

The Greatness of Cities

Giovanni Botero

A Treatise Concerning The Causes of the Magnificency and Greatness of Cities

Divided into three books by Sig. Giovanni Botero in the Italian Tongue, now done into English by Robert Peterson, 1606

Book One

1. What a city is, and what the greatness of a city is said to be

A city is said to be an assembly of people, a congregation drawn together to the end they may thereby the better live at their ease in wealth and plenty. And the greatness of a city is said to be, not the largeness of the site or the circuit of the walls, but the multitude and number of the inhabitants and their power. Now men are drawn together upon sundry causes and occasions thereunto them moving: some by authority, some by force, some by pleasure, and some by profit that proceedeth of it.

2. Of authority

Cain was the first author of cities; but the poets (whom Cicero therein followed) fable that in the old world men scattered here and there, on the mountains and the plains, led a life little different from brute beasts, without laws, without conformity of customs and matter of civil conversation. And that afterward there rose up some who, having with their wisdom and their eloquence won a special reputation and authority above the rest, declared to the rude and barbarous multitude how much and how great profit they were like to enjoy if, drawing themselves to one place, they would unite themselves into one body, by an interchangeable communication and commerce of all things that would proceed thereof. And by this means they first founded hamlets and villages, and after towns and cities, and thereupon these poets further feigned that Orpheus and Amphion drew after them the beasts of the fields, the woods and stones: meaning under these fictions to signify and show the grossness of the wits and the roughness of the matters of the same people. But besides these fables, we read of Theseus that after he had taken upon him the government of the Athenians, it came into his mind to unite into one city all the people that dwelt in the country there about, dispersedly in many villages abroad; which he easily effected, by manifesting unto them the great commodity and good that would ensue of it.

The like thing is daily at this time put into practice in Brazil. Those people dwell dispersed here and there in caves and cottages (not to call them houses) made of boughs and leaves of the palm. And forasmuch as this matter of life, to live so dispersedly, causeth these people to remain in that same savage mind of theirs, and roughness of matter and behaviour, and bringeth therewith much difficulty and hindrance to the preaching of the Gospel, to the conversion of the infidels and the instruction of those that travail painfully, to convert them and to bring them to knowledge and civility, the Portuguese and Jesuits have used extreme diligence and care to reduce and draw

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them into some certain place together more convenient for their purpose, where living in a civil conversation they might more easily be instructed in the Christian faith and governed by the magistrate and ministers of the King. So that to this purpose I might here remember those cities that have been built by the power and inhabited by the authority of great princes or some famous commonweals. For the Greeks and Phoenicians were the authors of an infinite sight of cities. And Alexander the Great and other kings erected a number more besides, whereof bear witness Alexandria, Ptolemais, Antioch, Lysimachia, Philippopolis, Demetrias, Caesarea, Augusta, Sebastia, Agrippina, Manfredonia, and in our time Cosmopolis, and the City of the Sun.

But none deserveth more praise in this kind (after Alexander the Great, who built more than three score and ten cities) than King Seleucus, who besides many others built three cities called Apamea, to the honour of his wife, and five called Laodicea, in memory of his mother, and to the honour of himself five called Seleucia: and in all more than thirty magnificent and goodly cities.

3. Of force

Through force and inevitable necessity people are gathered otherwhile together into one place, whenas some imminent peril, especially of wars or ruin and unrecoverable waste and devastation, enforceth them to fly unto it, to put in safety their lives or their goods: and such safety is most found in mountains and craggy places, or small and little islands or such other like, that are not easily to be approached or come unto.

After the general deluge of the world in the time of Noah, while men feared there might afresh happen such another ruin again upon them, they sought to secure themselves, some by building their habitations upon the tops of high hills, and some by advancing huge towers of incredible height and greatness, even up to the heavens. And without doubt, for this respect, the cities seated upon the mountains are for antiquity the most noble, and the towers are of the most ancient form and kind of buildings that ever were used in this world. But after the fear of a new deluge was past and gone men began to draw themselves down, and to erect their habitations in the plains until the terror of armies, and the swarm and fear of fierce and cruel people, enforced them afresh to save themselves, on the steepness of the hills, or in the islands of the seas, or in the marshes and bogs, or other suchlike places.

When the Moors subdued Spain and brought it into miserable servitude and bondage, such as escaped with their lives out of the lamentable slaughter that was made of them, some retired themselves up to the highest mountains of Biscay and of Aragon, and some, betaking them to their shipping, saved themselves in the Island of the Seven Cities, so called because seven bishops seated themselves therein with their people.

The cruel ruin that Tamberlane carried with him wheresoever he came made the people of Persia and the countries bordering thereupon to abandon and forsake their ancient native countries (like birds that are scattered) and to save their lives by flight: some upon Mount Taurus, some upon the Anti Taurus, and some fled into the little islands of the Caspian Sea. And as the people of Istria, at the coming of the Slavs, retired to the island Capraria, and there built Justinopolis, so the people of Gallia Transpadana at the entry of the Lombards into Italy saved themselves within the marshes, where they built the town of

Crema.

But forasmuch as to the natural strength of those places, neither great convenience either of territory or traffic, or good means to draw trade or intercourse, lent (for the most part) any help unto them: there was never seen city there of any great fame or memory. But if the places whereto men are driven of necessity to fly have in them besides their safety any commodity of importance, it will be an easy thing for them to increase, both with people, and with riches, and with buildings.

In this matter the cities of Levant and Barbary became great through the multitude of Jews that Ferdinand the King of Spain and Emmanuel the King of Portugal cast out of their kingdoms, as in particular Salonica and Rhodes. And in these days in England many cities have much increased within few years, both in people and in trade, through the resort of the Low Country people to it: and especially London, whereunto many thousands of families have resorted themselves.

About the year of Our Lord 900, while the Saracens did put to fire and sword Genoa and its territory and all the country there about, Pisa did mightily increase: for to the strength of the place the country yielded also plenty of all good things, and commodity of traffic.

At the coming of Attila into Italy the people of Lombardy, being wonderfully afraid through the horrible waste and ruin he brought with him, fled to save themselves into the islands of the Adriatic Sea, and there built many towns and cities. And after that, in the wars that Pepin raised against them, forsaking the places that were not secure and safe enough, as Equilio, Eraclea, Palestina and Malamocco, they drew themselves near to Rialto, into one body, and so by that means grew Venice magnificent and great.

4. How the Romans increased the city of Rome by wasting their neighbours' towns

The Romans, to make their own country in any sort great and famous, furnished themselves very carefully ever with strength and power. For to make their neighbour people of necessity glad and willing to draw themselves to Rome and there to dwell, they overthrew their towns even down to the ground. So did Tullus Hostilius cast Alba down to the earth, a most strong city; Tarquinius Priscus laid also plain Cornicolo, a city abounding in mighty wealth. Servius Tullius made Pometia desert, and in the time of liberty they utterly destroyed Veii, a city of such strength and power that with much ado, after a siege of ten years, it was by cunning more than strength vanquished and overthrown.

Now these people, and such other, having no dwelling place to draw themselves unto nor to live secure and safe, they were enforced to change their countries with Rome, which by this means waxed great, both in people and riches.

5. That some have gotten the inhabitants of other towns into their own towns

The like means to the former, but somewhat more gentle, the Romans used to populate and make great their own city, and that was, to bring the people home whom they had subdued, or the most of them, to Rome. Romulus in this matter drew into the city the Ceuinenses, the Antennati and the Crustumini. But no country amplified more the city of Rome than the Sabines. For in a sharp

and mighty fight with them, after a long and hard conflict, he made a peace; and the condition was that Tattius the King of the Sabines should come with all his people to dwell in Rome. Which condition Tattius did accept, and made choice of the Capitol and of the Mount Quirinal for his seat and palace. The same course did Ancus Martius take, who gave the hill Aventine to the Latins when they were taken from their cities Politorium, Tellenae and Ficana.

The great Tamberlane also, he amplified and enlarged mightily the great Samarkand in bringing to it the richest and the wealthiest persons of the cities he had subdued. And the Ottomans, to make the city of Constantinople rich and great, they have brought to it many thousand families, especially artificers, out of the cities they have subdued, as Mahomet II from Trebizond, Selim I from Cairo and Soliman from Tauris.

6. Of pleasure

Men are also drawn to live together in society through the delight and pleasure that either the site of the place or the art of man doth minister and yield unto them. The site, by the freshness of the air, the pleasant view of the valleys, the pleasing shade of the woods, the commodity to hunt, and the abundance of good waters, of all which good things Antioch in Syria is liberally endowed, and Damascus no less, and Brusa in Bithynia, Cordova and Seville in Spain, and many other good towns elsewhere. Unto art belongeth the straight and fair streets of a city, the magnificent and gorgeous buildings therein either for art or matter, the theatres, porches, circles, races for running horses, fountains, images, pictures, and such other excellent and wonderful things as delight and feed the eyes of the people with an admiration and wonder at them.

The city of Thespis was frequented for the excellent workmanship sake of the image of Cupid, Samos for the marvellous greatness of the temple, Alexandria for the tower of Pharos, Memphis for the Pyramids, Rhodes for the Colossus. And how many shall we think have gone to Babylon to see the wondrous walls that Semiramis had made about it? The Romans many times willingly went for their recreations' sake to Syracuse, Mytilene, Smyrna, Rhodes and Pergamum, even to take the benefit of the air and to behold the beauty of those same cities. To conclude, all that ever feedeth the eye and delighteth the sense of man and hath any exquisite and curious workmanship in it, all that ever is rare, strange, new, unwonted, extraordinary, admirable, magnificent, great or singular by cunning, appertaineth to this head.

And amongst all the cities of Europe, Rome and Venice are the most frequented for the pleasures and delights they minister to all the beholders of them. Rome for the exceeding wonderful relics of her ancient greatness, and Venice for the gloriousness of her present and magnificent estate. Rome filleth the eye with wonder and delight at the greatness of her conduits, the rareness of her baths and hugeness of her colossi, as also at the art of her admirable works, both in marble and in brass, wrought by excellent artificers, at the height and hugeness of her obelisks, at the multitude and variety of pillars, at the diversity and fineness of strange marble, the exquisite and curious cutting of it, the porphyry, alabaster, marble white, black, grey, yellow and mixed, and serpentine; the great ruins, the holy gates, and a number of other sorts and kinds besides, which were too hard to recount and impossible to distinguish. What shall I say of the triumphal arches, of the seven zones or circles, of the temples,

and what of a number of other wonders else? And what shall we imagine that city was when she flourished and triumphed, if now, while she lieth thus defaced and is none other than a sepulture of herself she allureth us to see her, and feedeth us insatiably with the ruins of herself.

On the other side, Venice, with the wonder of her incomparable situation (which seemeth the act of nature, by giving laws to the waters and setting a bridle on the sea) ministereth unto us no less admiration and wonder at it. The greatness also of her inestimable Arsenal, the multitude of ships both of war, of traffic and of passage, the incredible number of warlike instruments, ordnance and munition, and of all matter of preparations for the seas, the height of the towers, the riches of the churches, the magnificence of the palaces, the beautifulnesse of the streets, the variety of the arts, the order of her government, the beauty of the one and other sex, doth dazzle and amaze the eyes of the beholders of them.

7. Of profit

This profit is of such power to unite and tie men fast unto one place, as the other causes aforesaid, without this accompany them withal, are not sufficient to make any city great.

Not authority alone, for if the place whereto men are drawn through the authority of any afford them no commodity, they will not abide nor tarry there.

Neither yet necessity, for such a congregation and collection of people increaseth, multiplieth and lasteth for many years, and necessity is violent, and violence cannot produce any durable effect. So that it comes to pass that not only cities do not increase, but also states and principalities gotten with mere strength and violence cannot be long maintained. They are much like land floods that have no head nor spring, as rivers have that minister perpetually plenty of waters to them, but casually and in a moment rise and swell, and by and by assuage and fall again, so that as they are to travellers fearful in their swellings, so do they fall again within a while, so fast as travellers may soon pass away on foot again dry.

Such were the conquests of the Tartars, that have so oft invaded Asia and put it to the sword, of Alexander the Great, of Attila, of great Tamburlane, of Charles VIII and of Louis the Twelfth king of France. And the reason thereof is that our nature is so great a lover, and longeth after commodity so much, as that it is not possible to quiet and content her with that which is no more but necessary. For as plants although they be set deep enough within the ground, cannot for all that last and be long kept without the favour of the heavens and the benefit of rain, even so the habitations of men, enforced at first by mere necessity, are not maintained long if profit and commodity go not companions with it. Much less then is pleasure and delight of any moment. For man is born to labour, and most men attend their business, and the idler sort are of no account nor reckoning, and their idleness is built and founded upon the labours and the industry of those that work. And pleasure cannot stand without profit and commodity, whereof she is, as it were, the very fruit.

Now suppose that profit is the very thing from whence, as from the principal cause, the greatness of cities groweth (for the same profit is not simple and of one sort but of divers forms and kinds). It resteth therefore now that we see what matter of commodity and profit is most fit for the end whereof we have disputed all this while. We say then that to make a city great

and famous, the commodity of the site, the fertility of the soil and easiness of conduct helpeth sufficiently enough.

8. The commodity of the site

I call that a commodious site that serves in such sort as many people thereof need for their traffic and transportation of their goods whereof they have more plenty than they need, or for receiving of things whereof they have scarcity so that this site, standing thus between both, partaketh with both, and groweth rich with the extremes. I say partaketh with the extremes because it cannot otherwise increase the greatness of a city, forasmuch as it must either remain desert or else not serve but for a simple passage.

Derbent, a town seated in the ports of the Caspian Seas, is a very necessary place, to go from Persia into Tartary or from Tartary into Persia: yet notwithstanding, it never grew great nor no famous city, and in these our days there is no reckoning made of it. And the reason is for that it partaketh not of these extremes, but serveth for passage only, and receiveth those that travel to and fro not as merchants and men of commerce and traffic, but as passengers and travellers; and to speak in a word, it is seated sure in a very necessary place, as the case standeth, but not profitably unto itself.

For the selfsame cause, in the straits of the Alps which for the most part do compass Italy, although the Frenchmen, Switzers, Dutchmen and Italians continually do pass by them, there never yet was found a mean city, much less any great and stately one.

The like may be said of many other cities and places. For Suez is a very necessary place for them that came out of the Indies by the Red Sea to Cairo. The islands of St. James, and the Palma and Terceira are necessary for the Portuguese and Spaniards to sail to the Indies, Brazil and to the New World, yet neither is there, nor never will be in those same places, city of good importance. As neither also is there in the islands between Denmark and Sweden, nor yet between Mare Germanicum and Mare Balticum. And Flushing, although it be situated in a passage of incredible necessity, for the commerce and traffic there is between the Flemings, Englishmen and other nations, yet never grew it great but still remains a very little town. But contrariwise Genoa is a great city, and so is Venice, because they partake of the extremes, and serve not only as for passages but much more for store-houses, cellarage and warehouses of merchandise, most plentifully brought unto them. And so is likewise Lisbon, Antwerp and some other. It sufficeth not enough therefore to the making of a city magnificent and great that the site thereof be necessary, but it must withal be commodious to other counties that are borderers, or near unto it.

9. Of the fruitfulness of the soil

The second cause of the greatness of a city is the fruitfulness of the country. For the sustenance of the life of man, consisting on food and clothing, and both of them gotten out of those things the earth doth produce, the fruitfulness of the country cannot but be a mighty help unto it. And if it fall out to be so great as it not only well sufficeth to maintain the inhabitants thereof, but also to supply the wants of their bordering neighbours, it serveth our purpose so much the better. And forasmuch as all soils produce not all things, how much more rich and more able a country shall be to produce divers and

sundry things of profit and commodity, so much the more sufficient and fit it will be found to raise a great city. For by that means it shall have the less need of others (which enforceth people otherwhile to leave their habitations) and be able to afford the more to others (which draweth our neighbours the sooner to our country).

But the fruitfulness of the land sufficeth not simply of itself alone to raise a city unto greatness: for many provinces there are, and they very rich, that have never a good city in them; as, for example, Piedmont is one, and there is not a country throughout all Italy that hath more plenty of corn, cattle, wine, and of excellent fruits of all sorts, than it hath, and it hath maintained for many years the armies and forces both of Spain and France. And in England, London excepted, although the country do abound in plenty of all good things, yet there is not a city in it that deserves to be called great. As also in France, Paris excepted, which notwithstanding is not seated in the fruitfulest country of that great kingdom; for in pleasantness it giveth place to Touraine, in abundance of all things to Saintonge and Poitiers, in variety of fruits to Languedoc, in commodiousness of the seas to Normandy, in store of wine to Burgundy, in abundance of corn to Champagne, in either of both to the country of Orleans, in cattle to Brittany and the territory of Bourges.

By all which it doth appear that to the advancing of a city unto greatness it sufficeth not simply of itself alone that the territory be fruitful. And the reason thereof is plain; for where a country doth plentifully abound with all matter of good things, the inhabitants, finding all those things at home that are fit, necessary and profitable for their use, neither care nor have cause to go anywhere else to seek them, but take the benefit and use of them with ease where they grow. For every man loves to procure his commodity with the most ease he may: and when they find them with ease at home, to what end should they travel to fetch them elsewhere? And this reason proves the more strong where the people affect and long least after vain and idle delights and pleasures.

It sufficeth not therefore to the gathering of a society of people together to have abundance of wealth and substance alone, but there must be besides that some other form and matter to unite and hold them in one place together. And that is the easiness and commodiousness of conduct, the carrying out and bringing in, I mean, of commodities of wares to and fro.

10. Of the commodity of conduct

This commodity is lent unto us partly of the land and partly of the water.

Of the land, if it be plain. For by that means it conduceth easily the merchandise and goods of all sorts and kinds, upon carts, horses, mules and other beasts of burden; and men make their journeys the more commodiously on foot, on horse, in chariot, and in other suchlike sort and matter.

The Portuguese do write that in some large and spacious plains of China they use coaches with sails, which some essayed not many years since in Spain.

Of the water, this commodity is lent us if it be navigable; and without comparison the commodity is much better and more worth far, which the water do afford us than which the earth doth give us, both for ease and speediness, forasmuch as in less time, and with less charge and labour (without proportion in it)

greater carriages are brought from countries most remote by water than by land.

Now your navigable water is either of the sea or of the river or of the lake, which are natural helps and means, or of channels or of pools as that of Moeris in Egypt, which was 450 miles about, made by art and by man's industry and labour.

It seems in very truth that God created the water, not only for a necessary element to the perfection of nature, but more than so, for a most ready means to conduct and bring goods from one country to another. For His Divine Majesty, willing that men should mutually embrace each other as members of one body, divided in such sort His blessings as to no nation did he give all things, to the end that others having need of us, and contrariwise we having need of others, there might grow a community, and from a community love and from love an unity between us.

And to work this community the easier He produced the water, which of nature is such a substance that through the grossness thereof it is apt to bear great burdens, and through the liquidness, helped with the winds or the oars, fit to carry them to what place they list. So that by such a good mean the West is joined with the East, and the South with the North. And a man might say that whatso grows in one place grows in all places, by the easy means provided to come by them.

Now without doubt the sea, for her infinite greatness and grossness of the water, is much more profitable than the lakes or the rivers; but the sea serves you to little purpose if you have not a large and safe port to ride into. I say large either for the greatness or for the depth of the entry thereat, the midst and the extremes, and I say safe either from all or from many winds, or at least from the most blustering and most tempestuous.

It is held that among all winds the Northern is most tolerable, and that the seas that are troubled on the Greekish coast cease their rage and wax quiet as soon as the wind is laid. But the Southern winds trouble them and beat them so sore (whereof the Gulf of Venice is an undoubted witness) that even after the wind is laid they swell and rage a great while after.

Now the port shall be safe either by nature, as that of Messina and Marseilles, or else by art, the imitator of nature, as that of Genoa and of Palermo.

Lakes are, as it were, little seas, so that also they for the proportion of the place, and other respects besides, give a great help to appopulate towns and cities; as it is found in Nova Hispania, whereas is the Lake of Mexico which extendeth nine hundred miles in compass, and containeth fifty fair and goodly towns in it, amongst the which there is the town Tenochtitlan, the Metropolitan seat of that great and large kingdom.

The rivers also import much, and most of all they that run the longest course, especially through the richest and most merchantable regions, such as is Po in Italy, Scheldt in Flanders, Loire and Seine in France, Danube and the Rhine in Germany. And as lakes are certain several remembrances of the bosoms of the gulfs of the seas, formed and made by nature, even so chattels wherein to the water of the lake or the river runneth are certain imitations and, as it were, shadows of the same rivers made by skill and cunning.

The ancient kings of Egypt made a ditch that from the Nile ran to the city Heroopolis, and they essayed to draw a channel from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, to knit up our seas with the Indian Seas, and so to make the easier transportation to and fro of all kinds of merchandise, and by that means withal to

enrich their own kingdom. And it is a thing well known how oft it hath been attempted to break up the Isthmus to unite the Ionian with the Aegean Sea. A Sultan of Cairo drew a chattel from the Euphrates to the city of Aleppo. In Flanders you may see both at Ghent and at Bruges, and in other places else besides, many channels made by art, and with an inestimable expense and charge, but yet of much more profit for the ease they bring to merchandising and to the traffic of other nations. And in Lombardy many cities have wisely procured this ease unto them, but none more than Milan, that with one chattel (worthy of the Romans' glory) draweth the waters to it of the Ticino and of the lake called Lago Maggiore, and by such means enricheth itself with infinite store of merchandises; and with another chattel benefiteth much by the river Adda through the opportunity and means it hath thereby to bring in the fruits and the goods of their exceeding plentiful country home unto their houses. And they should make it much the better if they would cleanse and scour the chattel of Pavia and Ivrea.

Now in chattels and in rivers, for their better ease of conduct and of traffic, besides the length of their courses we have before spoken, the depth, the pleasantness, the thickness of the water and the largeness thereof is of much moment to them. The depth because deep waters bear and sustain the greater burdens and the navigation is the more safe without peril; the pleasantness because it makes the navigation easy up and down which way soever you bend your course. therein it seems to some they have been much mistaken that had the ordering of the chattel that comes from Ticino to Milan, forasmuch as by the great fall of the water and the great advantage given to the water it hath so strong a current and is so violent that with infinite toil and labour and loss of time they have much ado to sail upward. But as touching rivers, nature hath showed herself very kind to Gallia Celtica and Belgica; forasmuch as in Gallia Celtica the rivers for the most part are most calm and still, and therefore they sail up and down with incredible facility because many of them come forth as it were in the plains and even grounds, by the means thereof their course is not violent, and they run not between the mountains, nor yet a short and little way, but many hundreds of miles through goodly and even plains. Where, for their recreation and their pleasure, otherwhile men take their course one way, another while another, now go on forwards, then turn back again, and so, by this winding and turning to and fro they help divers cities and provinces with water and victuals or other such divers things as they need. But there is not a country in Europe better furnished and provided of rivers than that part of Gallia Belgica that commonly we call Flanders. The Meuse, the Scheldt, the Moselle, Dender, Ruhr and Rhine, divided into three great arms or branches, run pleasantly and gallantly forthright and overthwart the province, and mightily enrich it by the commodity of navigation and traffic of infinite treasure, which certainly wants in Italy. For Italy being long and strait, and parted in the midst with the Apennine Hills, the rivers of Italy, through the shortness of their course, cannot neither much increase nor yet abate the violence of their streams.

The rivers of Lombardy come all, as it were, either out of the Alps, as the Ticino, Adda, Lambro, Serio, Adige, or out of the Apennine Hills, as the Toro, Lenza, Panaro, and Reno, and but a short way neither, wherein they rather deserve to be called land floods than rivers, for they soon find out the Po, which takes his course between the Apennine Hills and the Alps, so that he only resteth navigable. For washing the province over by all

his whole length, he hath time to grow great, and enrich himself with the help of many rivers, and to moderate his natural swiftness by the long way he maketh. But this take withal, that forasmuch as the said rivers, through the shortness of their course, enter and meet together with a mighty rage and violence, they wax great otherwise, and swell and run with such a raging course as they make the strongest cities afraid of them, much more the country thereabout. But the rivers of Romagna and of other parts of Italy, falling like raging land-floods partly on this side and partly on that side of the Apennine hills, soon find out the Adriatic or the Tyrrhenian or the Ionian seas, so that the most of them have no time to slake their rage, nor none of them have so much time to grow great, as might make them navigable. For that little that is navigable in Arno or Tiber, it is not worth the speaking.

The thickness of the water is also a very good help in this case. For it cannot be denied that the water of one river beareth great and weighty burdens much better than the water of some other. And in particular, when the Obelisk (set up in the time of Sixtus the Fifth) which is to be seen at this day in Saint Peter's Street, was brought to Rome, it is well known by good experience the water of Tiber was of more strength and of more force and firmness than the water of Nile.

And Seine, a mean river in France, beareth ships of such bulk, and carrieth burdens so great, that he who sees it not will not believe it; and there is not a river in the world that for proportion is able to bear the like burden. So that although it exceed not a mediocrity and be but a small river, yet notwithstanding it supplieth wonderfully all the necessities and wants of Paris, a city that in people and in abundance of all things exceedeth far all other cities whatsoever within the scope of Christendom.

Here a man might ask me how it comes to pass that one water should bear more burden than another?

Some will, that this proceedeth from the nature of the earth that thickeneth the water and maketh it stiff and by consequence firm and solid. This reason hath no other opposition but Nile, the water whereof is so earthy and so muddy that the Scripture calleth it the Troubled River, and it is not to be drunk before it be purged and settled well in the cistern. And it doth not only water and mellow all Egypt over with its liquidness, but more than that maketh it fertile and mucketh, as it were, the ground with its fatness. And yet it is not of the fittest nor the strongest to sustain and bear ships, boats or barks of any good burden, whereupon I should think that for such effect and purpose we should not so much prefer the muddiness of the water as the sliminess thereof; for that doth glue it, as it were, together, and thicken it the better, and maketh it more fit and more apt to bear good burden.

But some man might ask me here again, from whence cometh this quality, this diversity, I mean, of waters? I must answer, it comes of two causes. First, from the very breaking or bursting of it out, and passage along through rough, rich, rank and fat countries; for rivers participating of the nature of the grounds that make them their beds and banks, become thereby themselves also fat and slimy, and of quality much like to oil. The next cause proceedeth from the swiftness and the shortness of the course; forasmuch as the length of a voyage and the rage of the rivers maketh thin and subtleth the substance, and breaks and cuts in sunder the sliminess of the water: which happeneth in Nile. For running in a manner as it doth two thousand miles by a

direct line (for by an oblique and crooked line it would be a good deal more) and falling from places exceeding steep and headlong where, through the vehemency and violent force of the course, and by the inestimable rage of the fall it breaketh and dissolveth all into a very small and fine rain, as it were, it waxeth so fine and subtle, and so tireth his waters that they lose all their slimy properties, which resteth all at the rivers of Almaine and of France. For they grow and walk through most rich and pleasant countries, and they be not ordinary swift nor violent. Now that this is the true reason thereof the water of Seine shall make a true proof of, for if you wash your hands with it, it scoureth like soap and cleanseth you of all manner of spots.

But let us now pass to the wideness; and that is necessary to begin withal in rivers and in channels of which we speak of, that they should be wide and large, that ships may commodiously wind and turn here and there at their will and pleasure, and give way each to other. But the wideness of a river without depth serves not for our purpose, for it dissipateth and disperseth the water in such sort that it maketh it unfit for navigation, which happeneth to the river of Plate, which through overmuch wideness is for the most part low and of uneven bottom, and full of rocks and little islands. And for the selfsame cause the rivers of Spain are not greatly navigable; for they have large bellies but they spread wide, and uneven they are, and uncertain. And thus much sufficeth to have said of rivers.

Now forasmuch as the commodities and profits are such and so great which the water bringeth to advance the greatness of a city, of consequent those cities must be the fairest and richest that have the most store of navigable rivers. And even such are those cities that are seated upon good havens of the seas, rivers or lakes, that are commodious, apt and fit for sundry navigations.

It may seem to some that with the easiness of conduct the foundation is now found out, and full complement and perfection of the greatness of a city. But it is not so, for it behoves besides that that there be some matter of profit that may draw the people and cause them to repair to one place more than to another. For where there is no commodity of conduct the multitude of people cannot be great, which the hills and mountains teacheth us, on which we may well see many castles and little towns, but no store of people that we might thereby call them great. And the reason is, because of the cragginess and steepness of their sites such things as are necessary and commodious for a civil life cannot be brought unto them without an infinite toil and labour. And Fiesole became desert and Florence frequented upon none other cause than that Fiesole standeth on too steep and too high a place, almost inaccessible, and Florence in a very plain, easy to have access unto it. And in Rome we see the people have forsaken the Aventine and other hills there, and drawn themselves altogether down to the plain and places nearest unto Tiber for the commodity which the plain and the water affordeth to the conduct of goods and traffic.

But where conduct and carriage is easy you see not for all that a notable and famous city by and by. For without question the port of Messina is far much better than the port of Naples, that notwithstanding Naples, if you behold the people, exceedeth more than two Messinas. The port of Cartagena exceeds in all respects the port of Genoa, and yet Genoa, for multitude of people, for wealth and for all matter of good things besides mightily exceedeth Cartagena. What port is more fair, more safe

or more spacious than the chattel of Cattaro? And yet is there not any memorable city in that place.

What shall I say of rivers? In Peru there is the river Marion which (it is said) doth run (a marvellous thing to report) six thousand miles in length, and more. You have the river of Plate thereby, which though it give place to Marion for the length of his stream and course it beareth yet more water a great deal, and at the mouth of it, they say, it is one hundred and fifty miles wide. In New France there is the river of Canada, wide at the mouth thirty-five miles, and two hundred fathom deep. In Africa there are also very great rivers, Senegal, Gambia and Cuanza, which last is a river late found out in the kingdom of Angola which is thought to be wide at the mouth thirty-five miles; and yet amongst them there is not a famous city to be found. Nay further, on the river of Cuanza the barbarous people there live in dens, and hide them in caves covered with boughs in the company and fellowship, as it were, of crabs and lobsters, which through use and custom grow wondrous familiar and secure with them.

In Asia although Menam, which in their language signifieth the Mother of Rivers, and Mekong, which is navigable for more than two thousand miles, and likewise Indus and other royal rivers be sufficiently inhabited, yet for all that Ob, which is the greatest there amongst them (for where it falleth into the Scythian Ocean it is eighty miles broad, which makes some men think the Mare Caspium disburdeneth itself that way into the Ocean), hath not any famous city in it.

After this another question also riseth, how it comes if the commodious means of conduct do at full accomplish the greatness of a city, how, I say, it comes to pass where upon the shore of one self river the conduct is even, easy and alike and that city yet is greater than another? Without doubt it sufficeth not alone that the transportation of goods to and fro be easy and commodious, but there must be else besides that, some peculiar virtue attractive that may draw men and allure men more to one place than to another, whereof we shall in the next book speak more at large.

Book Two

Hitherto have we spoken of aptness of the site, of the fruitfulness of the soil and of the commodious transportation of commodities to and fro, for the help and increase of our city. Let us now see what those things are that may allure the people (who are of nature indifferent to be here or there) to the choice of one place before another to make their habitations in, and what causeth commerce and traffic. And let us first declare the proper means the Romans took, and then afterward the means that generally were common to them and others.

1. The proper means of the Romans

The first means the Romans used was the opening of the sanctuary and giving liberty and freedom to all that would to come unto them; which Romulus did to the end (his neighbours at that time evil entreated by tyrants, and the country swarming full with discontented persons) Rome might by that means be the sooner peopled through the benefit of their safety they were sure to find there; neither was he therein deceived a whit, for thither flocked with their goods a number of people that were

either thrust out of their habitations, or unsafe and unsure of their lives in their countries. But when they found afterward a want of women necessary for propagation, Romulus proclaimed certain great and solemn feasts at which he stole and held away by force the greatest part of the youngest women that did resort to see them: so that it is no marvel if out of so fierce and stout a people there rose so fierce and stout an issue.

The very same reason in a matter in these our days hath increased so much the city of Geneva, forasmuch as it hath offered entertainment to all comers out of France and Italy that have either forsaken or been exiled their countries for religion's sake. And the same country of Germany (they call Francorum Vallem) by the sufferance of Casimir, one of the Counts Palatine of the Rhine, later erected by the Belgians that were for religion thrust out of their countries have done the like.

Cosimo the Great Duke of Tuscany, to appopulate the port Ferrario, gave protection to such as would fly thither, and confined a number that for their offences had worthy deserved punishment, which course the Great Duke Francis his son observed afterward for the peopling of Pisa and Livorno. But as we have afore said, it is neither strength nor necessity that have power to make a city frequented, or to raise it unto greatness. For a people enforced and violently driven to rest in one place is like unto seed sown in the sands, wherein it never taketh root to grow to ripeness.

But let us return unto our sanctuary. It cannot be denied but that a moderate liberty and a lawful place of safety very greatly helpeth to draw a multitude of people to a resting place. And hereof it comes that free cities are in comparison of other places more famous and more replenished with people than cities subject unto princes and to monarchies.

The second means wherewith Rome increased was that they made the towns that well deserved of them (which they after called municipia) to be partakers of their franchises and of their offices. For these honours, to be citizens of Rome, and to enjoy the great privileges annexed to their enfranchisement, drew into the city all such as through adherency, through favour or through service done unto the commonwealth might have any hope to bear office or rule therein, and such as looked not so high resorted yet thither to serve their kinsmen's turns or their friends with their voices, to advance them to some good office. And thus Rome was frequented and enriched with concourse of an infinite sight of people, both noble and rich, that in particular or in common which were honoured with the enfranchisement and freedom of Rome.

The third means was the continual entertainment the Romans gave to curiosity, and that was the great number of admirable things they did in Rome. The triumphs of the victorious captains, the wonderful buildings, the battles on the water, the fights of sword players, the hunting of wild beasts, the public shows and sights, the plays of Apollo, the Seculars and others, which were performed with unspeakable pomp and preparation, and many other suchlike things that drew the curious people unto Rome. And forasmuch as these alluring sights were, as it were, perpetual, Rome was also, as it were, perpetually full of strangers and foreign people.

2. Of colonies

What shall we say of colonies? Were they a good help to the greatness of Rome or not? That they were a great help to the increase of the power it cannot be doubted; but that they

multiplied also the number of inhabitants it is a thing somewhat doubtful. Howbeit, for mine own opinion I should think they were a great help and means unto it. For if any man think by taking the people out and sending them to colonies elsewhere that the city thereby comes rather to diminish than increase, haply for all that the contrary may happen. For as plants cannot prosper so well nor multiply so fast in a nursery where they are set and planted near together as where they are transplanted into an open ground, even so men make no such fruitful propagation of children where they are enclosed and shut up within the walls of the city they are bred and born in as they do abroad in divers other parts where they are sent unto. For sometimes the plague or other contagious sickness or disease consumeth them, sometimes famine enforceth them to change their habitations, sometimes foreign wars take out of the world the stoutest men amongst them, sometimes civil wars make the quietest sort forsake their dwellings; and from many poverty and misery taketh away the mind, the means and the spirit to wed or think on propagation.

Now they that might have died in Rome with the aforesaid evils, and without children, being removed to other places escape the foresaid perils, and, being bestowed in colonies and provided for both of house and ground to it, betake themselves to wives and children and to propagate and breed them up and so increase infinitely, and of ten become an hundred.

But what is this to the purpose, may some man say? Let us suppose that they that are sent into colonies would not increase their country if they tarried at home how should they then increase it when they are sent thence abroad to other places? Well enough. First, because colonies with their mother out of which they issued make, as it were, but one body. Then next, because the love of our original country, which every man affecteth, and the dependence thereof (which many ways help) and the desire and hope to aspire to dignity and honour which evermore draw unto it the worthiest and most noble minds. By which means the country grows to be more populous and rich.

Who can deny but that the colonies that issued, as it were, out of one stock, from Alba Longa, and so many besides as Rome hath sent out, brought not much magnificence and greatness, both to the one and the other? And that the Portuguese issued out of Lisbon, to possess and inhabit the islands of Azores, Cape Verde, Madeira and others have not amplified and increased Lisbon a great deal more than if they had never removed thence to those same islands?

Howbeit, true it is if colonies must increase their mother, it is very necessary that they be near neighbours, otherwise through long distance of place love waxeth cold, and all commerce is cut off clean. And therefore the Romans for the space of six hundred years sent not a colony out of Italy, and the first were Carthage and Narbonne; as is at large before declared in my sixth book of Reason of State, in the chapter of Colonies.

And these be the means wherewith the Romans, either through their singular dexterity or excellent wits, have drawn strange nations unto their city. Let us now speak of the means that other nations also as well as they have used in this case, where it shall not be from the purpose that we begin at religion first as at the thing that ought to be the head and spring of all our works and actions.

3. Of Religion

Religion and the worship of God is a thing so necessary and

of such importance as without all doubt it not only draweth a number of people with it but also causeth much commerce together. And the cities that in this kind excel and flourish in authority and reputation above all others have also the better means to increase their power and glory.

Jerusalem, as Pliny writeth, was the chiefest and most flourishing city of all the East and principally for religion whereof he was the Metropolitan, as also of the kingdom. The high priests, the prelates and the Levites kept their residence, there offered they their beasts, there celebrated they their sacrifices and rendered unto God their prayers and petitions, thither repaired thrice a year all the people almost of Israel. Insomuch as Josephus reckoneth that at the time that Titus Vespasian laid his siege unto it there were in the city two millions and a half of people, a number in truth very strange, that I may not say incredible, in respect the city was not much above four miles about. But it is written by a man that might have perfect knowledge of it, and had no cause to lie.

Jeroboam, when he was chosen king of Israel, advisedly considering his subjects could not live without exercise of religion and use of sacrifice, and that if they should repair to Jerusalem to celebrate and make their sacrifice his people would soon unite themselves with the tribe of Judah and the House of David, casting religion off he set up straight idolatry. For he caused to be made two calves of gold, and sending them to the uttermost parts of his kingdom, turning to his people he said unto them: *Nolite ultra ascendere in Hierusalem; ecce dii tui Israel qui te eduxerunt de terra Aegypti.*

Religion is of such force and might to amplify cities, to amplify dominions, and of such a virtue attractive that Jeroboam, to give no place to his Competitor in this part of allurement and entertainment of the company, impiously brought in idolatry in place of true religion. And this man was the first that for desire to reign did openly tread down the law and all due worship unto God, and thereof gave a lewd example to posterity. A notable note in truth, not so much of folly as of extreme impiety.

Some that arrogate too much wisdom to themselves in matters of state and government spare not to say and teach that to hold the subjects in due obedience to their prince man's wit and policy prevaieth more than divine or godly counsel: a speech and invention in very truth rather of a miscreant and caterpillar of a commonweal than of a lover and a favourer of the majesty of a state. For such are the ruins of kings, the plague of kingdoms, the scandal of Christianity, the sworn enemies of the Church, nay rather of God, against whom, to the imitation of the ancient giants, they build up a new tower unto Babel which shall breed and bring unto them in the end confusion and utter ruin. *Qui habitat in coelis irridebit eos, et Dominus subsannabit eos.* Hear, ye princes, what the prophet Isaiah saith of the counsellors of King Pharaoh: *Sapientes consilarii Pharaonis dederunt consilium insipientis; deceperunt Aegyptum angulum populorum eius. Dominus miscuit in medio eius spiritum vertiginis, et errare fecerunt Aegyptum in omni opere suo, sicut errat ebrius et vomens.*

If this place would suffer it I could easily show that the greatest part of the loss of states and ruins of Christian princes have proceeded of this accursed variance in religion, through the which we are disarmed and deprived of the protection and favour of Almighty God, and have thrust into the hands of the Turks and Calvinists the weapons and the scourges of God's Divine justice against us. But it sufficeth here to advise princes that

tread down the laws of God by that preposterous and wicked kind of government that they learn of Jeroboam and fear the issue of him whose acts they imitate, that they may hereafter the better beware by other men's harms. For in revenge of his impiety God raised up against Nadab his son the King Baasha, who slew him and all his race. Non dimisit ne unam quidem animam de semine eius, donec deleret eam. But let us return where we left.

Of what strength and power to make a place populous religion proves to be, and to have the opinion of some famous relic or notable argument of God's divine assistance, or some authority in the admiration, administration and government of ecclesiastical causes, Loreto in Italy, St. Michel in France, Guadalupe and Compostela in Spain do all of them declare and manifest it plain; and many places more besides, though solitary and desert, though sharp and rocky, unto the which for no respect but for devotion's sake and piety people daily do resort infinitely in flocks from the farthest parts that are.

And no marvel if you look into it thoroughly. For there is not anything in this world of more efficacy and force to allure and draw to it the hearts of men than God, which is the summum bonum. He is carefully desired and sought for continually of all creatures whatsoever, with soul or without, for all regard Him as their last end. Light things seek their summum bonum above, heavy things beneath, within the centre of this earth; the heavens, in their revolutions, the herbs in their flowers, the trees in their fruits, beasts in the preservation of their kind, and man, in seeking his tranquillity of mind and everlasting joy.

But forasmuch as God is of so high a nature as the sense of man cannot attain to it, so shining bright as the eye of man's understanding cannot conceive it, every man directly turns him to that place where he leaves some print of his power, or declares some sign of his assistance; which ordinary have been and are seen on the mountains or the deserts.

Is not then Rome indebted much for her magnificence and greatness to the blood of the martyrs, to the relics of saints, to the holy consecrated places, and to the supreme authority in beneficial and spiritual causes? Would she not become a very wilderness, if the opinion of the holiness of the places drew not the innumerable sight of people from the uttermost parts of the earth? Would she not become a desert if the apostolic seat and the power of the keys caused not an inestimable multitude of people daily to repair unto it for some business or other?

Milan, a most populous and famous city, shall ever be a witness what praise and glory, and how much increase it hath gotten by the singular piety and religious life of that great Cardinal Borromeo. Princes resorted, even from the uttermost ends of the south, to visit him; bishops made access from all parts to consult with him for his opinion in any controversies that sprang amongst them; the clergy likewise harkened unto his counsels, and the religious people of all nations held Milan for their country and the house of that godly man for their port, his liberality for their refuge and his godly life for a most fair and clear glass of ecclesiastical discipline for all men to look into and to take example by.

I should haply be too long if I should declare unto you with what singular praise and commendation he celebrated every year his synods, and with what magnificency he visited every year his provinces, how many churches he either built new or, being old, set in good order, how many he adorned and beautified, how many monasteries of men and women he erected, how many well-ordered colleges of young men and seminaries of priests he instituted,

how many sorts of academies he set up and founded to the inestimable good of the people, how many kinds of entertainments and promotions he bestowed upon arts and on artificers. And I should never end if I should recount the matter and the means wherewith by amplifying God's service and advancing of religion he increased also the city, and doubled the concourse of people unto Milan.

4. Of schools and studies

The commodity of learned schools is of no small moment to draw people, especially young men, to a city of whose greatness we are in speech. For inasmuch as there be two means for men of wit and courage to rise to some degree of honour and reputation in the world, the one by arms, the other by book, the first is sought for in the field, with the spear and the sword, and the last in the academy, with pen and book.

And forasmuch as men long for honour or for profit, and of liberal arts and sciences some bring certain wealth to men and some promotions and preferments to honourable functions, it is a thing of no small importance that in a city there be provided an academy or such a school as young men, desirous to attain to virtue and learning, may thereby have occasion to repair rather thither than to any other place. And that will be effected soon if besides the commodity of the school and good teachers they may enjoy convenient immunities and privileges. I say convenient, for that I would not have impunity afforded unto faults, nor licence given to fall to vice and wickedness, but honest liberty allowed to them that they may the more commodiously and cheerfully attend to their studies.

For to say truth, study is a matter of great labour and travail, both of the mind and body. And thereupon our forefathers in times past called the goddess of arts and sciences Minerva, because the toil of speculation weakeneth the strength and cuts the sinews. For an afflicted body afflicteth many times the mind, whereof groweth melancholy and sadness. And therefore it stands with good reason that all convenient privilege and liberty be granted unto scholars that may maintain them in contented and cheerful minds; but no dissoluteness allowed in any wise unto them, whereof the academies in Italy are grown too full. For the pen is there turned into a poignard, and the dwell into a flask and touch-box for a gun, the disputations into bloody brawlings, the schools into lists, and the scholars into cutters and to hacksters. Honesty is there flouted at and scorned, and bashfulness and modesty accounted a discredit and a shame. So that a young man that were like enough to lead the modest and sober life of a good student shall have much to do if he scape to be undone. But let us leave complaints; and yet I must needs say this much first: no academy can flourish aright, without quarrels, cards and dice be banished quite, and clean cast out.

Francis the First, King of France, because the scholars of the University of Paris (which in his time were almost an infinite sight) should have commodity and means to take the air and to recreate themselves with honest exercises, he assigned them a great meadow near the city and the river where without let or trouble to them they might disport and solace themselves at their will and pleasure. There they fell to wrestling, there they played at the barriers, at the ball and the football, there did they cast the sledge and leap and run, with such cheerfulness and pastime as it delighted the beholders thereof no less than themselves. And so ceaseth by this means the clatter and the

noise of weapons and of armour, and also play at cards and dice.

For the same reasons it is necessary that the city wherein you will find an academy be of an wholesome air, and of a pleasant and delightful situation, where there may be both rivers, fountains, springs and woods. For these things of themselves, without any other help, are apt to delight and cheer up the spirits and minds of students. Such were in times past Athens and Rhodes, where all good arts and learning flourished most above all other.

Galeazzo Visconti (besides these invitings and allurements) being earnestly desirous to illustrate and appopulate Pavia, was the first that forbade his subjects, under a great pain, to go anywhere else to study, which course some princes else of Italy hath since his time followed.

But these are means full of distrust and trouble. The honourable and notable means to retain subjects in their country, and to draw strangers also home to it, is to procure them means of honest recreation, to provide them plenty of victual, to maintain to them their privileges, to give them occasion to rise to degrees of honour by their learned exercises, to make account of good wits, and to reward them well, but above all to store them with plenty of doctors and learned men of great fame and reputation.

The great Pompey was not ashamed to enter into the schools; for after they had conquered all the East he went to the schools at Rhodes to hear the professors there dispute.

But for a far greater reason Sigismund King of Poland gave a strait commandment that none of his subjects should wander out of his kingdom to study anywhere else (and the Catholic King commanded the like not many years since). And it was to this end, that his subjects should not be infected with the heresies that began in the time of King Sigismund and are at the height in these our days throughout all the provinces of the north.

5. Of the place of justice

Our lives, our honour and our substance are all in the hands of the judge. For love and charity failing in all places, the violence and covetousness of wicked men doth daily the more increase, from whom, if the judges do not defend us, our business whatsoever we do will ill go forward. For this cause cities that have royal audience, senators, parliaments or other sorts and kinds of courts of justice must needs be much frequented, as well for concourse of people that have cause of suit unto it, as also for the execution of justice. For it cannot be ministered without the help of many presidents, I mean senators, advocates, proctors, solicitors, notaries and such like. Nay, more than that (which it grieves me to think on) expedition of justice cannot be had in these our days without ready money. For nothing in the world doth make men run so fast as current money. For the adamant is not of such force to draw iron unto it, as gold is to turn the eyes and the minds of men this way and that way and which way they list. And the reason is plain, because gold, even through the very virtue thereof, containeth in it all greatness, all commodities and all earthly good whatsoever. To be short, he that hath money hath, you may say, all worldly things that are to be had.

In these days, through the plenty of money which the administration of justice doth carry with it, the metropolitan cities, if they may not have the whole administration of civil and criminal causes, they will yet reserve at least unto them the

chiefest causes and all appeals; which is well done for matter of state (whereof the judicial authority is a principal member by the means whereof they are the patrons and protectors of the life and goods of the subject). But there must be a regard to the profit that we have pointed at.

This goes current in all places, especially where in judicial causes they do proceed according to the common use and course of the laws of the Romans, for that course and form is longer and requireth more ministers than the other.

In England and Scotland, but especially in Turkey, where a short course is taken in trial of all causes even, as it were, at the first sitting of the judge, it profiteth little to increase the greatness of a city to hold pleas there. Forasmuch as difficult and hard causes are in an afternoon, as it were, decided there and ended, if sufficient witness be produced at the hearing of the cause. These adjournments and many terms are there cut off, and instruments, process, officers and mediators have there no place. With a few blows given they come to the half sword; so that the time, the expense, and the number of persons are far less and much fewer than the civil laws do require.

I speak not these things to the end I would have causes prolonged and suits made eternal. For they are too long already, without more ado, and, in doing justice, delay (which receiveth no excuse by colour or pretence of wariness and care to commit no error) is very plain injustice. And therefore, in our city we speak of here, it shall be very necessary and expedient to have in it a principal seat of justice and course of suits and pleas depending on it.

6. Of industry

Forasmuch as I have already sufficiently said my mind concerning industry and art in mine eighth book of the Reason of State, wherein I have at large discoursed concerning the propagation of states, I will therefore for brevity's sake refer the gentle reader unto that same chapter.

7. Of privileges

The people are in these our days so grievously oppressed and taxed by their princes, who are driven to it partly of covetousness and partly of necessity, that they greedy embrace the least hope that may be of privilege and freedom whensoever it is offered. thereof the marts, fairs and markets bear good witness, which are frequented with a mighty concourse of tradesmen, merchants and people of all sorts, not for any respect else but that they are there free and frank from customs and exactions.

In our days the princely city of Naples, through the exemptions and freedoms granted to the inhabitants, is most nobly increased, both in buildings and in people; and it would have increased a great deal more if through the griefs and suits of the barons there whose lands were unfurnished of people, or for some other peculiar reason, the King of Spain had not severely forbidden to enlarge it with further buildings.

The cities in Flanders are the most merchantable and the most frequented cities for commerce and traffic that are in all Europe. If you require the cause, surely the exemptions from custom is the chiefest cause of it. For the merchandise that is brought in and carried out (and it is infinite that is brought in and carried out) paid but a very small custom.

All such as have erected new cities in times past, to draw concourse of people to it have granted of necessity large immunities and privileges, at least to the first inhabitants thereof. The like have they done that have restored cities emptied with the plague, consumed with the wars, or afflicted otherwise with some other scourge of God.

The plague mentioned by Boccaccio, that languished all Italy near three years together, was so fierce that from March to July it took out of the world about an hundred thousand souls within Florence. It slew also such a number within Venice as in a manner it became a desert, so that the Senate, to have it reinhabited, caused proclamation to be made that all such as would come thither with their families and dwell there two years together should have the freedom of the city. The same commonwealth of Venice hath been also more than once delivered out of extreme necessity of victuals by promising privilege and freedom to such as brought them corn.

8. Of having in her possession some merchandise of moment

It will also greatly help to draw people to our city if she have some good store of vendible merchandise always in her possession, which haply may be where, through the goodness of the soil, either all of it doth grow, or a great part, or that at least which is more excellent than other: all, as the cloves in the Moluccas, the frankincense and sweet-smelling gums in Sabaea, the balsam in Palestine; or where a good part of it doth grow, as pepper doth in Calicut and cinnamon in Ceylon; or where it is most excellent, as salt is in Cyprus, sugars at Madeira and wool in some cities of Spain and England. There is also to be added unto this the excellency of art and workmanship which, through the quality of the water or the skill and cunning of the inhabitants, or some hidden mystery of theirs, or other such like cause, chanceth to be in one place more excellent than another, as the armour in Damascus and in Shiraz, tapestry in Arras, rash in Florence, velvets in Genoa, cloth of gold and silver in Milan, and scarlet in Venice.

And to this purpose, I cannot pass it over but I must declare unto you that in China all arts in a matter flourish in the highest degree of excellency that may be, for many reasons but amongst the rest chiefly for this, because the children are bound to follow their father's mystery and trade. So that forasmuch as they are born, as it were, with a resolute mind to follow their father's art, and the fathers hide not from them anything, but teach them and instruct them with all affection, assiduity, diligence and care, workmanship is by this means there grown to that fullness of excellency and perfection that may be possibly desired; as may be seen in these few works that are brought out of China to the Philippines, from the Philippines to Mexico, and from Mexico to Seville. But let us return to our purpose.

There are also some other cities masters of some commodities, not because the goods do grow in their country or be wrought by their inhabitants, but because they have command either of the country or of the sea that is near them: the command of the country, as Seville, unto which infinite wealth and riches are brought from Nova Hispania and Peru; the command of the sea, as Lisbon, which by this means draweth to it the pepper of Cochin and the cinnamon of Ceylon and other riches of the Indies, which cannot be brought by sea but by them, or under their leave and licence.

After the same sort in a matter Venice, about four-score and

ten years ago, was Lady of the Spiceries, for before the Portuguese possessed the Indies these things being brought by the Red Sea to Suez, and from thence upon camels' backs to Cairo, and after that by Nile into Alexandria, there were they bought up by the Venetians who sent thither their great argosies, and with incredible profit to them carried them in a matter into all the parts of Europe.

But all this commerce and trade is now quite turned to Lisbon, unto which place, by a new way, the spiceries (taken as it were out of the hands of the Moors and Turks) be yearly brought by the Portuguese, and then sold to the Spaniards, Frenchmen, Englishmen and to all the northern parts. This commerce and trade is of such importance as it alone is enough to enrich all Portugal and to make it plentiful of all things.

There are some other cities also lords, as it were, of much merchandise and traffic, by means of their commodious situation to many nations, to whom they serve of warehouse room and storehouses: such are Malacca and Ormuz in the East, Alexandria, Constantinople, Messina and Genoa in the Mediterranean Sea, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Danzig and Narva in the Northern Seas, and Frankfurt and Nuremberg in Germany. In which cities many great merchants exercise their traffic and make their warehouses, unto the which the nations thereunto adjoining use to resort to make their provisions of such things as they need because they have commodious means for transportation of it. And this consisteth in the largeness and the safeness of the ports, in the opportunity and fitness of the gulfs and creeks of the seas, in the navigable rivers that come into the cities, or run by or near them, in the lakes and chattels; as also where the ways be plain and safe.

And here to the purpose, because I speak of ways, I cannot pass over those two ways which the kings of Cuzco (called in their language Incas) in the long process of time cut out throughout their dominion, about two thousand miles in length, so pleasant, so commodious, so plain and so level as they give no place to the magnificent works of the Romans. For there shall you see steep and high hills laid even with the plain, and deep valleys filled up, and horrible huge stones cut in pieces; there shall you see the trees that are planted here and there, in excellent good order even by a line, yield both with their shade a comfort and with the charm of the birds that there abound in great plenty, a marvellous delight and pleasure to the travellers that pass those ways. Neither are there wanting on those ways many good inns for lodging and for entertainment, plentiful of all necessary things, nor palaces and goodly buildings that in eminent and open places, as it were, to meet you, present you with a pleasant and beautiful show of their excellency and rareness; nor pleasant towns, nor sweet countries, nor a thousand other delights and pleasures to feed both the eye with variety and the mind with admiration at the infinite effects, partly wrought by nature and partly by the handiwork of man. But to return to our purpose.

It is a good matter and a great help to a prince to know the natural site of his country, and with judgment to have an understanding how to amend it by art and industry. As, for example, to defend his ports with rampiers and with bulwarks, to make the lading and unloading of merchandise both quick and easy, to scour the seas of pirates and of rovers, to make the rivers navigable, to build storehouses apt and large enough to contain great quantity of wares, and to defend and maintain the ways as well on the plains as on the mountains and hilly places.

In this point the kings of China have deserved all praise

that may be. For they have with an incredible expense and charge paved with stone all the highways of that most famous kingdom, and have made stone bridges over mighty great rivers, and cut in sunder hills and mountains of inestimable height and craggedness. They have also strewed the plains and bottoms with very fair stone, so that a man may there pass either on horse or afoot as well in the winter as in the summer time, and merchandise may be easily carried to and fro there by load, either on carts or on horse, mules or camels.

And in this point, no doubt, some princes in Italy are much to blame, in whose countries in the winter-time horses are bemired in sloughs up to the belly, and carts are stabled and set fast in the tough dirt and mire. So that carriages by cart or horse are thereby very cumbersome, and a journey that might be well dispatched in a day can hardly be performed in three or four. And the ways are as bad in many parts of France, as in the country of Poitiers, Saintonge, Beauce and in Burgundy. But this is no place to censure so famous provinces, and therefore let us proceed.

9. Of dominion and power

The greatest means to make a city populous and great is to have supreme authority and power; for that draweth dependency with it, and dependency concourse, and concourse greatness. In the cities that have jurisdiction and power over others, as well the public wealth as the wealth of private men is drawn by divers arts and means unto them. Thither do repair the ambassadors of princes, and the agents of dukes and commonwealths, there are the greatest causes heard, as well criminal as civil, and all appeals are brought to trial there. There are the suits and causes, as well of men of quality as of the commonweal and common persons debated and decided, the revenues of the state are there laid up, and there spent out again when there is need. The richest citizens of other countries seek to ally themselves and to get an habitation there.

Out of all which causes here recited there must needs follow an abundance of wealth and riches, a most strong and forcible bait to allure and draw forth the merchants, the artificers and the people of all sorts that live upon their labour and their service, to run amain from the furthest coasts unto it. After this sort a city soon increaseth both in magnificency of building, in multitude of people and abundance of wealth, and also groweth to the proportion of a principality.

The truth whereof these cities all of them declare it plain, that either have had or have any notable jurisdiction in them; Pisa, Siena, Genoa, Lucca, Florence and Brescia, whose countries do extend an hundred miles in length and forty in breadth, and not only contain the most fruitful and fertile plains but also many rich and goodly valleys, many towns and castles that have above a thousand houses in them and do feed very near three hundred and forty thousand persons. Many free and imperial cities in Germany are like to these: Nuremberg, Lubeck and Aachen, and such was Ghent in Flanders, that when the standard was advanced and spread sent out at once an hundred thousand men of war.

I speak not here of Sparta, Carthage, Athens, Rome nor Venice, whose greatness grew as fast as their power, even so far that, to pass the rest, Carthage, in the height of her pride and glory, was twenty-four miles about, and Rome was fifty besides the suburbs, which were in a matter so infinite and great as on the one side they extended even to Ostia and on the other side,

in a matter, to Utricoli, and round about they occupied and possessed a mighty deal of the country. But let us proceed, for to this chapter belongeth all that shall be said hereafter of the residence of princes.

10. Of the residency of the nobility

Amongst other causes why the cities of Italy are ordinarily greater than the cities of France or other parts of Europe, it is not of small importance this, that the gentlemen in Italy do dwell in cities, and in France in their castles, which are for the most part palaces compassed and surrounded with moats full of water, and fenced with walls and towers sufficient to sustain a sudden assault.

And although the noblemen of Italy do also themselves magnificently dwell in the villages, as you may see about the countries of Florence, Venice and Genoa, which are full of buildings both for the worthiness of the matter and the excellency of the workmanship fit to be an ornament and an honour rather to a kingdom than to a city, yet notwithstanding, these buildings generally are more sumptuous and more common in France than they are in Italy. For the Italian divideth his expense and endeavours part in the city, part in the country, but the greater part he bestows in the city. But the Frenchman employs all that he may wholly in the country, regarding the city little or nothing at all; for an inn serves his turn when he needs. Howbeit, experience teacheth the residence of noblemen in cities makes them to be more glorious and most populous not only because they bring their people and their families unto it, but also more because a nobleman dispendeth much more largely, through the access of friends unto him and through the emulation of others, in a city where he is abiding and visited continually by honourable personages, than he spendeth in the country, where he liveth amongst the brute beasts of the field and converseth with plain country people and goes apparelled amongst them in plain and simple garments. Gorgeous and gallant buildings necessity must also follow, and sundry arts of all sorts and kinds must needs increase to excellency and full perfection in cities where noblemen do make their residence.

For this cause the Inca of Peru, that is, the king of Peru, meaning to ennoble and make great his royal city of Cuzco would not only that his caciques and his barons should inhabit there, but he did also command that every one of them should erect and build a palace therein for their dwelling; which when they had performed, each striving with the other who should erect the fairest, that city in short time grew with most princely buildings to be magnificent and great. Some dukes of Lombardy have in our days attempted such a thing.

Tigranes King of Armenia, when he set up the great Tigranocerta enforced a great number of gentlemen and honourable persons, with others of great wealth and substance, to remove themselves thither with all their goods whatsoever, sending forth a solemn proclamation withal that what goods soever were not brought thither should be confiscate clean.

And this is the cause that Venice in short time increased so notably in her beginning. For they that fled out of the countries there adjoining into the islands where Venice is miraculously seated, as it were, were noble personages and rich, and thither did they carry with them all their wealth and substance, with the which, giving themselves through the opportunity of that gulf to navigation and to traffic, they became within a while owners and

masters of the city and of the islands thereunto adjoining; and with their wealth and riches they easily ennobled the country with magnificent and gorgeous buildings, and with inestimable treasure, and in the end brought it to that greatness and power in which we do both see it and admire it at this present.

11. Of the residency of the prince

For the very selfsame causes we have a little before declared in the chapter of dominion and power, it doth infinitely avail to the making and making cities great and populous the residency of the prince therein, according to the greatness of whose empire she doth increase. For where the prince is resident there also the parliaments are held, and the supreme place of justice is there kept. All matters of importance have recourse to that place, all princes and all persons of account, ambassadors of princes and of commonwealths, and all agents of cities that are subject make their repair thither; all such as aspire and thirst after offices and honours run thither amain with emulation and disdain at others. Thither are the revenues brought that pertain unto the state, and there are they disposed out again. By all which means cities must needs increase apace it may easily be conceived by the examples, in a matter, of all the cities of importance and of name.

The ancientest kingdom was that of Egypt, whose princes kept their court partly in Thebes and partly in Memphis, by means whereof those two cities grew to mighty greatness and to beautiful and sumptuous buildings. Forasmuch as Thebes (which Homer calls poetically the City of a Hundred Gates) was in circuit (as Diodorus writeth) seventeen miles about, and was beautiful with proud and stately buildings both public and private, and also full of people. And Memphis was but little less.

In after ages, other kings succeeding (which were called Ptolemies) they kept their court in Alexandria, which did by that means mightily increase in buildings, in people, in reverent reputation taken of it, and in inestimable wealth and riches; and the other two cities aforesaid, that by the ruin of that kingdom falling first under the Chaldeans and afterward under the Persians were exceedingly decayed, are now utterly defaced.

The Sultans after that forsaking Alexandria drew themselves to Cairo which, even for this very cause became (within a little time to speak of) a city so populous as it hath gotten, not without good cause, the name of the Great Cairo. But the Sultans, because they thought themselves not to be secure in respect of the innumerable multitude, if so great a people should perchance rise up in arms against them, divided it with large and many ditches filled full of water, so that it might appear not one city alone but many little towns united and joined together. At this day it is divided into three towns a little mile distant one from another, whose names are these: Bulak, old Cairo and new Cairo. It is said there are sixteen thousand or (as Ariosto writeth) eighteen thousand great streets in it, that are every night shut up with iron gates. It may be eight miles about, within which compass, for that these people dwell not so at large nor so commodiously for ease as we do, but for the most part within the ground, stowed up as it were, and crowded and thrust together, there is such an infinite multitude of them as they cannot be numbered.

The plague, in a matter, never leaveth them, but every seventh year they feel it most exceedingly. And if it dispatch

not out of the way above three hundred thousand, they count it but a flea-bite. In the time of the Sultans that city was accounted to stand to health when as there died not in it above a thousand persons in a day. And let this suffice that I have said of Cairo, which is of so great a fame in the world at this day.

In Assyria, the kings made their residence in Nineveh, whose circuit was four hundred and eighty furlongs about, which comes to threescore miles. And in length it was (as Diodorus writeth) one hundred and fifty furlongs. The suburbs thereof no doubt must needs besides that be very large. For the Scripture affirmeth that Nineveh was great, three days journey to pass it over. Diodorus writeth, there was never any city after that set up of so great a circuit and of so huge a greatness. For the height of the walls was an hundred foot, the breadth able to contain three carts abreast together, towers in the walls a thousand and five hundred, in height an hundred foot, as Vives saith.

The residence of the kings of Chaldea was in Babylon. This city was in compass four hundred and fourscore furlongs, so writes Herodotus. Her walls were wide fifty cubits, high two hundred and more. Aristotle maketh it much greater, for he writes that it was said in his time that when Babylon was taken it was three days ere one part took knowledge of the conquest. The people thereof were such a number as they durst offer battle unto Cyrus, the greatest and the mightiest king for power that ever was of Persia. Semiramis did build it, but Nebuchadnezzar did mightily increase it. When it was ruinated afterward at the coming in of the Scythians and other people in those countries, it was re-edified by one Bugiasar Emperor of the Saracens who spent upon it eighteen millions of gold. Jovius writeth that even at this day it is greater than Rome, if you respect the compass of the ancient walls; but there are not only woods to hunt in and fields for tillage, but also orchards and large gardens in it.

The kings of Media made their residence in Ecbatana, the kings of Persia in Persepolis, of whose greatness there is no other argument than conjecture. In our time the kings of Persia have made their residence in Tauris, and as their empire is not so great as it hath been, so also neither is their city of the greatest. It is in compass, for all that, about sixteen miles, yea, some say more. It is also very long, and hath many gardens in it, but it is without any wall, a thing common, in a matter, to all the cities in Persia.

In Tartary and in the Oriental Asia, through the power of those great princes, are far greater cities than in any parts else in the world. The Tartars have at this day two great empires, whereof the one is of the Mongolian Tartars, the other of the Cathayans. The Mongolian Tartars have in our time incredibly enlarged their dominion, for Mahommed their prince, not contented with his ancient confines, subdued not many years since, in a matter, all that ever lieth between Ganges and Indus. The chief city of Mogora is Samarkand, which was incredibly enriched by the great Tamburlane with the spoils of all Asia, where like an horrible tempest or deadly raging flood he threw down to the ground the most ancient and worthiest cities, and carried from thence their wealth and riches. And to speak of none other, he only took from Damascus eight thousand camels laden with rich spoils and choicest movable goods. This city hath been of such greatness and power that in some ancient reports we read it made out forty thousand horse. But at this day it is not of such magnificency and greatness, through the dominion of the empire. For as after the death of the great Tamburlane it was suddenly divided into many parts by his four sons, so is it

likewise in our time divided amongst the sons of Mahommed, who hath last of all subdued Cambay.

And forasmuch as I have made mention of Cambay I must tell you there are in that kingdom two memorable cities: the one is Cambay and the other is called Chitor. Cambay is of such greatness that it hath gotten the name of a province. Some write that it doth contain one hundred and fifty thousand houses; to the which allow, as commonly the matter is, to every house five persons and it will then come to little less than eight hundred thousand inhabitants. But some make it to be much less. Howbeit, in any sort howsoever it is a most famous city, the chiefest of a most rich kingdom, and the seat of a most mighty king, that brought to the enterprise against Mahommed King of the Mongols five hundred thousand footmen and a hundred and fifty thousand horsemen, whereof thirty thousand were armed after the matter of our men-at-arms. Chitor is twelve miles about, and is a city so magnificent of buildings, so beautiful for goodly streets and so full of delights and pleasures that few other cities do come near it, and it is for that cause called by the people that inhabit there, the Shadow of the Heavens. It hath been in our time the city of residency of the Queen Crementina, who, because she rebelled from the said king of Cambay, was with main force deprived thereof in the year 1536.

The emperor of the Cathayan Tartars (commonly called the Great Cham) deriveth himself from the great Genghis, who was the first that three years ago came out of Scythia Asiatica with a valiant expedition and power of arms, and made the name of the Tartars famous. For he subdued China and made a great part of India tributary unto him; he wasted Persia, and made Asia to tremble. The successors of this great prince made their residence in the city of Cambaluc, a city no less magnificent than great, for it is said it is in compass twenty-eight miles, besides the suburbs, and that it is of such traffic and commerce as besides other sorts of merchandise there are every year brought into it very near a thousand carts, all loaden with silk that come from China. Whereupon a man may guess both the greatness of the trades, the wealth of the merchandise, the variety of the artificers and arts, the multitude of people, the pomp, the magnificence, the pleasure and the bravery of the inhabitants thereof.

But let us now come to China. There is not in all the world a kingdom (I speak of united and entire kingdoms) that is either greater, or more populous, or more rich, or more abounding in all good things, or that hath more ages lasted and endured than that famous and renowned kingdom of China. Hereof it grows that the cities wherein their kings have made their residence have ever been the greatest that have been in the world. And those are Suntien, Anchin and Panchin. Suntien (by so much as I can learn out of the undoubted testimonies of other men) is the most ancient and the chiefest and the principallest of a certain province which is called Kinsay, by which name they commonly call the same city.* It is seated as it were in the extremest parts almost of the east, in a mighty great lake that is drawn out of the four princely rivers that fall there into it, whereof the greatest is called Pulisanghin. The lake is full of little islands which, for the gallantness of the site, the freshness of the air and sweetness of the gardens are very delightful without measure. His banks are tapestried with verdure, mantled with trees, watered with clear running brooks and many springs, and adorned with magnificent and stately palaces. This lake in his greatest breadth is four leagues wide at the mouth of the river

twenty-eight miles, or thereabout. In circuit it is an hundred miles about, with large passages both by water and by land. The streets thereof are all of them paved gallantly with stone, and beautified with very fair benches or seats to sit upon. The chattels of most account are haply fifteen, with bridges over them so stately to behold that ships under all their sails pass under them. The greatest of these channels cutteth through the midst, as it were, of the city and is a mile wide, a little more or less, with fourscore bridges upon it; a sight, no question, that doth exceed all other.

I should be too long if I should here declare all that might be said of the greatness of the walks and galleries, of the magnificent and stately buildings, of the beauty of the streets, of the innumerable multitude of inhabitants, of the infinite concourse of merchandise, of the inestimable number of ships and vessels, some inlaid with ebony and some with ivory, and chequered some with gold and some with silver, of the incomparable riches that come in thither and are carried out continually; to be short, of the delights and pleasures whereof this city doth so exceedingly abound as it deserves to be called proud Suntien. And yet the other two cites Panchin and Anchin are never a whit less than this is.

But forasmuch as we have made mention of China, I think it not amiss in this place to remember the greatness of some other of her cities, according to the relations we receive in these days. Canton, then (which is the most known, though not the greatest) the Portuguese that have had much commerce thither these many years confess it is greater than Lisbon, which yet is the greatest city that is in Europe except Constantinople and Paris. Sanchieo is said to be three times greater than Seville, so that since Seville is six miles in compass Sanchieo must needs be eighteen miles about. They also say Huchou exceeds them both in greatness. Chinchew, although it be of the meaner sort, the Fathers of the Order of St. Augustine who saw it do judge that city to contain threescore and ten thousand houses.

These things I here deliver ought to be not thought by any man to be incredible. For (besides that Marco Polo in his relations affirmeth far greater things) these things I speak are in these days approved to be most true by the intelligences we do receive continually both of secular and religious persons, as also by all the nation of the Portuguese. So as he that will deny it shall show himself a fool. But for the satisfaction of the reader I will not spare to search out the very reasons how it comes to pass that China is so populous and full of such admirable cities.

Let us then suppose that either by the goodness of the heavens or by the secret influence of the stars to us unknown, or for some other reasons else whatsoever they be, that part of the world that is oriental unto us hath more virtue, I know not what, in the producing of things than the West. Hereof it proceedeth that a number of excellent things grow in these happy counties of which others are utterly destitute and void, as cinnamon, nutmegs, cloves, pepper, camphor, sandalwood, incense, aloes, the Indian nuts, and such other like. Moreover the things that are common unto both, to the East, I say, and the West, they are generally much more perfect in the East than the West; as for proof thereof, the pearls of the West in comparison of the East are as it were lead to silver. And likewise the bezoar that is brought from the Indies is a great deal better far than the bezoar that comes from Peru.

Now China comes the nearest to the East of any part of the

world, and therefore doth she enjoy all those perfections that are attributed to the East. And first the air (which of all things importeth to the life of man so much as nothing more) is very temperate; whereunto the nearness of the sea addeth a great help, which embraceth, as it were, with arms cast abroad a great part thereof, and looks it in the face with a cheerful aspect, and with a thousand creeks and gulfs penetrateth far within the very province.

Next, that the country is for the most part very plain and of nature very apt to produce not only things necessary for the use and sustenance of the life of man but also all sorts of dainty thing for man's delight and pleasure. The hills and mountains are perpetually arrayed with trees of all sorts, some wild and some fruitful; the plains manured, tilled and sown with rice, barley, wheat, peas and beans; the gardens, besides our common sorts of fruits, do yield most sweet melons, most delicate plums, most excellent figs, pomecitrons and oranges of divers forms and excellent taste.

They have also an herb out of which they press a delicate juice which serves them for drink instead of wine. It also preserves their health and frees them from all those evils that the immoderate use of wine doth breed unto us.

They also abound in cattle, in sheep, in fowl, in deer, in wool, in rich skins, cotton, linen, and in infinite store of silk. There are mines of gold and silver and of excellent iron. There are most precious pearls. There is abundance of sugar, honey, rhubarb, camphor, red lead, woad, musk and aloes, and the porcelain earth is known nowhere but there.

More than this, the rivers and the waters of all sorts run gallantly through all those counties with an unspeakable profit and commodity for navigation and tillage. And the waters are as plentiful of fish as the land is of fruits, for the rivers and the seas yield thereof an infinite abundance.

Unto this so great a fertility and yield both of the land and water there is joined an incredible culture of both these elements. And that proceedeth out of two causes, whereof the one dependeth upon the inestimable multitude of the inhabitants (for it is thought that China doth contain more than threescore millions of souls) and the other consisteth in the extreme diligence and pains that is taken as well of private persons in the tillage of their grounds and well husbanding their farms, as also the magistrates that suffer not a man to lead an idle life at home. So that there is not a little scrap of ground that is not husbandly and very well manured.

Now for their mechanical arts, should I commit them here to silence whenas there is not a country in the world where they do more flourish both for variety and for excellence of skill and workmanship? Which proceedeth also out of two causes, whereof the one I have commended before, in that idleness is everywhere forbidden there, and every man compelled to work; no man suffered to be idle, no, not the blind nor the lame nor the maimed, if they be not altogether impotent and weak. And the women also, by a law of Wu-ti King of China, are bound to exercise their father's trades and arts, and how noble or great soever they be they must at least attend their distaff and their needle. The other cause is that the sons must of necessity follow their father's mysteries, so that hereupon it comes that artificers are infinite and that children as well boys as girls, even in their infancy, can skill to work, and that arts are brought unto most excellent and high perfection.

They suffer not anything to go to loss. With the dung of the

bulls and oxen and other cattle they use to feed fish; and of the bones of dogs and other beasts they make many and divers carved and engraven works, as we do make of ivory. Of rags and clouts they make paper; to be short, such is the plenty and variety of the fruits of the earth and of man's industry and labour, as they have no need of foreign help to bring them anything. For they give away a great quantity of their own to foreign countries. And (to speak of no things else) the quantity of silk that is carried out of China is almost not credible. A thousand quintals of silk are yearly carried thence for the Portuguese Indies; for the Philippines they lade out fifteen ships. There are carried out to Japan an inestimable sum, and unto Cathay as great a quantity as you may guess by that we have before declared is yearly carried thence to Cambaluc. And they sell their works and their labours (by reason of the infinite store that is made) so cheap and at so easy price as the merchants of Nova Hispania that trade unto the Philippines to make their marts (unto which place the Chinese themselves do traffic) do wonder at it much. By means whereof the traffic with the Philippines falls out to be rather hurtful than profitable unto the King of Spain. For the benefit of the cheapness of things is it that makes the people of Mexico (who heretofore have used to fetch their commodities from Spain) to fetch them at the Philippines. But the King of Spain, for the desire he hath to win unto familiarity and love, and by that means to draw to our Christian faith and to the bosom of the Catholic Church, those people that are wrapt in the horrible darkness of idolaties, esteemeth not a whit of his loss, so he may gain their souls to God.

By these things I have declared it appeareth plain that China hath the means partly by the benefit of nature and partly by the industry and art of man to sustain an infinite sight of people. And that for that cause it is credible enough that it cometh so populous a country as hath been said. And I affirm this much more unto it, that it is necessary it should be so for two reasons: the one, for that it is not lawful for the King of China to make war to get new counties but only to defend his own, and thereupon it must ensue that he enjoyeth in a manner a perpetual peace. And what is there more to be desired or wished than peace? What thing can be more profitable than peace? My other reason is, for that it is not lawful for any of the Chinese to go out of their Country without leave or licence of the magistrates, so that, the number of persons continually increasing and abiding still at home, it is of necessity that the number of people do become inestimable, and of consequence the cities exceeding great, the towns infinite and that China itself should rather, in a matter, be but one body and but one city.

To say the truth, we Italians do flatter ourselves too much, and do admire too partially those things that do concern ourselves, especially when we will prefer Italy and her cities beyond all the rest in the world. The and figure of Italy is long and strait, divided withal in the midst with the Apennine Hills. And the paucity and rareness of navigable rivers doth not bear it that there can be very great and populous cities in it. I will not spare to say that her rivers are but little brooks in comparison of Ganges, Menam, Mekong and the rest, and that the Tyrrhenian and the Adriatic Seas are but gulleets in respect of the ocean. And of consequence our trade and traffic is but poor in respect of the marts and fairs of Canton, Malacca, Calicut, Ormuz, Lisbon, Seville and other cities that bound upon the ocean.

Let us add to the aforesaid that the difference and enmity

between the Mohammedans and us depriveth us in a manner of the commerce of Africa, and of the most part of the trade of the Levant. Again, the chiefest parts of Italy, that is, the Kingdom of Naples and the Dukedom of Milan are subject to the King of Spain. The other states are mean, and mean also the chiefest of their cities. But it is time we now return from whence we have digressed long.

The residence of princes is so powerful and so mighty as it alone is sufficient enough to set up and form a city at a trice. In Ethiopia (Francis Alvarez writeth) there is not a town (although the country be very large) that containeth above a thousand and six hundred houses, and that of this greatness there are but few. For all that the king (called by them the Great Negus, and falsely by us the Prester John) who hath no settled residence representeth with his only court a mighty great city, forasmuch as wherever he be he shadoweth with an innumerable sight of tents and pavilions many miles of the country.

In Asia, the cities of account have been all of them the seats of princes: Damascus, Antioch, Ankara, Trebizond, Busra and Jerusalem. But let us pass over into Europe. The translating of the imperial seat hed the glory of Rome and made Constantinople great, which is maintained in her greatness and majesty with the residence of the Great Turk.

This city standeth in the fairest, the best and most commodious site that is in the world. It is seated in Europe, but Asia is not from it above four hundred paces. It commandeth two seas, the Euxine and Propontis. The Euxine Sea compasseth two thousand and seven hundred miles. The Propontis stretcheth more than two hundred miles, even till it join with the Archipelago.

The weather cannot be so foul, nor so stormy, nor so blustering as it can hinder in a matter the ships from coming with their goods to that same magnificent and gallant city in either of those two seas. If this city had a royal and a navigable river it would lack nothing. It is thirteen miles about and this circuit containeth about seven hundred thousand persons. But the plague makes a mighty slaughter every third year amongst them. But to say truth, seldom or never is that city free of the plague. And hereupon is offered a good matter worthy to be considered, how it comes to pass that that same scourge toucheth it so notably every third year like a tertian ague (as in Cairo it cometh every seventh), especially because that city is seated in a most healthful place. But I will put off this speculation to another time, or leave it to be discussed by wits more exercised therein than mine.

There are within Constantinople seven hills; near the seaside towards the east there is the seraglio of the Great Turk, whose walls are in compass three miles; there is an arsenal consisting of more than one hundred arches to lay their ships in. To conclude, the city is for the beauty of the site, for the opportunity of the ports, for the commodity of the sea, for the multitude of the inhabitants, for the greatness of the traffic, for the residence of the Great Turk, so conspicuous and so gallant, as without doubt amongst the cities of Europe the chiefest place is due to it. For the very court alone of that prince maintaineth of horsemen and of footmen not less than thirty thousand very well appointed. In Africa, Algiers, lately become the Metropolitan of a great state, is now by that means grown very populous. Tlemsen when it flourished contained sixteen thousand households, Tunis nine thousand, Morocco an hundred thousand, Fez, which is at this day the seat of the mighty King of Africa, containeth threescore and five thousand.

Amongst the kingdoms of Christendom (I speak of the united, and of one body) the greatest, the richest and most populous is France. For it containeth twenty-seven thousand parishes, including Paris in them. And the country hath above fifteen millions of people in it. It is also so fertile through the benefit of nature, so rich through the industry of the people, as it envieth not any other country. The residence of the kings of so mighty a kingdom hath for a long time hitherto been kept at Paris, by the means whereof Paris is become the greatest city of Christendom. It is in compass twelve miles, and containeth therein about four hundred and fifty thousand persons, and feedeth them with such plenty of victuals and with such abundance of all delicate and dainty things as he that hath not seen it cannot by any means imagine it.

The kingdoms of England, of Naples, of Portugal and of Bohemia, the earldom of Flanders and the dukedom of Milan are states, in a manner, alike of greatness and of power; so that the cities wherein the princes of those same kingdoms have at any time made their residence have been in a matter also alike, as London, Naples, Lisbon, Prague, Milan and Ghent, which have each of them asunder more or less an hundred and threescore thousand persons in them. But Lisbon is indeed somewhat larger than the rest, by means of the commerce and traffic of Ethiopia, India and Brazil, as likewise London is by means of the wars and troubles in the Low Countries. And Naples is within these thirty years grown as great again as it was.

In Spain there is not a city of any such greatness, partly because it hath been till now of late divided into divers little kingdoms, and partly because through want of navigable rivers it cannot bring so great a quantity of food and victual into one place as might maintain therein an extraordinary number of people. The cities of most magnificency and of greatest reputation are those where the ancient kings and princes held their seats, as Barcelona, Saragossa, Valencia, Cordova, Toledo, Burgos, Leon, all honourable cities and populous enough, but yet such as pass not the second rank of the cities of Italy.

Over and besides the rest there is Granada, where a long time the Moors have reigned and adorned the same with many rich and goodly buildings. It is situated part upon the hills and part upon the plain. The hilly part consisteth of three hills divided each from other. It aboundeth of water of all sorts, with the which is watered a great part of her pleasant and goodly country, which is by the means thereof so well inhabited and manured as none can be more.

Seville is increased mightily since the discovery of the New World, for thither come the fleets that bring unto them yearly so much treasure as cannot be esteemed. It is in compass about six miles. It containeth fourscore thousand persons and above. It is situated on the left shore of the river Betis, which some call Guadalquivir. It is beautified with fair and goodly churches, and with magnificent and gorgeous palaces and buildings. The country there about it is as fertile as it is pleasant.

Valladolid is not a city, but for all that it may compare with the noblest cities in Spain, and that by reason of the residence the King of Spain hath long time made there in it, as Madrid is at this day much increased and continually increaseth by the court that King Philip keepeth there. Which is of such efficacy and power as although the country be neither plentiful nor pleasant it doth yet draw such a number of people to it as it hath made that place, of a village, one of the most populous places now of Spain.

Cracow and Vilna are the most populous cities of Poland. The reason is because Cracow was the seat of the Duke of Poland and Vilna the seat of the great Duke of Lithuania.

In the Empire of the Muscovites there are three great and famous cities, Vladimir, the great Novgorod, and Moscow, which have gotten their reputation because they have been all three of them the seats of great dukes and princes of great dominions. The most renowned of them at this day is Moscow, through the residence the Duke holdeth there. It is in length five miles, but not so wide. There is unto it a very great castle that serves for a court and palace to that same prince, and it is so populous that some have reckoned it amongst the four cities of the first and chiefest ranks of Europe, which to their judgments are Moscow itself, Constantinople, Paris and Lisbon.

In Sicily, in ancient times past the greatest city there was Syracuse which, as Cicero doth write, consisted of four parts divided asunder, which might be said to be four cities. And the cause of her greatness was the residence of the kings, or of the tyrants (as they were termed in times past), call them as you will. But when the commerce with the Africans did fail them afterward, through the deluge of the infidels, and that the royal seat was removed to Palermo, Palermo did then increase apace her glory and Syracuse did lose as fast her lustre.

Palermo is a city equal to the cities of the second rank of Italy, beautified with rich temples and magnificent palaces, with divers relics and goodly buildings made by the Saracens. But two things chiefly made of late are worthiest to be noted. The one is the street made throughout the whole city, which for straightness, breadth, length and beautifulness of buildings is such as I know not in what city of Italy a man should find the like. The other is the pier, edified with an inestimable expense and charge, by the benefit whereof the city hath a very large and spacious port: a work in truth worthy of the Romans' magnanimity.

But what mean I to wander through other parts of the world to show how much it doth import the greatness of a city to residence and abode of a prince therein? Rome, whose majesty exceeded all the world, would she not be more like a desert than a city if the Pope held not his residence therein? If the Pope, with the greatness of his court and with the concourse of ambassadors, of prelates and of princes did not ennoble it and make it great? If with an infinite number of people that serve both him and his ministers he did not replenish and fill the city? If with magnificent buildings, conduits, fountains and streets it were not gloriously adorned? If amongst so many rich and stately works, belonging as well to God's glory as the service of the commonwealth he spent not there a great part of the revenues of the Church? And in a word, if with all these means he did not draw and entertain withal such a number of merchants, tradesmen, shopkeepers, artificers, workmen, and such a multitude of people, for labour and for service?

Book Three

1. Whether it be expedient for a city to have few or many citizens

The ancient founders of cities, considering that laws and civil discipline could not be easily conserved and kept where a mighty multitude of people swarmed (for multitudes do breed and bring confusion) they limited the number of citizens beyond which they supposed the form and order of government they sought to

hold within their cities could not else be maintained. Such were Lycurgus, Solon and Aristotle. But the Romans, supposing power (without which a city cannot be long maintained) consisteth for the most part in the multitude of people, endeavoured all the ways and means they might to make their country great and to replenish the same with store of people, as we have before and more at full declared in our books Della Ragion di Stato.

If the world would be governed by reason, and all men would content themselves with that which justly doth belong unto them, haply the judgment of the ancient law-makers were worthy to be embraced. But experience shows, through the corruption of human nature, that force prevails above reason, and arms above laws, and teacheth us besides the opinion of the Romans must be preferred before the Grecians; inasmuch as we see the Athenians and the Lacedemonians (not to speak of other commonweals of the Grecians) came to present ruin upon a very small discomfiture and loss of a thousand and seven hundred citizens or little more where, on the other side, the Romans triumphed in the end though many times they lost an infinite number of their people in their attempts and enterprises. For it is clear more Romans perished in the wars they had against Pyrrhus, the Carthaginians, Numantians, Viriathus, Sertorius and others, than fell without comparison of all their enemies. And yet for all that they rested always conquerors by means of their unexhausted multitude, with the which, supplying their loss from time to time, they overcame their enemies as much, though they were strong and fierce, as with their fortitude and strength. In these former books I have sufficiently declared the ways and means whereby a city may increase to that magnificency and greatness that is to be desired, so that I have no further to speak thereunto, but only to propound one thing more that I have thought upon, not for the necessity so much of the matter as that because I think it will be an ornament unto the work, and give a very good light unto it. And therefore let us now consider.

2. What the reason is that cities once grown to a greatness increase not onward according to that proportion

Let no man think the ways and means aforesaid, or any other that may be any way devised, can work or effect it that a city may go on in increase without ceasing. And therefore it is in truth a thing worth the consideration how it comes to Pass that cities grown to a point of greatness and power pass no further, but either stand at that stay, or else return back again. Let us take for our example Rome.

Rome, at her beginning, when she was founded and built by Romulus (as Dionysius of Halicarnassus writeth) was able to make out three thousand three hundred fit men for the wars. Romulus reigned thirty-seven years, within the compass of which time the city was increased even to forty-seven thousand persons fit to bear arms. About one hundred and fifty years after the death of Romulus, in the time of Servius Tullius, there were numbered in Rome eighty thousand persons fit for arms. The number in the end, by little and little, grew to four hundred and fifty thousand.

My question therefore is, how it comes to pass that from three thousand and three hundred men of war the people grew to four hundred and fifty thousand, and from four hundred and fifty thousand they went no further. And in like matter, since it is four hundred years since Milan and Venice made as many people as they do at this day, how it doth also come to pass that the multiplication goes not onward accordingly.

Some answer the cause hereof is the plagues, the wars, the dearths and other suchlike causes. But this gives no satisfaction. For plagues have ever been, and wars have been more common and more bloody in former times than now. For in those days they came to hand strokes by and by, and to a main pitched battle in the field, where there were within three or four hours more people slain than are in these days in many years. For war is now drawn out of the field to the walls, and the mattock and the spade are now more used than the sword. The world besides was never without alteration and change of plenty and of dearth, of health and of plagues. thereof I shall not need to bring examples, because the histories are full. Now if cities with all these accidents and chances begun at first with a few people increase to a great number of inhabitants, how comes it that proportionably they do not increase accordingly?

Some others say it is because God the Governor of all things doth so dispose. No man doth doubt of that; but forasmuch as the infinite wisdom of God, in the administration and the government of nature, worketh secondary causes, my question is with what means that Eternal Providence maketh little to multiply, and much to stand at a stay and go no further.

Now to answer this propounded question I say, the selfsame question may be also made of all mankind, forasmuch as within the compass of three thousand years it multiplied in such sort from one man and one woman as the provinces of the whole continent and the islands of the sea were full of people. thence it doth proceed that from those three thousand years to this day this multiplication hath not exceeded further.

Now that I may the better resolve this doubt I purpose to answer it, as mine answer may not only serve for the cities, but also for the universal theatre of the world.

I say then, that the augmentation of cities proceedeth partly out of the virtue generative of men, and partly out of the virtue nutritive of the cities. The virtue generative is without doubt to this day the very same, or at least such as it was before three thousand years were passed, forasmuch as men are at this day as apt for generation as they were in the times of David or of Moses. So that if there were no other impediment or let therein, the propagation of mankind would. increase without end, and the augmentation of cities would be without term. And if it do not increase in infinite I must needs say it proceedeth of the defect of nutriment and sustenance sufficient for it.

Now nutriment and victuals are gotten either out of the territories belonging to the city or out of foreign countries. To have a city great and populous it is necessary that victuals may be brought from far unto it. And that victuals may be brought from remote and foreign parts unto it it behoves that her virtue attractive be of such power and strength as it be able to overcome the hardness and the sharpness of the regions, the height of the mountains, the descent of the valleys, the swiftness of the rivers, the rage of the seas, the dangers of the pirates, the uncertainty of the winds, the greatness of the charge, the evil passage of the ways, the envy of the bordering neighbours, the hatred of enemies, the emulation of competitors, the length of the time that is required for transportation, the dearths and necessities of the places from whence they must be brought, the natural dissension of nations, the contrariety of sects and opinions in religion, and other suchlike things, all which increase as the people increase and the affairs of the city: to conclude, that it grow to be so mighty and so great as it can overcome all the diligence and all the industry that man

can use whatsoever. For how shall merchants be persuaded they can bring corn, for example, out of the Indies or Cathay to Rome, or the Romans expect to have it thence? But admit that either of them could so persuade themselves, who can yet assure them the seasons will be always good for corn, that the people stand to peace and quietness, that the passages be open and the ways be safe? Or what form or what course can be taken to bring provision to Rome by so long a way by land, in such sort and manner as the conductors thereof may be able to endure the travel and to wield the charge thereof? Now any one of these impediments or lets, without adding more to overthwart and cross it more, is enough to dissipate and scatter quite asunder the people of a city destitute of help and subject to so many accidents and chances. Even one dearth, one famine, one violence of war, one interruption or stay of trade and traffic, one common loss to the merchants, or other suchlike accident will make (as winter doth the swallows) the people to seek another country.

The ordinary greatness of a city consisteth in these terms, with which it can hardly be contented. For the greatness that dependeth upon remote causes or hard means cannot long endure. For every man will seek his commodity and ease where he may find it best. We must also add to these things aforesaid that great cities are more subject unto dearths than the little, for they need more sustenance and victuals. The plague also afflicteth them more surely and more often, with greater loss of people. And to speak in a word, great cities are subject to all the difficulties and hardness we have before declared because they need a great deal more.

So that, although men were as apt to generation in the height and pride of the Romans, greatness as in the first beginning thereof, yet for all that the people increased not proportionably. For the virtue nutritive of that city had no power to go further, so that in success of time the inhabitants, finding much want and less means to supply their lack of victual, either forbore to marry or, if they did marry, their children oppressed with penury, their parents affording them no relief, fled their own country and sought abroad for better fortune. To the which inconvenience the Romans willing to provide a remedy, they made choice of a number of poor citizens and sent them into colonies, where, like trees transplanted, they might have more room to better themselves both in condition and commodity, and by that means increase and multiply the faster.

By the selfsame reason mankind grown to a certain complete number hath grown no further. And it is three thousand years ago and more that the world was replenished as full with people as it is at this present, for the fruits of the earth and the plenty of victual doth not suffice to feed a greater number. In Mesopotamia mankind did first begin to propagate. From thence by success of time it increased and spread apace daily both far and near and having replenished the firm land they transported themselves into the islands of the sea; and so from our counties they have at length arrived by little and little to the counties we call the New World. And what is there under the sun that doth make man, with more horrible effusion of blood, to fight for, and with more cruelty, than the earth, food and commodity of habitation? The Suevians accounted it an honour and a glory to them to bring their confines by many hundred miles into a waste and wilderness. In the New World, in the isle of St. Dominic and the borders thereabout, the people chase and hunt men as we do deer and hares. The like do many of the people of Brazil, especially they whom we call Aymores, who tear in pieces and

devour young boys and young girls alive, and open the bellies of the women great with child, and take the creatures out, and in the presence and sight of the fathers themselves eat them roasted upon the coals -- a most horrible thing to hear, much more to see it.

The people of Guinea for the most part live so poor and needy as they daily sell their own children for very vile price to the Moors, who carry them into Barbary, and to the Portugals, who send them to their islands, or sell them to the Castilians for the New World. The people of Peru do the like, who for little more than nothing give their children to them will have them, which proceedeth of misery, and of the impotency they have to bring them up and to maintain them. The Tartars and the Arabians live upon stealth and rapine; the Nasamoni and the Cafri, the most savage and barbarous people of all Ethiopia, live upon the spoils of others' shipwrecks, as the Portugals have many times felt.

It is also a thing known to all men how oft the French, the Dutch, the Goths, the Huns, the Avari, the Tartars and divers other nations, unable through their infinite multitude of people to live in their own countries, have left their confines and possessed themselves with other men's countries, to the utter ruin and destruction of the inhabitants therein. Hence it came to pass that within few ages all the provinces of Europe and of Asia became possessed, in a manner, of strange people, fled and run out of their counties and habitations either for the mighty multitude of people their country could not sustain, or for desire they had to lead a more commodious and easy life elsewhere, in greater plenty of good things.

The multitude again of thieves and murderers, whence doth it, I pray you, for the most part grow, but of necessity and want? Differences, suits and quarrels, whence do they proceed but out of the straitness and the scantness of confines, boundaries, ditches, hedges and enclosures which men make about their farms and manors? Watchmen of the vineyards and of ripe fruits, gates, locks, bolts and mastiffs kept about the house, what do they argue else but that the world is hard and either ministreth not sufficient to our necessities or satisfieth not our greedy covetous desires? And what shall I remember arms of so many kinds and of so cruel sorts, what shall I speak of continual wars both on sea and land, that bringeth all things unto utter ruin, what of forts on passages, what of garrisons, bulwarks and munition?

Neither doth this lake of mischiefs contain all, for I must add to these the barrenness of soils, the scarcity and dearths of victual, the evil influence of the air, the contagious and dangerous diseases, the plagues, the earthquakes, the inundations both of seas and rivers, and such other accidents which destroy and overthrow now a city, now a kingdom, now a people, now some other thing, and are the let and stay that the number of men cannot increase and grow immoderately.

3. Of the causes that do concern the magnificency and greatness of a city

It now only resteth, having brought our city to that dignity and greatness which the condition of the site and other circumstances afford unto it, that we labour to conserve, to maintain and uphold the dignity and greatness of the same. And to speak all at a word, these helps may very well serve to do it: that is, justice, peace, and plenty. For justice assureth every man his own. Peace causeth tillage, trade and arts to flourish.

And plenty of food and victual sustaineth the life of man with ease and much contentment to him. And the people embrace nothing more gladly than plenty of corn. To conclude, all those things that cause the greatness of a city are also fit to conserve the same. For the causes, as well of the production of things as also of the conservation of them, are ever all one and the same, whatsoever they be.

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