence, and honoured for hys auncestors vertues
Wielun	Nicholaus Micynius <sup>dr)</sup> . Evangelicall
Premislia	
Haliycz	
Sanoc	Nicholas Ligtza <sup>ds)</sup>
Chelm	
Dobrzin	

dn) Czersk  
do) Trzciński  
dp) Wiślica, Vislicia

dq) Olesnicius, Oleśnicki  
dr) Męciński  
ds) Ligeza

Polanicz	N. Niedzwicky <sup>dt)</sup>
Promecz <sup>du)</sup>	
Crinin <sup>dv)</sup>	
Czechovia	Nicholaus Ligeza Cathol.
Notel <sup>dw)</sup>	
Rospir	
Bechovia	
Bydgoscia	
Wrzesna <sup>dx)</sup>	
Kruswik	
Oszwiecin	Nicholaus Padmensky <sup>dy)</sup> , Cathol.
Camien	
Spicimir	
Inowlod	
Cowale	
Sanoke <sup>dz)</sup>	
Sochaczow	
Warsaw	
Gostinin	
Visnen <sup>ea)</sup>	
Ratzyunz <sup>eb)</sup>	
Syeprz <sup>ec)</sup>	
Wisshegrad <sup>ed)</sup>	
Rypin	
Sacrocz <sup>ee)</sup>	Nicholaus Radziminsky
Czyechanow	
Linen <sup>ef)</sup>	
Sloven <sup>eg)</sup>	
Lubaciovia	
Conaria <sup>eh)</sup>	in the Palatinate of Siradia
<i>F. 52 v</i>	
Conaria <sup>eh)</sup>	in the Palatinate of Lancicia
Conaria <sup>eh)</sup>	in the Palatinate of Wladislavia

#### THE OFFICERS

The Marshall of Polonia.	Nicholas Zebrzdowsky, Cathol.
The Marshall of Lithuania	

dt) Niedzwicki  
 du) Przemęt  
 dv) Krzywín  
 dw) Nakło  
 dx) Brzeźno  
 dy) Padniewski  
 dz) Santok

ea) Wizna  
 eb) Raciąż  
 ec) Sierpc  
 ed) Wyszogrod  
 ee) Zakroczym  
 ef) Liw  
 eg) Słońsk  
 eh) Konary

Chauncellor of Polonia	Johannes Zamoisky, Cathol.
Chauncellor of Lithuania	Leo Sapieha, Cathol.
Treasurer of Polonia	Nich. Firley, Captayne of Lublin, Cathol.
Treasurer of Lithuania	
Marshall of the Courte of Polonia	Nicholaus Browiecky, a good soul- dioure
Marshall of the Courte of Lithuania	
Vicechauncellor of Polonia	Bisshopp of Chelme
Vicechauncellor of Lithuania	

THE SENATORS OATHE                      The oathe of the Senators:

Juro quod Serenissimo principi et Domino N. Regi Poloniae fidelis ero, proque eo et Republica fideliter consulam, secretum nemini pandam, pro posse meo utilitates Regis Regnique et Reipublicae augebo, quodque sensero Regi, Regno et Reipublicae damnosum praecustodiam, neque fiat me opponam, et illud avertam.

SECRETARIES  
MAISTERS OF  
REQUESTES  
THE OFFICES  
PERPETUALL

The cheife secretary hath place in the Chancery, as also the other Secretaries, but neyther they nor the Maisters of the requestes have session in the Senate. Allmost all the offices of the lande are perpetuall, and onely lost per maximam aut mediam capitis diminutionem.

Besides those there are many officers of Charge and Magistrates for the publike government, not admitted into the Senate, though some thinke that the twooe Captaynes of Polonia maior, and Cracow, should be Senators. The most parte of the

TERRESTRES  
OFFICIARII

*F. 53 r* other are called Terrestres Officiarii, as belonging to particuler provinces wherein they execute their proper offices, and have some authoritie in the Conventes of them, suche are the Succamerarius, Captayne, Swordbearer, Guidon, Cuppbearer, Ussher, Carver, Server, Underserver, Judge, Under Judge, Tribune (that is the keeper of the Castle), Notary, Treasurer, Huntzman, Maister of the horse. The most of those officers belonging to Cracow, beare the name of the kingedome, as the swordbearer of Cracow, is called the Swordbearer of the kingedome.

OFFICES OF THE  
HOWSHOLD

The courte of offices are at the kinges disposition, whoe seldome putts out any without greate cause.

CAPTAYNESHIPPS  
PROFITABLE

The Captainshipps are the offices of the greatest proffitt, and are of twooe sortes. The first have properly that name, suche Captaynes being governours of the kinges Castles, Townes, landes, and all renewes within their precincts; they represent the kinges person, have charge of the peace, large iurisdiction and authority even over the gentry in some cases. Their iudgments they holde every sixe weekes and have their severall

GENERALL  
CAPTAYNES

judges, and ministers thereto belonging. Their vice Captaynes or Leive-  
 tenants called Burgraves are exempt from warre. Bothe these and the  
 judges of their Courtes are chosen and discharged at their pleasure.  
 The Captaynes must be landed in the same Captayneshipp or Districte  
 neither is any dignitary capable of any of these in his owne government.  
 The Captayne of Cracow onely medleth not with the kinges landes or  
 revenewe, that belonging to the Procurator generall of the Castle of  
 Cracow. Of the iuridicall or generall captainships there are onely in  
 Polonia and her members 50, and in the Regall Prussia 18.

INFERIOR  
 CAPTAYNES

The second sorte of Captainships is of those  
 which are called Tenutae, and governours of them  
 Tenutarii or Tenantes

*F. 53 v* taken out of the generall, and of those some have annexed terri-  
 tories, somme have not, but bothe wante iurisdiction over the Nobility.  
 Of all sortes Polonia maior hath 30, Minor 40, and Massovia 12 besydes  
 those of Lithuania, Livonia etc.

MORGAGING OF  
 CAPTAYNESHIPPS

Of the Captainships some are morgaged, and  
 so passed as inheritance, and some are free. Suche  
 morgages from the kinge are not good without the  
 Senates consent in the Dyet. Sandomiria in no necessitie of the State can  
 eyther be alienated, morgaged, or lett to fearme by Statute Anni 1478  
 grounded upon the condition prescribed by John de Rythwyany Palatyne  
 of Cracow, whoe having it in morgage for notable summes freely restored  
 it to the Crowne. Anythinge donne contrary to thys Statute is voyde, and  
 he to whome it is passed, is within compasse of treason. Also the kinge  
 may not alienate any thinge of the generall procuracion of Cracow.

PERSONS NOT  
 CAPABLE OF  
 CAPTAINSHIPPES

It is to be noted that from the Captainships of  
 Statute are excluded all strangers, and those which  
 are of Ducall discent, which is understoode of the  
 feudatary Dukes of Prussia and Curland, and in tymes  
 past of those, which were descended of the bloude royall of Polonia, viz.  
 the Dukes of Massovia etc and of the howse of Jagello in Lithuania. This  
 the Poles enacted for these reasons. Fyrst, for the appropriating of those  
 advauncementes onely to the Nobility. Secondly, that  
 strangers might not be potent, nor the kinge by them.

THE POLES IELOUS  
 OF EMINENT SUB-  
 IECTES

Thirdly, leas by possessing of the fortes, the eminent  
 princes mighte growe too stronge, and be the abler  
 to advaunce their pretences, for which cause also  
 they have allwayes excluden them from the elections of the kinges, which  
 they in tyme would fynde meanes to overrule, eyther for themselves or  
 their allyes contrary to the libertie and equallitie affected by the Polish  
 Nobility. Amongst these are not accounted the Radzivils, Ostrog, Zba-  
 ras, Prunscen <sup>ei)</sup>, or other Dukes of Lithuania, and Russia, which in the  
 common wealthe have no other place, then is afforded

ei) Pruńscy

*F. 54 r* them by suche offices as they gett, howbeit that they are mighty in their owne terretories, especially Ostrog, whoe hath 4000 feudataries besydes Bawres, Townesmen etc. But their mighte is not feared, because they neyther have pretension nor absolute commaunde more then other of the Nobility.

THE PROFFITT OF THE  
CAPTAYNESHIPPS

A MOTION FOR THE  
UNITING OF THE  
CAPTAYNESHIPPS  
TO THE CROWNE

WHEREFORE  
HINDERED

The greate commoditie of the Captaineshippes is raised by the wronging of the Crowne, the Captaynes retayning 3/4 of the Domayne. Of late yeares under kinge Stephan the inferior Nobility in the greate subsidies rayseed of the State muche urged that those 3/4 should be broughte to the Publike treasure, and so all extraordinary subsidies cutt off, enforcing to that purpose a clause of a Statute made by Sigismundus Augustus. But it was answered, that there was no suche thinge constituted, and farther that it would be a greate prejudice to the Nobility and Common Wealthe, yf gentlemen should have no hope of rysing, and bettering their estate, but by the plowe and good husbandry, which onely in suche case they would intende, turning their course from politicall to economicall, considering they should in vayne neglect their famelies, spend their rentes, and employ themselves in the service of the State, when there should be left for them no hope of rewarde. Lastly, the Captaynes to satisfy for the tyme the importunity of the Nuntii, agreed of their free will to conferre for that present tyme onely 1/4 of their Captaineshippes, but with condition that thys example should not hereafter be prejudiciall to them.

Of the private Nobility those which are landed men are muche respected above the others, for their capability of honours and helps, which the Common Wealthe hath from them. And therefore in many cases (as free holders in England are counted Homines legales) by Statute their authority and wittnesse etc weigheth more, as also in compurgation. Besydes they are not subiecte to the Captaynes iurisdiction, as the other, nor to be imprisoned (except

LANDED NOBILITY

*F. 54 v* in some haynous offences specefied) before they be convict by lawe Statuto Anni 1433.

GREAT TRAYNES

Bothe the greate Lordes, and private riche gentlemen keepe greate traynes, commonly to the uttermost of their hability, and somme farre beyonde, maynteyning them in that case by hadd meanes, suffering, and protecting them in outrages and insolencies. The Lordes keepe also greate guardes of Hayduckes, and Cosackes, so that it seemes the state standes uppon violence, the security being rather in eache mans ability to defende hymselfe, then in the publike protection of the lawe. Thys causeth greate ryotes, and may in tyme devide the State.

GUARDES. NIHIL IN  
LEGIBUS PRESIDII

THE POORE NOBILITY

CAUSE OF THEIR POVERTIE

MEANES OF RELIEVING THE NOBILITY SERVES ONELY FOR THE BEST FAMELYES

Of the poore Nobility having *Nec rem nec larem*, there is an huge multitude, Which common poverty comes by these meanes. Fyrst, for that the land possessed by the Nobility is certayne, viz. 140000 villages or Mannours, but that State is dayly wonderfully increased. Secondly, for that Patrimonies oft subdevided comme at last to nothing. Thirdly, the common prodigality of the gentlemen which consume their inheritance. Fowrthly and lastly, For that they may not helpe themselves by trade, or any plebeian gayne, that being by statute the losse of their gentrye. For the relieving of themselves the Nobility hath taken good order by drawing the advancements and proffitts almost of the whole lande to themselves. For they enjoye not onely their owne without charge, or burden, but reape also almost all the fruites of the kinges landes, customes, tolles, and tributes, besydes the fattest of the spirituall lyvinges, and all charges of honoure and benefitt. But thys little helpe the poorer, whoe by poverty are excluded from secular, and by it kept backe from the spirituall, as not able to followe the chargeable course of study for want of mainetenance, nor though well studied able to make their sufficiency knowne, especially to the kinge, whoe should preferre them. So that bothe

*F. 55 r* spirituall and secular prefermentes almost onely serve for the mainteyning of greate howses in their greatnes, they having the hability of following the course of ambition, and the advantage of favoure with the Prince, whoe bestoweth all charges uppon those which can best pleasure hym, by suche meanes obliging to hymselfe the mightie famelies.

MEANES FOR THE POORE

STUDY

So that these weakeleinges can hardly tugge out having but twoe meanes. The first is study which fewe can follow, and of those seldome any to perfection, which is not gotten at home (the profession not being taught exactly in the Universities) but with great charges to be learned in forreine landes. The studies for gentlemens preferment are onely Divinity, and suche as make a good States man, viz. History, knowledge of States, some sighte in the Civill lawe, languages, and Oratory. Thys last is of especial use, For that

RHETORICK MUCH AFFECTED

the Poles in all meetings, and deliberations doe deliver their opinions in longe orations, wherein they use all arte, bothe for perswading, and moving to wynn themselves a swaying credit by an opinion of learning and wisdom, For which purpose the elegancy of the latyne tongue is much affected (thys making the Poles to excell the gentlemen of all other nations in that kinde) and because that the barrennes of the Polish not affourding significant wordes, makes them fall into it. To further the poorer in study, there have ben devised

MEANES OF STUDY

twoe meanes, the first of charging Abbeys with the trayning upp of the youthe, (which is putt in practise and serveth onely for the attayning of the rudimentes), the second by capitulating with the Competitors for the mainteyning of a certayne number in forraigne Courtes, and Universities, for their perfection in knowledge and practise of Chevalrye. Thys poynte was first cunningly founde and

touched by Monluc Embassadoure for the Duke of Aniw<sup>e</sup>) and ever synce in suche suites offered by the Austrians, but yet never effected. For that Aniw stayed not longe with them, and the Austrians have allwayes had the repulse.

The second and ordinary meanes that poore gentlemen are

*F. 55 v* compelled to use, is service, which serves them onely to lyve, and not to rise, excepting some fewe which gett speciall favoure with their lordes, and are placed by them in the Leivetennancy of a Castle, or somme bayleywicke, or peradventure are rewarded by them with some peice of lande. Thys course is held for no disparagement, the rather because they are not putt to servile drudgery, but onely defend their maisters and wayte on them, though they doe it most submissely, and deiecte themselves by too base adulation. For so must they doe that seeke credit with the Poles, whoe by nature being high mynded, love to see their owne greatnes in anothers humility, and hearing their owne recommendations from a profesory tonge, displaye their plumes, and in a vayne glory seeke by liberrall rewarding of suche panegyricall parasites, to manifest those vertues which are most harped on.

POORE GENTLEMEN  
FORCED TO SERVE.

THE POLES TICKLED  
WITH FLATTERY

SERVICE NECESSARY  
IN POLONIA

It is most necessary for that state that suche kinde of service should be held in reputation (howsoever indeed it is base) seing that libertie in the most abiect condition is in true iudgement more honorable then any private service. But for that by the nature of the people and statutes, favouring of military disposition, all Civill courses by trade staynes Nobility, the common wealthe could not stande but by thys service. For wante would make the multitude of poore gentlemen seeke the ruine of that State, wherein they are but beggars, and the establishing of a newe which should bringe them a better condition, there being not any more forcible cause of rebellions, tumultes, secessions etc. then multitudinis inopia, et nimiae paucorum opes, especially yf the multitude be interested in the soveraignety, as it is in Polonia, where the voyce of every poore servingman being a gentleman weighes as muche in all Conventes and elections as the greatest princes, onely they are not capable of honors nor magistracies. In the Roman Common Wealthe thys was the common matter of seditions, the turbulent Tribunes urging the Agrarian lawes, and exciting the raskality of the

THE POORE NOBILITY  
NOT ADMITTED  
TO HONOURS

*F. 56 r* Citty to tumultes by odious rubbing of thys sore, and exclaiming that thys multitude called the Lordes of the worlde had not hovels to shelter them from the weather. These stirrs could never be well appeased, by reason that suche a multitude which did dominiere in the Dyettes, could not be releived by the riche, whoe had greate store of slaves, and so could not (as they doe in Polonia) enterteine their poore fellowe citizens. For which they were forced to allaye the broyles onely for the present, and

e) Anjou

THE ROMANS  
REMEDIES FOR THE  
POVERTIE OF THE  
MULTITUDE

fyer was still renewed, the multitude being agayne broughte to the former beggery by their continuall increase.

THE POLES MEANES  
FOR PROVIDING FOR  
POORE GENTS.

meanes in thys manner to disburden the State, yf there should be any suche commotion by placing them in the waste landes of Podolia, and Lithuania, which yf they did afore they be urged, it would be a greate securing, enlarging and inritchng of the kingdome, of which I will speake hereafter. But it seemes that thys poorer sorte desyres not any better state, for that they lyve ryotously and gallantly according to the Polish humoure. So that whether the Polish Noblemen keepe suche greate and ryotuous traynes in that reason of State, or uppon affectation of pompe, and greatnes, or security of their persons as being commonly in quarrells, the State cannot well stande without it. For that it is the common bande of unity betweene the riche and the poore, bothe by that meanes participating of the benefittes of the lande, the one by commaunde, and the other by dependency of the Commaunders

that by twoe meanes: Fyrst by assigning to the poore whatsoever any famely possessed of the publike lande above 500 Jugera. And secondly by deducting Colonies and assigning to eache man a certayne quantity of lande. And this they tearmed Sentinam Republicae exhaurire. But after a certayne periode the

was used in Polonia by kinge Stephan, whoe having forced the Moschovites to gyve over Livonia layed out certayne landes and bestowed them on suche as had donne some markeable service. The Poles have good

meanes in thys manner to disburden the State, yf there should be any suche commotion by placing them in the waste landes of Podolia, and Lithuania, which yf they did afore they be urged, it would be a greate securing, enlarging and inritchng of the kingdome, of which I will speake hereafter. But it seemes that thys poorer sorte desyres not any better state, for that they lyve ryotously and gallantly according to the Polish humoure. So that whether the Polish Noblemen keepe suche greate and ryotuous traynes in that reason of State, or uppon affectation of pompe, and greatnes, or security of their persons as being commonly in quarrells, the State cannot well stande without it. For that it is the common bande of unity betweene the riche and the poore, bothe by that meanes participating of the benefittes of the lande, the one by commaunde, and the other by dependency of the Commaunders

F. 56 v

trencher, besides the correspondency of patrone, and Cliente, imitating in that the auncient Romane state, which by that order was united and kepte in mutuall amity, the Patricians being the patrones of the Plebeians, counselling them, following their suites, pleading their causes, and defending them in all cases without fee or rewarde, and on the other syde the Clientes observing, honoring and with greate respecte wayting on their patrons.

THE BONDE  
THAT TYES THE  
POORE GENTRY  
TO THE STATE.

MUTUALL OFFICES OF  
THE LORDE AND  
HIS DEPENDANTES

So in Polonia the Lorde defendes hys servaunte, and accountes hys iniuries don to hymselfe, revenging them alyke. The follower seekes the honoure of hys lorde, and forsakes hym not in what daunger soever, which duety of the servaunte is so favoured by lawe, that he wounding or killing any man in helping hys maister cannot be towched. Tacitus description of the Germane traynes dothe most aptly expresse the Polish. « Gradus ipse (sayth he) Comitatus habet iudicio eum quem sectantur, magnaue est comitum emulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus, et principum cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. Haec dignitas, hae vires, magno semper electorum iuvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus, in bello praesidium. Nec solum in sua gente cuique sed apud finitimas quoque civitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat, expetuntur enim legationibus et muneribus ornantur, et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant. Cum ventum in aciem turpe principi virtute vinci; turpe comitatus virtutem principis non adae-



quare. Illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriae eius assignare praecipuum sacramentum est. Principes pro victoria pugnant, Comites pro principe. Exigunt principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem aequum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam. Nam epulae et quanquam incompti largi tamen apparatus pro stipendio cedunt. Materia munificentiae per bella et raptus etc.». Hys whole discourse of the German fashions in most things fitts the Poles.

NECESSITY  
OF SUCH  
DEPENDENCY

To conclude thys poynte, thys dependency makes that the multitude is not so easely drawne to the factious divorces, which some troublesome spirites seeke for the conversion or confusion of the

*F. 57 r* State, and therefore if thys lyncke were loosened by the faulte of eyther party, or the cunning of some thirde, it would questionles endaunger the State.

In Polonia the condition bothe of suche as serve, and of others, which lyve uppon small revenewes without dependency, is farre better then in Lithuania, being neyther so servile, nor so subiecte to the iniuries of the potent, the poorest gentleman by the helpe of hys kinsmen and neighboures of the same State, being able to make hys parte good with the greatest lorde.

LOSSE  
OF NOBILITY

Nobility is lost by using any plebeian course of lyfe, as trade, and Mechanicalls (husbandry and service being excepted) or by some greate offence which induceth infamy, as treason (which is by Statute onely against the kinges person) contumacy against the lawe. murder of a preiste, heresy, assaulting of howses, killing parentes, brethren or sisters, theft, robbery, firing of any place, false accusation uppon malice, etc. But now most of these crymes are not so punished, the dayly increase of liberty bringing in impunity and licentiousnes.

PERFECT  
NOBILITY  
BY BIRTHE

By statute he is accounted a gentleman of perfecte bloude, whose father was a gentleman, so that bothe he and hys parentes, having lived as gentlemen it is no matter though he hys mother were a plebeian by later lawes, which for the helping of the poorer Nobility suffer gentlemen without disparagement of their bloude to matche with riche plebeians, whereas 200 yeares agoe it was necessary in that poynte that all the auncestors on bothe sydes for three degrees should be noble.

NOBILITY BY  
CREATION

Nobility is graunted eyther for Civill, or military vertues, and now sometymes for wealthe. They which are newly created, commonly are admitted to the brotherhoode of some noble famely

THE CREATED  
ADOPTED INTO  
NOBLE FAMELYES.

*F. 57 v* taking the same armes with some distinction, which is an honor and strengthening to bothe. So did Zamoisky accept of all those, which being made, noble for their service in the Moschovitch

THE LITHUANISH  
NOBILITY ADOPTED  
BY POLISH FAMELYES.

warre, required thys honor of hym, under whome they had served. Lykewise when Jagello of Lithuania was admitted kinge of Polonia, and that those twooe contreys were first ioyned, the Lithuanish nobility contracted brotherhoode with severall famelies of Polonia, taking of them their armes, whereas before they used none.

POLISH ARMORY

The commonest charges of the Polish Coates are horsse shooes, hatchetts, and Characters. In the first and fowerth quarter they beare their fathers, and in the seconde and thirde their mothers, though she be no inheritrix.

TITLES

The title of the Spirituall Senators is Reverendissimi, of the Dignitaries, Magnifici, of other officers Generosi, Private gentlemen being knights, Strenui, the rest Nobiles, Dukes, Illustrissimi, Earles, Illustres. The Dignitaries also affect the same titles, but by statute, and in publike instrumentes they are intituled as before. For the dignities of Dukes, Earles, and Barons they are not proper to Polonia, neyther (excepting Prussia, and Curland) have they any place, prerogative, or preeminency, otherwise then upon curtesy, and that under the Dignitaries, or Senatours, themselves yf they be Senatours taking the place of their publike dignity. The Dukedomes of Prussia, and Curland were erected by composition with the Crowne of Polonia. The Radzivils have the title from the Emperoure, the rest are all in Russia, and the Provinces of the greate Duchy, being the posteritie of the auncient Knesses. In Polonia the families wright themselves Earles, Gorke extincte of late, and the inheritance fallen to the Charnkowes, Tarnow, Tenczyn, Melstyn, Sidlowiecz <sup>en)</sup> etc. but (I thinke) they eyther broughte with them those titles from forreyne Countreys, or els, yf the famelyes be originary Polish, have receyved them from forreyne Potentates, For that it

*F. 58 r* appeareth not that the Princes of Polonia ever created any suche, neyther have they degree in the Common Wealth, where all dignities are onely personall, and not hereditary, the Poles acknowledging no other eminency in Nobility but by publike office. In Lithuania the Chialkiewiczzes <sup>eo)</sup> intitle themselves Earles of Sklow and Mess <sup>ep)</sup>. The Laskyes in Polonia name themselves Barons, but I thincke in regarde of their English discent.

THE PLEBEIANS

The Plebeian order (except in Prussia, where in righte it is equall, and in other prerogatives but lyttle inferior to the gentry) is most base, and contemptible, not onely barred from the State, but also obnoxious to the wronges and insolencies of the gentry, from which the lawes have not sufficiently securde their goodes, honor, or lyves especially against their Lordes, whoe cannot be called into question for the murdering of hys villanes,

en) Szydłowiec  
eo) Chodkiewicz  
ep) Mysz

nor they have safe conducte, or security from any officer against hym, but have thys onely remedy, that in certayne cases they may acquitt hym, of which I will speake hereafter.

FREE PLEBEIANS

Of Plebeians some are free, and others subiecte to the Lordes of the soyle. The free are suche, as being cleare from slavery are onely subiecte to the Sovereignty and subordinate Magistracie, otherwise lordes of their owne goodes and lyves, suche are the Burgers and inhabitantes of free townes, governed by Magistrates of their owne body, and having landes in their suburbes of Burgerly tenure.

BURGERS

The heade of those is Cracow, which notwithstanding dothe not properly belonge to thys Order, that Incorporation being honorable and united with the Nobility in participation of all priviledges, and interest of the State, though almost all the Burgers be Plebeians. The lyke may be saide of Thorn, Dantzic, and Elbing in Prussia. The Burgers of all other Citties (and in some cases of Cracow itselfe) in matters of suite with gentlemen, and punisshing of their offences, have some note of base subiection by reason of lawes, which the Nobility hath passed for their owne priviledge.

GOVERNEMENT OF  
THE CITTIES

*F. 58 v* The administration of the Citties is popular, the Burgers of all sortes thereto admitted. In the Senate of Cracow are some gentlemen. The Consuls of it are appoynted by the Palatyne of Cracow, those of Vieliczka, and Bochnia by the Succamerarius of Cracow. In the rest of the cittyes, they are chosen partly by the Captaynes, partly by the Lordes, and in somme by the Burgers. Over the Burgers the Magistrates of the City have Merum Imperium, over gentlemen none except in cases of violence, and then they have ioynte authority with the Captayne. The Burgers may appeale to the highe Tribunall, cite their magistrates, and demaunde of them accompte of the publike contributions, and their government. Burgers dwelling in the Citties paye no Fumalia, and have many other priviledges, which the kinge confirmeth to them by oathe. The Consuls are sworne to the kinge to procure hys honoure, and the good of the Realme, and not to permitt any seditions or Commotions in their citty (which is a thinge muche feared by the Nobility).

POPULAR TUMULTES  
FEARED

The Burgers sveare fealtie to the kinge and obedience to the Consuls in all rightes, priviledges, customes and ordinances of the City, and if it be a place of trafike, not to trade with straungers, to the preiudice of the customes, tolles, rightes and Common Magazines; for weightes, measures, price of wares etc the Marchantes and Artizans are obnoxious to the Palatynes. They use the Dutche and Saxish lawe.

CITY LAWES

PLEBEIANS  
SUBJECT

Amongst the Plebeians subiecte *ratione soli*, the freest are the Sculteti, Advocates, Arbiters in townes, and Millers. The Sculteti, and Advocates, are of meetely good estimation, and have their profitable offices in inheritance, but neyther they nor the Miller can alienate, morgage, lett

or sell their interest without the Lordes consent. The first twoe are governours and Judges over other Villaynes, representing their Lordes person, whose bayliffes they are, also in military expeditions they are the leaders of their Lordes footemen, and by statute, except they can performe bothe those

THE BAYLIFFES  
LEADERS OF THE  
VILLANY

*F. 59 r* Civill and military offices, they are to be removed.

BAWRES  
VILLENAGE

The Bawres differ lyttle from slaves, called by the Poles contractly Kmetones [ ] Villani a villa. These Kmetones are of severall kyndes. The first are Servi glebae, qui victus quaerendi aut pretii participandi causa se alieno iuri dederunt. The second Ascriptitii, Copsyholders, Qui literis obligatoriis ita fundo alicui, aut agro colendo addicuntur, ut inde nequeant discedere. The thirde, Censiti, farmers, which uppon rente have a peice of lande for tearme of yeares. The fowerth Conditionales, which uppon certayne conditions bynde themselves to husbände a peice of grounde onely for a certayne tyme. The fyfte Inquilini are undertennantes or Inmates,

HOW VILLAINES  
ARE FREED

Qui in certa parte agri, vel domus alienae ex conducto habitant. They are freed by lawe, and may all departe from the Mannoure in three cases. Fyrst, yf for their lordes faulte they stave a yeare excommunicated, or for it any of them wante Christian buriall. Secondly, yf the lorde ravish a wyfe or daughter of hys Bawre. Thirdly, yf they be distreyned on for their lordes faulte or debte. So farre for the common good the Nobility is held in, for their proper inheritance uppon twoe reasons. Fyrst, quia interest reipublicae, ne quis re sua male utatur. And secondly, because the Bawres are the Oeconomi and husbändes of the common wealth, and therefore for

VILLAINES HOW FARR  
FAVORED

WHEREFORE

the publike benefitt it is ordered Ne quis illorum servituti abutatur. Besydes that generall departure, yf a father have more sonnes then one, by Statute Anni 1503, and 1507, one of them having licence and lettres testimoniall from hys lorde, whereby he is manumitted, may departe, and follow learning (so that he be not above 12 yeares olde) religion, service, or some handycrafte for the preventing of beggery, which fills the lande with rogues, theeves, and robbers, the rest are to abyde with their father uppon hys Copsyholde.

DEPARTURE BY  
LICENCE

WHOE MAY HAVE  
VILLAINES

Those which are subiecte ratione soli, belonge to the kinge, Spiritualltie or Nobility, For by righte they cannot belonge to

*F. 59 v* Burgers whoe may not possesse Mannors, and landes of Knightes service, but when they fall to them, must in a certayne tyme sell them to some gentleman, otherwise they forfeite them. But thys is ofte wincked at by the Palatynes, whoe have the charge of looking to it.

IMMUNITIES OF THE  
BAWRES OF THE  
SPIRITUALTY AND  
NOBILITY

THE KINGES  
VILLANES

SERVICE OF  
VILLENAGE

The Bawres of the spiritualltie, and Nobility, are exempt from all service, tolles, customes, or due of auncient to the kinge, but onely paye hym the twooe groshe for Fumalia, which immunities were graunted for the Lordes benefytt. The kinges bawres are subiecte to all auncient greevances, and allmost as hardly used by the Captaynes, as the other by the Nobility. The service is not alyke of all, For some labour but one daye a weeke for their lordes, some more, and some not at all. Anno 1520 it was enacted, that all Bawres not tasked at more dayes then one in the

weeke, should for every Laneus or Mansus labour in their lordes husbandry one daye weekly excepting onely those which by covenant of a yearely rent in money or grayne had acquitt themselves of that service. In Lithuania and Samogitia their condition is farre worse, and indeede miserable; where they must labour for their lorde six dayes, having left for them for their owne onely the seaventh, forced out of the fruites of those 52 dayes by the

THEIR MISERABLE  
ESTATE IN LITHU-  
ANIA AND SAMO-  
GITIA

garrisons against the Moschovites to satisfy the avarice of their lordes, and their servantes, and the rapacity of the souldiours, obnoxious to all their insolencies, which they must patiently endure without redresse, as not admitted to the presence of their lordes, or to any magistrate without a present.

THEIR LAWES

In Polonia the Bawres are judged eyther by the Common or Dutche lawe, according to the custome of the Mannor. But yf the lorde use the Common, and so bringe the Dutche which he had in priviledge into disuse, he leeseth it. The Bawre must be sued in hys lordes courte, Yf at the Common lawe, the lorde appoyntes a Judge, under Judge, certayne gentlemen, and a Notary according to the forme of the

SUITES

*F. 60 r* terrestriall iudgements. If at the Dutche, he settis an Advocate, and Scabyne for Judges, before whome the suite is iudicially followed. The appeale is by the fyrst course to the terrestriall iudgement, and from the sentence of the Dutche courte to the Lorde of the Mannor, where it resteth, if bothe parties be hys villans, otherwise it is removed from hym to the highe Courte of appeales for the Dutche lawe. The Bawres, and subiectes of the Clergy, may by petition be releived agaynst their lordes, by the byshopps, Archebyshopps or Pope. A bawre killing a bawre payeth 10 markes, or Crownes, (which was wonte to be but 3) viz. 4 to the Lorde, and 6 to the Bawres heyres. If he be not hable to pay it, he leeseth hys lyfe.

DYETTES OF THE  
STATE

There be twooe generall meetinges of the State, wherein the soveraignety is represented. The fyrst in the Interregnum for the election of the new kinge, whether all the Nobility that will, commes, and gyves their voyces personally, making in it what lawes they thincke good, whereto by conditioning

they bynde theire newe kinge. Thys meeting is the most popular. The second is the Dyet, consisting of the Senators and the Nuncii, which are Commissioners chosen by the Nobility of eache province, the kinge being the heade. The Dyet consistes of twooe howses, In the upper of which sytt the Senators with the kinge, and in the lower are the Nuncii. It is summoned by the kinge with the advice of the Senate, with whome he communicates towching the tyme, place, and heades of the future deliberation, signifiying the same to the perticular Conventes of the Nobility, in eache Palatinate, consisting of the Dignitaryes, viz. Bishoppes, Palatynes, Castellanes, the Officers, and Nobility of the same, whoe having hearde the kinges commission, deliberate towching the matters propounded by the kinge, themselves setting downe others to be exhibited, and chusing for that purpose out of theire districte certeyne Nuncios or Knightes of the sheire, which have theire Commission eyther lyMITTED by the Convent what they shall assent unto, how farr

*F. 60 v* and what they shall requier, or are lefte absolutely to theire owne iudgements. These represent theire Districtes, and are as it were Tribunes of the Nobility, accounted the bonde and lynke for the tying together of the state of government, and the Plebeian order, which is meereley subiecte, looking that neyther the Magistrates become Tyrantes, nor the common people rebellious. The moderators betweene them and the kinge are the Senators, cheife members in generall of the whole lande under the heade, and in perticular of eache Palatinate.

After these are held at a daye appoynted by the kinge the generall Conventes of the Provinces, whether comme the Dignitaries and Nuncii of the Palatinate within them, whoe communicate together aboute suche poyntes as they have in commission. From thence they departe to the Dyett.

These Conventes begann but 1403, and are now of suche authority, that without them no Dyetts are held lawfull. Muche about that tyme was the gentry also first admitted to the Dyetts, onely for theire consentes for subsidies. But afterwarde by the patience of the kinges, and sufferance of the Senators, they came as Monitors to putt them in mynde of mat-

ters for the Common good, and to enforme them of that, which was amisse, by which meanes at last they incroched not onely upon righte of session, and voyce, that nothing might be passed without theire lyking, but also now dare checke the kinge, and Senate, having deryved on themselves the greatest swaye of the Sovereignty, which fyrst was absolutely in the kinge, and after upon hys weakening communicated to the Senate, (which besydes the office of Councelling, having also commaunde, did at last brydle the Prynce) and lastly to the Nobility, after that the kinges having no other title but by election ruled almost praecario, it being likely that the state shortly, yf they continewe thys course, will prove an Ox\ochraty. The same

*F. 61 r* was the common beginning and progresse of Parliametes in divers Monarchieyes, which now are in some bryddles for the Princes, especially in Fraunce, which makes that those which under the prince rule the realme, cannot abide to heare of them. But in some other more absolute, where the Burgesses are chosen by direction from the Mannagers of the State, and too greate liberty of speaking restrayned, they serve for the Princes advauntage, increasing hys power by penall statutes, which are

CONVOCAION OF  
THE 3 ESTATES IN  
FRAUNCE HINDERS  
ABSOLUTE GOVERNE-  
MENT

never revoked, and therefore without impaying of the supream authority are frequent for subsidies graunted by them for the publike affayres. For which ende the kinge of Polonia, though not absolute, and that hys authority by them is still abated, is forced to summon frequent Dyetts, the Domayne being very slighte, which other-

WHY THE PARLIA-  
MENTS ARE SO OFT  
IN POLONIA

wise he would not doe, the frequency of them strengthening the common liberty, and weakening hys power, for that the Poles being their Craftes maisters in thys poynte, cannot be circumvented by any newe Statutes in their preiudice, but doe easely overtake unius hominis solitudinem, whoe hath no Counsellors, which particularly affect hys mighte, but onely hath suche as seeke their owne strengthe, and that of the Nobility, wherof they are members, being also for that order hys overseers and Ephori for the kingdome. And thys appeares by all statutes passed synce Casimire the greatest tyme, wherein the kinges power

THE KINGE HATH  
NONE THAT AFFECT  
HYS ABSOLUTENES,  
THE SENATORS AU-  
THORITY NO WAY  
RISING BY IT

and Domayne hath ben still pared and the Nobilities increased. The reason that no man affectes the kinges absolutenes, is for that the Senators depend not of the kinge, nor their authority increased by it, whereas in successive estates, the Mannagers of them are more absolute by the absolutenes of the Prince, whose sovereignty they [ ] still seeke to advauntage. If the kinge therefore of Polonia having no need of extraordinary helpes should neglect thys, the Nobility would compell hym to it, partly for the Judgements held in the Dyetts, and partly for the often revising the State, and keeping the liberty in good tearmes.

THE NOBILITY  
DESIER PARLIAMENT

THE PLACE OF  
THE COMICES

*F. 61 v* The Dyett was wonte to be held commonly at Cracow, but because that standes almost on the confynes, and by that meanes inconveniently for the remote partes of the realme, it was enacted Anno 1540 that it shoulde be helde at Petricovia except the kinge and Senate upon iust cause, viz. of the plague, the kinges indisposition, etc. should appoynte it some otherwhere. The meetinges also of the Poles and Lithuanians were at Lublin, and and Parczow. But synce that Massovia escheated to the Crowne, and Lithuania, Prussia, etc were united to Polonia, by statute it was helde at Warsaw, where the kinge also keepeth Courte for hys owne commodity, and the best conveniency of all the Provinces.

ORDER OF THE  
DYETT

In the Dyett the Chauncellor as the kinges mouthe delivers the proposition at large, the poyntes whereof are discussed in the kinges presence by the Senators in their order, *Authoritate suadendi magis, quam iubendi potestate,*

the Nuncii for the Nobility (whoe stande at their backes) having heard the opinions of the upper howse, departe to their owne, and doe there consulte amongst themselves of the same articles, deliberating further of any matter of the state whatsoever, but specially concerning the liberties and prerogatives of the Nobility, their opinions they signifie to the upper howse, whoe conclude with the Nuncii, the kinge gyving hys assent. So that all matters of soverainety, and contrary to the common lawe, or publike liberty, must be passed by the consent of the Senate and Nobility, Statuto Alexandri 1505 et Sigismundi 1538.

THE DIETTS  
LONGE DEFECTES

The Deliberations in the Dyetts are slowe, which though they are ordinarily helde every yeare, yet sometymes last 4 or 5 monethes, which comes by the perversenes of the Comitallls and the tedious orations in bothe howses, every one being desyrous to shewe hys faculty and deepe reache, by maynteyning, adding,

F. 62 r cautioning, or contradicting of bills, thereby to have the name of a sore canvasser; which breedes humours dangerous for the state whose good is least aymed at by these ambitious orators. Matters for the publike good (especially yf they bringe with them any charge) are not very easely concluded. Fyrst, for that the Nuncii somtyme refuse to assent, pretending want of speciall commission for those poyntes or Negative mandate.

THE NUNCII  
HINDERERS OF  
MOST MATTERS

Secondly, for that they are commonly very forward, desyring thereby to wynn credit with their Provincials, especially yf they can pretend the discovery or doubte of any secrete designe, which by sinister interpretation they maye cavill at, as tending to the prejudice of the common liberty. Thys is increased by them, which being in daunger of lawe, doe procure their owne election, that they by their artes may disturbe the Dyett, and some waye serve themselves.

Thys makes that commonly the good of the state, and necessary lawes are crossed, and the Dyetts to the greate charge of the common wealthe protracted, without almost effecting anything. The raigne of kinge Stephan affourdes examples sufficient of suche tumultuous dyetts, and senceles overthwartnes of the Nunci. To the subsidies no Province will be

IN SUBSIDIES  
EVERY PROVINCE  
PRETENDES A  
NEGATIVE VOYCE

bounde whose Nuncii assented not, and therefore 1578 when the States had graunted the one Eighteeneth yppon beere, 3 Palatinates denying it, the kinge was forced to summon perticuler conventes, and to remitt to twooe of them some parte, so that they should paye but 1/24.

ORDERS FOR THE  
NUNCII

The Nuncii have allowance out of the publike treasure, for which cause their number is restrayned, and by statute enacted, that no man should be chosen which had any suite to followe in the Dyett, suche men before procuring their owne choise, for the following of their suites without charge, and with greater countenance, the publike meetinges being in the meane tyme neglected, whilst the Nuncii attended their private busines.



GREAT CHARGES  
OF SENATORS.

*F. 2 v* The Senators beare their owne charges, and therefore are at wonderfull expense in the greater traynes which followe them, besides they are bounde to all meetings of the Nobility, and for absence are amerced by Statute, it being parte of the Nuncii their charge to enforme the kinge against them.

SUITES TRIED  
IN THE DIETTS

Besides matters of deliberation there belongeth to the Dyett certayne suites and Judgements which cannot be hearded iudicially at any other tyme, but those pertaine onely to the kinge and Senate, whose also determine all matters being no poyntes of soveraignty, nor prejudiciall to the Nobility. They sitt in iudgement 2 or 3 dayes weekely during the Dyett. The first 8 dayes destinated onely to Capitall causes. For the quicke dispatche the Delegates, which are Senators named by the kinge, heare causes every daye, but the party greived may appeale to the kinge whose sentence dothe Transire in legem.

DAUNGERS IN  
THEIR DIETTS

It is a matter of great daunger in their Dietts, Conventes and iudgements, that according to the auncient custome of Northerne nations, whose reason is in their fyste, they cometh into the Senate armed, where considering the deadly feude of great famelyes, and the virulent inveighing against them which are present, (being ex libertate vitium) it is a wonder they cometh not to strokes to the manifest ruine of the state by parte takinge, seeing that then are gathered together all the greater lordes of the lande, and best experimeted persons both for state and warre. Thys might well have happened in the quarrell betweene Zamoyssky and the Palatyn of Kiovia, (whoe came to the Dyett with 7000 horsse) yf it had not ben taken up, For that they twoe as most potent by allies and dependency, would have distracted the state into their twoe factions.

SYNODE OF  
THE CLERGIE

The Clergy holdeth synode ordinarily every thyrde yeare at Petricovia, Lancicia, or Lowicz, the Metropolitan of Gnesna being

*F. 63 r* the heade, whoe also summons thether the Archebisshopp of Leopoldis and his Suffraganes. Extraordinary Synodes are upon some greater occasion, as for the ayding of the kinge with a taske, or subsedy, For except they graunte it themselves by waye of a benevolence, the Dyett cannot impose it, nor the kinge exacte it upon them or their subiectes. Thys is but in greater necessity, and upon speciall favoure to the kinge.

THE DIETT CANNOT  
IMPOSE SUBSIDIES  
ON THE CLERGIE

The place of the Synode may be altered by the Bisshoppes consent. The Synode consistes of the Archebisshoppes, bisshoppes, Abbotts, Provostes, and one or twoe Commissioners for every Cathedrall Chapter.

THE SEVERALL  
LAWES OF POLONIA

The lawes of the severall members of this Crowne are dyvers, viz. Polish, Moschovitish, Russish, Lithuanish, Prussish, Silesian, Walakish and Dutche. For the Prussians and Lithuanians they reserved their owne lawes, though

they limited themselves to the Crowne, and are governed after the forme of Polonia by Palatinates, and Castellanyes. Also the Massovites retayne their olde customes as likewise the Dutchies of Oswiecin and Zathor, though most of the Nobility have embraced the Polish. The Poles for the surer union would also induce all them to accept of theirs, and lykewise to lett all the dignities to be conferred on any noble subiecte without difference of Contrey, but none of them lyke of the first, nor the Lithuanians of the last. Notwithstanding by the statutes of the lande passed synce the union, all Provinces are equally tyed, for that they are made by their universall consent. To omitt the other lawes, those Provinces which are properly members of the kingdome use three. The first is the Polish, or common lawe, the seconde the Dutche, or Saxish, thirde ecclesiasticall, of which I have spoken before, consisting of the Common lawe and Provisionall Constitutions.

BY LATE STATUTES  
ALL SUBIECTES  
BOUNDE

COMMON LAW

*F. 63 v* The common or Polish lawe is proper to the Nobility, and their subiectes, which have not speciall priviledge of the Dutche, or have lost it by prescription of contrary use. Others are not tyed to it, except in some cases ordered by statute, as for matters belonging to Mannors etc., manslaughter, firing howses etc.

THE FIRST  
WRITTEN LAW

The fyrst written lawe was the priviledge and course of iustice betweene Jewes and Christians, made by Boleslaus Duke of the greater Polonia 1264 and confirmed by Casimire the greate the others nephewes sonne 1363, which confirmation is next to it in antiquity. The common lawe consistes of Statutes, customes, Priviledges, some Bisshopps ordinances in matters of tythes, overruled cases, Aequum, et bonum, and the Judges opinion.

CUSTOMARY LAW

10 yeares continewance,

For the validity of custome, as in the Civill, 4 thinges are necessary, Tacitus consensus populi, that it be reasonable, and not absurde, that it be at least of 10 yeares continewance, and the fowerth makes it good against written lawe, viz. validity for 40 yeares, or that 2 or 3 sentences have ben passed for it in the Dietts of the kingdome. Swearing by the lawe bothe in compurgations onely upon surmise, and against presumptions, and evidences is too muche admitted.

SWEARING TOO  
FREQUENT IN THE  
POLISH LAW

COURTES OF  
JUSTICE

CURIAE TERRESTRES

In the Polish lawe, all courtes of iustice, are eyther Terrestres or the kinges. In the terrestriall, or lande courtes, are iudged all Civill, and private matters belonging to the Nobility, which is landed by the terrestriall iudge, Underiudge and Notary, for which when any of them ys voyde, the Nobility of the Palatinate name 4 to the kinge whoe pricketh one.

Every Palatinate hath those courtes proper to itselfe in a sett place, from which no landed gentleman can be drawne, except hymselfe renounce hys priviledge. In thys courte Clergymen, and others may be sued in causes Finium regundorum

*F. 64 r* trespasses against any gentleman in respect of hys villayne, or yf they have lande of Knightes service, by other then the Churches title. The Dutchies in Silesia have their peculier judges to whome are ioyned certayne assessors chosen out of the Nobility, their presidentes being the Captaynes. Muche lyke them is the Judgement of the Duchy of Severia.

KINGES COURTES  
OF JUSTICE

The kinges courtes are eyther immediate, or mediate. The mediate are held by the Captaynes in the kinges name, and are of twoe sortes.

CASTRENSIA  
JUDICIA

To the first belonge the Castrensia iudicia, held every 6 weekes, and to the second Causae officii. The first are civill, in which the Captaynes are competent Judges of all not subiect to the terrestriall, or Citty Courtes (suche are called Personae vagae) and of gentlemen not landed, and therefore not Legales, besydes of landed, which by contracte have renounced the benefitt of their owne Courte, or are in the paye of the State, have iniuried a preiste, detayne an others villane, hynder the passage on a common ryver, or resist the execution of any sentence. Allso of cittyzens in the same cases.

Somme cases are common to the terrestriall and Castrensiall Courtes, as the extortion of customes not due, Burgers arresting of villanes in the cittyes for debtes there contracted, fugitive villanes etc.

CRIMINALL CAUSES

Criminall cases are officii, layed upon them as the kinges officers by the consent of the whole kingedome, for that some offences are of that quality, that their redresse may not be differred, but presently dispatched, as it were, In Militia Castrensi, and therefore the Captaynes may not putt them off to the ordinary tearmes for Civill suites. Suche are specially the 4 articles, viz. Rapes, robberies by the highe waye, Incendiaryes, and violent burglary, but they belonge not to the Captayne after the tearme of

THE CAPTAYNES  
IURISDICTION

*F. 64 v* Recens crimen expired which is 58 weekes. To hym allso belonge batteries, manslaughters, persecution, and punishing of heresy etc. wherein he proceedes formally but *Citra iuris strepitum*. He hath allso the execution of sentences, restoring of possession etc, the security and oversight of the highe wayes, most ample iurisdiction over the kinges bawres, Maisterles men, Runnagates, Roagues, theeves, outlawes, etc. Hys oathe:

THE CAPTAYNES  
OATHE

Fidelis ero in castro N. illudque servabo  
fideliter Regibus Poloniae, tranquillitatem et  
securitatem viarum, et iusticiam tuebor, alia-  
que munera Capitaneali officio incumbentia sine dolo et fraude  
exequar.

THE KINGES  
IURISDICTION

The kinges iurisdiction is Politicall or Military. The Politicall is double. The first proper to the kinge to which he admitteth onely suche counsellors as are

TERMINI REGII

instance broughte from the Captayne by motion (theise the kinge must presently dispatche)

THE KINGES  
SENATES IURIS-  
DICTION

se of lyfe, of the first instance (being suche as belonge not to the Captayne) besydes the arraignment for killing a gentleman etc. Further appeales from the Colloquia.

THE KINGES MILI-  
TARY IURISDICTION

CIVILL COURTES  
SILENCED IN  
TYME OF WARRE

can neyther followe their suites, nor the publike persons attend on their politicall offices.

APPEALES

they call motion, when the Judge is interested therein, for the iustefying of hys sentence.

COLLOQUIA OR  
GENERALL TEARMES

iudgementes. The Judges of the Colloquia, are the Senators or Dignitaryes, and other terrestriall officers of the whole province. From these the appeales was to the kinge in the Dyett, where it stayed. So that in the poynte of Judgementes, and provocation, besydes the distribution of the offices, the kinges authority was, and is, most apparant,

THE KINGES OFFICE  
IN POLONIA FULL  
OF LABOURE AND  
TROUBLE

of the Dukes of Prussia and Curland) were broughte to one heade, where they stayed without hope of ende because of their multitude, and impossibility of one mans sufficiency for their dispatche, especially seeing

DEFECTE IN IUSTICE

(though helped by the Senators, and other Delegates relations) were not able to make any dispatche answerable to the number of suites, as their predecessors did, the States considering thys, and the inconveniences of wronges, violences, murders, etc committed upon presumption of im-

at hande. This is called Curia, or Termini Regii. The suites of thys courte are Causae officii, of the seconde instance broughte from the Dutche Courte, and many other Civill and personall. The seconde belongeth to the kinge and the Senate, which he may heare and decide onely in the Dyett, Thursedaye and Satterdaye, being by statute appoynted for them. Suche are causes importing infamy, confiscation of goodes, and losse of lyfe, of the first instance (being suche as belonge not to the Captayne) besydes the arraignment for killing a gentleman etc. Further appeales from the Colloquia. Besydes these twooe ordinary iudgementes, eyther he, or the Marshall iudge greate offences committed, where the Courte is, Ratione recentis criminis. The kinges military iurisidiction for Malefices, and other defaultes in the campe and expedition, is large, For that then all Civill Courtes and Judgementes are silenced, which to noate by the waye, is a greate mayme in the Justice, and (as the state standes) unremediable, for that the Nobility being to serve personally, their suites, nor the publike persons attend on their politicall offices.

*F. 65 r* Appeales are of twooe sortes. The first symple, onely in regarde of the suiters. The seconde they call motion, when the Judge is interested therein, for the iustefying of hys sentence. Appeales from the terrestriall, and Ecclesiasticall Courtes, are to the Colloquia or generall tearmes of each Palatinate, wherein also are passed resignations, and alienations of landes, these are held in the forwerth quarter of the yeare, in the vacation of the other iudgementes. The Judges of the Colloquia, are the Senators or Dignitaryes, and other terrestriall officers of the whole province. From these the appeales was to the kinge in the Dyett, where it stayed. So that in the poynte of Judgementes, and provocation, besydes the distribution of the offices, the kinges authority was, and is, most apparant, though to hys greate trouble, being tyed to so labouresome and teadious an office, which woulde trye any private man. But in thys kynde of late, because that almost all suites of the lande at the fyrst instance, or by appeale (even from the courtes of the Dukes of Prussia and Curland) were broughte to one heade, where they stayed without hope of ende because of their multitude, and impossibility of one mans sufficiency for their dispatche, especially seeing that bothe by the malitiousnes of the tymes, and huge encrease of the kingedome, controversies were infinitely multiplied, so that the present kinges (though helped by the Senators, and other Delegates relations) were not able to make any dispatche answerable to the number of suites, as their predecessors did, the States considering thys, and the inconveniences of wronges, violences, murders, etc committed upon presumption of im-

THE COURTE OF  
APPEALES

punity, and the never ending of any suites commended against them, agreed upon a courte of appeales, lyke the Parliament of Paris, which should bothe ease the kinge of a greate parte of hys burden, and conserve by quicker iustice the peace, and pollicy of the kingedome, which otherwise in tyme would have growne to an Anarchy

*F. 65 v* and open violence in suche invalidity of the lawes, growen by wante of speedy execution. Thys was moved in the Parliament in Sigmundus Augustus hys tyme, upon occasion of hys weakenes, which suffered hym not to toyle hymselfe so muche aboute them as the necessity of the State required. But he fynding that hys authority thereby should be weakened, though hys charge easyed, would never agree to it. Notwithstanding after hys deathe, in the Interregnum it was concluded, and amongst other conditions the confirmation exacted of hys successor, which though he accepted yet were not the Courtes erected untill hys deathe. In which vacation the Nobility chose out of their owne Order the Judges of Appeales in eache Palatinate. But because bothe the Noveltie of the translated Judgements, and their variety caused greate confusion, kinge Stephan broughte them all into one in thys forme, that in eache greate Palatinate, there should yearly be chosen twooe, and in the lesser one by the Nobility out of their owne body (of which places the Dignitaries also should be capable). They ioyntly from St. Martyns daye till Easter should sitt at Petricovia, and determyne all appeales belonging to the greater Polonia, and her united provinces, viz. Siradia, Lancicia, Rawa, Wladislavia, and Massovia, in order as they should be entered in the Courte, to cutt off all favoure and bribery for preferring of suites or dispatches. The rest of the yeare the Delegates should sitt at Lublin, for the hearing of the causes of the lesser Polonia, and her accessory members, which are Russia and Podolia. By this meanes the absolute iudgement of all private suites in the Polish, or common lawe belonging to the Nobility, is derived to themselves without farther appeale (a matter considerable in regarde of their incroache upon the sovereignty) but Stephan reserved to the kinges righte, publike exchequier causes, and the iudgement of those contreys, which used their proper lawes different from the Polish, as of bothe the Prussiaes, Livonia etc. which the Nobility would have allso

APPEALS BROUGHT  
TO THE NOBILITY

*F. 66 r* had. In thys graunte the Nobility meant to have broughte all the other states within their iurisdiction. For fyrst they would have the Captaynes, and kinges officers obnoxious to it pretending that otherwise, seeing they had the execution of all sentences, the iudgement of that courte should be to no purpose. The kynge yealded that the Captayne should be so farr bounde, as towched hys office of execution. Secondly, they would have made the kinges Citties allso subiect to it, but that was denied. Thirdly, they would have excluded the Senators from that benche, which was thought unreasonable that their dignity should be preiudicial to them in their owne order. Fowrthly, they would have forced allso the Clergy to stand to it, but that was compounded by Zamoyskies devise in suche order as I have before mentioned.

THE EXECUTION OF  
SENTENCES

The execution of sentences for private causes is in thys order. If the party condempned obey not the awarde, he is amerced, yf he yeald not then the Mulct is trebled, and manu militari in bona possessio decernitur, which whoe so resisteth, is proscribed by the Captayne, and yf the

OUTLAWRY

proscribed doe then defend hys landes, the Captayne is to goe against hym with the forces of the Province, which showes Bodines error, whoe denies that proscription hath place in Polonia, whereas it is very common in the statutes for dyvers defaultes, and in facte so frequent, that it is now not feared, especially of the mighty, which makes that the redresse of it hath ben ofte mentioned in the Dyetts, and dyvers wayes devised for the edging of the execution.

THE DUTCHE LAWE

The Dutche lawe is used in the Citties, townes, and amongst all the Plebeians in Massovia, as also in some places in Prussia; it is Culmish, in which the appeale from the magistrate is to Warsaw, or Plotzko, and from thence to the kinge. In the other provinces of Polonia the Speculum Saxonicum or Magdeburgish

SPECULUM  
SAXONICUM

*F. 66 v* lawe rules. In villages the iudgementes are summary, the iudges are the Advocates, Scabynes, Scultetes, Captayne, Lorde of the Mannor, or their attorneys, according to the nature of the place.

PROCESSE IN  
CITIES

In cittyes and townes it is more formall, to which the gentlemen being inhabitantes, are subject in civill causes. Slighte matters are iudged in eache company summarily, by the Maisters and Wardens of it. The Consulls iudge all matters except property and possession of immoveables, inheritance, capitall, and causes of bloude, All which belonge to the Advocate and Scabynes, tearmed the sworne courte. From the Burgermaister, Maisters and Wardens of the companies, the appeales are to the Consulls benche, and from them in some places to the Captayne, and so to the kinge. But thys is to be understoode, yf eyther

THE SWORNE  
COURTE

APPEALES

of the partyes be subject to the kinge, or any other, then the Lorde of that soyle. The appeales were of auncient wonte to be to the City of Magdeburg in Saxony, as heade and fountayne of the Saxish lawe, and that without the kinges consent. But Casimire the greate considering how

SOMETYME TO  
MAGDEBURG

preiudiciall it was to hys sovereignty and to the whole realme, which by greate charges of suites in a forreyne contrey, was exhaust of treasure, he enacted 1356, that there should be no appeales after that tyme, from the Dutche lawe to any forreyne Courte, and for the better assurance of that lawe, and iustice he commaunded the bookes

APPEALES TO  
FORREIGNE COURTES  
PROHIBITED

of it to be layde upp in the treasury of the Castle of Cracow, and there erected a speciall courte called Jus supremum Teutonicum Provinciale, which should iudge of all appeales out of those bookes, the benche consisting of the kinges Advocate and

DUTCHE COURTE  
OF APPEALES

7 Scabines or Advocates of that lawe, and skillfull in it, chosen and sworne by the graunde Procurator of the Castle of Cracow (whoe is president of that Courte, but iudgeth not)

and the kinges advocate. But they must be all of these townes, Bochnia, Vielyczka, Robczyca, Lypricza <sup>er)</sup>, Mislinicze, Ilkuss, Volbran <sup>es)</sup>. They and the

F. 67 r kinges advocate are perpetuall, and exempte from all tolles, tributes, exactions, services and the commaunde of any officer, even of the kinge hymselfe, save that being cited by hys special seale they must appeare before hym, or hys deputy, bounde onely to aunswere therein there owne Magdeburgish lawe. Their cheife allowance is out of the taskes of sentences and mulctes. For every sentence are payde 7 Grottes or Battes (which is 21 pence sterling) whereof one halfe belongeth to the Exchequier, and the rest to the seaven Scabynes. Of amercementes the kinges Advocate hath 4 partes, and the 7 Scabynes the fyfte. To them generally may be broughte the appeales from any Dutche courte, but commonly it is observed, that from the Consulls they appeale directly to the kinge, and from the sworne courte, to those Delegates of the Castle, and from them to the kinges Commissary Courte of the 6 Citties instituted by the saide Casimire for appeales broughte to hym. The kinge for the hearing of suche, appointes for Commissioners 2 Consulls of any of these 6 Citties, viz Cracow, Sandecz, Bochnia, Vielyczka, Casimiria, Ilkuss. Thys courte of the 6 citties, is held at Cracowe thrise in the yeare, and is without appeale. Notwithstanding the Appellant may declyne bothe thys courte, and the other of the Castle by the kinges letters of inhibition, if he desyre to bringe hys cause before the kinge, or hys speciall Commission.

ARTICLES OF THE  
SAXON LAWE CON-  
DEMND

Gregory the 11 condemned 14 articles of the saide Saxon lawe, as contrary to the Scripture, Cannons and lawes of nature, forbidding all princes, and states uppon [ex]communication to use them. Whereuppon the Poles also cancelled them in their Dutche bookes. The articles were:

Fyrst that one for anythinge Extra iudicium how notorious so ever, might acquite hym selfe by oathe against evidence.

Secondly, that the Pope nor any other can excommunicate the Empe-  
ror being crowned, and anoynted, but in 3 cases, viz. if he waver in fay-  
the, putt

F. 67 v away hys lawefull wyfe, or destroye the Church.

Thirdly, that excommunication doth not weaken any mans righte in lande, or fiefe except regular proscription followe.

Fowrthly, that the Pope can make no lawe, or Cannon by which the Saxon lawe in lande, or fiefes may be preiudiced.

Fyftly, that a Saxon may refuse any iudgement gyven agaynst hym before the kinge, or hys courte, by publike protesting, that hee and 6 more will combate against any 7, mainteyning the sentence, which in that case turnes to the Conquerors syde.

Sixtly, yf the kinsman of one slayne in the acte of theft, or robbery, will combate for hym, the slayne shall not be impeached in hys honor, what evidence soever be brought against hym.

er) *sic in ms.*

es) Wolbrom

Seaventhly, in twooe contrary sentences, he shall prevayle that hath most followers.

Eightly, he that is challenged to combate may not refuse, excepte the appellat be not so well borne.

Nynethly, he that hath lost hys righte for theft, or robbery, being accused the second tyme of the same, may not be admitted to purge hymselfe by oathe, but must acquitt hymselfe by hott irons, scalding water (also used in England in the Saxon tyme and as I take it called Ordall) or combate these 3 tryalls condemned as erroneous. Tenthly, No carnally one of the other before mariage, is legitimate.

Eleaventhly, the lyke of hym that marryes a wydowe, whome he knew in her other husbandes tyme.

Twelfthly, the heyre is in no waye tyed, by hys theft, or robbery, whome he succedees in the inheritance. *Falsum in foro conscientiae*.

The other twooe articles are condemned as onely hindering almes and pietatis opera.

SAXON LAWE USED  
IN THE CITTIES OF  
SEVERALL NATIONS

How it commes that the Citties in Germany, Bohemia, Polonia etc use the Saxons lawe I know not, except it were by the Saxons spreading themselves over all their neighbours countreys partly by conquest, and partly by trade, the last being the meanes (which I guesse) they used in Bohemia and Polonia, invited to it by the kinges,

*F. 68 r* as it shoulde seem, for the peopling of the contrey, and the bringing in of mechanically artes, whereof the Poles and the other Sclavish nations were ignorant, as having litle commerce with forreyners, being litle better than barbarous, and onely gyven to warre, and slighte

husbandry, for their homely sustenance. My reasons are, fyrst, because of the generall use of the Saxish lawe amongst the Plebeians, and the Bawres borrowing it of the townes. Secondly, because of their auncient appeale to Magdeburg, as the heade of that lawe, or peradventure by Charter. Thirdly, for that the Artisans, and traders were till of late in the best

DUTCHE SWAYE  
IN CITIES

citties all Dutche, and are yet for the most parte excepting somme Italians etc, very fewe Poles following eyther, howsoever by Statute the Dutche are to admitt them to the learning of those Burgerly qualitties. Fowrthly, for that at Cracow, and many other Cityes, none were capable of Magistracies, but onely the Dutche men, whoe are now also for the most parte preferred before others.

IN LANDES

THE WIDOWES  
PARTE

THE SONNES PARTES

By the Polish statutes no man can dispose by will of hys landes, but of hys moveables, and Chattells at hys pleasure. The wydowes have onely their ioynture, or dowryes, and their Paraphernalia, or peculium. The sonnes have the treasure in money, or plate, horsse, Armes, harnesse, and all other things belonging to the Armory, and their stable.



EQUALL SUCCESSION  
IN LANDE

DAUGHTERS  
PORTIONS

They succede in the lande equally, which they may possesse in common or severall. The division in hirciscunda familia, or Comuni dividundo is by commission from the kinge. Daughters not married have onely a portion assigned for their dowry, which 1368 yf the father being a Palatyne dyed intestate, and had greate possessions was by statute eache 100 frenche Crownes, which esteeming the Marke or frenche Crowne quadruple for the price of golde, and goodnes of the coyne, makes 400 frenche Crownes; yf meane, their portion was allso to be proportioned.

*F. 68 v* Another gentlemans daughter under that degree having large possessions mighte clayme for her parte 40 Markes, yf meane proportionably, but now thys is highly rayseed to many thowsandes. If there be no

DAUGHTERS  
SUCCEDE, BUT  
THE IUS RETRACTUS  
RESERVED TO THE AGNATION.

sonnes the daughters succede in the landes, but so that the cozen germans of that famely may purchase them within one yeare, at the estimation of certayne of the Nobility, which yf the neglect, the saide heires generall retayne them.

TENURE OF LANDES

All landes in Polonia belonge to the Crowne, some possessed by the kinge, and the rest held of hym. The kinge in hys proper land hath the same authoritie that the Nobility and Clergy have in theirs, onely that he cannot alienate them. His

CROWNE LANDE

baylives are the Captaynes, whoe exercise hys authority, and in hys name receyve all profitts arising by them.

3 TENURES IN  
FEE SIMPLE

TENURE BY VILLENAGE

BY KNIGHTES  
SERVICE HEREDITARY

NOT PASSABLE  
BY TESTAMENT

HOW INCORPORATIONS  
MAY HOLDE  
BY KNIGHTES  
SERVICE

Landes are helde of the Crowne eyther by devotion, which are spirituall, knightes service, which belonge to the Nobility, or Burgerly tenure. Of the twooe first depend the tenures by villenage, the vilanes being tyed to the soyle, and so passing in sale and alienation to new lordes. The Nobility possesse by the kinges indulgence their landes in inheritance, having power to alienate them without hys consent, onely by testament they cannot dispose of them, except in favorem Fisci, nor charge them with any legacy bequeathed to a private person, and yf he name one for hys heyre he dothe it inutiliter, except he putt hym in possession in hys lyfe tyme, for that suche inscriptions are held as testaments. Landes of thys tenure cannot be held by Plebeians howsoever it is sometymes wincked at. Notwithstanding the incorporations of the Citytes, and other universities, which by auncient priviledges possessed suche landes in common, retayne them by

lawe. But all suche priviledges graunted them synce 1496 are voyde by the statute of Cracow 1547.

Burgerly tenure of olde belonged onely to Burgers, but of late yeares the

FORUM REGUNDO-  
RUM JUDICIA

*F. 69 r* Nobility is admitted by statute to possesse howses, gardens etc in Citties for their ease and commodity. The dislimitting of landes belonges properly to the Succamerarius, but if the kinge be a party it is donne by commission.

SCITE OF MANNORS

The scite of their Mannors and villages is counted best, which is furthest from moores, and neere a ryver, or some City, but so Ne fundus villam quaterat, neque villa fundum. The goodnes of the soyle, they iudge by the blacknes of the earthe, which is fatt by the growing of sloes, wallworte, or dwarfe Elderne, Russhes, reedes, Oake, peares, Apples, thorne, Nettles, and meadowe herbes.

GOODNES OF LANDE

LAND MEASURING

The Laneus or Mansus used in these contreys is of 3 sortes. The first is of Francke lande having in lengthe 270 roddes and in breadthe 12. The roddes is 14 of their ells, and one hande breadthe, the Stadium contaynes 15 roddes, and the Laneus 8 stadia. The second is the Dutche, which in lengthe hath 90 chordes, in breadthe 4, the Chorda conteynes 3 roddes, a rodd 15 ells. The thirde is the Polish, for which the Bawre is to laboure in hys lordes grounde one daye weekely, and thys is of 2 sortes. The first hath in length 12 stadia, and in breadthe 120 ells, the stadium conteyning 84 ells. The second is divided into 3 feildes (as allso the first) eache 4 stadia longe (the stadium having in lengthe 150 foote). The breadthe of thys Laneus is divided into 24 furrowes, eache furrowe of 6 foote breadthe.

LANEUS OR MANSUS

FRANCONICUS

POLONICUS

TEUTONICUS

HOW THE NOBILITY  
RAISETH THEIR  
REVENUE

The private estate of the Nobility standes upon their Bawres rentes, services, the frutes and cropp of landes in their owne occupying and grasing of cattall, which they may buye freely, and sell agayne as their domesticall without payment of any custome within the lande, or upon the borders, so that they fatt them but one sommer. And because in thys, and grayne consistes their estate especially, they have passed dyvers statutes for their free trade, especially for corne, that it should be lawfull for any

FREE TRANSPORT-  
ATION OF GRAYNE  
AND CATTAYLE

*F. 69 v* subiecte or forreyner freely to carry it out of the lande, without any hinderance, except somme urgent necessity of the common wealthe require a moderation.

AT DANTZIG NO MAN  
MAY SELL BUTT TO A  
BURGER TO THEIR  
GREATE INRITCHING,  
BY BUYING CHEAPE  
AND SELLING DEARE

With the Dantzigers the Nobility hath greate controversyes towching some priviledges pretended by them, specially about corne which mighte be solde in their City but onely to the Burgers, whereby gentlemen were enforced to sell their grayne to their greate disadvauntage. Upon the venting of thys commodity the estate standes so muche, that

VENTING OF GRAYNE  
MAINTYNES THE  
POLISH STATE

if it were stopped or hyndered, it would soone be impoverished, which makes them so desyrous of free trade with Spayne, where bothe grayne, tackling, and other commodities for shipping are better solde then in any other Contrey of Europe.

CRIMINALL CASES

Criminall cases are for the most parte punished according to the naturall iudgement and estimation of Northerne nations: Thefte and robbery detested as base, are punished by deathe. Manslaughterers and barrettoures etc favoured as manly (so

CAPITALL FOR A  
PLEBEIAN TO KILL A  
GENTLEMAN

iudged by them which measure righte, iustice, valoure, and all vertues by the fyst) are but mulcted, except they are taken in recenti crimine, which is 24 howres, or so longe as the corpes is kept above grounde. Onely for a Plebeian to kill a gentleman is allwayes Capitall, except he compoude it with the heire. A gentleman killing one of hys owne order, payes 120 Crownes, enduring also a yeares imprisonment. A plebeians lyfe is esteemed at 10 Crownes.

MULCTES FOR  
MANSLAUGHTER

The murderer is not otherwise punished by any Capitit diminutio, but retaynes the same honor, dignity, and condition, which he had before. It is become in practise casus

MANSLAUGHTER  
CASUS FAVORABILIS

favorabilis, the Judges themselves playing the advocates of murderers, and enforcing composition against the plaintiffes will. Trespasses, Malmes, etc are never almost sued, a mayme and a race of the skynne, being alyke esteemed, and the dammages

LITTLE IUSTICE FOR  
MAYMES, WRONGES

*F. 70 r* by lawe so slighthe, that every man is ashamed of so base

INCONVENIENCE  
OF THAT

amendes, which makes everyone to righte hys wronges by revenge, it multiplying quarrells, murders, etc and making them by consequence hereditary. Thys is a mayne breache in that estate, which causing disunion, and factions, breedes uncivill humoures, and empoverisheth the Nobility, forced for their owne security to mainteyne guardes to the uttermost of their ability. The skarres of these quarrells, are borne almost by all the gentlemen, and fewe famelyes there are, which be not touched by thys calamity, in so muche that thereuppon it hath ofte ben

A WICKED LAWE IN  
FAVOURE OF BLOUDE

moved in the Dyetts to have whole armyes made of suche as were taynted with bloude. Thys commes by that wicked and homicidary lawe, drawne out of the dregges of that Nations originall barbarisme, which hath branded it selfe in the foreheade with a preface of impiety, viz.

Cum lex divina statuat ut homicida morte afficiatur, nos rigorem legis divinae emendare volentes etc.

In which lawe or priviledge for murderers, the lawmakers blasphemously checking God, and accusing mercy it selfe of cruelty, seeke with a cruell pittie, and by propounding impunity rather to encourage men to embrue themselves with civill bloude, then to secure the subiectes, whereat the lawe should ayme. Peradventure they thincke having tasted of bloude, and so layde asyde all humanity, they would be more resolute against the enemy, wherein they are muche deceyved, for that brutish feircenes, and true valure are most different.

THE 1 POINTE OF  
POLISH LIBERTY

THE POLES RECEIVED  
BY A FALSE LIBERTIE

NOT TRUE LIBERTIE  
IN POLONIA

This impunity is one parte of the Polish liberty, which they thincke, that they onely of all people in Europe enioye, whereas yf we measure the liberty of the greatest parte of the State, we shall fynde that no civill Commonwealthe is so slavish, the commons not being in equal protection of the lawe. For questionles that State which is obnoxious to the violence of another is not free, as it is in Polonia, where iustice is not

ARITHMETICALL IUSTICE

GEOMETRICALL

THE NOBILITY  
TYRANNISETH

NO LIBERTY  
WITHOUT SECURITY

HIGHER PRICE.

GOODES MORE  
SECURED THAN  
LYVES OR HONORS

*F. 70 v* administred arithmetically to all. So that onely the Nobility seemes to be free, which not onely in Geometricall iustice enioyeth all exemptions, and hath the honors, and prefermentes, but allso tyrannise over the other, not aunswerable in lawe, for any outrage against their owne bawres, and for the lyfe of others, paying not the price of a nagge, whereas the Plebeian yf he kill a gentleman in hys owne defence dyes for it, and yf a robber by the highe waye, payeth yet the full price of a gentlemans heade, contrary to all pollicy, and the lawes of nature, which commaundes all creatures to defend their lyves against force, being otherwise guilty of their owne bloude. But even in thys poynte the Nobility hath no cause to bragge of their liberty, seeing their lyves are not better secured against the violence, and villany of wicked men, nor rated at a

nobleman soever should be so slightly punished.

ADULTERY COMMON

A RULE FOR LAWE

NATURALL VICES OF  
THE POLES

IMPUNITY OF  
ADULTERY

For their honors also in some cases, the lawes are too remisse, I meane for adultery, and other kyndes of loosenes, Cum omnes illic vitia rideant, ac corrumpere, et corrumpi seculum vocetur, whereas reason requiers that those vices to which any nation dothe naturally inclyne, should be restrayned by severall lawes, those are in Polonia barbarous cruelty, and lubricity, thys last being as common, as the fyrst. In so muche that Sabellicus wrighteth that the Lithuanians mainteyne certayne paramoures for their wyves, called Coporteners of their wedlocke, which though it be false, is yet grounded upon lykely collection, straungers thincking adultery to be there lawfull, where it is openly and commonly practised, by no lawe punished, nor revenged by the husbände or kinsfolke, senceles in that touche of honor.

*F. 71 r* Another poynte of their liberty is, that any gentleman may speake without daunger, whatsoever he thinketh, which may cause greate

LIBERTY OF SPEACHE  
THE 2 POYNTE

stirrs, seditions, troubles, iealousyes etc., howsoever Tacitus commendes Traians tyme for the liberty which proceeded from the seveare conscience of that Emperor.

THE 3 POINTE, THE  
ELECTION OF THE  
KINGE AT RANROME

The thirde is the election of the kinge lymitted, and directed by no statute; a matter of suche danger, that every vacation the State is in perill of civill warre, and ruine, but of thys I have spoken before.

THE 4 POINTE IN  
PRIVILEGES,  
IMMUNITIES ETC

The fourthe theire greate priviledges, Immunities, sole capability of prefermentes, etc. of which I have also entreated.

THE 5 POINTE,  
LICENCE OF OPPRESS-  
ING THE PLEBEIAN

The fyfte lycence of oppressing and wronging the Plebeians, which makes the State poore, and may one daye distracte it.

THE 6 POYNTE,  
LIBERTY OF WASTING  
THEIRE OWNE

The syxte, the spending and consuming of their states, ryotously at their pleasure, iudging all sump-  
tuary lawes, and whatsoever restrayne wickednes to be prejudiciall to their liberty, as yf it were bondage, that a madd man should be withheld from mischeife, whereas well framed states doe Prodigos prohibere, quia interest Reipublicae, ne quis re sua male utatur, It being an argument of a crased state, where the contrary axiome swayeth.

THE 7 POINTE,  
CONTINUANCE  
OF ERRORS

Lastly, most errors in the lawe, manners, and the politike estate of Polonia, are mainteyned under the name of liberty, as yf they being reformed, the Nobilities liberty should be lost.

The Military estate, and exercise of armes, wholly belongeth

*F. 71 v* to the Nobility, and their followers, Qui nec tributis contem-  
nuntur, nec publicanus atterit, exempti oneribus et collationibus et

ARMES BELONG TO  
THE NOBILITY.

tantum in usu praeliorum sepositi velut tela atque  
arma bellis reservantur. And therefore by lawe inter  
familiam et penates, et iura successionem equi  
traduntur filiis, howbeit Boleslaus which flourished  
1024, and fyrst constituted the order of expedition by  
Palatinates, tasking eache province at a sett number  
for the publike service, appoynted also that tow-  
nesmen should sett forthe footemen, and fynde car-  
riage and proviant for the army. The Nobility is  
bounde to searve personally at their owne charges  
within the realme, by tenure of their fiefes. The filii  
familias are not bounde, nor all they which holde  
lande in common, it being sufficient that one of the  
brethren undevided serve for the rest, and the sonne  
undevided for the father. By statute every man is

EXPEDITION BY  
PALATINATE.

BURGERS FYNDE  
FOOTEMEN CARRIAGE  
AND PROVIAINT

THE NOBILITIES  
SERVICE WITHIN  
THE LANDE

charged to serve according to hys ability and the greate lordes to have their bandes, and traynes full, so that yf a younge gentleman being a lordes follower, serve for hys father, the Lorde should supply hys place with another. But because there is no publike estimation of mens ability, nor any

NO SESSEMENT

sessement, it is proved to the greate hurte of the state arbitrary, many which stande not uppon their honor, seeking to scape with the least charge, though indeede some for their creditt serve with greater traynes, then the lawes would exacte. By righte the Nobility should sett forthe so many horsse, as they have villages, or Mannors, which are as knightes

THE MILITIA  
TERRESTRIS  
200000 HORSSE

fees, or timarres, being in the olde kingedome in number 140000. It is generally esteemed that thys necessary service of landed men personally makes 200000 horsse, and for that cause is called Militia terrestris. Personall service is urged for these reasons. First for that it is presumed, that the Gentlemen should be the abler men, armes being their profession in righte of tenure, and inclination.

PERSONALL SERVICE

Secondly, that by the necessity of it, Burgers and other men unfitt by some contrary course of lyfe, mighte be

F. 72 r the easier kept from them. Thirdly, for that gentlemen serve with better horsse, and furniture for their owne honor and security of their persons.

DEPUTED SERVICE  
NOT MIXT WITH  
PERSONALL

For the firmenes of thys service, they suffer no other in those troopes, but make severall companyes of those, which serve for persons exempt, viz. suche as are unfitt by age, sicknes, or sexe, and clergy men for their patrimoniall landes. For church lyvings they are wholly free, except themselves graunte an extraordinary ayde, eyther in money, or by stipendiary bandes. Suche may not sett forthe landed

WHAT IS DEPUTED  
SERVICE  
PERSONS EXEMPT

REGULARLY LANDED  
GENTLEMEN MAY NOT  
SERVE IN THE DEPUTED

gentlemen, except they serve them in ordinary. Poore gentlemen, though bounde to the lande expedition, being not able to furnish themselves, may serve for others, but with the consent of the Castellane, Captayne and 3 Commissioners of the Nobility, whoe are to examyne, and make estimation of their estates. Those which pretend sicknes, are in the particuler Convent to be visited by the Castellane, and certayne of the Nobility, and their names presented to the kinge, before whome after their recovery with 4 other gentlemen they must swear De vera infirmitate, otherwise they forfeit their whole estate, and must notwithstanding serve personally. To the former exempt persons may be added those, which are employed for the state, vicecaptaynes of places having iurisdiction, those which have charge of Castles on the frontiers, and some other fewe, which by their office have priviledge, besydes whome, the kinge can dispense with no man landed,

EXCUSES FROM  
PERSONALL SERVICE  
EXAMINED

LOSS OF ESTATE FOR  
NOT SERVING  
PERSONALLY

EXEMPTIONS FROM  
PERSONALL SERVICE

THE KINGE CANNOT  
FREE FROM PERSONALL  
SERVICE

THE KINGE IS CHAR-  
GED WITH SERVICE  
FOR HIS LANDES

nor entertheye suche in hys stipendiary bandes, for the kinge is also bounde to have hys owne troupes full, as well as others.

The expedition is eyther generall, when the enemy enters the lande with greate strengthe, or particular, when smaller forces will serve, and then onely the nexte provinces are rayseed, or some army of voluntaries and mercenaryes.

THE DENOUNCING  
OF WARRE ONELY  
BY DYETT

WHY THE KINGES  
ARE RESTRAYNED IN  
THAT POYNTE

HURT BY THYS  
RESTRAINTE

be kept most secrete, as against whome it is intended, what forces granted, for how longe etc. So that the enemy may order and proportion hys affayres accordingly.

ORDER OF THE GE-  
NERALL EXPEDITION

CONVENTES BEFORE IT

THEIRE NUMBER IN  
THE KINGDOM

There goe before the generall expedition by auncient custome the particular Conventes, which in the kingedome alone are theise: Proszowice for the Palatinate of Cracow, Czchow for Sandecz and Byecz, Nowemiaszto for Sendomiria, Szczoda for the greater Polonia, and Wschowa, Siradia for Siradia, and Wielun, Brzestie for Brzestie, Lancicia and Wladislavia, Rypin for Dobrzyn, Gostin and Sochaczow, Rawa for her owne Palatinate, Vrzedow for Lublin, and Lukow, Rubieszaw for Chelm, Bruska for Belz, Mostijska for Przemisla, Camienecz for Podolia, Sanak for that districte, Visna for Leopoldis, and Trebowla for Haliycz.

DELAYES IN IT WERE  
IN A FORMALL PRO-  
CESSE OF LAWE

THE CASTELLANES  
OFFICE IN THE  
MARCHE TO THE  
RENDEVOUS

After the generall expedition is concluded in the Dyett, there is an other delaye for that preparation by the kinges sending to every districte 3 writtes successively. In the last whereof he names the daye for the particular conventes wherein the Castellane with the Nobility appoyntes the tyme and place for their meeting and setting forthe to the Rendevous of their Palatinate, from

*F. 73 r* whence they are ledd by the Palatine to the campe. Those summons are called Literae Restium, because they are tyed with a corde, at the ende of a longe pole, and so caryed aboute and solemnely proclaymed, there going 4 weekes betweene them, except by decree of the Dyett 2 are conioyned for the greater speede. In thys passage the Castellane

dothe iustice for wronges and dammages donne by the Nobility, and defers to the kinge those which are disobedient. If he neglect it, hymselfe must satisfy for all hurte donn by hys company. Yf uppon warrantable cause he goe not in person, he must substitute a sufficient gentleman. For the restrayning of souldiours from damnefying the contrey, there be orders, but so badly executed, that the lande allwayes receyved farre greater hurte from them, then from the enemy, even by violence etc., besydes the losse by serving of the Campe with all manner of provision for horsse, and man at a rate sett by Casimires statute viz. for an oxe 3 s. sterling, for a cowe ii s., a weather v.i.d., for vi chickens i.d. ob, and so grayne, and all other proviant after the lyke proportion.

IN DEFENSIVE PRISONERS REDEEMED BY THE KINGE

In thys defensive warre within the kingedome all gentlemen taken by the enemy are to be redeemed by the kinge, and in service out of the lande the kinge is bothe to redeeme them, and paye them for all losses, and dammages which they suffer. Gentlemen of what state soever are to be delyvered upp to the kinge, for 2 florins an heade (yf he will) but Plebeians may be ransomed by those which take them to their best proffitt. Without the lande, gentlemen are not bounde to serve except they be waged.

IN OFFENSIVE THE KINGE BESIDES MAKES GOOD THEIR LOSSES

ALL GENTLEMEN PRISONNERS THE KINGES FOR 7s. 6d. THE POLLE.

PLEBEIANS BELONG TO THEIR TAKERS

THE MUSTERS

The Lordes and greate gentlemen make their shewe before the kinge, but the meaner before the Captayne, and Castellane, whoe enrolles them with all their furniture, and are to looke

MILITARY ORDERS

F. 73 v that no man lend an other horsse, or armour for the muster. Of suche as are unsufficiently provided by want of ability, the Captayne and Commissioners may ioyn 2 or 3 together for the well furnishing of one.

STIPENDIARY FORCES

Besides this Militia terrestris the kinge may wage stipendiaries, whose Colonells and Captaynes must be landed men, and experienced leaders, chosen by the kinge, and Captayne generall of the realme out of the Palatinate. Eache Captayne over 200 horsse hath the service of 10 horsse and for eache 10 florins at 14 bates, which is in sterling xxxv s. whereas the others have but 6 florins at 15 bates the quarter, which makes xxii s. v.i.d. sterling, for prest money or wartgelt (as the Germanes tearme it) eache speare receyves 5 frenche crownes for which he is to be in a readines, whensoever he hath warning to serve, but yf within 2 yeares the kinge employe hym not, he is acquitted. The paye is

ALLOWANCE FOR OFFICERS  
PAYE  
PREST MONEY

small, but yet sufficient in that lande, where the proviant is rated so lowe. The Captaynes may not substitute any for them, but must personally



conducte their owne charge in the setting forthe and returne. They must also take order that there be no hurte donne by their bandes nor stations (that is, free lodging) exacted by them, the Captayne being to aunswere for all their outrages, and therefore are to keepe some parte of every mans paye in their handes, out of which they may satisfy for their dammages. Besydes they are to departe from the Campe homewardest 2 weekes before the tyme of their service expire, that the souldiours by their military sacrament, and disciplyne may be restrayned from wasting of the contrey etc. The Captaynes may admitt none to serve with more than 8 horsse, nor suffer any waged singly to serve by a substitute. If there be any not inrolled under some Gaidon, he is to be punished by the kinge, and hys horsse forfeited to the Succamerarius of the

THE LEADERS  
ANSWEARABLE FOR  
DAMMAGES

of which they may

CASSIERS BEFORE  
THEIR SACRAMENTES  
VOYDE

LAWES FOR STIPENDIARY SERVICE

*F. 74 r* Districte, as lykewise whoesoever in eyther service is insufficiently mounted according to the auncient custome of the Romans. In the levying of the stipendiary forces it is by statute enacted that (though the kinge commaunde) none shall searve in that, whoe owes service in the other, Whatsoever detrimēt the kinge, or any man receyves by the marching or lodging of the army, is to be borne out of the publike contribution if they be not otherwise satisfied by lawe.

DAMMAGES IN  
MARCHING SATISFIED  
BY THE PUBLIK

THE MANNER  
OF THE POLISH  
FIGHTE

Their manner of fighte is muche after the use of the Northerne and Easterly nations, as also their armes being alyke disadvauntaged, as not well armed defensively, and consequently not so fitt for a standing fighte, and the [ ] as the westerne. Those nations are ancient Parthians, Tartarians, Turkes, Transilvanians, Walachians, Moldavians, Hungarians, Russians, Arabians <sup>eq)</sup>, and generally all barbarous nations. The Persians are better armed but otherwise disagree not from the other. They fighte not in ordinance, but are onely compacted into troopes not observing fyre or rancke, which disorder is an order to them, as never being disordered till they be vanquished, every man being able to enter any company in the mette though not hys owne, Which makes it disputable whether it have not advauntage above oure ordinance, which being disorderly and vast, by reason of the greate batalions is by the [ ] hardly framed and easely disioynted, thys inconvenience following any badd compartimentes, that being once broken the companyes are never [ ] except they can recover some place of advauntage. Some of those nations come neerer oure fighte then others, and are better able to endure the [ ] though it be not proper to them, in regarde that their armes for that use are onely lighte staves. For pykes, halberdes and other hande weapons to make a stande they have not, but trusting to their multitudes and strength in horsse, advauntaged by their expeditions for montures, armes

eq) *lectio incerta* Strabians *ms.*

and want of aray, they seeke still to encompassse the enemy or breake hym by assaying the

*F. 74 v* fronte, flancke and rerewarde alltogether with their shott and other flying armes, without charging the enemy till they are broken, being able at their pleasure to come off without any dammage. By thys meanes the Parthians seeing themselves not able to force Crassus hys [ ] by the direction of [ ] dispersed themselves and encompassing the Romans slewed them. Anthony after hym was [ ] in the same manner by them under the conducte of Iraartes, though he had placed hys shott and slinges in the rerewarde and flanckes, and in the fronte disposed hys horsse. So lykewise the Turkes using no forme but the halfe moone enlarged as occasion serves by hemming in the Christians have gyven them greate overthrowes. Of suche as fighte confusedly there be twoe sortes. The first which use lances as well as flying and darterd armes, and doe charge the enemy as the Polonians, Turkes, Hungarians etc. The second which use onely shott and suche sortes of weapons as the Tartars, which assaile sodaynely and presently fly, their whole service being in celerity, and never comyng to the shock as wanting armes for that service.

THE FORCES OF  
POLONIA AND  
LITHUANIA

The Poles holde that the kinge may leavy of stipendiary forces 300000 horsse besydes the former uppon duety, which is a thinge impossible. For howsoever the lande is very large and hath wonderfull store of horsse, yet deducting those of carriage for the Ordonance, Proviant and baggage, which must be at least 4 tymes as many as the other of service (considering that they must have supply for the huge multitudes that are spoyled in so longe journeys, as they make the most parte at least from the center to the frontiers) the remainder fitt for service would be farr shorte of that accounte \*), And though thys last poynte were graunted, that there are so many serviceable in that kynde, because that in Lithuania, Samogitia, etc they use the same horsse for their husbandry, and against the

*F. 75 r* enemy, yet should not they fynde so many sufficient ryders, nor so muche furniture. For that is the difficultie in thys service, that yf eyther the ryder or the horsse be insufficient, the disparity makes that couple unserviceable. Thys poynte allso being graunted, there would followe an other impossibility of bringing as it were the whole realme, and their horsse together of sufficient provision and fodder etc. For in the discourse of a princes forces, what resistance he can make against invasion, and with what mighte he can make offensive warre, the esteeme is not to be made by the number of horsse, or of soules in hys subiection, but how many horsse and men of service he can bringe together, and mainteyne not disgarrisoning hys holdes, nor leaving hys frontiers, or any parte of hys dominion in danger of forreyne force, or domesticall rebellion. In thys kynde Polonia can well make 130 or 160000 in defence of the contrey and for a neede offensively against a bordering neighbour in regarde of the multitude of Nobility, and their traynes, the huge numbers of horsse,

\*) *rectius* amounte

fitt for their service, and carriage, and abundance of victualls, oates, haye and good pasture, with which (excepting their horses of greater price) all the rest are well acquainted, as not being kept in the stable. Thys may easely be gathered by kinge Sigismundes expedition against the Livonians with 100000, synce which tyme the Crowne is strengthened by the accesse of Livonia, Samogitia, Zathor and Oswiecin, which till within these 23 yeares, or thereabouts, were not subiect to the generall expedition of the realme, but conferred arbitrarily and not of duety or by the service of their fiefes, by which before that tyme they were onely bounde to the defence of their owne Countreys, therein not ayded by the Poles, whoe had Podolia and other partes of Russia to defend as being united with the Crowne. Besydes the former terrestriall and stipendiary forces in the generall expedition all Clergy men by their acte passed in the

THE CLERGIES  
SERVICE

THE CITTIES SERVICE

FOOTEMENS ARMES

the dryver. These footemen are led by every lordes Scultetes.

*F. 75 v* Synode, sett for the horsemen, and Citties footemen according to their sessement, and with harquebusse, Crossbowe, sworde, morion, gantlets, sheilde and corselet. Further for every waggon the owner must appoynte an armed footeman, besydes

A MODEL OF A  
GENERAL EXPEDITION

The generall expedition 1544 consisted of these partes. Fyrst the lande service, the kinges, and the clergies forces. Secondly, of the Plebeians, every one worthe 1000 florins being sessed at one horse, that was worthe 5 hundred, at one armed footeman, and so downwarde, to 100 florins proportionably, for the making of horsemen and footemen. Those in Citties and Townes, whose ability was under 100 florins were to sett out the 15th man. The bawres belonging to the Clergy and Nobility the 20th. The Jewes besydes their ordinary tribute, were sessed extraordinarily, and further forced to sett for the souldiours upon their private wealthe as other burgers after the former rate.

WHEN A GENERALL  
EXPEDITION IS  
COMMANDED

TERRESTRIALL  
SERVICE IN DISUSE

MERCENARY  
SERVICE WHEREFORE USED.

THE LAND SERVICE  
WELL ORDERED IS  
THE BETTER

The generall expedition is never commaunded, but in great danger of the realme, when the enemy comes with huge strengthe, otherwyse they were wonte to use the ordinary terrestriall service, which is now altered, and in steade of that mercenary forces levyed, for these causes: Fyrst for that the other is most slowe in setting forthe, and therefore not fitt for the Tartarians sodayne roades. Secondly that their disciplyne and government is too loose under the Castellanes and Palatynes, whoe rule the Nobility almost praecario, the lawes in that service not being strict enough, whereas the Mercenaries by their sacrament and disciplyne, under the leading of Captaynes, Colonells, and other Marshall officers are more restreyned. Thirdly for that the former more hurtes the lande, then the enemy. But howsoever it is certayne, that thys is the better course upon the former defaultes, yet yf they were redressed as they might be, the lande service would be the better and lesse burdenous to the lande. For whereas before

THE COMMONALTY  
OVERCHARGED

discharge themselves allso of

the Nobility under the pretence of defending the realme obteyned their immunities to the greater charging of the Commonalty, by thys meanes they

THE COMMONALTY  
NOW BEARES THE  
GREATEST BURDEN  
OF THE WARRE

when the asse fayntes, they must be fayne to proove Aesops steede.

*F. 76 r* thys burden, and with it loade the Commonalty, which beareth all these greivances, and conferrs all the contributions except it be in somme very greate taske, where the Nobility, and Clergy must setto their helping hande. Thys yf they continewe,

THE INFANTRY OF  
POLONIA OF NO USE  
FOR FIGHTE

Thys commes by reason that the armes are in the Nobilities mannagng, which serves with the horsse, except somme fewe very poore, which are

SERVICE ON FOOTE  
OF NO CREDITT

POLISH PLEBEIANS  
BASE AND UNFIT  
FOR SERVICE

FORCED TO USE  
FORREYNE  
INFANTRY

warre, before which

MEANES FOR  
PROPER INFANTRY

BAWRES FREED FOR  
SERVICE ON FOOTE

and not themselves) fittest for service, which with their posterity should be freed from all other charges and rurall services. That warre shewed that thys defect is not to be attributed to the nature of the people (though the Champaigne lande, multitude of gentry and store of sufficient races doe cause the common use of Cavallery) but eyther to their negligent

The mighte of the lande is in the Cavallery, for Infantry they have not, but suche as is levved after the former order, and serve rather for the security of the cariage, and as Pyoners then anythinge els.

of the cariage, and as Pyoners then anythinge els. Thys is cleane taken awaye. Secondly for that the Plebeians oppressed by the Nobility, are base and so unfit for warre. Thys is a greate mayme in that mighty State (which should stande uppon propper forces) yf they should continewe warre, be drawne to places of disadvantage as woodes, hills, dales, moores, beseige or defend royal fortresses, in which cases they are fayne to use Hungarians and Germanes, as thys present kinge did in hys expedition thys yeare for Sweden, and kinge Stephan in hys Moschovitish

they never enterteyned forreigne forces, because of the greate charge, but then it was founde to be necessary, and so concluded in the Dyet 1579. Zamoisky fynding thys defect, and the charge of forreigne Infantry devised a meanes to redresse it, by inviting poore gentlemen to that service, and choosing the 20th man of the kinges bawres (for the Clergy and Nobility would not graunte it for their owne, according to their common use of charging the kinge

*F. 76 v* unskillfullnes, or factious and tirannicall pollicy. That Care of the Infantry (though of such importance) ended with the warre, peradventure for that the Nobility feared least the commons by mannaging of armes should begynn to gather spirites, and growing in courage shake off their bondage; the rather yf the rest

THE ORDER FOR  
INFANTRY NOT  
FOLLOWED

WHY THE POLES  
AFFECT ONELY  
CAVALLERY

should affect the condition of those selected bandes. The same was the pollicy which the Frenche having overcome the Almanes used, for the keeping of them from rebellion, by disarming and subjecting them to Slavish husbandry. Thys is the Arcanum of all, which seeke to keepe any state in slavery.

THE CAVALLERIES  
ARMES

THE HUSSARS  
ARMES

The horssemen (though in lande service all are armed at their owne pleasure so that it be sufficiently) are of twoe sortes. The first are Hussars, so called also in Hungary, most parte lighte horse, though serving for men at armes. They are armed with helmet and corselet, a stronge and longe staffe, a case of pistolls on the lefte syde, a falcon sworde, a battayle axe hanging on the righte syde by the saddle, and sometymes under their lefte thighe, a ballasse, which is a shorte twoe handed sworde. Their horse are Turkish, Arabish, Wallachish, Neapolitane, and the choise of their owne races, which are very good for their service.

COSAKKES

THEIRE ARMES

The other are called Cosakkes and in their olde Statutes Scartabelles of Scarthmos signefying a lighte horseman, or footeman. Their armes are much lyke the Tartarians, viz. a boare speare or lighte staffe, a sheafe of arrowes, and a Cimitiere, or Curtelasse. In the Moschovitish warre for their arrowes they had petronelles hanging on their shoulders by a leather thonge, after the Hayduckes fashion, and at their girdle shorte pistolls, which are in parte yet retayned. They use commonly nagges, but swifte and able to endure, as used to continuall roades and excursions. These Cossakes being the Collumes of dyvers

F. 77 r

3 SORTES FOR  
COSAKKES

nations Poles, Dutche, Turkes, Italians, etc are of three sortes, some serve for the garde of greate personages, whoe have also an other of Hayduckes, others in garrisons (especially on the borders) and the third lyve on the confynes, that are Dubiae possessiones, as freebooters.

They are all men voyde of religion, and feare of god, or man, and therefore desperate without respecte of danger, that being their profession, and praecipuum sacramentum. In warre they are used

THEIRE FIGHTE

for skowtes, forreying the contrey, and intercepting of the enemyes provision, and succours; their fighte is lyke the Arabians, observing no constant order, but setting singly, and skatteringly on the enemy, especially on the forragers and straglers, therein most dangerous for their quicknes, and their

HARDY MEN AND  
ABLE TO ENDURE  
ALL TRAVAILLE AND  
WANTES

horses swiftenes. They are acquainted with all kynde of hardnes, heate, colde, thirst, hunger, travayle, loaden with no defensive armoure, scarcely clothed, wonderfull skillfull in besetting the wayes, intercepting the enemy, descrying hys purpose, and making thorough unpassable woodes, thicketts, and desertes. They lyve most parte on the waters by fysshing, and spoyle, thereby most cunning and expeditious in passing ryvers in small boates, or upon planckes. They are both horsemen and footemen, commonly aboute 15000, scarce acknowledging any other heade then suche as they make themselves. They keepe

along the Boristhenes, which boundeth many nations, as the Lithuanians, Russians, Moschovites, Tartars, Turkes, Moldavians and Wallachians, whereuppon that deserte place is the refuge of all outlawes, and other lewde men, which for debte, or some other notorious villany, forsake their contrey. In the tyme of peace also some younge gentlemen of accompte (odio quietis) enter that society. The greatest parte of them are Poles, and Lithuanians which makes that (though all which fall into their handes are counted enemyes) they somewhat favoure that lande, and infest the Moschovites, Turkes, and Tartarians most. They range over the contrey betweene the Bog and the Boristhenes even upp

*F. 77 v* to Braczlaw. The valiantest and of greatest name are those which keeping about the inferior bankes of the Boristhenes are called Nisonii <sup>er)</sup> of the place of their residency. Those doe especially dammage the Tartarians, and commonly serve the kinge of Polonia, through privato instituto, et voluntaria militia, whereuppon the Tartarians continually complayne of them to the kinge, and in revenge make many excursions into Volhinia and Podolia. In kinge Henryes tyme they shewed wonderfull valoure in the Wallachian warre against the Turkes. In kinge Stephans tyme invaded Walachia, expelled Peter the Waywoode, placed in that dignity John Podkewa <sup>es)</sup>, a base Walachian of their owne profession, and after he was executed by kinge Stephan, expelled the same Peter agayne, and sett upp Alexander the said Johns brother. Synce that the Poles have ben forced to sende Zamoisky against them, in which warre they were overmatched, and suffered greate overthrowes, their leader which was but a shepherdes sonne (for they respect not byrth but onely hardines) being taken.

GENERALLS OF POLONIA AND LITHUANIA

EMULATION BETWEENE GENERALLS

THE GENERALLS OFFICE

MARSHALL OF THE FEILDE

The commaunde of the armyes next under the kinge belongeth to the Captaynes generall, whoe are lyke the Constables of France, and are 2. The one for the kingdome, the other for the greate Duchy, which ministers occasions of dissension and emulation, when the forces of bothe are ioyned in one campe, and their generalles are present; but he of Polonia hath the preeminence. The generall leades, and Marshallles the army, encampes, gyves the signe of battayle, and retreates, lookes to the provision of the campe, weightes, measures etc, priceth all thinges, and punisheth all offenders, having the same office aboute the kinge in the campe, that the Marshall of the kingdome hath in the Courte. In hys absence, before the Marshall of the feilde was appoynted, the Marshall of the kingdome ruled all, and in hys absence the greate Chauncellor. The present

er) Nizowcy  
es) Podkowa

ZAMOYSKY GENERALL  
OF POLONIA

*F. 78 r* Generall is Zamoysky chosen in kinge  
Stephans tyme iure optimo et perpetuo, having  
granted hym by the kinges meanes as large authority

as ever any had, and in particular as John Tarnousky, after whose tyme  
the power of that office was weakened by wante of disciplyne, which at  
Zamoyskyes creation was reestablished and more severe orders made most  
necessary for the Poles, whoe uppon their Civill liberty were dissolute  
and disobedient in the Campe. Thys Zamoysky, sonne to the Castellane

ZAMOYSKYES  
MANNER OF LYFE  
AND RISING

of Chelme had allwayes made onely profession of a  
scholler, lyved longe in the Universities of Italy,  
especially at Padova, where he was Rector. After  
hys returne he soone made hymselfe knowne by hys  
learning, eloquence, deepe reache, iudgement, and

other politicall vertues. In kinge Stephans tyme he grewe to mighte by  
the kinges favoure, purchased by matching with hys neece, continewed it  
by hys owne wisdom, and fidelity, which the kinge founde in hym in all  
actions, which made that having so true and sufficient a Counsellor, he  
committed to hym the direction of hymselfe, following hys advice in all  
actions. Being Chauncellor, and so highly advanched in the kinges grace,  
for the absolute greatenes, which he dissigned, according to the disposition  
of hys contrey, and the military profession of hys famely, he accompanied  
kinge Stephan in all hys warrs, and by the benefitt of hys learning proved  
in that course so famous, that uppon Milaetius <sup>et)</sup> hys deathe, he was  
chosen generall of Polonia. In discipline he is very seveare, wherfore he  
at the first gott greate hatred, but by hys constancy, and vertue he soone  
overcame that, and is growne not onely mighty in wealth by dyvers ryche  
captayneshipp, but potent in followers, and of suche authority for hys  
wisdom, that he swayeth bothe the Civill and military state. True it is  
that he hath many enemyes, which must needes happen in a state of  
suche liberty, and popular power of the Nobility, where many ayme at  
hys ruine, which is too mighty. But he on the other syde stronger

*F. 78 v* by allyes and the common opinion, the publike safety dependes  
muche uppon hys wisdom and experience of the state, mainteynes hys  
eminency as yet, without any impeache of credit or fortune. To conclude,  
he is the most absolute gentleman for Civill and military vertues, that  
ever that contrey bredd, whereof hys continewing in

ZAMOYSKY  
MODERATE

that mighte is a most necessary argument. By  
profession he is a Catholike, but very moderate, se-  
cretly having correspondency with the Protestantes,

and openly mainteyning liberty of religion for the publike peace, and  
security, which would be endangered, yf the sugges-  
tion of the Clergy should be practised. For which

AFFECTES NOT THE  
JESUITES

cause he mislikes the Jesuites as too buisy in the  
State, and violent for the furthering of their pro-  
fession. By thys meanes he is assured of the refor-  
med Church. The military Nobility greatly honor  
hym (besydes the respecte of hys valoure) as having  
served under hym, and many beene advanched by  
hys meanes, especially those which of Plebeians for

LIKED BY THE  
PROTESTANTES

et) Mielecki

HONORED OF  
SOULDIOURS

military service were made gentlemen. Hys popularity and affecting of credit with souldiours are apparent by hys shewing hymselfe a patrone of theise, which served in the warres, by urging in the Dyet not onely their paye, but also rewardes extraordinarily, which when for the present at the ende of the Moschovitch warre, by reason of the factious humors of the Nobility, could not be obteyned, he was to hys ability liberall towards them of hys owne pursse, the souldiours offering in their greate necessity to expect the paye for hys sake, and to be ready to marche with hym for any service etc. which made hys enemyes traduce hym, as affecting tyranny by meanes of hys favoure purchased with the souldiours. For the lyke respectes he is observed by Civill men which seeke to ryse by that profession. Hys cheifest enemyes are the Bysshoppes, and specially the Archebishopp of Gnesna. Hys quarrell with the Duke of Ostrog was compounded, but it is reported to be renewed.

The Campiductor, or Lorde Marshall of the feilde appointed by the

*F. 79 r* kinge at thys present is Zolkiovius, Palatyne of Polotia. By office he is lieuetenant to the Generall, hath speciall charge of the watche, Skowtes and mercenary souldiours, but under the Generall. Thys office is not perpetuall, as that of the Generall.

RADZIVIL GENERALL  
OF LITHUANIA

The Generall of Lithuania is Christofer Radzivil, Palatyne of Vilna, allyed with Zamoysky, of a military, and tryumphall famely, which for eminency in state authority in the greate Duchy, and famous victoryes against the Moschovites hath from father to sonne (as it were by succession) had the greate offices of that lande, and the manning of the State, which by their vertue hath ben especially defended, their honoure and mighte being the greater, for that it being farr from the Courte, and kynges ayde, confyned with the Livonians, Moschovites, and Tartarians, and lyke Atlas susteyned the whole weighte of the mighty northren nations, as the Bullwarke not onely of Polonia but almost of all Europe for those partes.

THE POLES MANNER  
OF ENCAMPING

The Poles encampe strongly much after the Dutche fashion, enskonsing themselves with waggons, amongst which the Ordonance is placed at advantage, and without that compasse casting a trenche, open onely at certayne yssues.

THE PROPER FORCES  
OF THEMSELVES  
INSUFFICIENT FOR  
LONGE WARRE OR  
CONQUEST.

For their manner of warre, thys is generally to be observed that their proper forces cannot make any conquestes, wynn places by seige, or keepe them longe in action, because they are all horssemen, which doe Cito parere victoriam, et cito cedere. Upon this advantage of the contrey they have mainteyned themselves by the valoure of the Nobility and multitude



THEIRE SUCCESSE  
AGAINST THEIRE  
NEIGHBOURES

of horsse, against their mightiest enemies, which also commonly used onely horsse. But whensoever the Moschovite sett on them with hys fantery, he both became Maister of the feilde, and wonne much of their lande. The Order of Prussia longe continewed warre with thys mighty

*F. 79 v* State, and ofte tymes wonne upon it, which they could not have donne yf the Poles whoe farr overmatched them in horsse, had used footemen. The Order yealded at last, not as conquered by them, but forsaken by the Empyre, and betrayed of their owne subiectes, defected to the Poles, whoe before could never wynn their stronge holdes, nor otherwise endanger them, then by contynuall incursions upon the advantage of their horsse. So likewise Livonia upon confidence and experience of the former defect warred continually with Lithuania, Polonia, and Moschovia, feared not to meete Sigismund whoe came with 100000, neyther was then overcome, but compounded without stroke by the meanes of Nicholas Radzivil generall of Lithuania, whoe accorded them. Lastly, the Livonians, whoe had gyven the Moschovite memorable overthrowes, were by hym conquered, after he used an ordered, and stronge fantery, which served for battayle and seiges, as hys horse served

THE MOSCHOVITE  
WITH FOOTEMEN  
ALLWAYES TOO  
STRONGE FOR THE  
LITHUAN:  
LOST ALLWAYES  
USING ONELY HORSE

STEPHAN FOUNDE  
OUT THIS DEFECT

whoe soone deprehending that wante enterteyned footemen.

GOODNES OF THE  
POLISH CAVALLERY

The Cavallery is excellent both for the quality of the souldioure, which is proper, and standes upon hys owne honor, and for leaders which are not Capitani di Ventura, lyving upon mercenary profession of armes, whoe deceyve the State with false rolles, and seeking for the gayne to keepe it in action, ayme not at that, which is intended by the State, but are all by statute

CAPTAYNES GENTLE-  
MEN OF SERVICE  
AND LYVING

THE CAMPE NOT  
CORRUPTED WITH  
AVARICE

*F. 80 r* gentlemen of service, and good lyving, Polonia, affording sufficient choyse by reason of the continuall exercise of armes with the bordering Moschovites, Tartarians, and in Hungary, where as in a Military Academy dyvers brave younge gentlemen proffitt in knowledge of armes and disciplyne. Thys is a matter of greate importance that avarice is not crept into their campe.

MEANES OF  
GREATE STRENGTHE

THEY NEGLECT  
INFANTRY AND  
SEA FORCES

THE CAUSES

WHY THE GERMANES  
INVADE NOT POLONIA

NO DANGER FROM  
THE SWEDEN

SUPPLY BY  
MERCENARY  
INFANTRY

INCONVENIENCIES  
OF SUCHE SERVICE

If the Infantry being the strength and foundation of a battaile, and sea forces were correspondent to the Cavallery (they having sufficient meanes of both) the Poles needed not feare the power of any neighbour whatsoever. But they neglect them (as I sayde before) for feare of arming the Commons, or as thincking them superfluous. Fyrst because of the gallantry of their horse (whereas, that fighte is onely for the playnes, by nature unstable and not firme agaynst footemen, besydes that they cannot longe continewe in feilde by reason of the voracity itselfe of suche multitude of horse). Secondly, for that the contrey is most parte Champaigne (but withall many places are very woddy, and full of lakes, and hilly uppon Hungary). Thirdly, there is no neighbour nation whose infantry can indanger them. For the Germanes they have never attempted anything against Polonia, because of their hereditary leagues, their owne disunion, danger from the Turke, imparity in horse, and wante of fortresses in Polonia, where they might settle themselves for further conquest, so that they must venture all uppon a battayle, and though conquerors, cannot holde that they should wyne. From the Swedens there is no danger, but by Livonia, which also dependeth on the kinge. Against the Tartarians no other then suche, as be in garrison are of any service, seeing they make no formall warre, but excursions. Against the Turkes, and Moschovites, they can levy sufficient forces in Germany, and Hungary, as they did in kinge Stephans tyme, by which they recovered greate parte of Lithuania before

*F. 80 v* lost, and the Moschovites parte in Livonia. But thys kynde hath all the inconveniences which necessarily followe mercenary service especially, for

that it is *hirudo aerarii*, whereas their proper mighte serve without any charge, or very small to the State: that they must stand to their neighbours curtesy for makinge suche leavyes, whose peradventure will not suffer them to make good choyse (which in kinge Stephans tyme was denied them by the Lubeckans, though their friendes) or not any greate numbers: that they are dangerous bothe in respecte of themselves, and the kinge, whose by them may make hymselfe absolute, they had seene kinge Stephans tyme, whose Hungarish forces were greatly feared in Polonia: and the kinge uppon that confidence (though he affected not the alteration of the State, as having no hope of children) yet governed more peremptorily, then any of the house of Jagello had donne. Lastly the emulation of these 3 nations, which naturally as neighbours hate one another, in so muche that in the Moschovitish warres they were hardly kept from battayle by the kinge, whose was fayne to quiet the strangers with largitions out of hys owne pursse. The Poles contemne the Dutche, and the Hungarians the Poles as cowardes, in so muche that the kinge was publikely and privately censured, for bringing in them, which despised the Poles valoure, and the Maiesty of the Generalls commaunde, to which they would not be alyke obnoxious, but be directed by their owne leader,

DISAGREEMENT OF  
SEVERALL NATIONS

whoe was as mediator betweene them, and the General. True it is that thys emulation excited all 3 to the uttermost of their valoure, but that breeding harte-burning, and distracting of the same campe, was most dangerous. At thys tyme, it is thought there are 14 or 15 hayduckes for the garde of Dignitaryes, their enterteynment being taken upp upon the example of kinge Stephan, so that now the Poles have a lyttle better meanes of Infantry.

SEA FORCES

For the sea howsoever the Polish dominion coastes it from

*F. 81 r*

Dantzic to Parnavia in which space there are many portes and harboures of greate importance, yet are not they lordes of it. Fyrst, for that before the accesse of Prussia and Livonia they had no commerce with the sea. Secondly, because synce that they have not acquaynted themselves with that trade, the gentlemen being withheld by their naturall aversion and deprivation of gentry, and the plebeians not sufficient for that adventure. And therefore bothe the trade, and commaunde of the sea is onely in the handes of the

THE DUTCHE LORDES  
OF THE SEA

THE DANGER OF IT

Germanes in Prussia and Livonia whoe onely inhabite the portes and Citties of trade. Thys is a greate error in that kingedome in regarde that Prussia and Livonia may defect at their pleasure, eyther making heade for themselves, or falling to the Empyre, or Suecia being favoured by the sea for receyving of succours. Thys might have fallen out in the revolting of Dantzic yf at that tyme the Poles had not had a most valiant and resolute prince, whoe notwithstanding for wante of sea forces, and footemen (the Poles not being sufficiently practised in building maineteyning or expugning of fortresses) could not subiect them by force, but induced them by composition to returne to their obedience. For thys cause the Poles should eyther dismantle their fortes or mainteyne a Navy Royall, by which besydes the assurance of those provinces, these commodities would ensue:

BENEFITT BY  
SEA FORCES

the increase of saylers and footemen, benefit to the Crowne by the sea, mainteyning of many gentlemen by that service, and offices of the Admiralty, and the reputation of the Poles for sea matters, whereas uppou thys wante, the Dane and Sweden have ofte infected the Sarmatian sea, caryed away shippes out of their portes, and the Moschovite, whylest Livonia belonged to hym, was enriched by trade from the west sea, and armed that waye against the Poles in despite of them.

The offensive warre of the Poles is in twoe sortes, the

*F. 81 v*

fyrst by roades, which is their commonest in regarde of their horse, and agility in that kynde: the seconde by formall campe for the encountering of the enemy or wyning uppou hym. Thys is donne uppou greate disadvantage and difficulty, for that the kinge is too muche limited bothe for moving and continewing of warre. The summoning particular conventes wherein the specialty of the busines with all reasons

DEFECTES FOR THE  
MANNAGING

are intimated, (which being published to the whole realme warnes the enemy sufficiently) the Dyet drawne on with disputations and other tedious courses before they marche from their howses, notoriously hyndering their enterprises. For whereas all warr standes much upon celerity in execution caused by unity under absolute commaunde, that of Polonia

SLOWE MOTION

HARDLY CONTIN-  
EWED

consisting of so many severall peices, hardly accorded, hath most slowe motion, and so leeing advantage of tyme, surprise etc hardly effectes that which is designed. For the continuance kinge Stephan founde the inconvenience, whoe in his Moschovitish warre was forced yearely to cassiere hys forces to come to the Dyet for continewing of the subsidies, graunted ordinarily but for one yeare, (hys presence being necessarily desyred in that, which he might not holde by a Deputy, Polonia not admitting of a viceroy or Lieuetennante for the kinge which is a matter considerable) the hurte whereof may easely be conceived, considering onely the trouble of gathering forces agayne, the tyrynge of the souldiours and horsse with suche longe iourneyes, the trouble of carriages for suche a campe to the place of action, of which inconveniences kinge Stephan greatly complayned in the Dyet.

POLONIA ADMITTS  
NO VICEROY

In beseiging places they are not so well experienced as other nations, which use footemen, and therefore Stephan rather sett upon the Moschovites owne inheritance, and that which he had wonne from Lithuania, then upon Livonia, whereat he aymed. For he sawe hys progresse there would be slowe, and by peicemeale, by reason of the store of stronge fortes of the Germanes

THE POLES NOT  
ACQUAINTED WITH  
SIERGES

WHY STEPHAN  
ENTERED UPON  
RUSSIA RATHER  
THEN LIVONIA

*F. 32 r* building, whereas the Moschovitish were weaker, and stode not so thicke, whereby one or twooe being wonne, he should be lorde of a greate terretory.

MANNER OF FORTIFYING  
IN LITHUANIA  
AND MOSCHOVIA

The manner of fortifying in Lithuania and Moschovia is with sharp stakes, and beames of oake, covered with turffe and earthe agaynst fyer. They builde and fortify with tymber, and not with stone, because of the greate colde continewing the greatest parte of the yeare, so that they have lyttle tyme to builde with mortar, and fewe masons, by reason of the disuse of stone buildinges. Suche fortes (though stronge) were taken by a newe arte, fyrst devised and putt in practise by kinge Stephan in hys civill warres in Hungary, and at Dantzige, and never hearde of before by the Moschovite, viz. bulletts thoroughly glowing hott discharged against the rampires, which passing to the tymber sticke in it, and gott secret strength, before they could be discovered. That the bullet should not fyer the powder in the peice, they putt betweene fyrst sande, or ashes, and then greene and moyst hearbes. Against thys the Moschovites on the sodayne had at the first no remedy. Fyrst, because those fyry bulletts could not be so easely choked as a flame. Secondly, for that they laye longe in the tymber, the fyer not breaking forthe

MANNER OF FYRING  
THEIRE FORTES

till it had gotten unquencheable strengthe. Thirdly for that the Defendantes till then could not knowe where the bulletts laye. At the last the Moschovites founde a waye to elude that arte by making the tymber worke thynn, that the bulletts mighte passe thoroughe and be smothered in the earthe.

REMEDY AGAYNST  
THE FYRY BULLETTES

DEFENSIVE WARRE  
IN POLONIA EASY

The Defensive warre is bothe easier, and more expedite for twooe causes, viz. the kinges greater authority, and the Poles free service, whereby the greate difficulty of many is removed. Their defence is in open feilde, and not by fortes which they neglecte for these reasons. Fyrst, because they are couragious, and thincke the security of the lande to be in the valure and

WHY THE POLES  
NEGLECT FORTES

*F. 82 v* multitude of sufficient souldiours. Secondly, the contrey lying open, they cannot everywhere sufficiently secure it by fortes on the frontiers, which in fewe places are shutt upp with straighte and commaundable passages. Thirdly, they thincke it would distract their forces, and be chargeable to the Common wealthe for their building, and mainteyning with garrison. Fowrthly, they might much dammage the State, being wonne, or surprisid by the enemy. Fyftly, the kinges might make them nestes of their tyranny. But their error is greate in that poynte, which they may fynde by the Turkes progresse in the dominions of the Sophy, though ofte overthrowne by the Persians valure, as the weaker, and shall themselves proove by miserable experience, yf the Turkes sett uppon them. Against the Moschovite (how confident soever they are) they were forced to fortify the Duna, and other oportune passages. Podolia and Volhinia have ofte proved thys, invaded by the Tartars, and wasted before sufficient resistance could be made, for it is necessary to frontier strongly against a more potent enemy, and with muche celerity for holding them playe untill that forces are gathered, especially considering their owne slownes in that poynte.

MEANES OF  
CONTINEWING  
THE WARRE

The meanes and nerves of their warre to be continewd any longe tyme are very small, because of the publicke, and private poverty, and the liberty of the Provinces. The publicke is impoverished by meanes which I have before sett downe. The Domayne is onely sufficient for the expenses of the kinges courte, Salaries, Embassages, and opening of bridges, etc. The fowrthe out of the Captayneshippys layde up at Rava, as a militare aerarium by Sigismundus Augustus hys constitution, sufficeth not for the ordinary charge of securing the borders. So that whatsoever ariseth besydes (which must needes be muche in a kingedome so large, and negotiating with so many potent nations), must be defrayed extraordinarily by subsidies. Thys makes that

THE POLES HARDLY  
DRAWNE TO WARRE

*F. 83 r* the Poles are hardly drawne to warre, that must wholly be borne out of their particular estate, which shewes how muche more convenient it had

THE LAND SERVICE  
COMMONLY  
MERCENARY

beneficial to the Realme, in that the Nobility, Alia ex aliis iniquiora postulando, hath now broughte it ordinarily to a mercenary service. Therefore it was inconsiderately donn by the kinges to departe from the publike to stande to the arbitrary ayde of their subiectes, whoe preferre their particular before the common good. Thys was seene in kinge Stephans tyme, whoe in hys Moschovitian warre was forced to remitt to certayne Palatinates parte of the subsedy passed by the Dyett, and for the thirde yeare hardly gott it graunted, howsoever they sawe it was most necessary for the acheiving of their designement, then almost compassed, and in the Dyett following, the ayde being shorte of the charge, though he had gotten Livonia,

THE WEAKENES OF  
THE DOMAYNE PRE-  
JUDICALL TO THE  
STATE

DIFFICULTY FOR  
SUBSIDIES

recovered the lost territories of Lithuania, wonne many miles of the enemies ancient dominions, and so delivered the lande of continuall charge and greate feare of the Moschovite, yet did they flatly denye to paye the souldiours whoe had behaved themselves most valiantly, and endured a winter campe before Plescow, where the colde is as greate as in any place of Moschovia, so that the kinge and Zamoisky in pittie and military honoure, were fayne to supply the wantes of the miserable souldiours. Boter upon thys warre inferrs the sufficiency of the Polish subsidies, but is ignorant how it passed. For the payment was so slowe, and the subsidies (though the greatest that ever were rayseed in that kingdome) so shorte for the mainteyning of 40000 horsse and 16000 foote, that had not the kinge had huge treasure broughte by hymselfe into the lande, and which he had by the Queene, and borrowed notable sommes of the princes of Saxony, Brandeburg, and Prussia

F. 83 v besydes the helpe of hys freindes in the lande, which strayed themselves to the uttmost, he could not have taken it in hande in a good tyme after it was concluded, nor have continewed it being once enterprised.

SPOILES OF THE  
DOMAYNE ENHABLES  
NOT THE POLES FOR  
THE PUBLIKE SERVICE

Crowne are not thereby the more enabled to helpe the Common Wealthe, thys accesse serving almost onely for the keeping of a greater state, and their naturall emulation of pompe and prodigall spending, whereby the wealthe of the lande is broughte to be in horsse of greate price, iewells, sylkes, and other exoticall wares for the backe and belly.

HOW THE POLES  
CONSUME THEIR  
REVENUES

CHARGES NOT EASED  
BY THE LIBERTY AND  
UNION OF THE  
PROVINCES

By the liberty and unyon of the provinces, (howsoever those meanes assure them from defection, and combyne them mutually against the common enemy), the Domayne is weakened, and the publike charge

THE DOMAYNE  
EMPAIRED BY THE  
UNION OF RUSSIA

encreased. For by Russia, whilst it was tributary, the kinges receyved greate profitt, and had thereby good meanes to raise money in tyme of neede, but after that the kingedome in an emulation, soughte to make it selfe stronge by inviting with communication of the Polish liberties, and immunityes the neighbour provinces from Lithuania, which stode uppon it selfe, and mighte one daye be estranged from the kingedome, the princes wanted the former meanes.

THE KINGEDOME  
CHARGED BY THE  
LAST UNION OF  
LITHUANIA

NECESSARY THAT  
CONQUEST SHOULD  
BRING IN TRIBUTE

The union of Lithuania broughte the kingedome charge for her defence against the Moschovite. It were therefore most necessary for that state seeing all the provinces doe enjoye the priviledges and immunity of Polonia to make conquest of some neighbour cowntrey, which should remayne tributary for the ease of the publike charge, and not be admitted to the participation of the Polish immunityes. An other helpe would be by a

A SACRUM  
AERARIUM TO BE  
ERECTED

PARTICULAR  
TREASURIES OF IN-  
CORPORATIONS

chambers and tribes, onely the publike, on which all depende wantes thys helpe, the poore excusing themselves by their poverty, the riche pretending liberty, and those which are farr from the confynes denying it to

MEANES OF A  
TREASURY

FIRST FRUITES OF  
SPIRITUALL LYVINGS

PARTE OF CHURCHE  
RENTES, CONFIS-  
CATIONS

BENEVOLENCES

MONTI DE PIETÀ

The seconde of the

PROFFITT OF  
CAPTAYNESHIPPS

*F. 84 r* Sacrum Aerarium, besydes that of Rava, where the fowrthe of the Captayneshipps, and the surplusage of collected subsidies are layde. The necessity of thys appeares sufficiently by the care of all particular incorporations for their common state in that kynde, as Bisshopps and Cannons in Polonia at their election gyve somewhat to the treasury of the Church, so doe Cittizens and Artisans to their chambers and tribes, onely the publike, on which all depende wantes thys helpe, the poore excusing themselves by their poverty, the riche pretending liberty, and those which are farr from the confynes denying it to be necessary, vaynely bragging of their readines for the publike service in any neede. Dyvers meanes have ben mentioned for the erecting of suche a treasury, severall from the Exchequier. Some would have the Annatae or first fruites of spirituall lyvings converted to that use, to which purpose Sigismund 1543 uppon the motion of the Secular Senators, and Nuncii, sued to the Pope, that he would graunte them to the Realme, for the defence of it. Besydes some moved to have the superfluous rentes of the Clergy, the forfeited goodes of notorious malefactors, and whatsoever any man would conferr in benevolence. Hieronimus Lasky, father to the present Palatine of Siradia, devised a waye of erecting 3 Monti de pietà as he tearmed them. The first should consist of halfe of the fruites of the lande to be payed but once. The seconde of the 20th, and the thirde of the 8th of all thinges solde. But thys devise was unreasonable, and would never have ben graunted. Of late yeares it hath ben urged that the Captayneshipps should be employed to the use, but the inconvenience of that I have before sett

IMPROOVING OF THE  
FUMALIA

SESSING BY POLL

the poll yearely, as it was Anno 1520. Dyvers

downe. A better, easier, and more expedite waye to inriche the publike were the raising of the Fumalia one grosch, for that the 2 grosch now is not the thirde parte of the ancient value, when the graunte was fyrst passed. Or by sessing the whole lande by

*F. 84 v* other meanes they have without burdening of the Common Wealth which I will not stande uppon.

POLONIA THE  
GRANARY AND  
ARSENAL OF EUROPE

paralle of shipping. But the reasons are apparent, and dyvers, the spe-  
ciallest for that the

WHY POLONIA IS  
NOT RITCHE

vantage. True it is, that thys common vent rayseth their reueneue, ney-  
ther without it could they mainteyne their state, but it is eaten upp by  
their prodigality, and greater charges uppon the pryce of victualls, there  
chancing sometyme suche scarcety by thys common exportation, that the  
Poles are forced at an unreasonable rate to fetche backe their owne

NATURALL COM-  
MODITIES INRICH  
NOT SO MUCHE AS  
ARTIFICIALL

corne from forreine contreys. The commodities I  
have before recounted, which being naturall, and not  
artificiall, howsoever they susteyne the contrey, yet  
cannot inriche it. For no state which is riotuous and  
sumptuous, specially being neither well peopled, nor  
industriously manured, *Ubi cum ubertate, et ampli-  
tudine soli, labore non contendunt, sed seges tantum terrae imperatur,*  
can above the maintenance of herselfe affourde sufficient for the buying  
of forreyne commodities, which shewes that in all states the industry of  
the people in mechanicall artes, and populousnes makes the foundation  
of inrytching any Contrey, which we see by Nurenberg, standing in a  
barren soyle, Augspurg which hath no terretory, Ulme not greate, but  
most ryche, Venice, Mylan etc. the foundation of whose trade and wealthe  
is uppon their artesaneworkes. In thys regarde all wise lawe makers  
forbydd the exportation of unmade wares, or at least charge them with  
greate customes, but fauoure their importation and exportation of arti-  
ficiall. How muche the profitt of made wares exceedes

*F. 85 r* the rawe, is well seene by the sylkes of Italy, the fustians of  
Ulme, Augspurg and Milan, by the greate wealthe, which clothe bringes  
England more then their staple of wolle did before that the Fleminges  
had broughte this arte into England. We see also that at Cambray are  
made Camebricke, and lawnes of 6, 7, or 8 ounces worthe 100 frenche  
crownes. The iron of Frickenthall yealdes the howse of Austria yearely  
but 20000 florins liquid, but by the workes of that

BENEFITT BY  
ARTISANS

mettall the whole Contrey thereaboutes is maintey-  
ned. So that materiam superat opus is held for a  
true principle in all states, the rude matter mainteyn-



ing many sortes of Artisans, that causing concurse of marchantes for the exporting of artificiaall, and importing of materials for them. Thys makes a lande populous, whereuppon followes fattnes of the soyle by the industry of the husbandman, proffitt to the Gentry by ymprooving their landes, and greater customes to the prince. Therefore the Poles must needes be bare by overballancing their home with forreyne commodities, seeing they vent all their naturall, and rawe commodities, depending upon their husbandry, and receyve made wares at an highe rate in greate abundance. So that whereas all merchandise standes upon naturall, and artificiall commodities, the labourers whereof are of twoe sortes, Bawres and artisans, the one in Polonia brings almost no benefitt to the lande, but wholly is reaped by strangers, which in countercharge receyve the surplusage of the other, that is the fruites of the husbandry, as grayne, hempe, flaxe, mettalls, salte, cattayle, wolle, honny, waxe, tymber, pytche etc. To remedy thys, the Poles covenanted with Henry of France, to bringe with hym into Polonia 100 famelyes of Artisans, which woulde have ben a greate helpe to the state and gentry, For that sope, clothe, lynnyn, cordage, and other workes shoulde advantage the realme muche more then the symple matter of ashes, wolle, hempe, flaxe, fells etc, which in workes are returned into the

POLONIA OVER-  
BALANCED IN TRADE

THE POLES COVEN-  
ANTED WITH THEIR  
KINGE TO BRING  
IN ARTISANS

*F. 85 v* realme at an huge price, in respect of that for which they were exported, which we may see in flaxe transported from Riga etc in greate quantity, returned in lynnyn clothe at a very deare rate.

THE POLES GREAT  
MEANES OF WEALTHE

BURGERS TO BE  
DEFENDED AND  
PRIVILEGED

MERCHANTS AND  
ARTISANS INRICH  
THE STATE

HUSBANDMEN  
NOURISH THE STATE

THE GENTRY DEFEND

The Poles have as good meanes of inriching their lande as any nation whatsoever, which are these. The abundance of provision for lyfe, as oxen dryven into Germany, Hungary, and Italy, Grayne with which it furnisheth bothe neighbour and remote provinces, and salte, bothe minerall and of lakes, carryed into the Emperors terretories, allso matter for shipping, wherewith it furnisheth the westernne partes: Matter for workes of importance not lykely to wante Artisans of Germany, Netherland and other places, yf they woulde reforme their disordered state, by repressing the insolency of the gentry, and securing the plebeians to whome they should imparte priviledges proper to that kynde of lyfe, it being a most sure rule, that no state can be riche, where traders and Artisans are wronged, and troden on, they being the silke wormes whereuppon all states grounde their wealthe by impostes, tributes etc, and to whome, as publike treasures, Princes in their soddayne affayres have recourse, as on the other syde, the husbandmen are the antes for the bringing in of the harvest for sustenance, bothe which labouring for the common good, and necessity should be defended by the gentry, Champions of the State.

EXPORTATION OF  
SOME COMMODITIES  
TO BE PROHIBITED

SUMPTUARY LAWES

TRADE OF THE  
BORISTHENES  
JOYNING IT WITH  
THE DUNA

EXPORTATION OF MONEY  
COMMON IN  
POLONIA

REMEDIES  
FRUSTRATED

INHAUNTING OF  
MONEY HINDERS NOT  
EXPORTATION FOR  
3 CAUSES

Theirs higher. Secondly for the former defectes the Polish commodities bringe in no money, but passes in barter for forreine wares. Thirdly, the greatest parte of the gentlemen of ability travayling into forreyne contreys, and lyving at an high rate, cary out their provision, and are supplied with huge sommes in specie for want of sufficient exchange and correspondency

MYNES

METALLS

IN POLONIA NO  
INDIRECT MEANES  
USED FOR THEIR  
INRICHING

wardes Hungary there is good store of copper, specially at Lemburg <sup>ex)</sup> and Premsslen <sup>ey)</sup>, but not followed industriously. Other then these direct meanes the Poles have none, not using the cunning of some other States, which having greate store of good forreyne coyne in their lande broughte in by their trade, or haunting of their cuntry by strangers forbidd it by edictes, commaunding all to be broughte to their mynt at a rate muche under the worth, keeping searche at all passages for suche coyne, and forfeiting it being taken. The same they stampe agayne with a greater allay, and make it currant as high as before. Thys is iterated according to the quantity of forreyne coyne, to the greater enriching of that state, and prejudice of all others whoe keepe the true value, and iust proportion of the rycher mettalls. Thys they doe upon presumption and assurance of

eu) Chrzanow

ex) Leopolis

ey) Premisla

theire trade, and secretes of theire banckes, cunningly mannaged and spied like an

*F. 86 v* Ocean over the worlde by correspondency, which draws strangers and forreyne coyne to them to greate disadvantage of all states overballanced.

RIGHTS OF MYNT

Coyning onely belonges to the kinge in Polonia, and Lithuania to the Duke and free citties of Prussia. The kinge may gyve no greater ally then the ordinary without consent of the Senate. And 1534 it was decreed by Dyet, that because the coyne was adulterated, all of them should for a tyme stave theire mintes, to which the kinge yealded, but the other would not.

MINERALLS

Besides the former mynes, the Poles have quicksilver at Tustan, in Russia, Copper, Azure and leade at Kentzin <sup>ez)</sup>, Iron in dyvers places, Saltpeter at Weislitz <sup>ez)</sup> and otherwhere, Minerall salt at Bochnia founde Anno 1252 Vielycz <sup>fa)</sup> etc. These twooe in

MINERALL SALTE

Casimire the greates tyme were firmed at 18000 markes, which in regarde of the present state of money, made as mucche as the kinge now receyves de claro. The Politike lawes, stipendes and the whole state of them are by statute sett downe, and especially ordered, that there may be but 60 persons laboure in them, and that onely from St. Martyns to Whitsontide, for that the Poles would have them last as perpetuall treasure. They yealde the kinge de claro 150 m. florins yearely, besydes 50 m. for charges, and 50 m. for pensions assigned upon them.

THE 2 SALTE  
MYNES YEALDE  
YEARELY 250 M.  
FLORINS

DANGERS OF STATE  
INTERNALL

The inconveniences and dangers of thys state are (as of all other) internall, or externall. For internall it is subiecte to all that can befall any for troubles, disunions, alterations, conversions, and subversions in regarde of religion and temporall matters. For religion there is not in any contrey such variety, but that seemes better to mainteyne the common peace, then yf the lande were devided into twooe bodies of religion, as France is.

DIFERENT RELIGIONS

HOW PEACE CON-  
TINUES FOR ALL  
THE DIFFERENCES

WHOE HEAVES AT  
THE LIBERTY OF  
RELIGION

*F. 87 r* Besydes warre for religion is avoyded by the potency of the professors in severall Provinces, and that Christians of all sectes are admitted to temporall offices, so that in pollicy (except they directly intende their owne ruine by Civill warre) they are to mainteyne the peace and liberty of religion, at which the Pope, and hys Clergy in Polonia doe greatly heave, favoured by the kinge, whoe in greate simplicity, is ledd by them, but neyther can,

ez) Chęciny  
fa) Wieliczka

THE TEMPORALITY  
DISAFFECTES VIOLENCE  
IN RELIGION

nor dares attempt any thinge, partely because of hys owne troubled estate, and partly for the Temporalities aversion a bello sacro, which they fynde by the calamities of other contreys to be sacerrimum et funestum, and so in thys poynte are the more calme and dispassionate, then the preistes, which blowe these coles, would have them. The cheife patron of thys liberty is the Chauncellor, whoe seeing the strength of the Common Wealthe to be devided into 3 mayne bodyes of greatest bulke, viz. Catholikes,

THE CHAUNCELLOR  
FAVOURS LIBERTY  
OF RELIGION

Protestantes, and Greekish, knowes that yf by pursuite, or depression any parte should be mooved to take armes, (which in that toyle must needes be for the authority and mighte of the heades of eache) there would follow the ruine of the State, by the eagernes and resolution of that nation, once devided into open factions, and made more opposite, and desirous of revenge uppon eventes of suche mortall discentions.

INTERNALL DANGERS  
FOR TEMPORALL  
MATTERS

Dangers for temporall matters, are from private or publike occasions. The private are by banding of particuler potent men, whoe may make private quarrells publike, and distracte the realme by reason of dependancy, and assistance uppon common emnity with the same parties. To thys Polonia is muche subject for the weakenes of the lawes, power of greate men, wante of authority in the kinge, stirring humors of the Nation, and variety of occasions of mislikes and emulations, in competition of honours, concurrency of offices, affectation of swaye in Dyetts,

POLONIA SUBJECT TO  
PRIVATE QUARRELS

PRIVATE QUARRELS  
DANGEROUS IN  
POLONIA

and Conventes, liberty of personall declayming

*F. 87 v* and accusing, revenge of wronges not remediable by lawe, quarrells of followers etc. Thys makes that they often meete with petty armies, surprise theire enemyes townes, robbe, and fyer them, committing many other outrages of meere hostility.

DANGERS FROM  
PUBLIKE MATTERS

Dangers from publike groundes are errors of lawes and the state politicke, or military, before mentioned, from the forme and opposition of the

State and Provincialemulations.

DANGERS FROM THE  
FORME OF THE STATE

The forme, as it participates with the benefitts, so also it admitts all inconveniences, aberrations, and changes of the Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy, in that the soverainty is represented in the kinge, Peeres and whole Nobility. The heretofore changes have been easy, and without danger, as passed by degrees with the consent of the kinge, and states, and that commonly in change of the regall famely, onely by it Silesia was lost.

MONARCHICALL  
INCONVENIENCES

The Monarchicall inconveniences are suche as most parte followe elective states, and are most dangerous to the Electors, then the kinge, viz Fyrst,

INCONVENIENCES  
OF ELECTIVE  
MONARCHIES

the changes of the heade, the newe, as an alien to hys predecessor, turning all thinges upside downe, never pursuing the same actions, as envyouis of hys glory, and fearing some preiudice by comparison of the present government with the former, therfore uppon some reason, or different humoure, he alters the Courte, abates the authority of some, advaunces others, that the cheife sway may be in hys owne creatures. Further he induceth alteration of tearmes with neighoure princes in regarde of their particular intelligence with hym. But these are meetely well ordered and moderated in Polonia, so farr as can stande with the name of a Monarchy. For he cannot depose any but by course of lawe, onely he may advaunce hys favourites to places vacant at hys pleasure, wherein also the Poles will one daye lymitt hym. Hys particular enmities, or confederacies drawes not the state, but yet it is to be

TEMPERED IN  
POLONIA

F. 88 r presumed that the kinge may inclyne hys subjectes by many artes, and favoures, making them freindly to hys allyes, and by some cunning acte of hostility implicate them in hys quarrells. These advantages of the kinge makes neighoures ielous of their assurance and to seeke hys advancement which cannot or will not hurte them.

NEIGHBOURES HAVE  
AN EYE ON THE  
ELECTION

REMEDIES AGAINST  
TIRANNICALL  
GOVERNEMENT

MEANES FOR THE  
KINGE TO BECOME  
MORE ABSOLUTE

Secondly, tyranny by exercise. In thys poynte the kinge is shrewdly limited, that making for the security of the liberty, though dangerous for the prosecuting of warre, especially against a potent neighoure. Notwithstanding, howsoever the prince is so mightely restrayned by lawes, resolution, power, and ielousy of the Senate, and Nobility, and so by that can doe nothing tending thereto without controlement, yet they see by kinge Stephans severe executing of the lawes, and effecting hys designementes in despite of hys enemyes, that the kinge, yf he be mighty and cunning hath many meanes to strengthen hymselfe by one parte of the state for the curbing of the other.

TIRANNY BY TITLE

REMEDIES USED  
AGAINST IT

THOSE REMEDIES  
MAYBE FRUSTRATED  
BY CUNNING AND  
RESOLUTION

Thirdly, tyranny by title. The prince of an elective state, making it successive. For the prevention of thys, and the other, they have clipte the wynges of the regall authority, limiting at hys entrance (yf they thincke good) the number of his forreine trayne, excluding strangers from the keeping of fortes, and Castles, letting not the kinge meddle by private authority with the Cleynotes, iewels, and plate, which are under the keeping of 4 Senatours in the Castle of Cracow. Notwithstanding the Sweden 1592 for the Coronation of the Queene, and celebration of hys marriage, broke open the treasury, when he could not gett the keyes, uppon which facte the Chauncellor and other greate Senators held a convent against hym. We see what store of forreine forces under pretence of service against the Moschovite, were broughte

into the lande by kinge Stephan, which any prynce, that hath hys forces at hande, may doe, eyther by lyke practise, or openly, because the frontiers are not shutt upp with fortifications. Lykewise the same kinge made hys nephewes the Bathors, Bokesse <sup>fb)</sup>, and somme others free Dennizens of Polonia, and to the greate repyning of the

*F. 88 v* adverse nobilitie made Bokesse Captayne of Landkoronna, the like had ben donn by Sigismund the first, whoe made Bonner, a German of Weissenburg, Senator of Polonia for greate service donn to the Crowne.

DANGERS IN THE  
INTERREGNUM

HOW OF NO FORCE

Fowrthly, the perils of vacancy, which bringes almost an Anarchy, when the State wantes an heade, under whose bare name the publike peace is preserved. To prevent these mischeifes the Senate (but sine lege) exercises the kinges iurisdiction, and doubles the penalty of all excesses committed. Notwithstanding when concealed enmities breake out, and the Senates authority is weakened, eyther by selfe division (as in the last Interregnum) or session of the Nobility (as in kinge Stephans choise) the commaunde is of no force, seeing none will obey it then but arbitrarily Neyther at suche tyme is theire Kaptur to greate purpose, which is a stricte confederacy of all States in the Interregnum for the defence of theire rightes, Churches and frontiers. The lyke may be sayde of the Interregnum when the lande is in warre.

DANGERS IN THE  
ELECTION

Fiftly the very acte of election, as uncertayne for place, order etc, and passed by multitudes of armed men, ready to ioyne battaile, ledd onely by faction, or interest, and having for the most parte no iudgement, but captivated, and imposed by some fewe to whome in respecte or service they are wholly devoted.

DANGERS OF  
DIFFERENT CHOICE

Sixthly, different choyce lykely to proove fatall yf the powers of the parties be anythinge equall. Thys had happened at the last election yf the Arche- duke at first had ben resolute and not standing uppon tearmes of modesty, had directly marched to Cracow, and surprized it. The lyke yf hys father Maximilian the Emperour would have adventured uppon Polonia, having the favoure of the whole Senate, or Firley in Henries election had not yealded.

Lastly, thys state is subiecte to home and forreine ambition, corruption, armes, plottes, internall sedition, passions, the Princes prodigality, and neglect of the common wealthe ut alienae.

DANGERS FROM THE  
SEVERALL STATES

*F. 89 r* In the Senate is muche to be feared the eminent power of some mighty men, especially yf they conspire togeather, and can assure the plebeians

fb) recte: Bekes

FROM THE SENATORS  
PARTICULAR OR  
COLLECTIVE

to their partes. Thys hath ben surmised of Zamoiskey by the factions of the Nobility, for that he was assumed by Stephan, as subsidium dominationis, et socius victoriarum, had the commaunde of the fortes of the lande, the manning of the State, soughte greatenes (as they myscontrued hys actions) with the souldiours by largitions, with the people by popularity, and shewes of Iustice, and all that for the Crowne.

The evulgating of the secretes of the State, and suche other inconveniences by their multitude and libertie I have elsewhere touched.

DANGERS FROM THE  
NOBILITY

In the Nobility concurre all othlocraticall headines, perversenes, impotency, secession and other popular tempestes and outrages. From thys forme procedes invalidity of the lawes, impunity, robbing of the Domayne, and publike state, crossing of good motions, and the authority of factious, insolent men, Quibus compositis rebus nulla spes, omne in turbido consilium

OPPOSITION OF  
STATES.

THE NOBILITY  
ENCROACHETH UPON  
THE KINGE AND  
SENATE

Upon these poyntes dependes the Collision of the states, one with another amongst which the tyranny of the Nobility (as the state standes) is most to be feared, the kinge, and the Senate onely standing upon tearmes of holding their present righte, whereas the other, which at first under the Jagelloes, paulatim insurgere, doe now Munia senatus, magistratum et legum in se trahere, upon confidence of their multitude, the exciting of unquiet spirites, and popular liberty. Their tribunes are twoe Marshalls chosen by the Nuncii to be their speakers, and relators to the kinge and Senate. Their fury and perversenes, are seene in their particular conventes, generall Dyetts, and meeting of the whole Nobility for the kinges election. Sometime to evaporate their inflamed spirites, they upon conceyved grudge, fury or ielousy make

SECESSIONS

TIRANNY OF THE  
NOBILITIE

*F. 89 v* secession, and have their severall Rota, wherein of their absolute authority, they adiudge some greate Senator to deathe, upon some pretended faulte, to which the kinge must be contented to yealde. Besydes they meete yearely, in certayne places of the Realme, where every gentleman is sworne to reveale, what defecte, or faulte soever he deprehendes in the Common Wealthe, so that if one be accused of many, he is presently punished. By thys meanes they are the Ephori, Censurers, and tyrantes of the state. These last courses, which without processe of lawe make greate mens lyves obnoxious to the rashnes of the multitude and malice of wicked men, are as badd as the Ostracisme which seemed necessary in Democracies, but most hurtfull to a state accounted Monarchicall. Their latest incroaching upon the sovereignty,

and other states hath ben by their proper courtes of appeale, mentioned before, to which they would also have drawne the whole realme, as I

THE KINGE HARDLY  
CAN CONTENT THE  
NOB.

have shewed. With the kinge yf he be peremptory, they are lightly discontented. First those which chose hym not, in regarde of their foyle. Secondly, those which chose hym, and receyve no recompense, for they thincke he is obliged to eache in particular, and

therefore expecte some personall advaancement, besydes the common benefytt from hys government, whereas yf he should distracte hys whole state, and bestowe all prefermentes onely uppon them, he could not gyve any satisfaction, and besydes should drawe the other parte on hys necke, and devide the Common Wealthe into twooe factions, when the adverse parte should see themselves in the kinges disgrace for not having favoured hym in hys election. Lastly other particular interestes, iudgements etc

THE KINGES MEANES  
AGAINST THE SENATE  
AND NOBILITIE

makes that the kinge hath many secrete evill willers. The kinge for the mainteyning hys authority against the Senate, and Nobility, hath (besydes hys patrimoniall power) the meanes which I have before sett downe, and a possible course of strengthening and

raising the people, especially the Burgers in imitation of the Emperors of

*F. 90 r* Germany. Thys must be don by securing them from insolency, inriching them by trade, and exempting them from the iurisdiction of the Nobility, so that in tyme they mighte growe in wealthe, able to bande themselves for the defence of their liberty against the Nobility, and with the Prussish and Livonish free citties be used by the kinge for a Counterballance. By hys proper bawres the kinge hath no assurance against the

MEANES OF KEEP-  
ING DOWNE THE  
COMMONS

Nobility, for that the Captaineshippes, and commaunde of them is in suche of the Nobility as the kinge nominates, whoe will propende to their owne order. That the Plebeians may the hardlier ryse against them, besydes the debasing them, keeping them lowe

by hindering trade, by meanes before specefied, and excluding them from landes, and armes, the Nobility hath by statute forbidden fraternities, and companies of artisans, that they may not so easely combyne themselves.

THE SENATES  
MEANES AGAINST  
THE NOBILITY

The Senators may strengthen themselves against the popular state of the Nobility, by the manifolde artes, and countermynes which the Roman Patricians used against their populace, whose meanes and

course the Polish Nobility imitates.

DANGERS FROM THE  
PROVINCES

The provincial discontentmentes, and divorces uppon them, are very dangerous and easely occasioned. The Provinces of which there may be feare, are, the greate Duchy, and those, which of olde belonged to the military orders of Germany, and that in generall because they, as separate, and distinct bodyes, are not subiecte to the Polish lawes, and by oportunity of site may the easier defecte.

DISGUSTES OF  
THE LITHUANIANS

More particularly, Lithuania hath had allwayes emulation with Polonia, and continually urgeth greete greevances, Namely, that all the elections since Sigismundus Augustus



deathe have ben passed without the consent of the greate Duchy contrary to the expresse statutes and covenantes of union betweene the twooe states. They have example of Silesia, which defected, for that in the election (the kinge being deade issuelesse) an other was chosen without their consent. Thys in the last election was urged

CLAYMES AND  
GREIVANCES

*F. 90 v* by the Lithuanians, whoe protested not to ioyn with the Poles, except their greivances might fyrst be redressed, which were (besides the former) the violating of their rightes and liberties, detayning of Livonia, Volhinia, and Podlasia, the Poles encroaching upon the Chancery, and other offices of the Duchy, authorising the Marques of Onoltzbach in the administration of Prussia, sending Embassadors to Rome, and summoning the Dyet at Warsaw without their knowledge. Upon these and other groundes, they may eyther ioyn themselves with the Moschovite, or Sweden, or chose them a proper prynce, seeing they want not in their owne body, which may pretend the title and themselves, yf they be ayded by some neighbour, are abel to holde out against the kingedome.

PRUSSIA AND  
LIVONIA

The Prussians and those of Riga offered the same tyme many iust complayntes, specially touching the Poles wronging and oppressing them. Argumentes to perswade them to fall to the Empire, or some Germane prynce, may be their naturall hatred against the Poles contrary humors, course of lyfe, and state. But these provinces are all held in by the sweetenes of the Polish liberty, immunities, priviledges, honors and security against forreyne power, by the union, which they should never longe enjoye under another government.

WHAT HINDERS  
THEIR DEFECTION

EXTERNALL DANGERS

INTELLIGENCE WITH  
STRANGERS

In the matter of externall accidentes and machinations are considerable the state of forreyne princes, and their intelligence with the kinge in particular, or with the state. States deale one with another for honor, advise, wealth, or strength, by waye of contracte, or at liberty. Thys last kynde is in gratulation, condolence, and suche other offices of complement, Counsaile, advertisement, arbitrement, intercession, competition and free trade betweene subiectes. By contracte for trade upon covenantes remedying distastes, iniuries etc, claymes, titles, debtes, mutuall succession, truce, peace, reformation of insolencies, making common

*F. 91 r* lawes for the Marches defence, offence, or bothe. All states so negotiating are neighbours or remote: these deale commonly, onely in the fyrst kynde, and all manner of trade, except in these cases. Fyrst, that having one common enemy, they agree to sett upon hym at once upon their owne frontiers, for the diverting or deviding of hys forces. Suche are the leagues which the Emperour seekes with the Persian, and Moschovite against the Turke. Secondly when against suche an one they onely requier Ingeniers, artificers, ayde of men, furniture, money etc,

as the Persian hath desyred of the Spanyard against the Turke, and the Moschovite, and others. Thirdly, when one state underhande furnisheth a remote for the busying of a thirde interiacent.

THE POLES NOT  
BOUNDE BY THE  
KINGES NEGOTIATING  
WITH STRANGERS

NATIONALL LEAGUES  
OF POLONIA

WITH HUNGARY  
AND BOHEMIA

VIOLATED BY THE  
EMPERORS BROTHER  
AND THE BOHEMIANS

LEAGUE OF AUSTRIA  
WITH THE HOWSE OF  
JAGELLO

NOT TO CONCURRE  
IN COMPETITION

VIOLATED BY THE  
AUSTRIAN

YF IT BE NOT  
EXTINCT

MANNER OF NEGOTI-  
ATING WITH THE  
POLES

ZAMOISKY SPECIALLY  
TO BE PRACTISED

Generally for the Poles it is to be observed that no league or emnity of the kinge before, or after the election dothe any waye bynde the Poles, except by consent of the Dyet. Besydes the Poles have nationall leagues with their neighboures of elective kingedomes, severall from their heades, which are perpetuall, or Salis foedera, and more stricte then the kinges. Suche are their hereditary contractes with the Hungarians, made in the tyme of Jagello, and Sigismund, and with the subjectes of the Crowne of Bohemia, that the kinges warring one against the other uppon private controversyes, should by no meanes be ayded by their subjectes. And farther that they should not foster, but delyver upp the Rebels of eyther state to the other. Bothe these poyntes were violated by the Archeduke Maximilian, and the Crowne of Bohemia 1587. The royall branche of Jagello hath had of long tyme with the howse of Austria an hereditary league severall from the States, viz. that neyther should disturbe the other in states by them possessed, nor by crosse competition hynder one another in elections, and thys because bothe howses being neighboures had their greatest estates elective, and seemed to have some title, and interest to the Crownes which eache possessed. Contrary to thys Maximilian likewise opposed hymselfe in competition, and pursuite of the title to Polonia so longe possessed

*F. 91 v* by the Jagelloes against the Sweden heire by hys mother of all the interestes of that famely, except the Austrians will conclude those covenantes

to be extinct with the male yssue.

In negotiating by suite the Poles must be handled with greate dexterity. In matters belonging to the State, letters and Embassages are to be directed to the Senate, as well as to the kinge, and in mayne poyntes of the Dyet, to the kinge, Senate and Nobility, termed Equites for that armes is their profession, and cheife meanes of obtayning nobility. They must be smoothed cunningly (and though apertly, it is no matter) with titles, and commendations, muche attributed to the states, and in generall all pleasant baites used for their humoure. The cheife man to be dealte with is Zamoiskey, because hys authority, and opinion of wisdom leades many. The kinge hath allso hys favo-

THE KINGES FAVOURITES NOT TO BE NEGLECTED

QUALITIES REQUIRED IN THE EMBASSADOURS

GREATEST NEGOTIATION WITH THE POLES IS FOR THE ELECTION

STATES INTERESTED IN THE ELECTION

ARGUMENTS FOR HOME BORNE COMPETITORS

ARGUMENTES AGAINST THEM

ARGUMENTS FOR FORREINE COMPETITORS

urites, one of the speciallest being Volsky Captayne of Crepitz, but in state matters he is secretly most wroughte with by the Jesuites. Of the spirituall Senate Maciewphsky <sup>(c)</sup> is most in hys grace. For the Embassadoure it is required, that no circumstances of hys particular profession for religion cause any disgust, that want of presence, eloquence, and readines workes not contempt, that he be liberall in entertaynement and not too austere in matter of their customes, and inclinations, but be skillfull in their humors, and playe the good fellowe, so farre as the respecte of hys person, and Civility allowes, so that peritia morum he may wynn muche upon their affection and iudgement. One of the cheifest matters wherein they are soughte to, is the election of the kinge, wherein most of the states of Europe take themselves to be interested, and become eyther suiters for themselves, or others. The Pope in regarde of keeping this realme in obedience of the Church is very careful for the bestowing of the Crowne, urging the choise of a Catholicke, and revoking the liberty of religion. The Grand Signor solicites the election of suche, as have no emnity with hym. All in competition are

*F. 92 r* Piasti or forreyners. Argumentes for the Piasti, the credit of the lande to have able men for that dignity at home, their sincere affection, naturall love to their contrey, knowledge of the lawes, customes, and tongue, no danger of forsaking the realme, as happened by Henries election, the government lyke to to be sweete and modest.

Against them these reasons are pregnant. Pride, Partiality, extraordinary preferring their owne kindred, matter of quarrell with many upon differences, aversion and emulation with opposite howses and so likely to pursue the same factions, and particular hatred, want of respect in those, which had ben their equals, and lastly, that they bringe no accesse of wealthe, lande, forces, or alliance.

For the stranger in generall the contraries doe weighe, that being chosen with generall consent, he enters with indifferent mynde towards all, hath no alliance nor private emnity in the lande, so that onely deserte procures hys favoure, or disfavoure, that he spendes hys patrimoniall revenewe in the lande, of which he can reape no proffitt, nor have assurance of strengthening hymselfe by the accesse, so that he rather subjectes hymselfe to the realme, and nation then they to hym, in regarde of hys greate bondage of residency in the lande, personally leading the armies, ordinary toying in iudgements etc.

<sup>fc</sup>) recte: Maciejowski

CONTRARY  
ARGUMENTS

But motives against them are ignorance of the tongue, lawes, etc (these being necessary in the kinges of Polonia, whoe sitt personally in iudgement), that they are not interested in affection, or good of the Common wealthe, in regarde of byrthe or their posteritie, seeking therfore in their lyfe tyme to make the most of it, which in righte they maye doe, because commonly they purchase the Crowne. Particular obiections are grounded uppon their situation, estate, and tearmes with the Poles or others. The first are remote, or neighbours. The remote can bringe lyttle helpe to the realme, and yf they be kinges in possession, or hope, cannot afforde their continuall presence, which Polonia must necessarily have for these reasons: Fyrst

PARTICULAR  
OBJECTIONS

*F. 92 v* because of the iudgementes, which cease in the kinges absence. Secondly, for that not onely no forces of importance can be rayed without hys consent, but also hys personall presence is required in the campe. Thirdly, for that Polonia may not be governed by a Viceroye. Fowrthly for that in the kinges absence the Nobility is not bounde to the defence of the realme, as it is in the Interregnum by the Kaptur, and at other tymes by the Dyet. Fyftly for that no Dyett can be without hys presence. For these causes uppon Henryes departure, they proceeded to a newe election, not by lawe, but uppon regarde of the publike safety, whereas on the other syde, the Frenche urged, that the kinges righte, after they had once chosen hym, could not dye but by naturall or Civill deathe. The Civill must be by the kinges cession, and their acceptation of it (for otherwise the Poles holde it of no force) or deprivation for violating some capitall condition of hys oathe, whereas that article of departure, or absence without leave graunted in the Dyett (which the Poles holde to be essentiall) was neyther propounded to hym, nor is mentioned in the statutes, or ever ordered by any lawe. On the other syde, yf the kinge make hys residency in Polonia, hys hereditary estate is subject to all dangers internall, and externall, of which the present kinge hath woefull experience. Thys reason made Edward the thirde of England, and dyvers other princes refuse the Empire of Germany etc.

The neighbours as having forces at hande which they may call at their pleasure, may most indanger the lande, and bothe bringe rather hurte by their enmities, then assurance by their alliances.

ORDINARY FORREYNE  
COMPETITORS

The forreyne competitors (likely still to be suiters) have ben these: The Moschovite, Tartarian, Transilvanian, howse of Austria, and the Sweden.

THE MOSCHOVITE

The Moschovites suite is favoured by the Lithuanians, and bordering Russians, as desyrous of security of their landes, dayly spoiled by the Moschovites roades. Hys

*F. 93 r* offer (for the Crowne is publikely sett to sale, pryvate corruption also being of late broughte in by the Austrians) to unite hys Empire with the Crowne, the Poles having by the same meanes gotten Lithuania.

Many were moved by thys greate accesse, hope of hys proving Catholicke, assurance from so potent an enemy, and theire mighte by thys union unmatcheable by any other potentate for quantity and quallity of soul-diours. But the performance by those of best iudgement, was held more then suspected, whoe rather (because Dissimilium infida est societas) doubted hys force for subiecting the realme and turning theire liberty into the Moschovitish slavery, hated Johannes Basilius, infamous for most monstrous and barbarous tyranny, and misliked hys sonne Theodorus, as unfitt because of hys infirmity.

THE TARTARIAN

Good by the Tartars election: propagation of the Christian faythe, deminishing of the Turkes forces, increase of the Poles, security of Russia, Podolia, Volhinia, and acquittance of theire yearly donative. But hym they contemne as beggerly and brutish.

THE TRANSILVIANIAN

The Transilvanian hath once prevayled for hys vicinity, not too powerfull for the overmatching of Polonia, but suche as mighte greatly benefitt, and strengthen it, hys wealthe maturity of age for iudgement and action, military experience, valure, fortune, etc. Which all may serve for hys nephewe, yf occasion be offered, especially yf hys reconciliation with hys enemyes of Polonia be sincere, and hys discontentment with the Emperor continewe.

THE AUSTRIANS

The howse of Austria, which would gleane whatsoever falles, hath ben a suiter in all elections, having for intercessours the heades of theire house, viz. the Emperor and kinge of Spayne, the Pope underhande, the Electors of the Empire, and the Moschovite, whoe so farre favoures the Austrians that after Sigismundes deathe, he offered to gyve the Poles hys moiety of Livonia, so they would chuse one of that howse. Their offers and conditions gyving some notable summe to the Treasury (as at the last election

INTERCESSORS  
FOR AUSTRIA

THEIRE OFFERS

F. 93 v 800000 Crownes) restoring the principalities of Barry and Rossan <sup>fd</sup>, paying of the greate summe due in righte of Queene Bona, mainteyning certeine younge gentlemen in travaile, building of fortresses on the confynes specially of Podolia, compounding theire controversies with the Emperor for Prussia and Livonia, with the kinge of Denmarke, and the sea cities for the navigation to Narva, restoring of the society of the 70 Hans Cities, league of defence with the Emperoure, Pope and Spayne, ayd from them bothe by sea and lande, free transporting of wyne for Polish and Lithuanish lordes out of Hungary without custome, during the kinges lyfe, entertainement about the kinges person and in hys Counsaile of certayne Poles and Lithuanians with good stipendes, employment of Poles by the Emperoure, certayne honourable charges and

ARGUMENTES OF  
INDUCEMENT

fd) Bari and Rossano

stipendes for military service to be conferred by the Emperoure, and kinge of Spayne. Further, they use for argumentes the reputation of that howse from which the Empire, Bohemia, and Hungaria have had so many heades, theire naturall mildenes, might by alliance with Spayne, the Pope, Germany, Italy and the Moschovite, so that in them were the onely meanes to unite the Christian forces against the Turke, whome the Poles needed not doubtte, being governed by one of that howse. In thys case they offered against hym a generall confederacy of Italy, Germany, Spayne, Moschovy and Hungary with Polonia, whereby he mighte at once on all sydes be assaulted with forces of importance. Besydes they have a prety faction in Polonia, the heades bounde by pensions, and fedd with money for mainteyning theire creditt, and purchasing voyces, the thirde repulse not having as yet extinguished theire hope of speeding.

ARGUMENTES  
AGAINST THEM

Motives against them: Quia alii potiores, theire governement where they once sett foote more absolute, then standes with the liberty of elective kingedomes, as in Bohemia, and Hungaria: Danger by theire mighte and forces at hande, seeing they confronte the kingedome about 70 German myles having

*F. 94 r* easy entrance by Silesia or Hungaria, Maximilians pertinacy in pursuing by armes but a shewe of title, theire offence for 3 repulses, hatred of the cheife men, whoe have ben and are opposite to them, theire emnity with the Turke, whome the Poles will not offende, and lastly the Constitution of Andreiovia made not longe before the last election, by which for certayne reasons of state the howse of Austria was expressly made incapable of the Crowne.

THE HOWSE OF  
AUSTRIA BY STATUTE  
EXCLUDED

THE SWEDEN

THE CONDITIONS  
PROFOUNDED TO  
HYM

The Sweden was much advantaged for hys discent, knowledge of the Polish tongue, vicinity, mighte, amity with the Poles, and common emnity with the Moschovite. Theire demaundes of hym, perpetuall leagues against enemyes of bothe kingedomes, release of 124000 dolers, lent to Sigismundus Augustus, gyving over to the Crowne all clayme, and action for hys mothers dowry, and inheritance, by father, and mother in Polonia, Lithuania, Barry, Rossan, and all arrerages thereto belonging, building 5 fortes in suche places of the frontiers, as the states should appoynte, maineteyning a navy for Polonia at hys owne costes, leaving to the Poles suche ordinance, as was taken at Wenden, lending other for the beseiging of Novogard, Plesko, or Smolensko. Lastly, the gyving of hys parte of Livonia to the Crowne of Polonia, which last demaunde was by the Sweden utterly denied as too immodest. They further conditioned that he should bringe with hym but some fewe strangers to serve hys chamber, to intertayne them at hys owne charge, and dismisse them at the first occasion, to use no Swedens in affayres of Polonia, nor strangers in hys garde, but onely Poles and Lithuanians (but thys is not observed, the kinge having 300 Hayduckes, besydes the 50 Prussian gentlemen halberdiers) to conferr landes dignities and offices onely uppon borne Poles, and Lithuanians, not to departe out of the lande without the consent of the

states of the kingedome, and greate Duchye, to paye the souldiours their stipendes due to them in kinge Stephans tyme, and discharge all expenses, for the defence of the borders, till hys comming to

*F. 94 v* Cracovia, to mayneteyne the liberty of religion, not onely as it was under king Henry and Stephan, but farther to punishe the violators of it. Lastly to keepe and defend all lawes, rightes, etc, and in particular the articles agreed on at the Coronation of kinge Henry.

THE PURCHASE OF  
THE CROWNE OF  
POLONIA TOO DEARE

the Poles, poverty of the Crowne, restraite of pleasuring their proper followers, with many indignities and insolencies which they must swallow. But princes are overruled by ambition, make bolde with covenantes, hope for more advantage then in the conditioning is apparent, and lastly doubt

WHY AFFECTED

HOPE OF CONTINE-  
WING IN THE  
SWEDENS HOWSE

In them the Poles by a shewe or shadowe of succession may recover their harborowe, and escape the Comitiall tempestes wherewith the state hath ben tossed ever synce Sigismundus Augustus hys deathe.

THE POPES NEGOTI-  
ATING WITH  
POLONIA

HIS CREDIT IN  
POLONIA

POLONIA TRIBUTARY  
TO THE CHURCHE

THE POPES AUTHO-  
RITY RETAYNED IN  
POLONIA

extinguished the righte. The Popes power and meanes of drawing money out of Polonia have ben of late yeares muche restrayned by pragmaticall sanctions, partely for the common good, and partely for the benefitt of the Nobility, viz. 1545 it was decreed by the kinge and temporall states (for the spirituall would not intermeddle) that the Pope should be requested to remitt the Annatae for the defence of the realme and uppon denyall, the Embassadoure should protest of not suffering them to be

It is marvaile that in suche licitations the Poles should have Chapmen considering besydes the mighty charge, their trouble for personall manning the Civill and military affayres, the exorbitant liberty of the Poles, poverty of the Crowne, restraite of pleasuring their proper followers, with many indignities and insolencies which they must swallow. But princes are overruled by ambition, make bolde with covenantes, hope for more advantage then in the conditioning is apparent, and lastly doubt not, but they may settle their posterity in that throane, whereby in tyme the Polish liberty may decrease, as by often change it is now comme to the highest. Thys present kinge hath greate lyklyhoodes of continewing it in hys howse, sythence hys children are borne and broughte upp in Polonia being allso heires of Jagelloes howse. But peradventure they muste be fayne to parte with their estate in Livonia.

The Pope negotiates with Polonia for matters of religion, and warre against the Turke, for which twoe poyntes he hath by Nuncios continuall intelligence with the state. The Catholicke Poles greatly respect hym in matters of religion, but make bolde with hym in others wherewith he must be content for feare that suche a stomachous nation uppon some distaste, should defecte. The lande is obnoxious to the chaire of Rome, for the tribute of Peter pence, payde uppon every heade (excepting the gentry and Clergy) for the lampe in St. Peters Church at

*F. 95 r* Rome, some saye in regarde of the Popes releasing kinge Casimire of hys vowe of religion, and others of a penaltie for killing one of their princes.

payde any more. Secondly, against ius Cortesanicum, and those which cited any subject to Rome Anno 1538 and 1540. Thirdly against the artes of Rome for conferring spirituall lyvinges graunting provisions, pensions etc. to any eyther stranger or subiect Anno 1532.

THE NUNCIO  
HEARDE PRIVATELY

The Popes Nuncio by custome in Polonia hath private audience, whereas the Embassadors of other princes are hearde in the Senate or otherwise publickely. By thys exception in shewe of honor kinge Stephan hyndered Possevine the Jesuite, Nuntio to the Pole and Moschovite, from delyvering hys message in the Dyet, For that he feared with hys eloquence and authority he would perswade the Poles then tyred with charges to make peace with the Moschovite, uppon suche conditions as were then propounded, Stephan being resolved not to lett the Moschovite breathe, or recover hymselfe, but to force hym to continewed warre, to gyve over whatsoever he possessed in Livonia. Notwithstanding thys custome Anno 1596 the Bisshopp of Caserta, Nuntio from the Pope, for the perswading of the Poles to warre against the Turke, made hys oration openly in the Dyett, but that was in a matter not disaffected of the kinge.

ENGLAND

The Queenes Maiestie of England negotiates with the Poles onely for the trade of her subjectes with them and the Moschovites.

*F. 95 v* The last the Poles have sometymes restrayned for the weakening of the greate Duke and her Ma-tie and the Hanses free trade of provision and munition for Spayne upon the lyke reason which caused the kinges hott embassage 1597 uppon the Spanyardes exciting, as bothe the circumstances of the message, and the poyntes of the other to the States of the Netherland doe declare.

FRANCE AND  
NETHERLAND

With France, and Netherland they have allso no farther intelligence, and lesse with the States of Italy, save onely with the Pope, whoe uppon pretence of hys Hierarchicall universality, negotiates with the most remote nations of the worlde.

THE POLES INTELLI-  
GENCE WITH THE  
VENETIANS

With the Venetians they have had scarce any commerce eyther publike or private, partely because of the distance bothe by lande and sea, and partly for that theirer wantes have ben supplied by interposed nations, For the Venetian trade is not so poore that they would trafique so farr, and with so greate toyle and travaile by lande for small gaynes. Neyther can the adventure uppon so dangerous and longe a navigation be comparable for benefitt to that of the Levans, For which cause they have had small intelligence with any other, there having never ben any Venetian Embassadoure resident in Polonia, and but 4 extraordinary in 150 yeares, whereof Lipomannus was sent 1574 to congratulate the election of kinge Henrye for complement onely with Fraunce, and Duodo sent 1592 at the request of thys present kinge for the honouring of hys mariage and hys reputation with the Poles, whoe distasted hys matche with the howse of Austria, greatly respected of the Venetians, as theirer confyning



neighbour. At that tyme the kinge was desirous to have at hys courte a ligier from that State in truthe to make shewe of hys mighte and confederacy for the holding of hys subiectes in due awe, whoe are naturally, and were then most, because of the kinges weakenes and defectes, easy to contemne their prince, though the Venetians thought he did it for the security of hys state against the Turke. The Venetian Embassadours have

*F. 96 r* observed 3 benefitts that they mighte reape by that state.

The first is of confederacy with them for Counterpoise of the Turkish forces, notable both for diversion and division, seing that it drawes them so farre from the Venetian coastes. Besydes the greate distance would continew suche a league not subiect to ieaiousies (the common bane of neighboures amity) nor their conquestes obnoxious to questions or pretensions, seeing neyther party would challenge or accept of others spoyles though offered. Moreover, the Poles oportunity of invading the Turke by the advice and direction of the Venetians dothe greatly enforce the conveniency of suche a league, thought to be of greate security to those twooe states equally in danger of the forces of one common enemy.

The second is the commodity of shipping which the Venetians may have from Prussia, whether sending 3 or 4 shippwrightes for the direction of their workes, they may fynde store of coarser workemen, materialls and appaile for 100 or 200 good vessells at a lowe rate, viz. the charge of 10 m. 4 for a shipp of 800 both fully furnished, which may be sent to Venice laden with grayne and other provision, that the State wanteth.

The thirde is a commodity of easy sending of sweete wyne etc by lande to Cracow. For the Embassadoure thoughte hys device more commodious then eyther the English and Netherlanders trade of them by the Baltike sea, or the carrying of them by the waye of the Danow <sup>fe)</sup>, the Mare maggiore and Constantinople. Hys course is from Venice to [Augspurg] by water, from thence to Innspruch by lande, from Innspruch to Vienna by water, from thence to Cracow by lande, accompting thys last but 11 dayes iourney, and the whole but 15. But he fayles in hys accompte, for the carriage passeth slowly, and is not to be proportioned with iourneying by horsse or coche. For betweene Augspurg and Venice it is but 8 or 9 dayes iourney, but they make 3 weekes of it, with their cariage. Besydes the oft unlading, especially of wyne, and so farr cariage by lande is dangerous for leakage, breaking of the vessells etc

HANS CITIES

*F. 96 v* The Hanns Citties (though but an incorporation marchant and not soveraigne) dealt with them upon the former poyntes, howbeit the auncient course of their traffique is muche altered, and some discontentmentes have passed for the trade to Narva. In Sigismundus Augustus tyme, they offered themselves to the protection of that Crowne, but he for want of authority, without consente of the States could not receyve them, whereby to the greate hurte of Polonia that notable advantage was lost.

DENMARK

With the Dane they have had by communion of the Baltike sea, the same intelligence, and differences, besydes many other disgustes, for hys excursions beyond hys owne

fe) Danubius

boundes, taking of Polish shippes in the sighte of their portes, obtruding and imposing new lawes, and customes of trade, without consent of the confederates of that sea, and for making hymselfe absolute lorde of the East sea, as having the keyes of it by advantage of hys streightes, shutting and opening them at hys pleasure to the disgrace of that Crowne, not

NEIGHBOURHOOD  
ALIENATES FREINDES

DIFFERENCES UPON  
PRETENSIONS

THE POLE  
ADVANTAGE

THE DANES MEANES  
OF DAMMAGING THE  
POLES

able for want of a Navy to redresse suche wronges. These differences have happened within these 40 yeares, whereas before for 200 yeares the leagues and amity of thys Crowne with Dania, Norvegia, and Suecia were observed without any breache, synce often broken, caused by the Poles possessing of Prussia and Livonia. Besydes they have had controversyes for the Livonish possessions of Magnus Duke of Holsatia, compounded by the arbitrement of the Duke of Prussia, as I have otherwhere declared. On thys parte as it were easy for the Poles to detrimment the Dane, not able conveniently to sende succoure, especially yf the Poles were stronge at sea, so somme thinke that the Dane by shutting hys streightes hath as greate meanes to detrimment them in hindering the vent of

*F. 97 r* their commodities, but that would also be as prejudiciall to hymselfe, whose estate dependes most upon gabelles, and therefore open emnity is alyke hurtfull to both (as matters stande) but would be more disadvantageable to the Dane, yf by force of nations trading in that sea hys streightes were opened.

SPAYNE

FOR MUNITION AND  
PROVISION

With the Spaniard (from whome they differ muche, the one being open and liberall, the other full of cunning and sparing) they have no greate amity, but have to doe with them in 3 poyntes, trade of provision, and munition (of greate importance for hym, as not able to holde out without the amity of the Hans, from whome he is furnisht, and whose shippes he useth in any busines), debte, and pretensions.

The fyrst the Poles would have free, as gayning muche more by Spayne then any other state, and the Spaniard as greatly disprovided in those kyndes, which made the Poles request that of her Maiestie of England, and the Spaniardes bargayne with the Poles aboute those Commodities 1598 by an Italian, and after by the Spanish ligier at Prage, whoe is commonly employed in hys maisters affayres for those partes.

DEBTE

The debte is 400000 Hungarish Ducketts, lent Charles the 5 by Bona Sforza, grandmother to thys present kinge, for which the Spaniard payes 40000 Hungarish ducketts interest, receyved by the Polish agent at Naples.

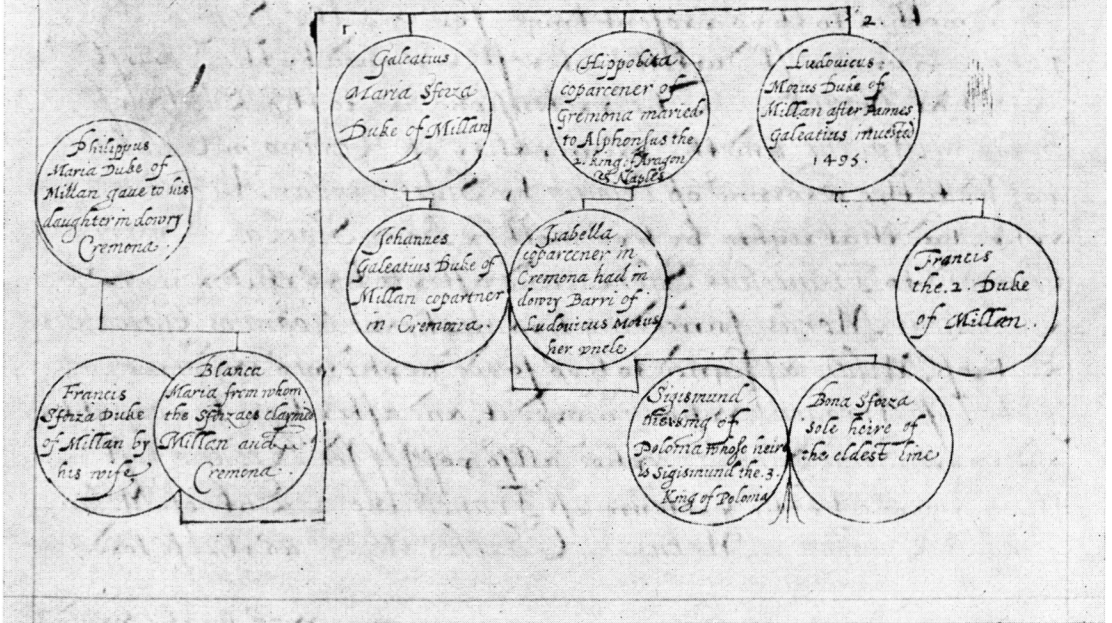
PRETENSIONS

BARRI

The pretensions are to the Duchy of Barri in Apulia, and the municipality of Rosano in Calabria, passed to the Crowne of Polonia by Sigismundus Augustus, whoe had that righte by hys mother Bona Sforza. Barri belonged to Franciscus Sforza, and



I will sett downe the persons necessarily touching in this  
action.



after to hys children, which Ludovicus Morus, succeeding hys nephewe Johannes Galeatius, Duke of Milan, assigned to hys sayde nephewes widow, Isabel of Arragon, whoe enjoyed it, and after her, her daughter and heyre Bona Sforza, whoe allso possessed Rosano, lost them agayne by the pretence of Francis the 2 Duke of Milan, sonne of Ludovicus Morus. Charles the 5 as cheife lorde

THE KINGE OF  
POLONIAES TITLE TO  
MILAN AND  
CREMONA

F. 97 v was muche urged by the Pole for the restitution, whoe amongst other instructions charged hys Embassadoure, that yf the Emperour suffered those states to be broughte into question, he should for hys Maister make clayme to the Duchy of Milan

in the righte of Bona, and to her moiety in Cremona gyven to Franciscus Sforza in dowry with Blanca Maria of Milan and possessed by her children as Coparteners, so that seeing there survived no other then Bona, and Francis, Bona was to have 2/3 of Cremona, as heire to 2 coparteners, viz. Galeatius Maria, and hys sister Hippolita. All these claymes were shortly after frustrated by the Frenche and Spanish invasions, though the Poles doe still continewe theire clayme to Barri and Rosan, and Sigismundus Augustus quartered the Vizcountes, or Millanese eagle and viper with Polonia, and Lithuania. For Millane it is aunswared that the Sforzaes held it by force, and never had investiture of the Emperour untill Ludovicus Morus chosen by the Barons was invested 1495. For the better understanding of thys I will sett downe the parsons necessarily communing in this action. \*

SIGISMUNDUS AU-  
GUSTUS QUARTERED  
THE ARMES OF MILAN

F. 98 r By these means the whole interest of the howse of Sforza in those estates is fallen upon the Poles, or the Sweden being the onely issue left of Bona, of which I will speake hereafter.

THE EMPIRE OF  
GERMANY

With the Empire in generall the Poles have no emnity, but neighbourly commerce, howsoever the Nations by reasons of different natures muche dislike one another, and the losse of Prussia, and Livonia should drawe them upon the Poles. But as I have noted in Germany, the Empire is very patient, and carelesse of the common good, no man willing to strive, or spende hys treasure in causes, which are not of hys particular interest, which is to be observed of the greate difference betweene these 2 elective states, For that Germany by election is decayed, Polonia mightely increased, whereof these are the reasons:

DIFFERENCES OF  
THESE 2 ELECTIVE  
STATES.

First, for that in Germany by the increase, or decrease neyther the Emperours nor the Princes estates are bettered or detrimented, but eyther suche states gotten, or lost, are for themselves, or belonging in property to some particular.

Secondly, yf anything should be wonne, the Princes would have it layde to the Domayne, but the howse of Austria settled in the Empyre, would appropriate it to their state, that being one cause of the Empires slighte ayding that howse against the Turke.

\* vide tabulam photographiam.

Thirdly the iealousy of the princes, doubting to make the Emperor or Imperiall domayne too riche by any conquest.

Fowrthly, the onely care of the Emperor, and other states of their owne interest in property: whereas yf the Emperors stripping the eagle had conferred the spoyles in common by office, and not in inheritance, all the states would have ben more studious of the common good, On the other syde the Poles though they have fleeced the Domayne, yet have they not alienated, nor suffered any thinge to be wrunge from the State, but onely for

*F. 98 v* the weakening of the kinge, and bettering of their owne estate, turned the publike into common, whereof all gentlemen are capable. And certainly this is the nursery of vertue, which invites them to Civill, and military vertues, making them studious of the common good, whereof they are all in acte or hope coparteners. For thys they chuse suche kinges as may increase, and inriche the state, their meanes thereby being multiplied, and cutt off onely by the losse of some province.

CLAYME TO PRUSSIA  
AND LIVONIA AND  
THE EXCEPTIONS

To returne to the pretensions of Prussia, they reply that Ferdinand released the Citties of the Imperiall proscription, and for Livonia, that it was forsaken of the Empire, receyved into patronage of the Pole, at Ferdinands request, yealded to the Crowne by the voluntary cession of the inhabitantes, and lastly the greatest parte recovered by armes from the Moschovite, but the Germanes thincke no more of recovering them then the Romanes doe of their ancient Empire, and yf they shoulde, their attempt would be to no purpose, considering the mighte of the Poles in horsse (whoe in the playnes would soone be maisters of the feilde) and wante of fortes on the Polish boundes.

BRUNSWICK

In particular the Poles have suite with Brunswick of Wulfenbittel, begunn under kinge Stephan for the dowry of Sophia sister to Sigismundus Augustus, for that it was covenanted that she dying yssuelesse (as she did) should be repayde. The suite was commenced by her twooe sisters, the Queenes of Sweden and Polonia as her heires. But the Poles looking into the contracte found meanes to make it their righte, which as yet they cannot recover.

BRANDEBURG

Besides twooe howses of Germany are here considerable, as neighboures to Polonia. The first is Brandeburg most mighty in estate, hopes, alliance, and confederacy, and so the

*F. 99 r* ablest to hurte Polonia, being not implicated with other warres, as the Emperor is, having allso meanes by sea in regarde of Denmarke whoe hath married hys daughter, and favoured in Prussia for hys nation and famely. So that yf the Poles whome he seekes to oblige by all offices of kyndenes should deny to admitt hym to the Duchy of Prussia, they woulde drawe upon themselves the forces of Nether Germany and Denmarke on a most dangerous syde, I meane Prussia where are fruites to be surprised, or yealded by them, which holde them for that howse, where

the Poles must warre in a kinde disadvantageable to them, and be forced to use mercenary Hayduckes, whoe though they are hardy and good shott, yet should the Poles in Infantry be inferior for wante of corselets, and discipline amonge the Hayduckes, wherein is the Germans advantage. But it is to be presumed that except the Pope intermeddle the matter will be freindly compounded, with the investing of one of the Electors younger sonnes (for that peradventure the Poles will not be so well contented to have that Duchy in the possession of the elder whose mighte may be doubted of them) or gyving it by composition for the election of one of that howse.

AUSTRIA

The second is that of Austria, muche suspected of the Poles, for seising on Transilvania, Intelligence with the Moschovite, mighte, ambition, large confining one with another, and easy entrance, though they neede not doubt them but in possession of the Crowne of Polonia, and the states of Transilvania, Moldavia, and Walachia their forces, and cunning being then lykely to availe them. Otherwise the Austrians will not attempt Polonia for dyvers reasons. Fyrst for their aversion from warre. Secondly, for feare of the Turke. Thirdly, for their greate charges by garrisoning their frontiers, esteemed at a million of florins, so that they have not meanes

WHY THE AUSTRIANS  
ATTEMPT NOT  
POLONIA

*F. 99 v* to make offensive warre upon so mighty a state. Fowrthly, for that they must keepe the feilde, therein muche inferior to the Poles, whoe farr overmatche them in horse. For incursions Polonia is more obnoxious, the passages of Silesia being better guarded, and the Polish frontiers open as secure, upon presumption that the Silesians can raise no forces of importance, but that the Poles shall have notice, and leisure to meete them, besydes the Silesians can gett no booty but of Cattall, seeing there be as riche townes to spoyle, as there are in Silesia. Maximilians enterprise was upon confidence of hys faction in Polonia, and hope of the Poles accepting of hym, that should fyrst enter the lande.

TRANSILVANIA

With Transilvania the Poles have had good intelligence from 1553 till thys present prynce revolted from the Turk. Isabella, mother to John kinge of Transilvania, forsaking the Turke gave herselfe 1551 into the protection of Ferdinand of Austria, but twoe yeares after, the Transilvanians tyred with warres, discouraged by Ferdinandes often overthrowes, and perswaded by a contrary faction, furthered by the Poles, ielous of the Austrians greatenes, returned to the obedience of the Ottomanish Porta continewd so in badd tearmes with the Austrians under Bathor, Stephan and Christopher, the ielousy being increased by Stephans election to Polonia. Sigismund Christofers sonne, fell from the Turke to the Emperour, and of Vayvode was made prince of Transilvania, Moldavia, Walachia, by the peoples consent, and of the Empire (but without voyce or session) and withall fell into the mislike of the Poles, partely for their opposition against the howse of Austria, and partly for the particular emnity of Zamoisky, and other with the Prince. Notwithstanding upon thys last breache with the Emperour the whole

estate of these matters may be turned cleane contrary by the Transilvanians.

SINCE THIS THERE  
HATH BEN GREATE  
ALTERATION BY THE  
PRINCES RESIGNATION  
AND RECONCILIATION  
TO POLONIA AND HIS  
COZENS THE CARDIN-  
ALS DEATHE, THE  
PRINCES RETURNE  
AND OVERTHROWE BY  
THE WALACHIANS,  
THE WALACHIANS  
OVERTHROWE BY  
GEORGE BASI

*F. 100 r* necessary reconciliation to Polonia (yf the Emperor doe not satisfy hym) to the greater disadvantage of Hungary, whereof Bathor was the bulwarke, but as yet it is uppon uncertayne termes. Moldavia and Walachia are pretended by the Emperor in the righte of the Transilvanian by the Turke and the Pole, all fearing one anothers neighbourhoode in theise three provinces. The Poles had rather that they should be tributary to the Turkes (whoe also wish them rather to the Poles) then be subiecte to the Austrians, but that procedes from the iealousy and feare that some greate men opposite to them have of theire greatenes, For questionles howsoever by that meanes the west and south parte of the contrey should be frontiered by the Austrians,

yet could not they so muche dammage the Pole, whome they could not overmatche in forces, as the Turkes doe. But the Poles hold it dangerous, especially if one of the house coule once laye handes on the Crowne. So theire estate would be in greate perrill yf eyther the Turke or Austrians should have those contreys at theire devotion, and therfore they seeke

MOLDAVIA AND  
VALACHIA

THE POLES TITLE  
TO MOLDAVIA

eyther to assure them to theire Crowne, or to keepe them severed from the other. The Poles clayme to Moldavia is from Casimire the thirde in whose tyme 1458 John Stephan the Palatyne uppon covenante of protection subiected hys estate to the Crowne of Polonia, and with hys Barons did homage to the kinge.

TO VALACHIA

Valachia came first to the homage 1403 for that the kinge delivered the Palatines Alexander and Roman being Captives to Sintrigillus, Duke of Lithuania. Roman farther promised to serve the kinge with 40 m. horsse against any excepting the Lithuanians and Russians 1432. Helias the Palatine for ayde which he had from Polonia became tributary to the Crowne, payde yearely 400 horsse, 200 oxen, 200 clothes and 200 cartes of fyshe. Thys Palatine took place next to the Archbishopp of Gnesna. Likewise

SERVICE OF 40 M.  
HORSSSE

TRIBUTE

thes and 200 cartes  
of fyshe. Thys Palatine took place next to the Arch-  
bishopp of Gnesna. Likewise

THE TURKES TITLE  
TO VALACHIA

*F. 100 v* Peter the Waywood payde tribute and did homage 1448. The Poles lost thys in kinge Sigismundes tyme, whoe wanting courage in matters of

warre, requested the Turke to restore by armes the Vayvode expelled by hys owne Subiectes, and punish them for theire excursions into Podolia, which he did, but presumed that request to be a session, making the lande tributary to hymselfe and of late absolutely conquering it, though now he be shutt from it by the Vayvode Michael which hath donn homage to the Emperor, and before depended on the Transilvanian, having the cheife commaunde in that contrey.



MOLDAVIA AND VA-  
LACHIA CHANGE OFTE  
THEIRE VAYVODES

Of Heremias made by the Poles Vayvode of Moldavia, there is hope that he may be drawne to declare hymselfe against the Turke. The Vayvodes of bothe are ofte charged<sup>ff)</sup> by the Turkes, Poles and people, those of Valachia sometyme expelled by the Cosakkes, and others sett upp in their roomes. The people quickly dispatch their Palatines for cruelty, to which they are forced, their subiectes being most villanous and traiterous. All three countreys are riche in greate commodities, especially of horsse and victualls, and have ben the Turkes nurses and granaries. The forces have ben oft tryed by the Turkes. The Transilvanians have had in feilde 80 m.; eache of the other can make 50 m. or 60 m. horsse. But of them I may have occasion to speake in my discourse of Hungary.

THE TURKES

With the Turkes their most dangerous neighbours, the Poles have longe had peace, almost upon equall conditions, howsoever there have ben greate insolencies committed by both upon the borders. The Cosakkes who are by nature and profession greate enemies of the Turkes, 1583 burnt Bendero or Thehinne, a Turkish Sangiacate, and have synce donn hym other hurte, which the Turke in parte revenged Anno 1589 upon hys truce with the Sophy, and would have turned hys forces upon Polonia, had not her Maestie of England mediated for them, as appears

*F. 101 r* by Sinan Bassaes letters to the Queene 1590 whereupon the tempest which all his neighbours feared lighted upon Hungary, synce which tyme the Turke hath wincked at the Cossakkes insolencies as not willing to offend the Poles at thys tyme, with whome and the Venetians, he seekes to stande in good tearmes, whilest he is elsewhere buisied. They have with the Turkes concurrence of pretension for Moldavia, and Valachia, wherein though they were wronged, yet they tooke it patiently, rather for want of courage in the kinge, then in the nobility, For it is to be observed, that the estimation of the Polish forces is to be made by the kinges valor, whoe may putt lyfe into them, and oughte to leade them in all formall expeditions. In kinge Stephans tyme the Turke lett them beare swaye in their provinces, and synce in regarde of Zamoiskyes power whoe supplies the kinges military office.

THE TURKES HAVE  
GREATER ADVANTAGE  
AGAINST THE POLES  
THEN THE HUNGARIANS

The Poles should warre with the Turkes with greater disadvantage then the Hungarians. Fyrst because they are confyned both by the Turkes and Tartarians. Secondly for wante of fortes to staye the Turke yf he be victor. Thirdly for wante of footemen, which they by strength of paye must fetch out of Germany, which charge they are not able to continewe longe. Lastly, for that it is presumed they should not obteyne any ayde of their neighbours whome they have not respected in the same case. So that eyther the Poles must confederate themselves with the Emperor against the Turkes, or els resolve to endure all indignities, that they may not come

*ff) in ms. charged*

to armes with so potent enemyes, with whome they must adventure their whole estate, upon one or two battailes, for that the Turke where he fyndes no stopp by fortes, pursues his victory, and in suche countreys, though he be overthrowne, yet by multitudes of souldiours he outweares his enemyes, and wyning upon the lande establisheth hymselfe by fortes, as his progresse in Persia may teache us. Reasons of state for drawing of the Poles to enter leagyes against the Turke.

MOTIVES FOR THE  
POLES TO IOYNE WITH  
AUSTRIA AGAINST  
THE TURKE

*F. 101 v* (Setting asyde motives of religion and suche other considerations, seeing states are moved onely in their owne interest), are these: Fyrst hope of ruining the Turkish Empire, whose periode is at hande according to their owne ancient prophecies, (Thys is a superstitious presumption upon which the Dutche have relied too much). Secondly, necessity, For that seeing no princes forces are of themselves sufficient to resist the Turke, whoe both professeth to ayme at the Universall Monarchy, and is commaunded in his Alkoran or Mustaphume to persecute the Bawres, it were folly to lett hym devoure his neighbours singly, the rest looking on, till he come also to their butchery, whereas they by ioynte forces might both secure themselves and dissolve the vaste Empire. Thirdly, imminent danger by vicinity. Fowrthly, the pretensions to Valachia, and Moldavia. Fyftly, the Turkes and Tartars, continuall spoyling of the confynes, and in greate hostility, carying awaye of the subiectes captives, notwithstanding the peace. So that the Poles inter impotentis et validos falso quiescant. For thys is to be observed, that the borderers will gyve matter of quarrell and warre, the Turkes hardly interpreting all breaches on the Christians parte, and not redressing those of their owne, holding for their parte the peace not to be broken except by publike and generall warr. Sixtly, for that the Turkish peace is fraudulent and secureth not the state, For that he breaketh it at his pleasure and best advantage, using it in the meanetyme with some for the distracting of the Christian forces, and hindering of a generall confederacy. Seaventhly, expedient for Polonia, which now by long peace swarmeth with gentry which were necessary to be trayned upp in warre against the enemy, for avoyding civill broyles, Quia otiosae armatorum manus facile lascivissent, et periculosiores inimicitiae iuxta libertatem etc Eightly, yf the Poles should neglect thys oportunity of wyning freindes and overthrowing their onely dangerous and unmatcheable enemy, upon truce with the other, they should be the next

TEARMES OF  
TURKISH PEACE

*F. 102 r* upon whome he would sett, as one of hope of forreyne helpe. Nynethly in suche an attempt they should be in danger of conquest seeing they have no royall fortes to hynder the enemyes progresse, whoe is stronge in infantry, and farr overmatcheth them in their owne advantage of horsse, bothe for his owne and mercenary Tartars whoe at pleasure may enter the lande. Tenthly, that in suche case the Poles cannot divert the warre from their owne contrey to the enemyes for that the Tartars are not to be wasted or forraged to any purpose, seeing they associate most in moveable hordes, and if they venture farr upon the

Turkes they shalbe in danger of the Tartars invasion. Eleventhly, The Turkes mynde towards Polonia is well seene by hys ofte urging them to acknowledge hym by tribute, threatenings from Sinan Bassa uppon the Cosakkes roades, the Tartars complaintes for that, and hindering their passage in the Turkes service.

MOTIVES AGAINST  
SUCH LEAGUES

For the negative parte these may serve. Fyrst, periury in violating the league with them, the succeſſe whereof appeares by Ladislaus overthrowe at Varna, perswaded by the Pope not to breake peace with the Turkes. Secondly, that there is noe iust cause of breaking it, synce the realme enjoyes it, and the Turke hath not renounced it, though he hath had some cause, for the Cosakkes entring uppon Valachia etc. And as for the Tartars, they have rather played the theeves then warriors. Thirdly, dangerous to them that are in peace, to entangle themselves with others troubles. Fourthly, foolish to drawe forreyne warres to their owne home, which by thys league must needes followe, for that the Turke in Hungaria being affronted by dyvers royall fortresses, hys progresse is very slowe, leasing also that by surprise, and for want of tymely succoure (in so greate distance) which he had wonne with hys mayne forces. Fyftly, the Poles are encompassed with the most feirce and mighty nations of the worlde, susteyne the weichte

*F. 102 v* of the whole Northe, which presseth forward to the interior parte of Europe, so that they uppon thys warre going out of their contrey, should leave it as a praye to their barbarous neighbours. Sixtly, the manifolde difficulties and sophismes of suche leagues, which holde not longe, and at last ende with warr amongst the confederates.

DIFFICULTIES OF  
SUCHE LEAGUES

The first difficulty is in the difference of religion, not onely amongst the princes and states, but within the same walls, which makes, that they can agree neyther within themselves, nor make league against the Turke, seeing that the Christian states wantes a common umpeire of sufficient credit and authoritie with all partes for the conciliating of suche a confederacy. Besydes the iealousy betweene the Protestantes, and Catholiques for state matters, thys greate opposition being mainteyned by the Pope, and Clergy for their interest, and prosecuted by the howse of Austria, the darling and champion of that parte, by whose greatenes in temporall monarchy, the Pope onely hopes for the recovery of hys hierarchicall. Thys being manifest it makes other states, especially Protestantes, whoe are first to be aymed at backward in the Turkish warrs, by which onely the house of Austria should be bettered.

The second difficulty, the badd agreement of nations different in customes, humours, iudgement, and by nature enemyes one to another. The Germanes with whome all the other are to consociate, as challenging preeminency in thys warre (though aboute that there would be no small difference) hate and suspect for traitors all other nations, specially the Hungarians, Polonians, Wallons, and Italians, whoe on the other syde contemne the Germanes as sotts. Thys difference hath ben ofte seene in the Hungarish garrisons.

The thirde is the interest of every state, which is onely aymed at in these tymes, wherein the zeale of repelling the Turkes is not lyke to the antient of the holy lande, reason of state having now taught men the difference betweene superstitious opinion

NECESSARY CAUTIONS  
IN HOLY LEAGUES

*F. 103 r* and selfe danger. This interest induceth circumstances of greate deliberation, and to be expressly cautioned by capitulation. As first securitie of their owne state in the absence of the prince, or their forces, seeing even in the zealous tymes, and when the Popes authority was most terrible, England was in kinge Richardes absence in the holy lande invaded by the Frenche, contrary to their expresse capitulation, and hymselfe in hys returne made captive in Austria, and not delivered for all the Popes censures, but for an huge ransome. Secondly, the forces that eache confederate is to bringe. Thirdly, where to make the seate of warre. Fowrthly, what places are to be oppugned. Fyftly, towching the benefitt upon conquest, which can never be so particularly constituted, but that allwayes some occasion of offence gyven or taken will arise, as we see that the breache betweene the English and the Frenche was for Cypres, conquered by the English, whereof the Frenche challenged their parte, though it were no parcell of the holy lande. Fyftly, whoe should be the heade and umpire of the league, to decide controversies, and force every confederate to observe the conditions agreed on. Thys poynte would never be agreed on except for a confederacy onely of the Catholicke states. Sixtly, for the execution, whether they should keepe their forces severall, or ioyne them in one body, then whether the manning of thys warre should be in one parson, or els the Generallshipp should be administred by commission of all the Confederates generalls and their assistantes in common. Seventhly, what ayde eache should afforde hym, whoe is invaded. Besydes many other pointes which must be expressed, for that suche consociations are Contractus stricti iuris, wherein whatsoever is not expressed, pro amisso habetur, whereby ensueth that the common enemy being mighty and hable to susteyne the first brunte, he may quickly dissolve the league, by agreeing with one of the confederates, as the Spanyard did with thys present kinge of France, the Turke

EASILY DISSOLVED

*F. 103 v* with the Venetians, or els by the confederates falling out amongst themselves for the manning of the warre, accompte of charges in regarde of places wonne and for many other accidentes. In the division of the enemies state, everyone strives to be first in possession of hys owne parte, neglecting their common enterprise, and not caring, though their confederates never gett theirs, because they will not have them mightier, or feare they would gyve over the league, as soone as they have that, which they desyred, or for many other occasions. The Sueden having covenanted with the Pole, not to deale with any thinge on thys syde the Narva, notwithstanding seised on dyvers partes of Livonia whilst the Poles buisied the Moschovite in Russia, and so reaped the fruite of their victory. The league of the Pope, Spaniarde, and Venetians is president sufficient of the difficulties of suche contractes, of diffidence, emulation, and circumventing one another. The Spaniard desyred not to benefitt the Venetians by the

recovery of their lost places, but to reape for hymselfe onely the fruite of their victory which drew the Venetians, contrary to their covenantes, to make their peace with the Turke. Suche mayne difficulties keepe the Poles from the common league, wherein they thincke the interest and danger should not be equal, the cheife diswader of it hath ben Zamoisky, uncertaine whether uppon reason of state, and patriae charitate or Odio Austriacorum et Transilvani, whoe by it would be the mightier. Certaine it is that thys league may be more equally contracted with the Poles, then with any other for the vicinity of the contracters, and easines of mutuall ayde, but so that their danger security and interest (the inequality whereof is the dissolver of leagues) maybe made equal of these conditions, fyrst yealding to them their righte of Moldavia and Valachia. Secondly by securing them from the Moschovites. Thirdly by agreement of ayding them with money, munition and footemen in case they be invaded. The Pope hath offered them uppon it hys treasure, and helpe to the utmost, but the Poles feare that they shalbe betrayed by the other, as soone as they have entangled themselves

THE POLES FEARE

ZAMOISKY AGAINST  
THE LEAGUE

NECESSARY CAUTIONS  
FOR THE POLES IN  
THE LEAGUE

THE POLES PROUDE  
DEMAUNDES

*F. 104 r* and therefore Zamoisky perswades cunctation that the acceptance may be with advantage, and security. The conditions drawne by the Poles

were so immodest that it shoulde seeme they meante rather to deryde the Emperour then to enter the league, viz.

Fyrst, perpetuall peace betweene Polonia and the Empire and house of Austria.

Secondly, satisfaction of the agreement of Bendzin. Thys was eluded but slyly by Maximilians escape.

Thirdly that the house of Austria should never hinder the free election of Polonia, by advice, force, subordination or any other meanes.

Fowrthly, the Empire should renounce all clayme to Prussia and Livonia.

Fiftly, the house of Austria should gyve over Moravia.

Sixtly the Duchy of Severia, and Spissum <sup>fg)</sup> should be cleered of the Emperours iurisdiction.

Seventhly, Silesia and Pomerania whereto Polonia claymes property, should be compromitted.

Eightly, the Emperour, or Empire should not helpe, or practise with the Moschovites against Polonia.

Nynethly that customes and tolles in the Empire, and landes in the howse of Austria should be abated to the Poles.

Tennthly, rebells of Polonia should not be suffered in those States.

Eleventhly, the howse of Brandeburg should gyve over their title to Prussia.

Twelfely, the Duke of Brunswick shoul'd restore to the Crowne Sophia of Polonia her dowry.

Thirteenthly, the yssue of the kinges of Polonia should be capable of spirituall dignities in the Empire, and landes of the house of Austria.

fg) Scepusium

Fowrteenethly, the restitution of Barri etc. to the heires of Sigismundus Augustus with the yearely proffitt of the antient debte.  
 Fyfteenethly no fortes to be erected on the confynes of Polonia, Silesia, Moravia, and the Empire, and that in them any Pole mighte purchase.  
 Sixteenethly, the Empire, house of Austria nor any member of them should not ayde any man against Polonia.  
 Seventeenethly that the Empire, and Emperor in defence of Polonia against the Turke be charged with the thirde parte.  
 Eighteenethly, that the Emperor helpe the Poles with Ordonance

F. 104 v poulder and shott.

19. The Emperor and Empire to ayde them with footemen at their owne charges.
20. They to deliver at Cracow in caution a certayne somme of money, wherewith the Poles yf they were forsaken mighte helpe themselves.
21. The warre to be continewed without intermission.
22. That any Christian state mighte be admitted into it.
23. No peace to be made with the Turke, but with the Poles consent.
24. The Spaniard to keepe on the sea a good navy against the Turke.
25. The league not to be dissolved by the deathe of any of the confederates.
26. Polonia not to be the seate of the warre.
27. In difference about the generall of the warre the Pope to be arbiter.
28. That Moldavia, Walachia, Bessarabia with the adherent regions being conquered, be allotted to Polonia.
29. That the Emperoure, Empire, and the kingedomes of Hungaria and Bohemia, be sworne for these conditions to the Pope and Crowne of Polonia, the Pope to be keeper and iudge of the league.
30. That in assurance the Emperor deliver to the Poles the possession of Wratislavia, and Olmutz, the proffitt of these citties, and landes to belonge to the Poles, towards their charge of warrs, but with reservation to the Emperor of hys iurisdiction and propertie.

WHY THE EMPEROR  
 DESIRED LEAGUE  
 WITH THEM.

THE POLES GREAT  
 MEANES OF DAMMAGE  
 GING THE TURKES

The Emperor greatly desyred league with them, for that no nation can more damnify the Turkes, seeing that yf they be assured of Valachia, and Moldavia, they may easely make themselves lordes of the Boristhenes, wynn Oczakow (the Key of that ryver) the Hinne <sup>fh</sup>), Bialogrod, by which the Turkes keeps them from the Euxine sea, and possesse the mouthes of the Nester <sup>fi</sup>), and Boristhenes, by the possession of which portes the Poles should enrich themselves

with the trade of the Mediterranean sea (as I have elsewhere shewed), have meanes to infest the Turks at hys owne home by sea and lande, and by progresse of easy victory, wynn to the Danow <sup>fj</sup>), and fortify it for the indangering of Adrianopolis, and the hearte of the Turkish Empire

fh) *cfr. f. 100 v.*: Thehinne (Tehinia, Bendery)      fi) Tyras, Dniester.  
 fj) Danubius

*F. 105 r* For themselves the Poles have very sufficient generalls, as Zamoiskey, Zolkievius, and many other greate warriors, but yf they should ioyn in campe with the Imperialls, all Europe could hardly affourde a Generall of sufficient authority, skill, wisdom, and practise, especially for Turkish warrs. The Kinge of France is not to be intreated to suche a charge for hys greatenes, and hys owne unsettled state. Grave Maurice would not be trusted or obeyed for wante of greatenes, and difference in religion. The Transilvanian is onely left fytt for suche an enterpryse, but hys person would affourde many disgustes. Therefore in suche a league the Poles were to warre severally, with Infanterie supplied from other states, and the Imperialls to ioyn to themselves some ayde of horsse out of Polonia, or the Dacian provinces (for horsse are of most service in thys warre) which last mighte also make a severall corpes against the Turke. If the Moschovite should also declare hymselfe, and the Persian ryse in armes, all which the Emperour seekes to compasse, the Turkish mightines would be soone abated, being assaulted on all sydes, sythe it is also lykely that the Venetians and Spaniardes uppon that advantage would helpe to ruine hym, by sea, and hys owne Christian subiectes would revolte uppon suche assurance. There had ben some hope of thys league yf the Turke (as it was moved in the Porta) had begonne with the Poles, but that warre was averted by the intercession of her Maiestie of England. The Poles being contented to pacefy hym with a present of sables to the valewe of 25 m. Crownes. They have ben synce threatened by Synan Bassa to be dryven to their frozen sea, the Chauncellor answering that he would meete hym at the Danow etc, but thys was uppon presumption of hys warres in Hungary.

**THE TARTARIANS**

The Tartarians or Tartars are a barbarous people of infamous lyfe, *In plaustris et equo viventes*. Their lyvinge *per bella et raptus*

*F. 105 v* *Nec arare terram, aut expectare annum tam facile persuaseris quam vocare hostes, ac vulnera mereri, pigrum quinimmo et iners videtur sudore acquirere, quod possis sanguine parare. Id beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, illaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare.*

Some noblemen have their lande tilled by Christian slaves, the common people for breade useth hirshe macerated with milke or water. Out of warre (excepting some fewe which serve greate parsonages) all lyve idly, they counting it base to trade, or use mechanicall artes, which they leave to other nations, *mira diversitate naturae cum ijdem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem.*

Their winter cottages are suche as Tacitus writes the Germanes dwelt in in summer and Autumn, they dwell in cartes. In the Chersenesus the greate Haan hath some citties, the cheife are

**THE CRIJM TARTARS**

Crijm, in the midst of the Taurica and Perocopska in the very Isthmus or throates in whose castle dwells the Haans cheife Begus, whoe commaundes all the Tartars without the Taurica, having charge of the confynes and passages of the Tancis<sup>(k)</sup> and the Boristhenes. In thys cittie are the meetinges of the Haan and hys

fk) Tanals, Don

nobles, for determining of any expedition. Of those twoe citties the Tartarians (of which we now intreate) have their names: their cheife marte is Coslow, a sea towne, burnt not longe synce by the Cosakkes, but the Turke whoe possesseth the strongest places of this Taurica suffers not the Tartarians to garrison it or any other besydes Perocopska. The

THE HAANS  
COURTES

TRIBUTARY TO THE  
PORTA

THE STATE OF THE  
SUCCESSION

is entailed to one famely but was meereley elective till the Haan cutt

THE BROTHER HEIRE  
AND NOT THE SONNE.

but with the butchery of hys brethren. In that dissention the Turke sendes the soldan, that is hys pledge, with the standard, and an army thereby appointing hym successor. It is not 200

THE TAURICA WONNE  
FROM THE  
CHRISTIANS

*F. 106 r* off the mightiest of the peeres) commonly hys brother designed by hym with the consent of the cheifest of the Tartars, or sometymes hys owne sonne, years synce they first conquered the lande from the Christians whose posterity remaynes yet amongst them. Gaudent finitimarum gentium donis. Their neighbours for their securitie having taught them to take money.

The Haans donative from Polonia is 15 m. Hungarish ducketts, as muche from the greate Duchy of Lithuania, which is now upon covenante, at the first having ben but voluntary. He hath alsoo of the Moldavians 20 carte loade of honney, and of the Moschovite 80 oxen, and 50 horsse, lykewise pension. The Circasian and Hogiensian <sup>fm)</sup> Tartars all upon covenante, all which states send to hym yearely their Embassadoures and messages. The Turke gyves the Haan yearely 9125 dalers, to the Galga 4562½, to the Soldan hys pledge 912½ out of hys Exchequier, and assignes the ostages besydes certayne landes aboute Adrianopolis; Moreover, he gyves yearely stipendes to the Caiacy, Ulani, Murci and other leaders.

THE HAAN IN THE  
TURKES PROTECTION

HIS ACKNOWLEDGE  
OF THE TURKE

HIS REVENEWE

On the other syde the Haan is in the Turkes protection (in regarde whereof the Pole dares not invade hym) payes for tIBUTE certayne captives of bothe sexes, certayne tymber of riche and baser furies, butter and salte. He is to serve the Turke at commaunde, and may not without hys leave warre upon any, but the Moschovite. When the Bassa of Caffa is deade, he governes the Turkish state in that lande untill another be sent. Hys revenewe is rayسد fyrst by yearely contributions of the Tartars hys subiectes, Circasians, Petigoresians <sup>fn)</sup>, Armenians, Greekish,

f) Bakčisarai

fm) Nogaiensian

fn) *atibi*: Petigorensians, *cfr. f. 107 r.*



Christians and Jewes, all Turkes being cleerely exempt. Secondly uppon  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the customes of Perocopsca, Caslow <sup>fo)</sup>, Caffa and all other citties in the Taurica the other partes belonging to the Turke. Thirdly upon the tenth captive, and 3 Crownes for every riche captive, and a daler for the meaner. Fowrthly uppon every fountayne one horsse, for their hordes, and villages are disposed ut fons, ut pascua placent. Fyftly uppon proffitt of mynt, which is greate for that in trading no coyne through the whole Taurica, no not Turkish in their owne citties, is currant but onely the Tartarish coyned at Crijm.

THEIRE COYNE

pleaseth hym.

FREE PROVISION FOR  
HIS COURTE

Hys coyne is of twooe sortes, meere copper, or a little silvered, all forreine changed at the rate it Sixtly uppon hys owne horsse, oxen, camells etc. The noblemen bothe in peace and warre provide hys courte with corne (for he hath no tillage) and other victualls, quod pro honore acceptum, etiam necessitatibus subvenit.

MANNER OF  
EXPEDITION

Upon an expedition the Haan charges all hys subiectes to be ready to sett forthe in 4 weekes, and to provide victualls for 3 or 4 monethes, which they carry in leather sachells, viz. fleshe, especially of horsstes dryed in smoake or in the sunne, and then minced, hirsh parched, and then grounde, which with water they use for meate and drincke, cheese of mares milke, besydes on the waye they use milke, whey, etc for which of olde they were called [            ].

The Haan hath a waggen for hymselfe in case of sicknes, and some fewe cammells, which carry aqua vitae for hys bevrage, and some lytle quantity of meale (for he is contented with lytle, and the noblemen fynde hym and hys courte provision) some fewe peeres carry a little biscott, or dryed breade and aquavita. Thus are they able in greate troupes to make longe iourneys, passing greate desertes with wonderfull celerity. At an appointed daye the Haan with hys courte departes out of the Taurica, and hys officers force all hys subiectes bothe Tartars and Christians to sett forwardes, leaving at home none but olde and impotent men. The which army with the Galga, Sultanes, Captaynes and Murri meetes at the rendezvous upon the Boristhenes, tenn dayes after the Haans departure out of the Taurica. There he consultes with hys Captaynes and Peeres, and passing the Boristhenes sendes before certayne companyes of the

F. 107 r    Circasians and Petigorensians, skillfull in the passages and wayes of all the neighbour provinces, whoe therefore serve for guides, and skowtes, they range aboute to descrye the state of the countrey, and to take some captives whoe may enforme them, being certayne that there are no forces made to resist them, they deliberate how farre and wyde they should harrowe the Countrey. In thys passage they trouble not themselves with bootye, If in the way the Haan meanes to expugne any place, he leaves there 10 or 15 m. with some Captaynes, and by troopes sendes out the rest by severall wayes, killing all the Captives least any escaping mighte gyve the alarme. Hys army spreades 10 Germane myles wyde, and takes upp as muche in lengthe. After they have wasted all, they bringe their booty to their standing campe, and departe at their

fo) Coslow (*cfr. f. 105 v.*), Eupatoria

daye appoynted, not expecting any that are behynde, and yf the Haan knowe there is none to make resistance, he sendes out freshe troupes to waste the lande, appoynting others to lye in ambushe in severall townes to succoure those which are distressed. If he heare the enemy is stronge, he keepe the army togeather, and will not sett all upon the hazarde of battaile, but leaves that place, and with greate expedition takes hys course some surer waye, or returnes home wasting all with fyer and sworde. Upon the confynes they viewe the booty. The Haan hath the 10th of the best Captives of the whole army, then the leaders in their owne troopes, Lastly the common souldiers (having made good every mans losse in that expedition) devide the remainder of the booty of their owne company. Their warre is neyther honorable, nor orderly, but latrocinantium more, their fighte not firme, or manly, but in celerity, and a kynde of flighte. The whole forces are of horsse, except some fewe Janizars of thys Haans owne, and the Turke, he hath also with hym some fewe small feilde peices. The Haan and peeres have faire Turkishe, Arabishe, Caramanishe and other forreine horsse esteemed according to their swiftnes, the other use Tartarish which are of middle size, excellent for their service, stronge

*F. 107 v* swifte, harde, enduring all toyles, and wantes, used to pasture in winter except some fewe, which Princes keepe at home for their dayly use. They have infinite multitudes of them, in so much that though horsefleshe be their foode, yet the marchantes buy them by hundredes lyke sheepe, and into Moschovy onely are caryed yearely 30 or 40000.

Their armes, a sable of good temper, longe, but the poynte shorte and broader than the Turkish or Persian., a bowe shorter and broader then the Asiaticall, and better then the Turkish, and their arrowes longe and swifte. Some use besydes a shorte speare, as also morions and corsletts, being the spoyles of the Muscovites and Persians, but the greatest parte is disarmed. Their army seemes infinite, for that the basest souldioure carryes with hym 3 or 4 horsse for the terrefying of the enemy by that showe, quia primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur, and for better expedition by the ofte changing of horsse. They swymme over waters upon planckes, bundles of russhes, etc or hanging at their horsse tayles. The Haan can make at most but 80 m. horsse, but with the ayde of hys confederates 130000. Those are the Nogaian stipendiaries also to the Moschovite, Ossovians, Circasians, a free people inhabitantes of the 5 hills governed by 7 Dukes, the Petigorensians tributaries to the other, bothe these being eyther mercenaries or voluntaries. Besydes the Oczacovians, and Bialogrodians by vertue of their perpetuall league with the Turke. Sometyes also the Dobruca Tartars upon the Danow, when they are commaunded by the Turke, ioyne with the Haan. Insteade of a banner the Haan uses a horsse taile at the ende of a speare, which is accompanied with the Turkes standard of greene and redd sylke. The present Haan or Czar ys called Alip Kiercy, thys last being the name of the famely. He is in warre with hys brother Hirach reputed Haan by a stronge faction and allowed by the Turke. They make Polonia waste for many myles upp to Camyonecz <sup>f<sup>p</sup></sup>, Braczlav, and Cirkasy, where are kept continuall garrisons.

THE HAANS  
STANDARD IOYNED  
WITH THE TURKES

DIFFERENCE FOR THE  
STATE.

f<sup>p</sup>) Camenecia, Kamienec

THE HAANS LEAGUE  
WITH POLONIA

in hys warre with the Moschovite. Their pretensions for their hostilitie, are the differing the payment of their donative, and the Cosakkes

CAUSE OF THEIR  
ROADS IN POLONIA

THE STATE OF THEIR  
HOSTILITY

Poles doe sometymes good service to the Emperour by cutting them off, but dare not otherwise meddle for feare of the Turke, whose accountes

THE POLES MEANES  
AGAINST THE TARTARS  
AND TURKES

the Boristhenes. That the fyrst might be donn by some sodayne surprize was shewed by the Cosakkes whose not longe synce fyled Thehinne.

THE BORISTHENES  
EASY TO BE SECURED

The defending of the Boristhenes, after it were once wonne, and keeping the Tartars from passing it, were most easy, and might be compassed allmost with the Donative, which they gyve the Tartar. The meanes were as was shewed by Ostaphaeus Captayne of Cirkasia to keepe the lower partes of the Boristhenes with a fewe boates, 2000 footemen and 400 horsemen for the getting of proviant for the footemen. These might keepe the huge army of the Tartars from passing, whose are forced with greate perill to swymme over the Boristhenes. Besydes in the Boristhenes are many lyttle llandes, with inaccessible rockes, which might easely be fortified, some of them affourding roome inoughe for townes. Thys consaile was heard with greate applause, but never putt

*F. 108 v* in execution, though it be of great importance for the securitie, enriching and enlarging of the state, by peopling that waste contrey with Colonies of poore gentlemen, and others which in that case woulde

NOT EASY FOR THE  
POLES TO CONQUER  
BEYOND THE BORIS-  
THENES

MEANES OF CIVILL  
WARRE IN TAURICA

lyngly goe thether invited by the fattnes and greate fertility of the soyle. To meddle farther beyonde the Boristhenes with a poore vagabonde people were dangerous and fruiteles, and for the Taurica it is too farre, harde of entrance, and well fortified by Turkes, yet there also might good be donne in some Civill dissention, (which falls out commonly in every change, and designation, when the father would putt besydes hys brother, for to bringe in hys sonne, the lyke having chaunced in Affrica in oure memory) by taking parte with hym that is disfavourd with the Turke. Of the Tartars, severall wayes in the Hungarish expedition, I may have occasion to entreate in my discourse of Hungary.

THE POLES  
INTELLIGENCE WITH  
THE MOSCHOVITE

With the Moschovite the Poles have had better neighbourhoode synce kinge Stephan abated hys pryde, then before, when he was growne insolent with concepte of hys victories against the Turkes, Poles, Livonians and Tartars of the dominion of Livonia, and her sea, and the pacience, and cowardice of the former kinges of Polonia, which durst not make heade against hym. That peace purchased with hys greate losse and dishonor he kepte for feare, as doubting hys owne weaknes, caused by twooe meanes: Fyrst, by dispersing of hys forces by twooe large conquestes of Casan, and Astracan, which accesse increased not hys mighte, but loosened it. Secondly, the losse of 300 m. men slayne by the Poles in that 3 yeares warre, 40 m. made captives, besydes huge multitudes of the frye, so that the Provinces of Luki, Savolocia <sup>(fr)</sup> Plescovia, and Novoguardia being exhausted, he was not able to renewe the warre in a longe tyme. To thys may be added hys losse of the sea, and 34 fortes in Livonia (with all their munition and ordonance to the number of 300 peeeces) and on the confynes of Lithuania

*F. 109 r* where he is now strongly confronted, having lost in it above 30 greate townes, there being lefte hym onely Smolensko, Vobsco <sup>(fs)</sup>, Cheringo <sup>(ft)</sup>, and Bealgorod. These reasons held in Johannes Basilides, And as for hys sonne he was sickely peaceable, uppon defecte rather then iudgement, without hope of yssue, obnoxious to the governement of hys famely, and the last of hys race, all which rather invited hym to lyve quietly then to seeke to enlarge hys dominions. To whome 1597 succeeded Boris Theodorowich Bodenoc <sup>(fu)</sup> by the surrender of hys syster the Empresse Johannes Basilides hys testament whoe adopted hym for hys thirde sonne, and by election for [ ] and hys heires, Whoe being wise and civill beyond the nature of those rude nations hath soughte by peace and civill artes to settle the Crowne in hys posterity. He hath one sonne, and a daughter soughte in mariage by the howse of Austria. The Moschovites greatest meanes of security for hys lande against the Poles is by leaving some 100 English miles or more on the confynes uninhabited, suffering it to growe wilde, and impassable for thicketts of trees and busshes, which difficulties having ben overcome by kinge Stephan and Zamoisky made their victories the more famous. Of hys intelligence with the Emperour, the Poles are very iealous, and doe greatly feare their practises, considering they are in tearmes of greate amity, whereof bothe partes for their particular interest are very studious, the Moschovite rather uppon ambition, and the Emperour for hys proffitt.

THE MOSCHOVITE  
AMBITIOUS IN TITLES

In negotiating the Poles have greate differences with hym in regarde of hys titles, for that in that kynde the Moschovite is as ambitious as the Sparyard, but more nyce in standing uppon tearmes for it.

THE POLE STRICT IN  
INCREASING HIS STILE

The Poles on the other syde are as stiffe, will graunte hym (though he intreate it) no more then of antient belonged unto hym, will not intitle hym Czar,

fr) Zawłocze

ft) Czernihow

fs) Vobsco - Vitebsco (?)

fu) Godunow

MOSCHOVITE WOULD  
BE CALLED EMPEROR

which Basilius boasted that Maximilian the first Emperor attributed unto hym, nor add the titles of Cassan or Astracan whereof by conquest, and quiet possession

*F. 109 v*  
TRUCE WITH PARTES  
OF THE STATE

he was become absolute lorde. Kinge Stephan before hys victories was not daigned by the Moschovite with the name of brother, but neighbour, as being onely kinge by election, and otherwise borne but honorably. The same Stephan very iudicially would not admitt of truce with the Moschovite for certaine provinces severall from the body, though used in Sigismundus Augustus hys tyme, and in the vacancies, for that suche contractes were most fraudulent, and without grounde of state, seeing that yf the Moschovite had conquered that parte with which he warred, it was most sure he would sett uppon Lithuania and Russia, with which he had peace. By that meanes the Moschovite sometymes distracted the forces of that Crowne, and secured hys own contreys on those partes, suche conditions being the easier accepted by those provinces for their present safety, and passed without lett because of their severalty in many poyntes from the Crowne.

THE MOSCHOVITES  
PREROGATIVE IN  
HAVING AUDIENCE

SUBJECTES MEDI-  
ATORS BETWEENE  
THEIRE PRINCES

The Moschovite claymes thys honor and prerogative by custome, that hys ambassadors should onely have audience in the seates of the kingedome or greate Duchy, by which Johannes Basilides sought to staye kinge Stephan being on hys iourney and ready to enter the Moschovites terretory. Betweene the Princes the subjectes are commonly intercessors, that custome being brought in by the states of Lithuania, whoe when the kinge mynded to send Embassadors to the Moschovite dealt with the cheife of Moschovia for the obtayning of safe conduct from their prince. So lykewise when kinge Stephans progresse had dismayed the Moschovite, whoe sought peace by all meanes possible, twooe of hys Knesses or Dukes dealte with twooe cheife of Lithuania for the reconciling of their prynce, signefying that they in commiseration of the calamity of bothe states, and for the avoyding of the effusion of Christian bloode, had with greate instances and humble suite drawne their prince to a reasonable peace. Thys course is necessary betweene those twooe states, Fyrst for because

*F. 110 r* there is no neighbour prince which affectes their reconciliation or is freinde to bothe, and secondly for their emulation of greatenes, neyther being willing to yealde or seeke to the other.

THE MOSCHOVITES  
RENDEVOUS FOR  
POLONIA

The Moschovites rendevous for the invading of the Polish terretory hath ben allwayes at Vielko-Luki as most opportune for all hys provinces and equally distant from Smolensko, by which he enters Lithuania, and Plescovia, by which he invades Livonia.

THE MOSCHOVITES  
POWER

The power of the Moschovite (thoughte by the Turkes estimation to be the mightiest prince next hymselfe) is sufficiently knowne, hys riches greate, munition wonderfull, strength in horsse about 200 m. (having in ordinary paye 80 m. horsse and 16500 foote), hys authority as absolute as the Turkes, hys subiectes most obedient as slaves, and faithfull uppon opinion of the princes earthly divinity. For horsemen he useth most the Nohalan Tartars, hys harquebusiers being footemen are of the common people. Fynding hys people much inferior to the Poles in valor, and allwayes overthrown, when there hath ben any equality, he tooke hymselfe to another kynde of warre by fortelyng the borders, the Moschovites cheife commendation being in the defence of fortes, because of their constant and faithfull resolution to abide the extreameity rather then to yealde their princes holdes to the enemy, and for their pacience in induring all wantes, and inconveniences of longe seige. The garrisons consist of gentlemen of those provinces (whoe serve them for a yeare at their owne charges) and stipendiary shott, eache hath 3 Waywoodes, or Captaynes appoynted, but for one yeare, the first hath the cheife charge of the forte, out of which he may not goe uppon any occasion, the other twooe are as hys overseers, whereof the one having comission from the prince, may goe out to make roades.

THE POLES  
INTELLIGENCE WITH  
THE SUEDEN

*F. 110 v* With the Sueden the Poles had no concurrence of pretension, before they entered uppon the Sarmatian sea, and the Sueden came to confyne with them on the lande by hys conquestes in Livonia, which made hym absolute lorde in that parte of the sea, that ingulfes itselfe betweene Livonia and Fynnland. These first disgustes begann in Ericus hys tyme, and were increased in kinge Johns by hys inroaching more uppon the Poles victories, and for the Poles delays

THE ORIGINAL OF  
THEIR DISTASTE

in satisfying hym for 124 m. dallers lent to Sigismundus Augustus, the

PRETENSIONS

Queenes dowry, her inheritance by her father and mother, and many other actions. Her mothers inheritance (for of the other I have spoken sufficiently) consistes of twooe partes, the one deteyned by the Spanyard being a greate debte, and certayne states in Italy, and the other withheld by the Poles, which were the proffitts of certayne landes morgaged to her by the Crowne for greate sommes, the state whereof by acte of Dyet 1540 was, that onely Poles should have the keeping of all suche Castles, Citties etc, and that the heyre of the Queene should receive the fruite till they were redeemed by the Crowne, or some other naturall Poles. But the Poles being backwarde in restitution, and payment, would never admitt those actions, but seised uppon the spoyles of their kinge, and pretended by hys will to hys inheritance by father and mother, whereof for the last they could have no shewe. Lastly they discharged all

THE POLES DESIRE TO  
CONSOLIDATE LIVONIA

by the election of the Sueden. Their action for the Suedens parte in Livonia they will never surcease, hoping one daye to unite it with the rest by contracte, eyther for electing of the Sueden to Polonia, or helping their present

kinge to recover hys inheritance. Thys union they take to be of importance, for the dangerous neighbourhoode and copartnership of the Sueden in that state, which is all of the same language and originall (all Germanes naturally disaffecting the Poles)

*F. 111 r* and as yet not fully settled in government and affiance synce kinge Stephans conquest.

THE SUEDENS GREAT  
ADVANTAGE BY HYS  
POSSESSIONS IN  
LIVONIA

On the other syde the Suedens in true consideration take it to be most necessary for them, as the bullwarke of their lande, which as long as they holde, the antient terretory of Sueden cannot be troubled by the Pole, or Moschovite, whome by it they may travaile without endangering their owne home, or afflicting it with the dammages, which all seates of warre sustayne. For thys cause kinge Johnn rather chose, that hys sonne the present kinge, should gyve over hys suite for Polonia, then he would by yealding upp of the moiety of Livonia, prejudice hys naturall contrey. Uppon the same grounde the States of Sueden amonge many other articles, propounded thys to the present kinge, that he should not alienate any parte of the Domayne (and by name of the Livonish and Russish possessions) without the consent of the states.

OPORTUNITY OF  
MUTUALL INVASION

For the oportunity of invading one another, Polonia is most obnoxious then the other, having no other sea forces, then of their free portes, wherein the other are stronge, and therefore can conveniently onely be invaded by lande in Livonia, which is wonderfully strengthened with royall fortresses, and garrisons not to be expugned by the Poles, which makes that they would never seeke the recovery of it by warre, nor the Sueden attempt any thinge against the Poles in satisfaction of hys rightes, because of their mighte in feilde, and for bothe their dangers from their common enemy the Moschovite, whose spoyles they had devided, and therefore howsoever they disaffected one another, yet they proceeded only by suites and expostulations. What the Poles will doe in behalfe of their kinge for the recovery of

THE KINGS SMALL  
HOPE OF AYDE FROM  
THE POLES FOR THE  
RECOVERY OF SUEDEN

hys inheritance, it is uncertayne, but lykely that their helpe will never be sufficient, except they may have Livonia, which though it be graunted, and that Polonia be resolute to ayde hym to the uttermost of their mighte, yet will he hardly recover hys state, if the Suedens be united, and persist with resolution.

*F. 111 v* for the reason before alleadged. Their last ayde was by contribution of money, which peradventure they will graunte agayne, but hardly the thirde tyme, because of their owne wants, and little affection to their kinges greatenes, whome they would dryve to relinquish Livonia, though it stande muche with the honor of that Crowne, to reestablish hym, whoe for hys residency amonge them lost hys owne inheritance, and made prooffe to the worlde how dangerous it is to reside in an elective state, and leave hys hereditary to a viceroye. Thys beinge easely conceived

by Henry the 3 of France; he presently upon newes of hys brothers deathe, lefte Polonia, which he meante rather to leave to the inconvenience of Leiuetennancy, or cleerele leese (as it fell out) then endanger hys Crowne in France. But thys Sigismunde being both ambitious and symple, was therein easely overtaken. Hys ambition appears by hys suite for Polonia, and residing in it rather then he would forgoe it (peradventure in intent to gyve it over to one of his children when he should have any of yeares) and the last yeare by suite for the state of Moschow upon the deathe of the greate Duke, wherein fearing the house of Austriaes concurrency (though allied to it) he would not suffer the Emperors messenger (though ignorant at that tyme of the vacancy) to passe for Moschovia. Hys symplicity appears first in desyring more then he can grype, and leeing substance for a shadowe. Secondly in leaving hys lande which he was to assure by hys presence, as naturally wavering in loyalty to their Prince, unsettled in obedience to a famely not rooted deeply enough in that Monarchy, and shaken by the late president of deposing of the kinge for some disorders in lyfe and government, and substituting the second brother father to thys excluded, but especially in regarde of hys religion different from the receyved and established of the realme. Thirdly in making hys uncle Charles viceroy different in religion, potent, and the eldest of hys owne famely. Fowrthly in

KINGE SIGISMUNDE  
THOUGH SIMPLE YET  
NOT CLEERE OF  
AMBITION

*F. 112 r* following too muche the heate and Counsaile of the Jesuites by whome he was broughte upp, as also Sebastian of Portugall, and Sigismund Bathor of Transilvania, all three ruined or detrimented by their meanes. The kinge hymselfe is not malicious, easy of nature, quiet, delighted with musick, gyven to mechanicalls, devote in hys profession, poore in Civill and military artes, beseeming so greate a potentate, and lastly altogether an unfitt heade for suche a mighty and stirring body as Polonia is.

THE KINGES NATURE

HIS MEANES FOR  
THE RECOVERY OF  
SWEDEN

For the recovery of Sueden he hath not other meanes then the intelligence with some secrete freindes in Sueden, and the Poles, whoe will be tyred in twooe or three yeares. The house of Austria cann afforde hym little helpe, being spent with their owne warrs, besydes that their bonde is loosened by the Queenes deathe, and their distance almost frustrates that hope. The Pope can helpe lytle, having enough to doe for the succouring of Hungary, and securing of Italy against the Turke.

Of strengthening hymselfe by mariage he hath as small hope, seeing all neighbour princes whoe mighte best helpe hym, are of different religion from hym.

THE STATE OF  
CHARLES OF SWEDEN

The tearmes betweene hym, and Charles, and occasions of the revolte, are sett downe in hys embassage sent the last yeare, and delivered by Samuell Lasky. If any thinge advantage hym, it will be the irresolution of Charles, whoe is ambiguus imperandi, modestie whether affected or sincere, being a matter of danger in suche greate attemptes, and not lykely to purchase



hym favoure, or security with the kinge, yf he recover hys state, and seeing that in suche actions there is nihil medium inter summa aut praecipitia. Cunctation makes it onely uncertaine whether he be a traytor or a prince which may cause many to repent themselves of following hys faction. The kingedome itselfe is originally meerely elective, but not longe synce entailed to thys royall stocke by lives, and so made mixt, tyed to many lawes, and very obnoxious to the humours of the subiectes, in which regarde, the

*F. 112 v* kinge before hys coronation is intituled but kinge elect, as in other elective states. Thys makes Charles hys meanes for the getting of the Crowne more easy, whose election being once passed, it would move a scruple in the Polish Dietts, whether they mighte helpe the deposed kinge against theire confederates, a free nation which had allready another, especially seeing against hym is pretended the bringing in of Popery contrary to the articles of hys admission. For thys poynte we read, that though France and England be meerely successive, yet the Frenche refused to helpe kinge Edward the 4th dryven out of the lande, whoe urged the league made in hys tyme with France, the Frenche answering that it was contracted with the kinge and realme, and that they might not warre against the Crowne and possessor of it, *salvis foederibus*, the tearmes being *Cum Rege populove*.

ARTICLES TO WHICH  
THE KINGE OF  
SUEDEN IS SWORNE

The articles to which the Sueden kinge was sworne 1594 are theise: Fyrst liberty of the Augustan confession (pretended to be violated by the kinge, but denied by hym). Secondly Justice and equity. Thirdly maintenance of the lawes and Customes. Fowrthly to governe the land with the Counsaile of Duke Charles and other Councillors of Sueden, and not to bringe into that Senate any stranger, nor to committ any landes or Castles of the Crowne to any forreyners Custody. Fyftly not to alienate any thinge of the Domayne etc. Sixtly to maintayne hys courte with the revenewes of the Crowne, and not to commaunde any newe tributes etc. except for charges of warre, marrying of hys children, or building and repaying of fortes, and Castles, that contribution also to be limited by the governoure of that place, six noblemen and six commoners. Seventhly the confirmation of all rightes and priviledges graunted by hys predecessors to any of the states. etc.

The Genealogy of thys house so farr as belonges to thys discourse is as followeth

[Explicit imperfecte]



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\*) Nomina locorum hic dantur in forma, in qua in manuscripto inveniuntur (ergo multoties in lingua Anglica huius temporis); nulla habetur ratio de nominibus quibus haec loca ab origine vocabantur, neque de nominibus sub quibus nostris temporibus apparent.

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