

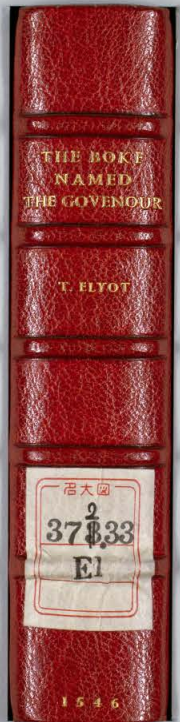
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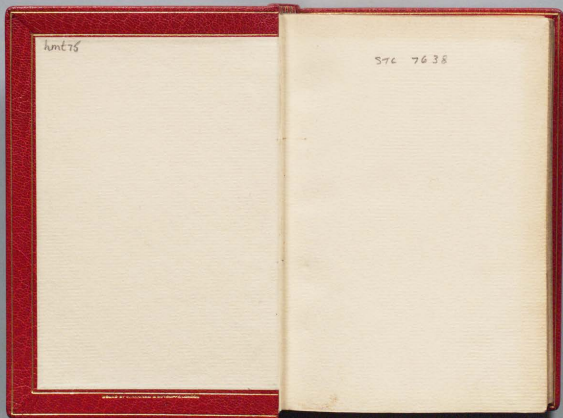
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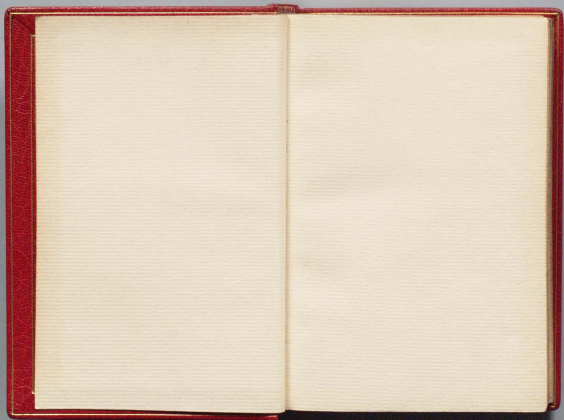
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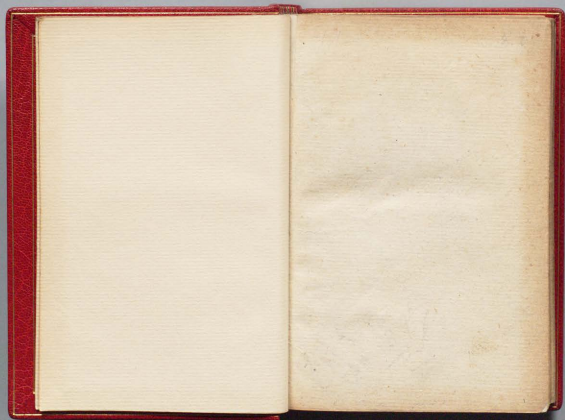
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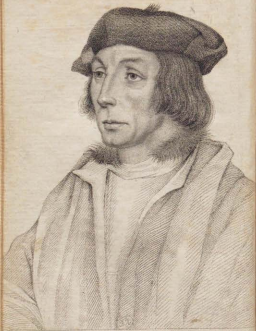


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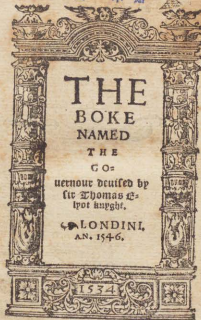
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El.

THE PROHEME

OF SYR THOMAS ELYE

our knyght, vnto the moste noble and victorif-
ous prince king Henry the eyght, by the grace
of god kyng of Englande, Fraunce, and
Irelande, defender of the faith, and in
earth of the church of England, and
also of Irelande supreme heade.

Thomas Sharpe

名古屋大学図書
洋 625939



L A T E C O N S
idering (moste excellent
prince and myne onely
redoubted Soueraygne
loyde) my duetic, that I
owe to my natural coun-
terye, with my saythe
also of alligeance and

othe, wherewith I am double bounde vnto
your maiestie, mocheouer the accomptes
that I haue to render for that oure lytell ta-
lent deliuered to me, to employ (as I suppose)
to the encrease of vertue, I am (as god iudg
me) violently sterred to disingate or see for the
some parte of my studye, trusting thereby to
acquire me of my dueties to god, your high-
nes, and this my countrey. Wherfore taking
comfyt and boldnesse, partly of your graces
moste beneuolent inclination towards the ve-
nerfull weale of your subiectes, partly in-
flamed with zeale, I haue nowe enterprised

3 11 10



THE PROHEME.

to describe in our vulgar tongue, the forme of a iuste publike weale whiche matter I haue gathered, as well of the saynges of most noble autors (greekes and latines) as by myne owne experience: I beinge continually treated in some baselye affaires of the publike weale of this your moste noble realme almost from my childehood. Which attemptate is not of presumption to teache any person, I my selfe having most neede of teaching: But only to the extent that men, whiche will be studious aboute the weale publike, may fynde the thynges thereto expedient compendiouslye written. And for as muche as this present booke treateth of the education of them, that hereafter may be deemed woorthy to bee gouernours of the publike weale vnder youre highnesse (whiche Plato affirmeth to bee the beste and chiefe parte of a publike weale. Salomon saynge also, where gouernours bee not, the people shall falle in to ruine.) I therefore haue named it the Gouernour, and do nowe dedicate it vnto youre highnesse as the first fruite of my study: verily trusting that your most excellent wisdom will therein esteeme my loyall heart and diligent endeavour, by the example of Araxerxes, the noble kynge of Persia, who reiected not the poore hylp hande man, which offred to him his home full of cleane water, but moste graciouslye receiued it with thankes, esteeminge the present not after the value, but rather to the

THE PROIECT.

the will of the greuer. Semblably kynge Alexander reiected with him the poore & hercules honourably, for writinge his historie, although that the poore was but of a smal estimation: whiche that yince dyd not for lacke of iudgement, he being of excellent learning, as discipule to Aristotle, but to the intent that his liberalitee employed on Cherilus, shuld animate oꝝ geue courage to others muche better learned, to contende with hym in a semblable enterpryse. And if, most vertuous yince, I may perceiue your highnes to be herewith pleased, I shall looke after (god geuyng me quietnesse) present your grace with the residue of my studye and labours. wherein your highnes shall well perceiue, that I nothing esteeme so muche in this world, as your royall estate (my moste deere soueraigne loyde, and the publike weale of my countrey) prosecuted vnto your excellent maiestee, that where I comende herein any one vertue, or dispraise anye one vice, I meane the generall description of thone and the other, without any other particular meaning to the reproche of any one personne: to the whiche profession, I am nowe dyuen through the malignitee of this present tyme, all disposed to malicious detraction. Wherfore I moste humbly beseeche your highnes, to daigne to be patron and defendour of this litell worke, againe the assautes of maligne enterpryses: whiche sayle not to rente and deface



THE TABLE OF

the renowne of writers, they them selves being in nothing to the publike weale profitable: which is by noo man sooner perceived, than by your highnes, being bothe in wyles dome and very nobilitie, equall to the mooste excellentes princes, whome I beseeche god ye may surmount in long life and perfect felicitie. Amen.

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FINIS TABVLAE.

THE FYRSTE BOKE. *

The significacion of a publyke weale, and why it is called in latine Respublica.



A Publike weale is in sundry wise defined by physylosophers, but knowing by experience, that the often repetition of anye thing of graue or sadde importance, will be tedious to the readers of this worke, who perchaunce for the more parte have not ben trained in learning contending semblable matter: I have compiled one definition out of many, in as compendious forme, as my poore wytte can devise: trusting that in those fewe wordes the true significacion of a publike weale shal evidently appere, to them whom reason can satisfy.

A publike weale is a bodie (yring, compacte) made of sundry estates and degrees of men, whiche is disposed by the ordie of equitie, and governed by the rule and moderation of reason. In the latin tongue it is called Respublica, of the which the worde Res, hath dyuers significacions, & doth not onely betoken that, that is called a thing, which is distincte from a person, but also significth estate, condition, substance, and proficite.

In our old vulgare, proficite is called weale, And it is called a wealthy countrey, wherein is all thinge that is profitable: And he is a

Publike weale.

Respublica.

Wolffytte.

wolffytte

THE GOVERNOVR

Publike.

Welthy man, that is rich in money and substance, Publike (as Varro saith) is diuised of people: whiche in latine is called Populus. Wherefore if semeth, that men haue ben longe abused, in calling Rempublicam, a commune weale. And they whiche do suppose it so to bee called, for that, that euery thing shulde be to all men in commune, without discrepance of any estate or condicion, be thereto moued more by sensualitee, than by any good reason or inclination to humanitie. And that shall soone appere vnto them, that will be satisfied either with auctoꝝ, or with naturall ordie and example.

Populus.

First the propeꝝ and true signification of the wordes, Publike and Comune, which be borrowed of the latin tongue, for the insufficiency of our owne language, shall sufficiently declare the blindness of them, whiche haue hitherto holden and maintained the false opinions. As I haue said, publike toke his beginning of people, whiche in latin is Populus: in whiche woꝝde is contained, al the inhabitantes of a realme or citee, of what estate or condicion so euery that be.

Plebs.

Plebs in english, is called the comunalte, whiche signifieth onely the multitude, wherein be contained the base and vulgare inhabitants, not auanced to any honour or dignitee: whiche is also vsed in our daily communication, for in the citee of London, and other citees, they that be none aldermen, or sherriffes, be called comuness, And in the coꝝ

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THE FYRSTE BOKE. 2

step at a session, or other assēby, if no gentill men be therat, the saying is, that there was none but the comunalte, whiche pꝝoueth, in mine opinion, that Plebs in latine, is in english comunalte: and Plebs be comuners. And consequently there maie appere like diuersitee to be in english, betwene a publike weale and a commune weale, as shulde be in latine, betwene Res publica, & Res plebeia. And after that signification, if there shulde be a comune weale, either the comuners onely must be welthy, and the gentill and noble men neddy and miserable: or els excluding gentilitie, all men must be of one degree and sort, & a newe name pꝝouided. For as muche as Plebs, in latin, and comuners in english, be woꝝdes onely made for the discrepance of degrees, wherof pꝝoceedeth Ordie: whiche in thynges as well naturall as supernaturall, hath euery had such a pꝝeeminēce, that thereby the incōpꝝehensible maiestee of god, as it wee by a bright lenne of a toꝝke or cāble, is declared to the blind inhabitants of this world. Whosoouer, take awaie Ordie frome all thynges, what shulde than remaine? Lettes nothing finally, except some man would imagine eternooones, Chaos, whiche of some is expounded, a confuse mixture.

Plebs.

Publike & commune.

Ordie.

Chaos.

Also where there is any lacke of ordie, nedes must be perpetual cōflicte. And in thynges subiecte to nature, nothing of him selfe only maie be nourished: but whan he hath destroyed that, wherewith he doth participate,

3 ii by the



THE GOVERNOVR

by the ordye of his creation, he bym selfe of necessitie muste than perishe, wherof ensueth vniuersall dissolution.

¶ But nowe to proue by example of those things, that be within the compasse of mans knowlage, of what estimation Ordye is, not onely amonge men, but also with god, all be it his wisdom, bountie, and magnificence, can be with no tongue or pen sufficiently expressed. Hath not he set degrees and allates in all his glorious workes?

¶ Firste in his heavenly ministers, whome, as the church affirmeth, he hath constituted to bee in diuers degrees, called hierarches. Also Christ saith, by his euangelist, that in the house of his father (whiche is god) bee many mansions.

¶ Elements

¶ But to treat of that, whiche by naturall vnderstanding, maye be comprehended. Beholde the foure elementes, wherof the body of man is compacte, how they be set in their places, called spheres, higher or lower, according to the fourreignete of their natures: that is to saie, the fyre, as the moste pure element, hauing in it nothinge, that is corruptible, in his place, is highest, and aboue other elementes. The ayre, whiche nexte to the fyre, is moste pure in substance, is in the seconde sphere or place: The water, whiche is somewhat consolidate, and appocheeth to corruption, is nexte vnto the earth: The earth whiche is of substance grosse and ponderous, is set, of all elementes, moste lowest.

Beholde

THE FYRSTE BOKE. 3

¶ Behold also the ordye, that god hath put generally in all his creatures, beginning at the most inferiour or base, and ascending bywarde: he made not onely herbes to garnishe the earth, but also trees of a more eminent stature, than herbes: and yet in the one and the other, be degrees of qualitees, some pleasant to beholde, some delicate or good in taste, others holseome and medicinable, some commodious and necessary. Semblably in byrdes, beastes, and fylthes, some be good for the sustenance of man: some beare thinges profitable to sundry vses: other be apte to occupation and labour: in dyuerse is strength and fiercenes onely: in many is bothe strength and commoditee: some other serue for pleasure: none of them hath all these qualitees: fewe haue the more parte or many, specially beastes, strength, and psyete. But where any is founde, that hath many of the saied properties, he is more sette by, than all the other, and by that estimaciō, the ordye of his place and degree evidently appeareth. So that euery kinde of trees, herbes, byrdes, beastes, and fylthes, beyde their diuersitee of fourmes, haue (as who saith) a peculiar disposition, appropried vnto them, by god their creator: so that in euery thing is ordye, and without ordye maye bee nothinge stable or permanent. And it maye not be called Ordye, except it do containe in it, degrees, hygh and base, according to the merite or estimation of the thyng that is ordered.

¶ ¶

¶ ¶



THE GOVERNOVR

Howe to returne to the estate of manne
kynde, for whose vse all the saied creatures
were ordeined of god, and also excelleth the
all, by prerogatiue of knowlage and wys-
dome. It seemeth, that in him shuld be no lesse
prouidence of god declared, than in the inferi-
our creatures: but rather with a moze pers-
fect order and disposiciō. And therefore it ap-
pereth, that god geueth not to euerie manne
like gistes of grace, or of nature, but to some
moze, to some lesse, as it liketh his diuine ma-
iestie. As thei be not in cōmune (as fantasti-
call sooles wolde haue all thynges) noz one
mā hath not all vertues and good qualitees

Understand-
ding.

¶ Not withstanding, for as muche as vnderstandyng is the mozte excellent gife, that man can receiue in his creation, whereby he dothe approche most wyght vnto the similitude of god, whiche vnderstandyng is the principall parte of the soule: It is therfore congruent, and accordyng, that as one excelleth an other, in that influence, as therby beyng nexte to the similitude of his maker: so shulde the estate of his person be auanced in degree, or place, where vnderstandyng maie profit, which is also distributed into sundry vses, facultees, and offices, necessary for the liuyng and gouernance of mankinde. And like as the angels, whiche be mozte feruent in contemplation, be highest exalted in glory (after the opinion of holy doctours) and also thei: fyr, whiche is the myste pure of elementes, and also doth clarify the other inferiour elementes.

THE FYRSTE BOKE. 4

elementes, is deputed to the highest sphere or place. So in this worlde, thei, whiche excellē other in this influence of vnderstanding and do employe it to the deteiminge of other within the boundes of reason, and thewe them, howe to prouide for theyr necessary liuyng: suche ought to be sette in a moze high place, than the residue, where they maie see, and also be sene, that by the beames of their excellent witte, shined through the glasse of auctorytee, other of inferiour vnderstanding, maie be directed to the waye of vertue and commodious liuyng.

Honour.

¶ And vnto men of suche vertue, by veritate equitee appertaineth Honour, as theyr iuste rewardē and ductie: whiche by other mens labours, must also be mainteined, accordyng to theyr merites. For as muche as the saied persons, excellyng in knowlage, wherby other be gouerned: bee ministers for the onely profyte and comoditee of them, whiche haue not equal vnderstanding: where thei, whiche do exercise artificiall science, or corporall labour, do not trauaile for theyr superiours onely, but also for theyr owne necessitee. So the husbānde man feedeth him selfe and the clothe maker: the clothe maker apparateth hym selfe and the husband: thei bothe for ouer other artificers: other artificers them: thei other artificers, them that be gouernours.

¶ But thei that be gouernours (as I bes fore sayd) nothyng do acquire by the saied influence of knowlage for their owne necessitees.

¶.iiii.

¶.v.

THE GOVERNOVR

fices, but do imploye at the powres of theſe wittes, and their diligence, to the onely preſeruation of other theſe inferiours. Among which inferiours alſo behoueth to be a diſpoſitiō and order, according to reſort: that is that the ſloughful or idle perſon, do not participate with him, that is induſtrious, & taſteth paine, whereby the fruites of his labours, ſhulde be diminiſhed, wherein ſhulde be none equalitie, but therof ſhulde procede diſcouraige, and finally diſſoluēion, for lacke of pꝛouiſion. Wherefoꝛe it can none other wiſe ſtande with reaſon, but that the aſtate of the perſon in preheminece of living, ſhulde be eſtimated, with his vnderſtāding, labour, and policie: where vnto muſt be added an augmentation of honour and ſubſtance, whiche not onely impꝛeſſeth a reuerence, wherof proceedeth due obedience amonge ſubiectes, but alſo inflameth men, naturally inclined to idleneſſe, or ſenſuall appetite, to conuēte by the ſortune, and for that cauſe, to diſpoſe them to ſtudie or occupation.

¶ How to conclude my fyrſt aſſercion or argument. Where all thing is comūne, there lacketh order: and where order lacketh, there all thing is obſouſe, and vncōmly. And that haue we in daile experience, for the pannes and pottes garniſhe well the kitchen, and yet ſhulde thei be to the chambꝛe none ornaments. Alſo the beddes, teſtars and piſlowes, becom not the hal, no more than the carpettes & huſſines become the ſtable. ¶ Eſpecially
the

THE FYRSTE BOKE. 6

the potter and tinker, onely perfect in their craft, ſhall littel do, in the miniſtracion of Juſtice. A ploughman or carter, ſhall make but a feeble anſwere to an ambaffadoꝛ. Alſo a waiter or ſuller, ſhulde be an vnmete capitaine of an army, or in any other office of a gouernour. Wherefoꝛe to conclude, it is onely a publike weale, where, like as god hath diſpoſed the ſated influence of vnderſtādyng, is alſo appointed degrees and places, according to the excellency therof, and thereto alſo wold be ſubſtāce conuenient, and neceſſary, for the ornament of the ſame: which alſo impꝛeſſeth a reuerence and due obedience to the vulgare peoꝛe or comūaltee, and without that, it can be no more ſaid, that there is a publike weale, than it maye be aſſermed, that a houſe without his pꝛopꝛe and neceſſary ornaments, is wel and ſufficiently furniſhed.

¶ That one ſoueraigne gouernour oughte to be in a publike weale. And what doctrine hath hapned, where a multitude hath hadde equal auctoꝛitee without any ſoueraigne. Cap. ii.



Like as to a caſtel of ſortres ſufficeth one owner or ſouereigne, & where any multitude of like power & auctoꝛitee, ſeldome cometh the worke to perfection, or being all ready made, where the one diligently

THE GOVERNOVR

lightly ouerſeeth, and the other neglecteth, in
that contention all is ſubuerted and cometh
to ruine. In ſemblable wiſe doth a publike
weale, that hath moe chiefe gouernours than
one. Example we maie take of the Grekes,
amonge whom in diuers cities, were diuers
ſouernes of publike weales, governed by
multitudes: wherein one was moſt tolerable,
where the gouernance and rule was alwaie
permitted to them, whiche excelled in vertue,
and was in the Greke tongue called *Aristocra-
tia*, in latin *Optimorum potentia*, in en-
gliſhe, the rule of men of beſte diſpoſicion,
whiche the Thebanes of long time obſerued.
¶ An other publike weale was amonge the
Athenienſes, where equalitee was of ſtate
amonge the people, and onely by thei holle
conſent, thei Cities and dominions were
gouerned: whiche might well be called a
Honour with manie heades, noz neuer it
was certaine or ſtable, and oftentimes thei
banished, or ſlewe the beſte citizens, whiche
by thei vertue and wiſedome hadde moſte
proſited to the publike weale. This maner
of gouernance was called in greke *Democra-
tia*, in latine *Popularis potentia*, in en-
gliſhe, the rule of the communitie. Of theſe
two gouernances none maie be ſufficient.
For in the firſt, which conſiſteth of good me,
vertue is not ſo conſtant in a multitude, but
that ſome being ones in auerſities, be incen-
ſed with gloate, ſome with ambition, other
with couetiſe & deſire of reſtore or poſſeſſions
wherby

Democra-
tia,

THE FYRSTE BOKE. 6

wherby they falle into contention, & finally,
where any acheneth the ſuperioritee, the holle
gouernance is reduced vnto a few in numbres
whiche fearyng the multitude, & their mutas
bittee, to the intent to kepe them in bide to
rebell, ruleth by terrour & crueltie, thinkyng
therby, to kepe the ſelfe in ſafer. For with
ſtandyng, rancour conerred, and long detep-
ned in a narrowe roume, at the laſte byaſteth
out, with intollerable violence, & byngeth al
to confuſion. For the powere, that is practi-
ſed to the hurt of many, can not continue.
¶ The popular ſtate, if it any thing do va-
ry from equalitee of ſubſtance, or elimacio, or
that the multitude of people haue ouer mu-
che libertie, of neceſſitee one of theſe me-
dies muſt haue, either tirant, where he that
is to much in ſanoz, wold be eleuate, & ſuffre
none equalitee, or elſe into the rage of a co-
mmunitie, whiche of all rules is moſt to be
ſeared. For ſpke as the communitie, if they
fele ſome ſeueritee, do humbly ſerue & obey,
ſo where they imbayſyng a licence, reſuſe to
be bydeled, do ſpyng and plunge: and if they
ones thow downe their gouernour, they or-
der euery thyng without ſuſtice, onely with
vengeance and crueltie, & with incomparable
difficultie, and byneth by any wiſedome, be
pacified & brought again into order. Where-
fore vndoubtedly, the beſt and the moſt ſure
gouernance, is by one kyng or Prince, whiche
ruleth onely for the weale of his people: and
that maner of gouernance is beſt approued,
and

THE GOVERNOVR

and hath longest continued, and is most ancient. For who can denie, but that all things in heuen and earth is gouerned by one god; by one perpetuall ordie, by one prouidence & One son ruleth ouer the date, & one Spooke ouer the myghte. And to descende downe to the earth.

Bee.

In a lyttell beast, whiche of all other is moſte to be meruailed at, I meane the Bee, is left to man by nature, as it seemeth, a perpetual figure, of a iust gouernaunce or rule: who haue among them, one principall Bee, for they gouernour, which exceleth al other in greatnes, yet hath he no pricke or stynge, but in hym is more knowlage thanne in the residue. For if the daie folowynge shall bee faire and drye, and that the bees maie issue out of theyr stalles, without peryll of raine, or beuement wynde, in the morning eery he calleth them, making a noyse, as it were the sounne of a hoorn, or a trumpet, and with that, all the residue prepare them to labour, and sleeth abrode, gathering nothing, but that shall be swete and profitable, although they fyete often tymes on herbes, and other thynges, that be venemous and synkynge. The capitaine him selfe, laboureth not for his sustinaunce, but all the other for him: he only seeth, that if any dyane, or other vnprofitable bee, entreteth into the hyue, and confuseth the honny, gathered by other, that he immediately expelled fro that company. And when there is a nother noundre of bees created

THE FYRSTE BOKE. 7

created, they semblably haue alsoo a capitaine, whiche be not suffered to continue with the other. Wherefore this new company, gathered in a swarme, hauing theyr capitaine among them, and enuironing him, to preserve him frome harme, issue forth, seeking a new habitation: whiche they finde in some tree, excepte with some pleasaunt noyse, they be alured and conuiced vnto an other hyue.

I suppose, who seriously beholdeth this example, hath any commendable wit, shall thereof gather muche matter, to the fouering of a publike weale. But because I maie not be long therein, considering my purpose, I wold the reader herof, if he be learned, shoulde repaire to the Georgiques of Virgile, or to Plin, or Collicella, where he shall finde the example more ample, and better declared.

And if anye desyret to haue the gouernaunce of one person, proued by hystories, lette him firste resorte to the holpe scripture, where he shall finde, that almightie god commanded Moyses onely, to bringe his elected people out of captiuitie, geuing only to him that auctorytie, without appointing to him any other assistance of equal power or dignitie, excepte in the message to king Pharao, wherein Aaron, rather as a minister thanne a companion, went with Moyses. But only Moyses conducted the people throughe the redde sea, he onely gouerned the foztie yerres in deserte. And because Dathan and Abiron disdeigned his rule, and counted to be equal with

Moyses.

Aaron.

Dathan & Abiron.

THE GOVERNOVR

with him, the earth opened, & fyre issued out, and swallowed them in, with all their holle familie, and confederates, to the number of 14700. And all though Hiero, Moyses fasted in lawe, counsaied hym to departe his impossible labours in continuall iugementes, vnto the wise men, that were in his company: he not withstandinge, styl retained the soueraignete, by goddes comādemēt, vntill a littelle befoze he died, he resigned it to Josue, assigned by god to be ruler after him.

¶ Semblably after the death of Josue, by the space of. 246. yeres, succeeded frome time to time, one ruler among the Jewes, whiche was chosen for his excellēcy in vertue, & specially iustice, wherfore he was called the iuge vntill the Israelites desired of almighty god to let the haue a kynge, as other people had: who appointed to them Saul, to be theyr kynge, who excelled all other in stature.

¶ And so successiually one kynge gouerned the people of Israel, vnto the time of Roboay, son of the noble king Salomō. Who beyng vniplē to his father in wisdom, practised tyranny among his people. Wherfore. ix. partes of them, whiche they called Tribus, forsooke him, & elected Hieroboam, late seruaunt to Salomon, to be their king, onely the. x. parte remainyng with Roboay. And soo in that royallme were continuallye two kynges, vntill the kynge of Aſſe had depopulate the countrey, and broughte the people in captiuitie to the citee of Babilon:

So

THE FYRSTE BOKE. 8

So that buryng the time, that two kynges reigned ouer the Iues, was cuer continuall battaile amonge them selves: where if one kynge had alwaie reigned like to Dauid or Salomon, of Ipheldode the countrey shuld not so sone haue bene brought in captiuitie.

¶ Also in the tyme of the Achabeis, as longe as they had but one busshop, whiche was theyr ruler, and was in the freede of a pynce, they valiantly resisted the gentylis: and as well the Romaines, than great lordes of the worlde, as Persians, and diuers other realmes, desired to haue with them amitie and aliance: and al the inhabitantes of that countrey, liued in greate iocale and quietnes. But after that by Symonys ambition, there hapned to be two byshoppes, whiche deuided they: anthoyttees, and also the Romaines had deuided the realme of Iudea to foure pynces, called Tetrarchas, and also constituted a Romayne capitayne or presidente ouer them: amonge the heades there neuer rested to be sedition, and perpetuall discorde: wherby at the laste the people was destroyed, and the countrey brought to desolacion and horrible barrennes.

¶ The Grekes, whiche were assembled to reuenge the reproche of Menelaus, that he toke of the Troians by the rauishing of the leue his wife, bidde not they by one assente electe Agamemnon to be theyr emperor or capitaine: obeying him as theyr soueraigne, buryng the sieg of Troie: all thoughe that they

The count
saile of
Hiero.

Josue suc
cessoure to
Moyse.

Saul.

Roboay.

THE GOVERNOVR

Princes of Greece, they had byuers excellent princes, not onely equal to him, but also excellng him, as in pious Achilles, and Piar Thelmonio: in wisdom Nestor, and Nestor, and his own brother Menelaus: to whom they mighte haue geuen equal auctoytee with Agamemnon: but those wise princes considered, that without a generall captaine, so many persons as were there, of diuers realmes gathered together, shoulde be by no meanes well gouerned. Wherefore Honore calleth Agamemnon the Shepheard of people. They rather were contented to be vnder one mans obedience, than severally to vse their auctoytees, or to toyne in one power and dignitie. whereby at the last shoulde haue sorded discretion amonge the people, they beyng separatly enclined toward their natural soueraigne lord as it appered in the particuler contention, that was betwene Achilles and Agamemnon for theyr concubines, where Achilles, renouncing the obedience, that he with al other princes had before promised, at the battaile first enterprised againste the Trojans. For at that tyme no littell murmur, & sedition was moued in the hoste of the greekes, whiche not withstandinge was wonderfully pacified: and the armie vntereced, by the maiestie of Agamemnon, toying to him counsaillours, Nestor, and the witty Nestor.

Agamemnon.

Nestor,
Nestor,
Nestor.

¶ But to retourne againe, Athens and other cities of Greece, when they hadde abandoned kynges, and concluded to lye as it were

THE I. BOKE. 9

were in a commonaltee, which abusively they calld equaltee, how long tyme did any of them continue in peace: yea what vacation had they from the warres: or what noble man had they, whiche auanced the honour and weale of their citie, whom they did not banishe or slea in yfsonne: Surely it shall appere to them, that will rede Histarchie, or Sallustius Iudius, in the booke of Iuliasdes, Lunon, Themistocles, Aristides, and diuers other noble and valiant capitaines: whiche is to long here to rehearse.

¶ In likewise the Romayns, during the tyme that they were vnder kynges, whiche was by the space of. Lxxiiij. yeres, were well gouerned, nor neuer was among them discord or sedition: But after that by the persuasion of Brutus and Colatinius, whose wife Lucrecia was rauished by the sonne of Tarquine, kyng of Romayns, not only the sayde Tarquine and all his posteritie, were cast out of Rome for euer, but also it was finally determined among the people, that neuer after they woulde haue a kyng reigne ouer them. Consequently the commonaltee more and more entered a licence, & at the last compelled the Senate to suffer them to chuse yeerly among the gouernours of their own estate & condition, whom they called Tribunes: vnder who they receiued such auctoytee and power, that they finally obtained the highest auctoytee in the publike weale:

kynges in Rome.

Lucrecia.

Tribunes



GOVERNOVR

We alect in so much, that oftentimes they did repele the actes of the Senate, and to those Tribunes mought a man appele from the Senate, or any other office or dignitee. But what came thereof in conclusion? Surely whan there was any difficult wares imminent, they were constrained to elect one soveraigne and chief of all other, whom they named Dictator, as it were commaunder, from whom it was not laulful for any man to appele. But because there appered to be in hym the psumate auctoritee & maiestee of a kyng, they wold no longer suffer hym to continue in that dignitee, thā by the space of .vi. monethes, except he than resigned it, and by the consent of the people effectones byd resume it. finally vntill Octavius Augustus had destroyed Antony, and also Brutus: and finished all the civile warres (that were so called because they were betwene the same selfe Romayn citizens) the citee of Rome was neuer long quiet from factions or seditions amonge the people. And if the nobles of Rome had not ben men of excellent learning, wysedom, and prowesse, and that the Senate, the most noble countaile in all the worlde, whiche was firste ordeyned by Romulus, and encreased by Tullius Hostilius, the thyrd kyng of Romans, had not continued, and with great difficultie retained theyr auctoritee, I suppose verely, what the citee of Rome had ben utterly desolate

Dictator.

Civill warres.

THE .I. B O K E. 10

solat, some after the expelling of Tarquinius And if it had ben effectones renewed, it shuld have bene .xx. times destroyed, before the tyme that Augustus reigned: so much destroyed was euer in the citee, for lack of one governour. But what made we to seeke so far from vs, sent we have sufficient examples nere vnto vs: Behold the astate of Florence and Gene, noble cities of Italy, what calamitee haue they both susteyned by their own factions, for lacke of a continuall governour? Ferrara, and the most excellent citee of Venice, hauing dukes, scidom suffer damage, except it happen by outward hostilitie. We haue also an example at home, whiche is most necessary to be noted.

Florence
Gene.

Ferraria.

Englande
divided.

¶ After that the Saxons by treason had expelled out of Englande the Britons which were the ancient inhabitantes, this realme was deuided into sundry regions, or kyngdomes. What misery was the people thā in: How this most noble isle of the world was decerpt and rent in peeces: the people pursued and hunted like wolkes, or other beasts for saunge: none industry auailed, no strength defended, no riches profited. Who wold thā haue desired to haue ben rather a mā thā a dog, whā men either with sword or with hunger perished, hauing no proficte or sustinance of their owne come or cattell, whiche by mutuall warre was continually destroyed: yet the dogges, either eating

B. ii.

kyng

GOVERNOVR

lyng that that men could not quietly come by, or fedyn on the dead bodie, which on euery part lay scattered plentifully, did satisfie their hunger.

King Edgar.

¶ Where find ye any good lawes, that at that tyme wer made and vsed: or any commendable manumēt, of any science or craft in this realme occupied: such iniquities seemd to be than, that by the multitude of soueraigne governours, all thynges had ben brought to confusio, if the noble King Edgar had not reduced the monarchy to his justitate estate and figure: whiche brought to passe, reason was retained, and people came to confoimtee, & the realme began to take comfort, and to shew some visage of a publicke weale: and so (lauded be god) haue continued: but not being alwai in like estate or condicion. Albeit, it is not to be despised but that the lyng our souerayne lord now reaignyng, & this realme, alway haupyng one prince, like vnto his highnes, equall to the auncient princis, in vertu & courage, it shal be reduced (god so disposyng) vnto a publicke weale, excellyng all other in ppreminence of vertue, & abundance of thynges necessary.

¶ But forasmuche as I do well perceiue, that to wyte of the office or dutie of a soueraigne gouernour or prince, farre exceedeth the compasse of my lernyng, holy scripture assymyng, that the hertes of princis be in goddis own hands and disposicion: I wil ther-

THE I. BOKE. II

therfore kepe my pen within the space that is described to me, by the.iii. noble masters reason, lernyng, & experience. And by their enseignement or teaching. I wil ordinarily treat of the two partes of a publicke weale, wherof the one shalbe named due admistracion, thother necessary occupacio, which shall be diuided into two volumes. In the fyrst shall be comprehended the best fourmes of educacion or byngnyng vp of noble children, from their natiuite, in such maner as they may be found worthy and also able to be governours of a publicke weale. The seconde volume, which god grantyng me quietnes and libertie of mynde, I wil shortly after sende forth: It shall conteyne all the emanant, whiche I can either by lernyng or experience fynde apt to the perfection of a iust publicke weale: in the whiche, I shall so endeouour my self, that all men, of what estate or condicion soo euer they be, shall fynde therin occasion to be alwaye vertuously occupied: and not without pleasure, vif they be not of the schooles of Aristotylus, or Pyttius, of whome the one supposeth felicitye to be onely in lecherie, the other in delicate feedyng and gluttonye. From whose sharpe talones and cruell teethe, I beseeche all gentyll readers to despende these warthes, whiche for theyr commoditee is onely compiled.

Due admistracion
Occupacion.

GOVERNOUR

¶ That in a publyke weale ought to be inferior governours called Magistrates, which shalbe appointed or choise by the fourrague governour. Capit. iiii.



There be bothe reasons and examples vnderstandedly infinite, whereby may be proved that ther can be no perfecte publyke weale, with out one capitall and fourrague governour, whiche may long endure or continue. But sens one mortall man can not haue knowledg of all the thynges done in a realme or large dominion, and at one time discourse at cotrouersies, reforme all transgressions, and exploite all consultations, concluded as wel for outward as inward affayres: it is expedient, and also necessary, that vnder the capitall governour be sundry mean auctoryties, as it wer as byng him in the distribution of iustice in sundry partes of a huge multitude: whereby his labours being leugate, and made moze tolerable, he shal gouerne with the better aduise, and consequently with a moze perfecte gouernance. And as Iesus Sirach saith, The multitude of wylde men is the wealth of the worlde. They whiche haue suche auctoryties to the committed, may be called inferior governours, hauing respect to theyr office or charge, wherein is also a representation of gouernance: As if they be named in latin

Magi

THE. I. BOKE.

12

Magistrat^o. And hereafter I intend to call them Magistrates, lacking an other moze eduenient word in english: but that will I do in the seconde part of this work, where I purpose to write of their sundry offices, or effectes of their auctorytie.

¶ But forasmuch as in this part I intend to write of their education & vertue in manners, which they haue in comune with princes, in as muche as therby they shall aswell by example, as by auctorytie, orde wyl the, whiche by their capital governour, shall be to their rule committed, I may without offence of any man, name them governours at this time, appropiaryng to the foure aines names of kynges & princes, sens of a long custome, these names in comune fourme of speakeing be in a higher preeminence & estimation than governours. That in euery common weale ought to be a great number of suche manner of persons, it is partly proved in the chapytre next before wryten, where I haue spoken of the commodities of orde.

¶ Also Reason and commune experience plainly declare, that where the dominion is large and populous, there it is convenient, that a prince haue many inferior governours, which be named of Aristotle, his eyes, eares, handes, and legges: whiche if they be of the best sorte (as he furthermore saith) it seemeth impossible, a countrey not to bee well gouerned by good lawes. And except

B. iiii.

exce

Capit. vi.

Politie,
li. iiii.

excellent vertue and learning doo make a man of the base estate of the commonweale, to be thought of at men worthy to be so much advanced, els suche governours wolde be chosen out of that estate of men, whiche be called worshipfull, yf among them may be founden a sufficient numbre, ornate with vertue and wisdom, mete for suche purposes, and that for sundry causes.

¶ First it is of good congruence, that the Superiours in condition or haviour, shulde have also preiuaencye in administration, if they be not inferior to other in vertue. Also they hauing of their owne reuenues certayne, wherby they haue competent substance to lyeue without takinge rewardes: it is likely that they will not be so despyrouse of lucre, wherof maie be ingendred corruption, as they, whiche haue very litell or nothing so certayne.

Sententia.

¶ Secondly, where vertue is in a gentylman, it is comonly mixt with more sufferance, more affabilitie & mildnes, thā for the more part it is in a person rural or of a base estate, and whan it hapneth otherwise, it is to be accounted to the souerayn and monstrous. ¶ Furthermore, wher the person is worshipfull, his gobernance, though it be sharpe, is to the people more tolerable, and they therwith the lesse grutchē or be disobedient. ¶ Also suche men hauing substance in gooddes by certayn and stable possessions, whiche they

they may appoyntionate to their owne liuing and bringyng by of their chyldren in learning and vertues, may (if nature repugne not) cause them to be so instructed and furnished toward the administration of a publicke weale, that a poore mans sonne, onely by his naturall wit, without other helpe, neuer or seldome maie attayne to the lyke. Towarde the whiche instruction, I haue prepared this worke.

¶ The education or forme of bringyng by of the chyldre of a gentylman, whiche is to haue auctoritee in a publicke weale, Capitulo. iiii.



¶ Inasmuch as al noble authors do conclude, and comon experience proueth, that wher the governours of realmes & cities be founden, adorned with vertues and do employ theyr study and mynde to the publicke weale, as wel to the augmentation thereof, as to the establishing and long continuance of the same, there a publicke weale must needs be bothe honorable and welthy. To the intent to declare, how such personages may be prepared, I wil vse the policy of a wise and cunning gardener, who purposyng to haue in his garden a fine and precious herbe, that

B. v. shulde

GOVERNOUR

Should be to hym and all other, repaying
thereto, excellently obedient, or pleasant:
he will first serche throughout his garden,
wher he can spyd the most meadow and fees-
tles earth, and therein will he put the seede of
the herbe, and be nourished, and in
most diligent wise attend, that no webe bee
suffred to growe or approche nigh unto it:
and to the ende it maye thriue the faster, as
soone as the foame of an herbe ones appe-
reth, he will set a vessel of water by it, in su-
che wise, that it may continually distille on
the rote sweete dropes, and as it springeth
in stalke, vnder set it with some thyng, that
it breake not, and alway kepe it cleane from
weedes. Like order will I ensee, in the for-
myng the gentil wittes of noble mens chil-
dren, who frōme the wombes of theyr mo-
ther, shalbe made prouise or apt to the go-
uerment of a publike weale.

Notices
howe they
ought to be
chosen.

¶ First they, vnto whom the bringyng vp
of suche chyldren apperteyneth, ought a-
gainst the tyme that theyr mother shall be
of theim deliuered to be sure of a nourise,
whiche shuld be of no leaue condicton, or
vise notable. For as some ancient wyters
do suppose, ostentymes the chyldre sucketh
the vice of his nourise, with the mylke of
her pappe. And also obserue, that she be of
mature or ripe age, not vnder .xx. yeres, or
aboue .xxx. her body also beinge cleane frō al
spiciuells or decompiter, and hauyng her es-
ple

THE .I. BOKE. 14

plection most of the right & pure Languine,
Forasmuch as the milke therof comyng, ex-
celleth al other, both in sweetnes & Substāce
¶ Moreover, to the nourise shuld be ap-
pointed an other woman, of approued ver-
tue, discrecion, and grauice, who shall not
suffre in the chyldes presence to be shewed
any act or tatche dishonest, or any wanton
or vncleane word to be spokē. And for that
cause all men, excepte phisicians only shuld
be excluded and kept out of the nurserie.

¶ Wherechance some will rege me, for that
I am so serious, sayyng that there is no
suche damage to be feared in an infant, who
for tendernes of yeres, hath not the vnder-
standyng, to deeme good from euill. And
yet no man wold deny, but in that innocen-
cy, he wold deeme mylke from butter, and
breade from pappe, and ee he can speake, he
he will with his hande or countenaunce,
speake, whiche he despyeth. And I ver-
ry suppose, that in the braynes and hartes
of yonge chyldren, whiche be vnder the sp-
rituall, whyles they be tender, and the litel
flippes of reason begin in them to burgeine,
ther maye happe by euill custome, some pes-
tyferous dewes of vyce to passe the sayde
membres, and infecte and corrupte the softe
and tender budde, whereby the fruite maye
growe wilde, and some tyme conserue in it
fruent and mortal payson, to the vtter des-
truction of a realme.

¶ And

A gouer-
nes or vyce
nourise.

GOVERNOR.

In fancy. ¶ And we haue in daily experience, that li-
tell infants as late to followe, not only the
wordes, but also the faictes and gesture of
them, that be prouert in peres. For we daily
here, to our great heuynes, children sweare
great othes, and speke lasciuious and vn-
clemente wordes, by the example of other, who
that here: whereat the laude parentes do re-
tope, soone after, or in this worlde, oide
to here, to their great paine & toyment. And a
eytwise, we behold some chyldren, knelyng
in their game before images, and holdyng
by their littell whyte handes, moue theyr
pety mouths, as they were prayng: other
goyng and synging, as if they were in processio,
wherby they do expresse their dispositio, to
the imitation of those thyngs, be they good
or euill, which they vsually se or here. wher-
fore not only pynces, but also al other chil-
dren, from their nurces pappes, are to be
kept diligently from the hearyng or seyng of
any vice or euill tache. And in continēt, as
soone as they can speake, it behoueth with
most pleasant allurynge, to infill in them
swete maners and vertuous custome.

¶ Also to prouide for them suche compa-
nyons and play felowes, as shall not do in
theyr presence any reprocheable acte, or
speake any vncleane word or othe, ne to ad-
uaunt them with flatterye, remembryng
theyr nobyltee, or any other lyke thyng,
wherby they myght glory: vnclesse it be to
per-

THE .I. BOKE. 15

persuade them to vertue, or to withdraue
them from vice, in the remembryng to them
the danger of their vniuersall. For noble
men more greuouously offend by their exam-
ple, than by their dedde, yet often remem-
brance to them of these as late, maye hap-
pen to radicate in theyr hertes intollerable
pyde, the most dangerous poison to nobles-
nes. Wherfore there is required to be thers
in muche cautie and sobrynes.

¶ The ordye of learnyng, that a noble man
shoulde be trained in, before he come
to thage of seven yeres. Cap. v.



¶ Some olde autours hold o-
pynio, that before the age of
seven yeres, a chyldre shoulde
not be instructed in letters,
but those wyttres were ex-
ther greke or latine: among
whome all doctrine & scien-
ces were in their maternal tonges, by reason
wherof they saved al that long tyme, which
at this date is spente in vnderstandyng
perfectly the greke or latyne. Wherfore it
requireth now a longer tyme to the vnder-
standyng of bothe. Wherfore that infelicitee
of our tyme and countrey compelleth vs to en-
croche somewhat vpon the yeres of children
and specially of noble men, that they may
sooner atteyn to wisdom and grauities, the
p-

private persons: considering, as I haue
sayd, they charge & trample, whiche above
at things is most to be esteemed. Notwith-
standing I would not haue them enforced wth
violence to lerne, but according to the coun-
sell of Quintilia, to be sweetely assured ther-
to. with playes, and suche playes as p^{ro}fit as
chylidren delight in. And they sh^ould letters to
be paynted or spinned in a pleasaunt maner:
wherin chylidren of gentill courage haue
much delectation. And also there is yo better
allectiue to noble wittes, than to induce
them in to a contention wth their inferiour
companions: they somtyme purposely suf-
fering the more noble chylidren to vanquish,
and as it were gratyng to their place and
souceayntie, though in dede the inferiour
chylidren haue more lernyng. But there can
be nothing more conuenient, than by lettel
and lettell to trayne and exercise them in
speaking of latin: inforouring them to know
byrte the names in latin of all thynges that
come in sight, and to name all the partes
of their bodies: and giving them some what
that they coneyce of desire in most gentil ma-
ner, to teache them to aske it againe in la-
tin. And w^{ch} by this meanes they maye be in-
duced to vnderstande and speake latin, if
thall afterwarde be lesse greke to them in a
maner, to learne any thyng, where they vnder-
stand the language, wherein it is wyrtten.
And as touchyng grammar, there is at this
day

date better introductions, and more facile
than euer before were made, concerning as
well bothe greke as latine.

¶ And it is no reproche to a noble man, to
instructe his owne chylidren, or at the lease
wates, to examine them by the wate of Sa-
liance or solace, considering that the em-
perour Octauius Augustus, disdaind not
to reade the warkes of Hecato and Uergile,
to his chylidren and newews. And why shuld
not noble men rather so do, thā teache their
chylidren how at dice and cardes they maye
cunningly lese and consume their own tres-
sure and substance?

¶ Moreover, teachyng representeth the au-
toritye of a pryncce, wherof Dionysie, king
of Sicily, whā he was for tyranny expelled,
by his people, he cam into Italy, and there,
in a commune schoole taught grammar,
wherewith whan he was of his cunnies en-
braded, and called a schoole master, he an-
swerd them, That although Schollers had
exiled hym, yet in despite of them all he re-
gned: no tyng therby the authoritye that he
had ouer his scholers. Also when it was of
hym demanded, what auailed hym Plato,
or philosophy, wherin he had ben studious
he answered, That they caused hym to sus-
tayne aduersitye patiently, and made his ex-
ile to be to him more facile and easy, whiche
courage & wisdom considered of his people
they oftentimes restored hym into his realme,
and

Instructio
in infancie.

Dionysie
the tyrant.

GOVERNOR.

and estate to fall, where if he had procured against them hostilitie of warres, or had returned into Sicily with any violence, I suppose the people would alway haue resisted and kept hym in perpetual exyle: as the Romans dyd the pious kyng Tarquine, whose sonne rauished Lucrece. But to resourne to my purpose.

¶ It shall be expedient, that a noble mans sonne, in his infancy, haue with hym continually, onely suche, as maye accustome hym by littell and littell, to speake pure and elegant latin. Semblably the nourishes and other women about hym, if it be possible, to do the same: or at the least way, that they speake none english, but that which is cleane, polite perfectly, and articulately pronounced, omitting no letter or sillable, as foolish women often tymes do of a wantonnesse, whereby diuers noble men, and gentlemens children (as I do at this day knowe) haue attained corrupt and foule pronunciation. This industry vsed in foynnyng little infants, who shall doubt, but that they (not lacking naturall wpt, shall be apte to receiue learning, when they come to mo yeres: And in this wise maye they be instructed, without any violence or inforcing: vsing the moze part of the tyme, buttill they come to the age of .viij. yeres, in suche dispositions as do apperteyne to children, wherein is no resemblance of similitude of vice.

¶

THE .I. BOOKE.

17

¶ At what age a tutour should be appointed, and what appertyneth to his office to dooe. Cap. vi.



After a chyld is come to seuen yeres of age, I holde it expedient, that he be taken frome the company of women: saying that he maye haue one yere or two at the mooste, an ancient and sadde matrone, attendinge on hym in his chamber, which shall not haue any yonge woman in his company: for though there bee no perill of offence in that tender and innocent age, yet in some chyldes nature is moze prone to vice than to vertue, and in the tender wittes be sparkes of voluptuousnesse: which nourished by any occasion of objects, encrease oftentimes into so terrible a fire, that they withall vertue and reason is consumed. Wherefore to eschue that danger the mooste sure counsaile is, to withdrawe hym from al company of women, and to assigne vnto hym a tutour, which shall be an ancient and woorthyfull man, in whom is appoyued to be muche gentynesse mixt with grauities, and as nygh as can be suche one, as the chyld, by imitation followinge, may grow to be excellent. And if he be also learned, he is the moze commendable.

¶ Helius the father of Achilles, committed

¶

the

the gouernance of his son to **Phenix**, whiche was a stranger boyne, who as well in speaking elegantly, as in doynge valiantly, was master to Achilles, as **Homer** saith. ¶ How muche profited it to **kyng Philyp**, father to the great **Alexander**, that he was deliuered in hostage to the **Thebans**, wher he was kept and brought by vnder the gouernance of **Epaminondas**, a noble and valiant capitayn, of whom he receiued such learning, as well in actes martiall, as in other liberall sciences, that he excelled all other kynges, that were before his tyme in **Greece**; and finally as well by wysdom as prowes, subdued all that country.

¶ **Leonidas** tutor to **kyng Alexander**,

¶ **Leonidas** he ordeyned for his sonne **Alexander** a noble tutor called **Leonidas**, vnto whom for his wysedom, humanitee, and learning, he committed the rule and preeminence ouer all the masters and seruantes of **Alexander**. In whome not withstanding was suche a familiar vice, whiche **Alexander** apprehending in childhod, coulde neuer abandon, som suppose it to be surp and hastines, other superfluous diuynghyng of wyne, whiche of them it wer, it is a good warning for gentilmē, to be the moze serious, in serching not only for the vertues, but also for the vices of them, vnto whose tuition and gouernance they will committe their chyldren.

Office of a tutor.

¶ The office of a tutor is first to knowe the nature of his pupill, that is to say, wher
to he

to be is mooste inclined or disposed, and in what thyng he setteth his mooste detestation or appetite. If he be of nature curteis, piteous, and of a free and liberall herte, it is a principall token of grace (as it is by al sciences determined) Than shall a wise tutor, purposely commend those vertues, extolling also his pupill, for hauing of them; and therewith he shall declare theym to be of all men mooste fortunate, which shal happen to haue suche a maister. And mozeouer shall declare to hym, what honour, what loue, what commenditee shal happē to him by these vertues. And if any haue ben of disposicion contrary, than to expresse the enormitees of their vice, with as much detestation as may be. And if any danger haue thereby ensued, wylforytune or punishment, to agreee it in suche wyse, with so vehement wordes, as the chyld may abhorre it, and feare the lyke aduenture.

¶ In what wise musike may be to a noble man necessary: and what modestie ought to be therein. Chap. vii.



The discretion of a tutor, consisteth in temperance: that is to saye, that he suffice not the chyld to be fatigate with continual study or learning, wherewith the delicate and tender wytte may be dulled or oppressed: but that
L.ii. there

GOVERNOUR

they may be therewith interlaced and mixt
some pleasaunte learning and exercise, as
playing on instruments of musike, whiche
moderately vsed, and without diminution of
honour, that is to say, without wanton con-
tenance, and dissolute gesture, is not to be
contemned. For the noble king and prophet
Dauid, kyng of Israel (whome almyghty
god said, he had chosen as a man accordyng
to his hart or desyre, during his lyfe, delited
in musike: And with the swete armony, that
he made on his harp, he cōstreigned the euill
spirite, that vexed kyng Saul, to forsake
hym, contynuing the tyme that he harped.

The most noble and valiaunt princis of
Grece, oftentimes, to recreate their spirittes
and in augmenting their courage, embraced
instruments musicall.

Achilles.
Homerus
Iliad. ppi.

Thus dyd the valiant Achilles (Homer
saith) who after the sharpe and vehemente
contention, betwene him and Hgamennon,
for the taking awai of his concubine: wher
by he beyng set in a fury, had slain Hgamen-
non, emperor of the grekes army, had not
Pallas the goddess withdrauen his hande
In whiche rage he all inflamed, departed
with his people to his owne Myss, that lay
at rode, intending to haue returned into his
country: but after he had taken to hym his
harpe (wheron he had lerned to play of Chi-
ron the Centaure, whiche also taught hym
seate of armes, with physike and surgery)

and

THE I. BOKE. 19

and playing thereon, had songen the gestes
and actes martiall of the ancient princis of
Grece, as Hercules, Perceus, Perithous,
Theseus, and his cosyn Jason: of whiche
other of semblable valour and prowesse: he
was therewith assuaged of his fury, and re-
duced into his first estate of reason: in such
wyse, that in redoubting his rage, and that
therby shuld not remain to hym any note of
reproche, he receyving his face and sturdy
countenance, so tempered him selfe, in the in-
tertainment and answering the messengers
that came to hym fro the residue of the Gre-
kes, that they reputing al that his fier des-
meant to be (as it wer) a diuine maieste,
neuer embraced hym with any inordinate
wrath or fury.

And therfore the greates kyng Alexander,
whan he had vanquished Ilion, where som-
tyme was set the most noble citee of Trooy
beyng demaunded of one, if he wold see the
harpe of Paris Alexander, who rauished
Helene, he therat gently smyling, answer-
ed, It was not the thyng that he much de-
syrd, but had rather see the harp of Achilles,
whereto he sang, not the allecious dilecta-
tions of Venus, but the valiant actes and
noble attayes of excellent princis.

But in this commendacion of musike, I
wold not be thought to assure noble men, to
haue so muche delectaciō therein, that in play-
ing and songing onely, they shuld put theyr

L ii hole

Alexander:
musike.

Chiron.

Musike is
prouable.

Theatre.

hole study and felicitie: So dyd themproue
Piero, whiche all a longe somers daie wold
spyt in the Theatre (an open place where all
the people of Rome behelde solemne actes
and playes) and in the presence of al the no-
ble men and Senators, wold playe on his
harpe, and sing without cessyng. And if any
man hapned by long setting to sleepe, or by
any other countenance, to shewe hym selfe
to be weep, he was sodenly bobbed on the
face by the seruantes of Piero, for that pur-
pose attendyng. Or if any person were per-
ceyued to be absent, or were seene to laugh at
the folly of the emperor, he was forthwith
accused, as it were of impietie, whereby the
emperor founde occasion to commaund hym
to prison, or to put him to tortures. What
misery was it, to be subiecte to suche a mys-
sell, in whose musike was no melody but
angryue and dolour.

Musike
miserable.

¶ It were therfore better, that no musike
were taught to a noble man, than by the er-
aie knowlage thereof, he shuld haue therein
inordinate deyte: and by that be infected to
wantonneffe, abandoning grauitie and the
necessary care and office in the public weale
to hym committed.

King Phi-
lips wor-
des to Ale-
xander.

¶ King Philip, when he hearde that his
sonne Alexander had syng sweetly and pro-
piously, rebuked hym gently, saying, What
Alexander, he ye not ashamed, that ye can syng
so wel and cunningly: whereby he ment, that
the

the open poffession of that craft was but of
a base estimation. And that it sufficed a no-
ble man, hauyng therein knowledge, either
to vse it secretly, for the refreshyng of his
wyt, when he hath tyme of solace: or els on-
ly hearyng the contention of noble musicias,
to gette iudgement in the excellency of theyr
cunninges. These be the causes wherebynto
hauyng regarde, musike is not onely tolle-
rable, but also commendable. For as Aristotle
saith: Musike in the olde tyme was num-
bered among sciences, forasmuche as nature
scheweth not onely, how to be in busynesse wel
occupied, but also howe in quietnesse to be
commendably disposed.

¶ And if the chyld be of a perfect inclina-
tion and wardnes to vertue, & very apt-
ly disposed to this science, and truely dothe
vnderstande the reason and concordance of
tunes, the tutors office shall be, to perswade
hym, to haue principally in remembraunce
his estate, whiche maketh hym exempt from
the libertee of vsyng this science in euery
time and place, that is to say, that it only ser-
ueth for recreation, after tedious or labo-
rious affaires. And to shew hym, that a gentl-
man playyng or syngyng in a common au-
dience, apparyeth his estimation: The peo-
ple forgetting reuerence, when they beholde
hym in similitude of a common seruant or
myntrel, yet notwithstanding, he shal com-
mende the perfect vnderstandyng of musike

Musike
fitable.

GOVERNOR.

declaring howe necessary it is for the better attayning to the knowledge of a publike weale, whiche as I before sayd, is made of an ordie of artes & degrees, and by reason thereof contenteth in it a perfect harmony: whiche he shall afterwarde more perfectly vnderstande, when he shall happen to rede the booke of Plato and Aristotle of publike weales, wherein be written dyuers examples of musike and geometry. In this foyme may a wise and circumspect tutor, adapte the pleasant science of musike to a necessary and laudable purpose.

¶ That it is commendable in a gentilman to paynt and herie exactly, if nature thereto dooeth induce hym. Cap. viii.



If the chyld be of nature inclined (as many haue been) to paynte with a penne, or to foume ymages in stone or tree: he shuld not be therfrom withheld, w^{ch} nature be rebuked, whiche is to him beneuolent: but putting one to him, whiche is in that craft, wherein he desireth, most excellent, in vacant tymes from other more serious learning, he shulde be in the moste pure and instructed in painting or heruing. And now perchance some enuious reder will here of take occasion to scozme me, saying that I had

THE . I . BOKE. 27

had well byred me, to make of a noble man, a mason or paynter. And yet if epyther ambition or voluptuous ydelnesse wold haue suffered that reder to haue sene hystories, he shulde haue souden excellent pynctis, as well in paynting as in heruing, equall to noble artificers: Suche were Claudius Titus, the son of Aspasian Hadrian, both Antonino, & diuers other emperours and noble pynctis, whose warkes of long tyme remained in Rome and other cities, in suche places, where all men mought beholde them: as monuments of therr excellent wittes & busynous occupacion, in elchuyng of ydelnesse. ¶ And not without a necessary cause, pynctis were in therr childehoode so instructed: for it serued therr afterwarde for deuyling of ingins for the war: or for the making therr better, that be all redy deuised. For as Aristotellus (whiche wytteth of dauiding to the emperour Augustus) saith: All toymentes of warre, whiche we call ingins, were first invented by kynnes of gouernours of hostes: or yf they were deuised by other, they were by them made muche better.

¶ Also by the feate of posturature or paynting, a capitayne may discerne the countrey of his aduersary, whereby he shal eschue the daungerous passages with his hoste: or nature also perceyue the places of aduantage, the foyme of embattayling of his enemies, the situation of his campe, for his moste sure

L. v. see

tee, the strength or weaknesse of the towne or citie, whiche he intendeth to assault. And that which is moſte ſpecially to be conſidered, in viſiting his owne dominions, he ſhall ſette them out in figure, in ſuche wyſe, that at his eie ſhall appeare to hym, where he ſhall employ his ſtudy and treaſure, as well for the ſauing of his country, as for the comoditie and honour thereof, hauyng at all times in his ſight the ſafetye and ſeclenes, auancement & hynderance of the ſame. And what pleaſure and alſo vtilitee is to a man, whiche intendeth to edifie hym ſelfe to expreſſe the figure of the warke, that he purpoſeth, according as he hath conceiued it in his owne fantaſy, wherein by often amending & correcting, he finally ſhal ſo perfect the warke vnto his purpoſe, that ther ſhall neither enſue any repentance, nor in the employment of his money, he ſhall be by other deceiued.

¶ Whoeuer the ſeate of portraiture ſhall be an affectiue to euery other ſtudy or exerciſe. For the wit thereto diſpoſed, ſhal alway conuete congruent matter, wherein it maye bee occupied. And whan he hapneth to rede or here any fable or hiſtory, ſoorth with he appyrehendeth it moze deſpyouſly, and receiveth it better than any other, that lacketh the ſayde ſeate: by reaſon that he hath found matter apt to his fantaſy. Finally euery thing that portraiture may comprehend, wil be to hym delectable to rede or here. And where the true

ly ſpirite, and that which is called the grace of the thing, is perfectly expreſſed, that thing moze perſuadeth & ſereth the beholder, & ſoone inſtructeth hym, than the declaration in writing or ſpeaking, doth the reader or hearer. Experience we haue thereof in learning of geometry, aſtronomy, & cosmography, called in engliſhe the deſcription of the world. In whiche ſtudies, I dare affirme, a man ſhall moze profit in one weeke by figures and cartes well and perfectly made, than he ſhall by the onely reading or hearing the rules of that ſcience, by the ſpace of half a yere at the leſt.

Wherfore the late writers deſerue no ſmall commendation, whiche added to the autoꝝ of thoſe ſciences apte and prope figures.

¶ And he that is perfectly inſtructed in portraiture, and hapneth to rede any noble & excellent hiſtory, whereby his courage is inflamed to the imitation of virtue, he ſoorth with taketh his pen or penkil, & with a graue and ſubſtantiall ſtudy, gathering to hym al the partes of imaginacion, endeuoꝝeth him ſelfe to expreſſe lyuely, and (as I might ſaie) actually in portraiture, not onely the ſaite or affaire, but alſo the ſundry affectiōs of euery perſonage in the hiſtory recited, which thought in any wiſe appeare or be perceyued in their viſage, countenance, or geſture: with the diligence, as Alexander made in mettalling Alexander, fighting & ſtruggling with a terrible lyon of incomparable magnitude

and fiercenesse: whom, after long and difficult battails, with wonderfull strength and cleane myght, at the last he ouerthrew and vanquished. Wherein he so expressed the similitude of Alexander, and of his lordes standing about him, that they all seemed to lyue. Among whom the prowes of Alexander appeared excellently all other, the reitour of his lordes after the valour & estimation of their courage, every man set out in such forwardnes, as they than seemed more prompt to the helpping of their master, that is to saie, one laite aftere than an other.

Phidias.

¶ Phidias the Atheniense, whom all wryters do commend, made of vnto, the similitude of ymage of Jupiter, honoured by the gentyles, on the hygh hille of Olympus: whiche was done so excellently that Pandemus, a cunning paynter threat admeruaillyng, required the crafter man, to shew him where he had the example of picture of soo vnto a worke. Than Phidias answered, that he had taken it oute of the verses of Homer the poete: the sentence wherof ensuech, as well as my poore witte can expresse it in englyshe.

¶ Than Jupiter, the father of them all, Therto assented with his browes blacke, Shaking his heare, & therewith did let fall A countenance, that made al heuen to quake. ¶ Where it is to be noted, that Thetis the mother of Achilles, desired Jupiter to scize

his

his fauour to the part of the Troians. ¶ Howe (as I haue before said) I intend not by these examples, to make of a prince or noble mannes sonne a common paynter or heruer, which shal present hym selfe openly, stayned or embued with sondy colours, or powdered with the duste of stones that be cutteth or perfumed with redous fauours of the metalles by hym poken. But verily myne intente and meaning is onely, that a noble chyld, by his owne naturall disposition, and not by coercion, maye be instructed, to receiue perfecte instruction in these sciences.

¶ What exacte diligence shulde be in choosing maysters. Capitulo .ix.

¶ After that the chyld hath been pleasantly trayned & instructed to knowe the partes of speche, and can separate one of them frome an other, in his owne language, It shall than bee tyme, that his tuitour or gouiernour doo make diligent seerch for suche a mayster: as is excellently learned both in grecke and latyne, and therewithall is of sobre and virtuous disposition, specially chaste of his wyngs, and of moche assiduitie and patience: leaste by any vnclene example the tender mynde of the chyld maye be infected, harde afterwarde to be recouered. For the natures

COVERNOVR.

natures of chyldren be not so muche of some aduanced by thynges well done: spoken as they be hindered and corrupted by that, whiche in actis of wordes is wantonly expressed. Also by a cruel and yuous master, the wittes of chyldren be dulled: that thyng for the which chyldren be oftentimes beaten, is to them euill after fastidious, wherof we nedde no better aucto: for witness, than daily experience. Wherfore the moste necessarye thyngs to be obserued by a master in his discipules or scholars (as Aicon the noble gramarian said) is shamefastnes and praisse. By shamefastnes, as it were with a byddell, they rule as well theyr dedes, as theyr appetites. And desyre of praisse adderth to a sharp spure to theyr disposition, towarde learning and vertue. Accordyng therunto Quintilian instructyng an oratour, desyreth suche a child to be geuen vnto hym, whom commendacion frendlyly styreth, glory prouoketh, and heuyng barnyssheth, wepeth. That chyldre (sayr he) is to be fedde with ambition, hym a litle chyldyng soze byteth, in hym no part of slouthe is to be feared.

¶ And yf nature disposeth not the chyldre wytte to receyue learning, but rather other wyse: it is to be applyed with more diligence & also policy, as chosyng some booke, wherof the argument or matter appocheyth most nigh to the chyldes inclinacion or fantasy, so that it be not extremely vicious, and therewith

THE .I. BOKE. 24.

with by lyttell and lyttell, as it were with a pleasaunte fauce, prouoke hym to haue good appetite to studie. And surely that chyldre, what so euill he be, is well blessed and fortunat, that fyndeth a good instructour or master. Whiche was considered by noble kyng Philipp, father to the greatte kyng Alexander, who immediately after his sonne was bozne, wrote a letter to Aristotle, the prince of philosphers, the tenour wherof ensueth.

¶ Aristotle, we greet you well. Lettyng The epistle you wyte, that we haue a soonne bozne, of kyng for the whyche we geue due thanks vnto Philyp to God, not for that he is bozne onely, but also for so for as muche as it happeneth hym to be bozne, you prayng. Trustyng that it shall happen, that he by you taught and instructed, shall be hereafter woorthy to be named oure sonne, and to enioye the honour and substance that we nowe haue prouyded. Thus fare ye well.

¶ The same Alexander was wont to saye openly, that he ought to geue as great thankes to Aristotle his master, as to kyng Philipp his father: for of hym he toke the occasion to lyue, of the other he receyued the reason and way to liue well. And what maner a prince Alexander was made by the doctrine of Aristotle, it shall appeere in diuers places of this booke: where his example to princes shall be declared.

The

GOVERNOR.

¶ The incomparable benefite of maisters haue ben well remembered of diuers princis. In so much as Marcus Antoninus, which among the emperours was commended for his vertue and sapience, hadde his master Proculus (who taughte hym grammar) so muche in fauour, that he advanced hym to be praconsull, whiche was one of the highest dignities among the Romayns.

¶ Alexander the emperor caused his maister Julius Fronto, to be Consull, whiche was the hyghest office, and in a state nexte the Emperour: and also obtayned of the Senate, that the status or image of Fronto was sette by amonge the noble princis.

¶ What caused Crasane to bee so good a piper (in so muche that of late daies, when an Emperour receiued his crowne at Rome the people with a commune crye despyed of God, that he mought be as good as was Crasane) but that he hapned to haue Plutarche, the noble phylosopher, to be his instructour?

¶ I agree me, that some be good of natural inclination to goodnes, but where good instruction and example is thereto added, the naturall goodnes must

therewith neede be amended,

and be more excellent.

What

THE .I. BOKE. 25

¶ What orde should bee in learning, and whiche auctours shoulde be first redde. Capit. I.



¶ One leat vs retourne to the order of learning, apt for a gentelman. Wherin I am of Quintilians opinio, that I wolde haue hym lerne greke and latine auctors, bothe at one tyme, or els to begin with greke, sozasmuch as that is hardest to come by: by reason of the diuersitie of tungues, whiche be fine in numbre, and all muske bee known, or els wery any poete can be well vnderstande. And if a chyld do begyn therein at seven yeres of age, he maye continually learne greke auctors thre yeres, and in the meane tyme vse the latin tungue as a familiar language: whiche in a noble mans son may well come to passe, hauyng none other persons to serue hym or kepe hym company, but such as can speake latin elegantly. And what doubt is there? but so may he w^{ch} lerne speke good latin, as he may do pure french, whiche now is brought into so many rules and figures, and as long a grammar, as is latine or greke. I will not contende, who amonge them, that doo write grammars of greke (whiche now we all mooste be tannumberable) is the best: but that I referre to the discretio[n] of a wise maister. Alway I wolde

advise

The first learning in chyldehode.

aduise him, not to deteine the childe to long
in that tedious labors, epyther in the grecke
oꝛ latin grammer. For a gentill wit is ther:
with soone fatigate.

¶ Grammer, being but an introduction to
the vnderstandyng of autours, if it be made
to long oꝛ requisite to the learner, it in a maner
mortifyeth his courage: And by that tyme he
cometh to the most swete & pleasant redyng
of olde autours, the sparkes of feruent de-
sire of lernyng is extinct, with the burdeyn
of grammer, like as a little fire is soone quethed
with a great heape of smal stich-co: so that it
can neuer com to the principal logges, wher
it shalbe long burne in a great pleasant fire.

¶ Howe to folowe my purpose. After a
fewe and quik rules of grammer, immedi-
ately, oꝛ interlacing it therwith, wold be red
to the childe *Esope's* fables in greke: in whiche
the argument children muche delite. And su-
rely it is a muche pleasant lesson, and also
profitable, as well for that it is elegant and
brife (and not withstanding it hath muche
varietie in wordes, and therwith much hel-
peth to the vnderstandyng of greke (as also
in those fables is included muche mozall and
politike wisdom. Wherefoze in the techyng
of them, the master diligently must gather
together those fables, whiche maie bee most
accommodate to the advancement of some
vertue, whereto he preciueeth the child incli-
ned: oꝛ to the rebuke of some vice, whereto
he

Esope's fa-
bles.

he synbeth his nature disposed. And therin
the master ought to exercise his wit, as well
to make the childe playnely to vnderstande
the fable, as also declaring the significacion
therof compendiously, and to the purpose,
For seme alway, that as well this lesson as
all other autours, whyche the childe shall
lerne, epyther greke oꝛ latin, verse oꝛ prose, be
perfectly had without the boke: wherby he
shall not onely attemp plenty of the tungues
called *Esope*, but also enter safe and noꝛ the
remembrance wonderfully.

¶ The next lesson wold be some quike and
merry dialogues, electe out of *Lucian*, which
be without ribaudy, oꝛ to muche scornynge:
for epyther of them is exactly to be schued:
specially for a noble man, the one amoyng
the soule, the other his estimation, concernyng
his grauitie.

¶ The comedies of *Aristophanes* maie be in
the place of *Lucian*, and by reason they be in
metre, they be the soone lerned by harte. I
here make none other comparison betwene
them, for offending the frends of them both:
but thus muche dare I saie, that it were bet-
ter, that a childe shulde neuer rede any part
of *Lucian*, than all *Lucian*.

¶ I could reherse diuers other poetis, whiche
for matre and eloquence, be very necessa-
ry, but I feare me to be to longe from noble
Homere: from whom as from a fountayn,
flowed all eloquence & lernyng. For in his

D ii boke

The .ii. les-
son to chil-
den *Lucia-
nus*.

Aristopha-

Homertus.

booke be conteyned, and moſte perfectly expreſſed, not onely the documentes martiall and diſcipline of armes, but alſo incomparable wiſedoms & iſtructions for politike gouernance of people, with the worthy commendacion and laude of noble princes, where with the readers ſhal be ſo al inflamed, that they moſte frequently ſhall deſyre and couete, by the imitation of their vertues to acquire ſemblable glory. For the which occaſion Ariſtotele, moſte ſharpeſt witted, and excellent learned philoſopher, as ſome as he had receiued Alexander from king Philip his father, beſore any other thing, taught hym the moſt noble warlike of Homere. Wherein Alexander founde ſuche ſweetneſſe and fruite, that euer after he had Homere, not onely with him in all his tournays, but alſo layd hym vnder his pillow, when he went to reſt: and often tymes wolde purpoſely waite ſome houres of the nyght, to take as it wer his paſſtime with that moſt noble poete. For by the reading of his work called Iliados, where the aſſembly of the moſt noble grekes agaynſt Troie is recited, with their aſſayres, he gathered courage and ſtrength agayne his enemies, wiſedome and eloquence for conſultacions and perſuacions to his people army. And by thother warlike called Odifſſes which recounteth the ſundry aduentures of the wiſe Uliſſes, he by the example of Uliſſes, apprehended many noble vertues, and alſo

alſo learned to eſcape the fraude and deceitful imaginacions of ſundry and ſubtil crafty wittes. Alſo there ſhall be learne to inferre and perceyue the maners and condicions of them that be his familiars, ſifting out (as I might ſaie the beſt from the worſt, whereby he maye ſurely committre his affaires and truſt to euery perſon after his vertues. Therfore I nowe conclude, that there is no leſſon for a yonge gentle man to be compared with Homere, if he be plainly and ſubſtancially recouneid and declared by the maſter.

¶ Not withſtandynge, for as muche as the ſarde warlike be very long, and ſo require therfore a greate tyme to be all learned and handled: ſome latine auctour wolde be therewith myſte, and ſpecially Virgile: whiche in his warlike called Eneidos, is moſte lyke to Homere, and almoſte the ſame Homere in latin. Alſo by the ſorning together of theſe auctours, the one ſhall be the better vnderſtande by the other. And verily (as I beſore ſayde) no one auctour ſerueth to ſo many wittes, as doth Virgile. For there is not that offer or deſyre, wherto any chyldes fantaſy is diſpoſed, but in ſome of Virgils warlike may be founden matter therto apt and profitable. For what thing can be moſt familiar than his buttolkes? nor no warlike ſo nygh approached to the comon diſtaunte and maners of chyldren, and the pretty controuerſies of the ſimple ſhepardes therein conteyned.

Virgilius.

wonderfully reioyceth the chyfde that hereth it well declared, as I knowe by myne owne experience. In his Geogithes, loyd what pleaunt varietie there is, the dyaces graynes, herbes, and flowres, that be there described, that reioyng therein, it seemeth to a man to be in a detestable gardayne o; paradyse. What ploughe man knoweth so muche of husbandry, as there is expressed: who despyng in good hoxses, shall not be therto moze enclined, reioyng there, of the bydyng, chcyng, and hepyng of them? In the declaration wherof Virgile leaueth farre behynde hym all byeedes, hackney men, and scofers. Is there any astronomer, that moze exactly setteth oute the order and course of the celestiall bodyes: o; that moze truly dooeth determine in his pronostications of the tymes of the yere, in theyr qualitees, with the futurall state of all thynges poulded by houl ban-dyng, than Virgile dooeth recyte in that warke?

¶ If the chyfde haue a delyste in huntynge, what pleasure shall he take of the fable of Hercules, semblably in the huntynge of Dido and Eneas, whiche is discretely mooste elegantly in his booke of Eneidos.

¶ If he haue pleasure in wastling, renning, o; other lyke exercise, where shall he see any moze pleasant esbatemences, than that whiche was done by Encealus and other Trojans, whiche accompanied Eneas?

¶ If he take solace in hearyng mynstrelles, what mynstrel may be compared to Topas, whiche sange befoze Dido and Eneas: o; to blinde Demodocus, that playd and sang moost sweetly at the dyner, that the hyuge Helious made to Ulysses: whose dities and melody excelled as farre the songes of our mynstrelles, as Homere and Vergile excelle all other poetes.

¶ If he be moze despyous (as the most part of chyldren be) to here thynges incruapulous and exquisite, whiche hath in it a visage of some thynges incredible: wherent shall bee moze wonder, that whan he shall beholde Eneas solow Hell into hell: what shall be moze dyed, than the terrible visages of Cerberus, Gorgon, Medusa, and other furies and monstres? how shall he abhorre tyrannye, fraude, and auarice, whan he doth see the pynes of bulke Hercules, Sisyphus, and such the other, tormented for their dissolute and vicious luyng? Howe glad sone after shall he be, whan he shall beholde in the pleasant felldes of Elysus, the soules of noble prynces and capitaynes, whiche for their vertue and labours, in aduancynge the publike weale of theyr countreys, do lye eternally in pleasure in explicable. And in the last booke of Eneidos, shall he fynd matter to minister hym audacities, valiant courage & policy, to take a lusteyne noble enterpryse, if any shall be needfull for the assaulyng of his enemies.

Finally (as I haue said) this noble Vergile like to a good nource, giueth to a chyld, if he will take it, euery thing apte for his wpt and capacite. Wherfoze he is in the oydze of learning to be preferred befoze any other auctour latine.

¶ I wolde sette next vnto him, ii. bokes of Ouid, the one called Metamorphosios, whiche is as muche to saie, as changyng of men into other figures oz fourme: the other is intitled De fastis, wher the ceremonies of the gentiles, and specially the Romayns, be expressed, bothe right necessary for the vnderstandyng of other poetes. But because ther is lytel other learning in them, concernyng eyther vertuous maners oz polities, I suppose it were better, that as fables and ceremonies happen to come in a lesson, to be declared abundantly by the maister, than that in the said two bokes, a long tyme shuld be spent and almost lost, whiche mought be better employed on suche auctours, that do minister bothe eloquence, ciuile politic, and exhortacion to vertue.

¶ Wherfoze in his place, lette vs bying in Horace, in whom is conteyned muche varietee of learning, and quicknesse of sentence. This poet may be enteraled with the lesson of Ouides of Homer, wherin is declared the wonderful prouidence and fortitude of Ulysses in his passage from Troy. And if the chyld were induced to make verses by the imitacion

of

of Vergile and Homere, it shuld minister to hym much delectacion and courage to study: ne the making of verses is not discommended in a noble mā, sene the noble Augustus, and almost all the olde emperours made bookes in verses.

¶ The two noble poetes, Silius and Lucanus, can be very expedient to be learned: for the one setteth out the emulatio in qualites and proues of two noble and valiant capitaynes, one enemy to the other, that is to saie, Silius wyrteth of Scipio the Romain, and Anniball, duke of Carthaginensio: Lucane declareth a semblable matter, but much more lamentable: for as muche as the warres were ciuile, and so it were in the bowelles of the Romayns, that is to saie vnder the stauderbes of Iulius Cesar and Pompey.

¶ Hesiodus in grecke, is more bryefe than Vergil, wher he wyrteth of husbandry, and dothe not rise so high in philosophy, but is fuller of fables: And therfoze is more illecebrious.

¶ And here I conclude, to speake any more of poetes necessary for the chyldehode of a gentell man: for as muche as these (I dout not) wyl suffice, vntill he passe the age of xiii. yeres, In whiche tyme chyldehod decayeth, and reason wareth ripe, & appprehendeth thynges with a more constant iudgement.

¶ Here I wolde haue remembred, that I requyre not all these warkes to be thoughtly

D b

redde

Silius.
Lucanus.

GOVERNOR

eed of a chyld in this tyme, whiche were als
moste impossible: But I onely desyre, that
they haue in euery of the sayd booke so mu-
che instruction, that they may take thereby
some profite. Than the chyldes courage is
flamed by the frequent redyng of noble po-
etes duple more and moze desyrt to haue
experiente in those thynges, that they so de-
hemently doo comende in theyn, that they

Boetes de
feded and
praised,

write of.
Leonidas, the noble kyng of Spartans,
beyng ones demanded, of what estimation
in poetry Tirtacus (as he supposed) was: it
is written, that he answering sayde, That
for sterpyng the myndes of yong men, he was
excellent, for as muche as they beyng meud
with his verses do reuue into the battayle,
regardyng no perill, as men all inflamed in
marcell courage.

And whan a man socomen to rypp peres,
and that reason in hym is confirmed with
seruous learnyng and longe experience: than
shall he, in readyng tragedies recreate and
abhoze the intollerable life of tyntantes: And
shall contemne the foly and dotage, expessed
by poetes lasciuious.

Here wyl I leaue to speake of the fyrste
parte of a noble mannes study: And wyl
wypte of the seconde parte, whiche is moze
seruous, and conuenyent in it sundry ma-
ners of lernyng.

¶

THE . I. BOKE. 30

The most commodions and necessary
studies succeeding ordynately the
lesson of poetes. Cap. xi.



After, xiiii. yerres bee passed
of a chyldes age: his mas-
ter, if he canne, or some os-
ther, studiously exercised
in the arte of an oratoure,
shal first rede to hym some
what of that parte of los-
gike, that is called Topica, either of Cicero
or els of that noble clerke of Almayn, which
late floured, called Agricola: whose warke
prepareth inuention, telling the places, from
whens in argumente, for the pofe of any
matter, may be taken with little study. And
that lesion with muche and diligent lernyng
hauyng wryte therewith none other excepte,
wyl in the space of halfe a yere be perfect-
ly hanned.

Logike
Topica,

Immediately after that, the arte of Rhe-
torike woulde be sensably taught, eyther in
greke out of Hermogines, or of Quintilian
in latin, begynnyng at the thyrde boke, and in
structyng diligently the chyld in that parte
of rhetorike principally, whiche concerneth
persuasion: for as muche as it is moste apte
for consultation. There can be no shoyter in
vention of rhetorike, than the treatise that
Cully wryte vnto his sonne, which boke is
named the partition of rhetorike.

Rhetorike

¶

And in good fayth, to speake boldly that I thinke, for hym that needeth not, or dooeth not desire, to be an exquisite orator, that I tell booke, made by the famous Erasmus *Erasmus*, (whom all gentle wittes are bounden to thinke and suppos: which he calleth *Copiam verborum et rerum*, that is to saie, Plentie of wordes and matters, shall be sufficient.

Plorates, concerninge the lesson of orators, is every where wonderfull profitable, hauing almoste as many wyse sentences as he hath wordes, and with that is so swete and delectable to rede, that after him almost all other some vnfaulcy and tedious: and in perswading as wel a pryue as a pryuate person to vertue, the two very lyttell and compendious warkes, wherof he made the one to hyng *Nicolas*, the other to his friend *Demetrius*, woulde be perfectly named and had in continuall memory.

Demosthenes and *Cicill*, by the consente of all lerned men, haue preeminence and foreranke ouer all orators: the one reigning in wonderfull eloquence in the public weale of the Romanys, who had the empire and dominion of all the worlde: the other of no lesse estimation in the cite of Athenes, whiche of long tyme was accounted the mother of Sapience, and the palatse of muske and all libyall sciences. Of which two orators may be asseympned, not onely eloquence excellent and perfect, but also preceptes of wise-
dome

dome and gentyll maners, with most com- modious examples of al noble vertues and pollicie. Wherfore the mayster in readdinge them, must wel obserue and expresse the partes and colours of rhetorike in theym conteined, accordyng to the preceptes of that art before lerned. The vtilitee that a noble man shall haue by readdinge these orators is, that when he shall happe to reason in counsaile, or shall speake in a greatte audicence, or to strange ambassadours of great pryuis: he shall not be constrained to speake wordes so deep and discorded, but shall bestow them aptly in their places. Wherfore the most noble emperour *Octavian* is highly com-
ded, for that he neuer spake in the senate, or to the people of Rome, but in an oration prepared and purposely made.

Also to prepare the chyldre to vnderstandyng of hystories, whiche beinge replenished with the names of countreys and towncs vnknowen to the rede, do make the hystories tedious, or els the lesse pleasant, so if they be in any wise knowen, it increaseth an ins- explicable delectacion: It shalbe therfore and also for refreshyng the witte, a conuenient lesson, to behold the old tables of *Holonie* *Cosmogr* wherein al the world is painted, hauing first *pyne* and some introduction into the sphere, wherof *and* now of late be made very good treatises, *ditte* and more playne and easy to lerne than was wont to be, All be it there is none so good *lear-*



Learning, as the demonstration of cosmograp-
hy, by materiaall figures and instrumentes,
hauing a good instructour. And surely this
lection is bothe pleasaunt and necessary. For
what pleasure is it, in one houre to beholde
those realmes, cities, seas, riuers, and castles
that vntith in an olde mans ype cast
not be iourneys? What incredible desire is
taken in beholding the diuersities of peo-
ple, beastes, foules, fishes, trees, frutes,
and herbes? To knowe the sundy maners
and condition of people, and the varietee of
theyr natures, and that in a warme study of
parlour, without perill of the sea, or dan-
ger of long and pernfull iourneys? I can
not tell, what more pleasure shoulde happen
to a gentle wytt, than to beholde in his
owne house euery thing that within all the
world is conteyned.

¶ The commoditie therof knewe the great
king Alexander, as som writers do remem-
ber. For he caused the contraires, wherunto
he purposed any enterpryse, diligently and
summingly to be described and painted, that
beholding the picture, he mought perceiue,
whiche places were moste dangerous, and
to here he and his hoste mought haue moste
easy and conuenable passage.

¶ Semblably dyd the Romayns in the res-
bellion of Fraunce, and the insurrection of
theyr confederates, setting by a table open-
ly, wher in Italy was painted, to the intent
that

that the people looking in it, shoulde reason
and consulte, in whiche places, it were beste
to resist or invade theyr enemies.

¶ I omit for length of the matter, to write
of Cyrus the great king of Persie, Crastus
the Romayn, and dyuers other valiant and
exerte capitaynes, whiche haue losse them
selues and al their army by ignorance of this
doctrine. Wherfoze it maie not bee of any
wyse man denyed, but that Cosmography
is to all noble men, not onely pleasaunt, but
profitable also, and wonderfull necessary.

¶ In the parte of Cosmography, wher-
with hystory is myngled, Strabo reigmeth,
whiche toke his argument of the diuine poe-
tise Homere.

¶ Also Strabo hym selfe (as he saith) has
boured a great part of Affrica and Egypt,
wher vndoubtedly be many thynges to bee
miracled at.

¶ Solinus writeth almost in lyke sortme,
and is more bryefe, and hath muche more va-
rietee of thynges and matters, and is ther-
foze miraculous delectable. yet Ptolemaeus
maiche noyter, and his style (by reason that
it is of a more antiquitee) is also more clene
and facile. Wherfoze he, or Dionisius shall
be sufficient.

¶ Cosmography being substantially per-
ceyued, it is than tyme to induce a chylde to
the redging of hystories. But first to set hym
in a feruent courage, the master in the most
plea-

Solinus

Ptolemaeus

Dionisius



Histories &
the fountaine
of them.

pleasant and elegant wise, expressing what incomparable delectacion, in bredite, and com modities shall happen to emperours, kings, princes, and all other gentylmen, by redyng of histories: Shewyng to hym, that Demetrius Phalaricus, a man of excellent wisdom and learning, and whiche in Athens, had ben long exercised in the publike weale, exhorted Ptholomee kynge of Egypte, chiefly aboute all other studies to haunte and embrace hyfologies, and suche other booke, wher in were contained preceptes made to kings and princes, saying, That in them he shuld reade those thynges, whiche no man durst repute vnto his person.

¶ Also Cicero, father of the latin eloquence calleth an hyfologye the witness of tymes, master of lyfe, the lyfe of remembraunce, of truth the light, and messenger of antiquities.

¶ Moreover, the sweete Socrates exhorte the kynge Nicocles, whom he instructeth to leaue helpe vnto hym statues and ymages, that shall represent rather the figure and similitude of his mynde, than the features of his body, signifying thereby the remembraunce of his actes written in histories.

¶ By Considrablie aduertisements that a noble here be teached to despyte in hyfologies. And than accordyng to the counsel of Quintilian, it is best that he begynne with Titus Livius, not onely for his elegancy of wyfynge, whiche floweth in hym like a fountaine

Titus Livius.

of swete mylke, but also for as muche as by redyng that auctour, he may knowe, how the most noble citee of Rome of a smal and pooore beginning, by prowes and vertue littel and littel came to the empire and dominion of all the worlde.

Also in that citee he may beholde the foyme of a publike weale, wher the insolency and pryde of Tarquins had not excluded kinges out of the cite, had ben the mooste noble and perfect of all other.

¶ Xenophon, being both a philosopher, and an excellent capitayn, so invented and ordred his warke, named *Redia Lys*, whiche maie be interpreted the discipline of Lysus, that he leaureth to the rederes therof, an incomparable sweetness and example of lypynge, specially for the conducting and wel orderpng of hostes or armies. And therfore the noble Scipion, who was called Africanus, as well in peace as in warre, was neuer sent without this booke of Xenophon.

With hym maie be ioyned Quintus Curtius, who writeth the lyfe of kynge Alexander, elegantly and sweetly. In whom maie be founden the figure of an excellent prince, as he that incomparably excelled all other kings and emperours in wysdom, hardynesse, strength, policy, agilitie, valiant courage, nobilitie, liberalitee, and curtesy. Wherewith he was a spectacle or marke for all princes to looke on. Contrary wyse, whan he was

Xenophon.

Quintus Curtius.

enes banquished with voluptee and pride, his tyling and beastly cruities abhorred of all readers. The comparison of the vertues of these two noble princes, equally described by two excellent writers, well expressed, shall yee vouch a gentle courage, to contende to followe their vertues.

Cesar.
Sulust.

¶ Julius Cesar and Sulust, for their commendous wytyng, to the vnderstandynge wherof, is required an exact and perfect iudgment, and also for the requisite order of battaile, and contrayning of the hystory, without any varietee, whereby the pryne of study shulde be alienate, they two wolde be referred, vntyll he that shall rede them, shall see some experience in semblable matters. And than shall he fynd in them such pleasure and commoditie, as therewith a noble and gentle herte ought to be satisfied. For in them both it shall seme to a man, that he is present, and hereth the counsels and exhortacions of capitaines, whiche be called Conciones, and that he seeth the order of hostes, when they be embattailed, the fierse assaultes and encounterings of bothe armies, the furious rage of that monster called warre. And he shall wene that he heareth the terrible dintes of sundry weapons, and ordynance of battaile, the conducte and policies of wyse and expert capitaines, specially in the commences of Julius Cesar, whiche he made of his exploitures in France and Britayne, and other

other countreys nowe reckened amonge the prouinces of Germany. Wherby boke is studiouly to be redde of the prynces of this realme of Englande, and their counsellours, consydering that thereof maie be taken necessary instructions concernyng the warres against Ierthe men or Scottes: who be of the same rudenes and wyld disposition, that the Swyses and Wytyons were in the tyme of Cesar.

¶ Semblable vtilities shall be founden in the hystory of Titus Livius, in his thyrde Decades, where he wytyeth of the battles, that the Romaynes had with Anniball, and the Carthaginenses.

¶ Also there be dyuers oracions, as well in all the bookes of the sayd auctours, as in the hystory of Comelius Tacitus, whiche be very delectable, and for counsailes very expedient to be had in memore.

¶ And in good fayth I haue often thought, that the consultations and oracions written by Tacitus, do import a maner, with a commendous eloquence therein contained.

¶ In the learning of these auctours, a yong gentle man, shall be taught to note a maner, not onely the order and elegancy, in declaration of the hystory, but also the occasion of the warres, the counsailes and preparacions on either part, the estimation of the sayd oracions, the maner and forme of their pronunciation, the continuance of the battaile, the

C. II.

35.

fortune & successe of the hole affaires. Rememb-
 blably out of the warres in other daierly af-
 faires, the estate of the publike weale, yf it
 be prosperous or in decaye, what is the very
 occasion of the one or of the other the foyme
 and maner of the gouernance thereof, the good
 and euill qualittes of them that be rulers,
 the comodities and good sequels of vertue,
 the discomodities and euill conclusyon of
 vicious licence.

Surely yf a noble man do thus seriously
 and diligently reade hyf booke, I dare affirme,
 there is no study or science for hym of equall
 comodities and pleasure, hauing regarde to
 euery tyme and age.

Of the
 philosophy.

By the tyme that the chyldre bothe come to
 xvii. yerres of age, to the intent his courage
 be purged with reason, it were needefull to
 reade vnto hym some workes of philosophy,
 specially that parte that mappe enfoyme hym
 vnto vertuous maners, whiche parte of phi-
 losophy is called moralle. Wherefore there
 wolde be reade to hym for an introduction,
 the two th: first booke of the workes of Aristo-
 tele called Ethice, wherein is contayned the de-
 finitions and proprijs significacions of euery
 vertue, and that to be learned in grecke, for
 the translations that we yet haue, bee but a
 rude and grosse shadow of the eloquence and
 wysedome of Aristotle.

Of the
 civill.

Fourthly there wolde folowe the workes of
 Cicero, called in latine De officijs, wherby
 80

to yet is no pryppre englyshe woide to bee ex-
 uen, but to pryppre for it some maner of ex-
 position, it maie be saide in this fouerne. Of
 the ducties and maners aperteynyng to min

¶ But above all other, the workes of Plato
 to wolde be most studioully redden, whan the
 iugment of a man is com to perfection, and
 by the other studies is instructed in the foyme
 of speaking that philosophers vse. For
 god, what incomparable swetenesse of woide
 and matter shall he fynd in the said wor-
 kes of Plato and Cicero, wherein is ioynd
 grauitie with delectacion, excellent wysedome
 with diuine eloquence, absolute vertue with
 pleasure incredible, and euery place is so in-
 farced with profitable counsaile, ioynd with
 honestie, that those thre booke be almost suf-
 ficient to make a perfecte and excellent go-
 uernour.

¶ The proverbes of Salomō, with the bo-
 kes of Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus, bee
 verie good lessons.

¶ All the hyfocall partes of the Bible, bee
 ryght necessary for to be redde of a noble
 man, after that he is mature in yerres. And
 the residue (with the new testament) is to be
 recurrently touched, as a cicill/all twelle or
 thre booke, hauing the chief interpreter of those
 booke, true and constant saith, and dyedfully
 to sette handes thereon, remembryng that
 Dya for puttyng his hand to the holy wyne
 that was called Jercha federis, whan it was

C.iii. brought

brought by kynge Dauid from the citee of Gaba, though it were waucyng and in danger to falle, yet was he strephen of god, and fell dead immediately.

Cf It wolde not be forgotten, that the lyttel boke of the most excellent doctour Erasmus Roter (whiche he wrote to Charles, nowe being emperor, and then prince of Castile) whiche boke is intituled, the Instruction of a chilsen prince, wolde be as familiar alwaie with gentylmen, at all tymes and in euery age, as was Homer with the great kyng Alexander, or Escipion with Scipio. For as al men may iudge that haue red the work of Erasmus, there was nruce boke wrytten in latine, that in so lytel a poeccion conteyned sentence, eloquence, and vertuous exhortacion, a moze compendious abundance.

Erasmus
on the In-
struction of a
prince,

Cf And here I make an ende of the leyrnyng and study, wherby noble men maie attayne to be woorthy to haue auctorytie in a publyke weale.

Cf Alwaie I shall exhorte tutours and gouernours of noble chyliden, that they suffre them not, to be ingurgitacions of meate or drynke, ne to slepe muche, that is to saye, as houre, but, houres at the mooste. For vndoubtedly, bothe repletion and superfluous slepe be capital enemies to study, as they be sensibly to helth of body and soule.

Cf Arius Cellius saythe, that chyliden, yf they be to eate and slepe ouermuch, he made
thee

the with dull to learne. And we se, that the of slownes is taken, and the chylidens prsonages do waxe vncouly, and growe lesse in stature. Salene wyl not permitt, that pure wyne, without alape of water shoulde in any wyse be gyven to chyliden, for as muche as it humerteth the bodye, or maketh it moyster and hotter, than is conuenient: also it splyeth the head with fume, in them specially, whiche be lyke, as chyliden of hots and moyste temperature. These be wel nygh the wordes of the noble Salene.

CWhy gentylmen in this present tyme bee not equall in doctrine to the auncient noble men. Cap. iiii.



Owe wyl I somewhat declare of the chyefe causes, why in our tyme noble men be not as excellent in leyrnyng, as they were in olde tyme as amonge the Romaynes and Grekes. Surely as I haue diligently marked in daily experience, the principal causes be these: The pryde, auarice, and negligence of parentes, and the lacke of fewel of sufficient maisters or teachers.

CAs I said wyde is the first cause of this inconuenient. For of those persons be some whiche without name dare assure, that to a great gentylman, it is a notable reproche,

C.iii.

30

to be wel learned, & to be called a great clerke; which name they accout to be of so base estimation, that they neuer haue it in their mouths, but when they speake any thing in derision. Whiche perchance they wol not do, if they had once leifer to reade our own cronicle of England, where they shal find, that king Henry the fyrste, sonne of William conquerour, and one of the most noble princes that euer reigned in this realme, was openly called Henry beau clerke, whiche is in englishe, faire clerke, and is yet at this daie so named. And whether that name be to his honour, or to his reproche, lets theyn iudge, that doo reade, and compare his life with his two bye theame, William, called Rouse, and Robert le courtoupe, they both not humpng sensible learning with the sayde Henry, the one for his dissolute lyping and ryming, being hated of all his nobles and people, especially was sodenly slayn by the Gorte of an arrowe, as he was hunting in a forst, whiche to make larger, and to grue his decremose libertie, did cause the houses of str. parties, to be pulled downe, the people to be expelled, and all being desolate, to be turned in to desert, and made only pasture for bestes savage. Which he wold neuer haue done, if he had so muche desired in good learning, as dyd his brother. The other brother, Robert le Curtois, being duke of Normandy, & the eldest sonne of William Conquerour, at be

Henry beau
clerke king
of England.

it that he was a manne of muche prowesse, and right expert in martiall assayes, wherefore he was electe before Godfray of Borsgoigne, to haue ben kyng of Hierusalem: yet not wishstandyng, when he invaded this realme with sundy puissant armys, also dyuers noble men, apdyng hym, his noble brother Henry beau clerke, more by wyse dome than power, also by learning, addyng policy to vertue & courage, oftentymes vanquished hym, and dyd put him to flight. And after sundy victories, specially toke hym and kept hym in prison, haupng none other meane to kepe his realme in tranquillitee.

¶ It was for no rebuke, but for an excellent honour, that theperour Antonne was surname named philosopher, for by his moste noble example of lyping and industry incomparable, he during all the tyme of his reigne, kept the publike weale of the Romayns in suche a perfect estate, that by his actes he confirmed the sayings of Plato, That blessed is that publike weale, wherein cyther philosophers do reignt, or els hynges be in philosophy studious.

¶ These persons that so muche contemne learning, that they wol that gentyl mens children shulde haue no part or very litle thereof, but rather shulde spende their youth alwaye (I saye) not onely in huntinge and hauyng, whiche moderately vsed, as solace ought to be, I intende not to dyspraise)

f v but

but in those idle pastimes, which for the vice that is therein, the commaundment of the prince. and the vniuersall consent of the people, expressed in Statutes & lawes, doo prohibite, I meane playing at dice and other games named vniuersall. These persons I saie I wolde shulde remembre, or els now learne, yf they neuer elles hearde it, that the noble Phelipp, kyng of Macedonia, who subdued all Grece, about all the good fortunes that euer he had, mosse reioyced, that his soune Alexander was borne in the tyme that Aristotile the philosopher flourished, by whose instruction he mought attaine to mooste excellent learning.

¶ Also the same Alexander, often tymes sayde, That he was equally as much bounden to Aristotile, as to his father kyng Phelipp, for of his father he receiued lyfe, but of Aristotile he receiued the waie to lyue nobly.

¶ Who dysparayed Chammondas, the mosse valiant capitaine of Thebanes, for that he was excellently learned and a greatte philosopher?

¶ Who euer discommended Iulius Cæsar for that he was a noble oratour, and next to Cully in the eloquence of the latin tongue, excelled all other?

¶ Who euer reioyced the Emperour Hadrian, for that he was so exquisitely learned, not onely in greke and latine, but also in all sciences liberrall, that openly at Athenes, in the

the vniuersal assembly of the greatest clerks of the worlde, he by a longe tyme disputed with philosophes and Rhetoriciens, whiche were esteemed mosse excellent, and by the iudgement of them that were present, hadde the palme or reward of victorie? And yet by the gouernance of that noble emperour, not onely the publike weale flourished, but also dyuers rebellions were suppressed, and the maiestie of the empire largely increased.

¶ Was it any reproche to the noble Germanicus (who by the assignement of Augustus shoulde haue succeeded Tiberius in the empire, yf traitorous enuy had not in his flourynginge yowthe bereft hym his lyfe) that he was equal to the mosse noble poetes of his tyme, and to the increafe of his honour and mosse worship commendation, his image was set vp at Rome in the habit that poetes at those daies vled?

¶ Finally, howe much excellent learning commendeth and not dysparseth nobilitie, it shall playnly appere vnto them that doo reade the lyues of Alexander, called Demetrius; Tacitus, Probus, Aurelius, Constantine, Theodosius, and Charles the greate surnamed Charlemayne, all beyng emperoures: and dooe compare them with other, whiche lacked or had not soo muche of doctrine.

¶ Merely they be farre from good reason in thyn opinion, whiche couerte to haue there

chyliden, goodly in stature, deliuer, wel syn-
gng: wherein trees, beastes, fyshes, and bir-
des, be not onely with them equall, but also
farre doo excede them, And cunningg, where-
by onely man excelleth all other creatures in
earth, they erecte and accompte vnworthy
to be in their chyliden. What vnkynde ap-
petite were it, to desyre to bee father rather
of a peece of fleshe, that can onely meue and
feele, than of a chylde, that should haue the
perfect fourme of a man: what so perfectly
expjesseth a man as doctrine?

Diogenes the physolopher, sleepe one
without learning, lytte on a stone, sayde to
them that were with hym, Schole where
one stone lytteth on another. Whiche wo-
des well considered and tried, shall appeere,
to contempne in them wonderfull matter, for
the approbacion of doctrine.

¶ The seconde and thyrde Decay of lear-
nyng among gentylmen. Ca. xii.



THE SECONDE occa-
sion, wherfoze gentyl mens
chyliden seldom haue suffi-
cient learning, is auarice. For
where they parentes wille
not aduenture, to send them
farre oute of theyr propre
countreys, partly for feare of death, whiche
perchance dare not appoche them at home
with

with theyr father, partly for expence of mo-
ney, wherby they suppose woulde be lesse in
theyr owne houses, or in a village with some
of theyr tenants or freendes, hauyng seldom
any regard to the teacher, whether he be wel
learned or ignorant. For if they hyre a schole
master to teache in their houses, they chief-
ly enquire, with how smal a Salary he wil be
contented, and neuer doo inferch how much
good learning he hath, and how among well
learned men, he is therein esteemed: vnyng
therin lesse diligence than in taking seruantes,
whose seruice is of muche lesse impo-
rtance, and to a good Scholemaster, is not in
proffite to be compared.

¶ A gentyl man, er he take a cooke in his ser-
uice, wille first examyne hym dysgenyly, how
many sortes of meates, potages, and sauces
he can perfectly make, and howe well he can
season them: that they may be bothe pleasant
and nouryng. yea, and if it be but a sau-
coner, he wille scrupulously enquire, what
shyll he hath in feedyng, called dexte, and he-
pyng of his hande from al synnes: Also how
he can reclaime her, and prepare her to flight
And to suche a cooke or sauconer, whom he
spendeth expert, he spareth not to geue much
wages, with other boistuous rewardes. But
of a scholemaster, to whom he wille comyte
his chylde to be fed with learninge, and in-
struced in vertue, whose life shalbe the prin-
cipal monument of his name and honour, he
reuer

more maketh further inquiry, but where he may haue a schoolmaster, and with howe littell charge. And if one perchance be founden well learned, whiche will not take paynes to teache without great salary: he than speaketh nothing more, or els sayeth, what shall so muche wages be giuen to a schoolesmaster, whiche wolde hepe me two tertianes? To whom maie be said these wordes, that by his soune beyng well lerned, he shall receiue more commoditie, and also woorthy, than by the seruice of a hundred cooke and fauconers.

¶ The thirde cause of this hyndrance, is negligence of parentes, whiche I note specialy in this poynt. There haue ben diuers, as we mean gentylmen as of the nobilitie, whiche desiring to haue their sonnes excellent in lernyng, haue provided for them cunning maysters, who substantially haue taughte them gramme, and very well instructed them to speake latine elegantly, wherof the parentes haue taken muche delectacion, but whan they haue had of gramme sufficient, and be comen to the age of xiiii. yeres, and soo ap- proche oʒ drawe towards the estate of man, whiche age is called mature oʒ yppe (wherin not onely the sayde lernynge contynued by muche experience, shall be perfectly digested and confirmed in perpetuall remembraunce, but also more seruise lernynge contynued in other liberal sciences, and also philosophy

wold

wold this be lerned) the parentes this thing nothing regarding, but beyng satisfied, that their chyliden can onely speake latin properly, oʒ make verses without matter oʒ sentence they from thensforth do suffice them to liue in idelines, oʒ els putting them to seruice, do as it were banyshe them from all vertuous study, and from exercise of that, whiche they befoze lerned. So that we may behold diuers yong gentylmen, whiche in their infancy and chyldehode, were wondred at for their aptnes to learyng, and prompt speaking of elegant latine, nowe beyng men, haue not onely forgotten their congruete, as the commune word is, and kneth can speake one hole sentece in treclatyn, but that wars is, haue all lernyng in derision and in scoone therof, will of wantonnesse speake the most barbarously that they can imagine.

¶ Now com man will require me to shewe myne opinion, if it be necessary, that gentylmen shalde, after the age of xiiii. yeres, contynue in study. To be playn and true therein, I dare assure, that if to the elegant speaking of latine be not added other doctrine, littell fruite maie come of the tongue. For latine is but a naturall speche, and the fruite of speche is wise sentece, which is gathered and made of sundry lernynges. And he that hath nothing but language only, may be no more praised than a popinay, a pie, oʒ a floure, whan they speake featly. There bee many

nowe

what had
the same

Eloquence
comended,

now a daies in famous scholes and vniuersities, which be so much giuen to the study of tongues only, that when they write epistles, they seeme to the reader, that speke to a striper, they make a sowne without any purpose, whereunto men harken moze for the noyse, than for any delectacion, that thereby is mended. Wherefoze they be muche abused, that suppose eloquence to be only in wordes or colours of Rhetorike. For as Tully saith, What is so furious or madde a thynge, as a hapne sowne of wordes of the best soyl and most ordinate, conteynyng neither counnyng nor sentence.

What eloquence is,

¶ Doubtlesly very eloquence is in every tonge where any matter or act done or to be done is expressed in wordes, cleane, prouise, ornate, and comely, wherof sentences be so aptly compact, that they by a vertue inexplicable, do diuine into them the myndes and consent of the hearers, beyng there with eithers perswaded, mended, or to delectacion induced.

¶ Also every man is not an orator, that can write an epistle or a flatteryng oracion in latine, wherof the laste (as god helpe me) is so muche vfed. For a right orator may bee without a much better furniture. Tully saith that to hym belongeth the explaining or vnfolding of counsel concerning matters of great importance: also to hym apperteyneth the styrreing and quethenng of people, in
guyd

guydng or dispereing, and to moderate the that be rash and vnbiddeled. Wherefoze noble auctours do affirme, that in the first instance of the world, men wandring like beastes in woodes & on mountaynes, regarding neither the religion due vnto god, nor the of frece perteyning vnto man, ordered all thing by bodily strength: vntill Mercurius (as Plato supposeth) or some other man holpen by sapience, and eloquence, by some apt or prouise oracion, assembled them together, & perswaded to them, what comoditie was in mutuall conuersacion and honest maners.

¶ But yet Cornelius Tacitus describeth an orator, to be of moze excellent qualitees, saying: An orator is he that can or may speke or reason in every question sufficiently, elegantly, and to perswade poppely, according to the dignitie of the thynge that is spoken of, the oportunitie of tyme and pleasure of them that be heret.

¶ Tully before hym affirmed, that a man may not be an orator, heaped with preise, but yf he haue gotten the knowlegde of all thynnges, and artes of greatest importance. And howe shall an orator speake of that thynge, that he hath not lerned? And because there maye be nothynge, but it maye happen to come in preise or dispraise, in consultation or iudgement, in accusation or defence: wherefoze an orator, by others instructio perfectly furnished, may in every matter and length, commende or dispraise, ethoze or
disuade,

Cojn. Ca.
de orat.

disuade, accuse, or defend cloquently, as occasion hapneth. Wherfo: in as much as in an oratour is required to bee a heape of all maner of learning, whiche of some is called the wordes of science, of other the cercle of doctryne, whiche is in one word of Grecke *Encyclopaedia*, therfore at this date, maye be founden but a very fewe oratours. For they that come in message from princes, be for honour nowe named oratours, if they be in any degree of wisdomy: onely pooze men, haupng equal or more of learning, beynge called messagers.

¶ Also they, whiche onely teache rhetorike (whiche is the science, wherby is taughte an artificiall fourme of spekyng, wherin is the power to perswade, moue, and delyte, or by that science only do speake or wyte without any administration of other sciences) ought to be named rhetoriciens, declamatoours, or officiall speakes (named in Greke *Logodidaxi*) or any other name than oratours.

Poetes.

¶ Similiable they that make verses, expressing thereby none other learninge, but the crafte of versifyinge, be not of auncient writers named poetes, but onely called versifiers. For the name of a Poete wherewith now, spectally in this realme, men haue such indignation, that they vse onely poetes and poetry in the contempt of eloquence was in auncient time in highe estimatiō: in so much that al wysdome was supposed to be therein included. And poetry was the first philoso-

phy that euer was knowen, wherby men from theyr chyldhoode were brought to the reason, how to liue well, learninge thereby not onely maners and natural affections, but also to the woderful workes of nature, mixinge serious matter with thynges that were pleasant: as it shall be manifeste to them that shall be so fortunate to rede the noble workes of Plato and Aristotle: wherein ye shall fynde the auctoritee of poetes frequently alleged: ye and that more is. In poeis was supposed to be science myrticall, & inspired, and therfore in latine they were called *Vates*, whiche wordes signifyeth as muche as prophetes. And therfore Cullie in his *Catallane* questios supposeth, that a poete can not abundantly expresse verses sufficient and complete, or that his eloquence may flowe without labour, wordes well foundng and plentifully without celestiall instantiō, whiche is also by Plato ratified.

¶ But sence we be nowe occupied in the desence of Poetes, it shal not be incongruent to our matter, to shewe what profyte maye bee taken by the diligent readinge of auncient poetes: contrarye to the false opinion that now reigneth, of the that suppose that in the workes of poetes is conteyned nothing but bawdy (suche is their soule word of reproche) & vnprofitable leasynge. But first I wil interpret som verses of Horace, wher he expresseth the office of poets, and after will I referre to a more playne demonstra-

¶ I. Cullie,
Quest. i.F I
cton

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etion of some wisdomes and counsailes co-
tyned in some verses of poetes. Horace in
his seconde booke of epistles, saythe in this
wyse, or moche lyke.

Horat. ep.
li. ii. episto.
ad Augu-
stum.

The poet factioneth by some pleasant meane.
The speche of chyldren tendre and vnshure:
Dulling their cares from wordes vncertaine,
Suyng to them pceptes that are pure,
Rebukyng enuy and wrath, if it dure,
Things wyl done he can by exaple comende,
The neddy and syrke he doth also his cure
To recomfozte, yf aught he can amende.

¶ But they, whiche be ignozant in poetes,
wyl perchauce obieete as thete maner is,
agaynst these verses, sayinge, that in The-
rence, and other, that were wytters of come-
dies, Quind, Catullus, Martialis, and all
that route of lasciuious poetes, that wrate
epistles and dittes of loue, some called in la-
tein Flegie, and some Epigrammata, is no
thyng contempnd, but incitation to lechery.

Comedies

¶ First comedies, whiche they suppose to
be a docteinall of rybaudey, they be vndou-
tedly a picture, or as it were a myrrour of
mans lyfe, wherein yuell is not taughte, but
discouered, to thynkt that men beholdingyng
the popynes of youth vnto vice, the snares
of harlots and bawdes, layd for yong myn-
des, the disceypt of seruantes, the chaunces
of fortune, contrary to mens expectation, the
begyn therof warned, maye prepare them
selfe

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selfe to resyste and preuente occasion. Remem-
brably rememyng the wisdomes, aduer-
timents, counsailes, dissuasions from vice,
and other profitable sentences, mooste clo-
quently and familiarly shewed in those co-
medies, vndoubtedly there shal be no lyttell
fente out of them gathered. And if the vices
in them expressed, shuld be cause, that myndes
of the reders shuld be corrupted: thā by the
same argument not onely enterludes in en-
glish, but also sermons, wherein some vice
is declard, shuld be to the beholders and he-
rers lyke occasion to encrease synners. And
that by comedies, good counsaile is mini-
stred, it appereth by the sentence of Darne-
no, in the seconde comedie of Therence.

In this thyng I triuayn in myne own coccit,
That I haue forshiden for al yd me the way
How thet of harlots shal know the deceipt,
Their wits, & maners, that thereby they may
Them perpetually hate: for so much as they
Out of their own houses be fresh & delicate,
Feedyng curiously: at home all the day
Kpuyng beggarly, in mooste wretched estate,

¶ There be many mo wordes spoken, whi-
che I purposely ompt to translate, not with
standyng the substance of the hole sentence
is herein comprised. But now to come to o-
ther poetes. What may be better sayd, than
is wyitten by Plautus in his first comedie
F. iii. ¶

Blant^o in
Amph. l.
Alc. loquas
tue.

¶ **W**orthy vertue dooeth all thynges excell.
For if libertie, helth, luyng, and substance,
Our countrey, our parentes & childzen do wel
It happeneth by vertue, the doth all aduance.
Vertue hath all thyng vnder gouernaunce,
And in whom of vertu is founden gret plenty.
Any thing that is good mai neuer be deinty.
¶ Also Quidius, that semeth to be moſte of
all poetes laſciuiouſe, in his moſt wanton
bookes hathe ryght commendable and no-
ble ſentences, as for profe thereof, I will res-
ette ſome that I haue taken at auenture.

Quidius
de remed.
amozis.

¶ **T**yme is medicine, if it ſhall profite,
Wyne gotten out of tyme may be auoiance,
I man ſhall ſeruate vice, if he prohibite
Whan tyme is not mete vnto his vttrance,
Therefore, if thou yet by counſaile art recu-
perable,
Flee thou from idelneſſe, & alway be ſtable.

¶ **A**rtallio, whiche for his diſſolute wyf-
eryng, is moſt ſeldome red of men of muche
gauttee, hath not withſtandyng many co-
mendable ſentences and ryght wyſe coun-
ſailes, as among diuers, I will reherce one,
whiche is fiſt come to my remembraunce.

Artallio
lib. vii. ad
Julian.

¶ **I**f thou wyſe eſchewe bittere aduenture,
And auoid the gnawing of a penſifull hart,
Set in no one perſon all holly thy pleaſure,
The leſſe ſhalt thou loſe, but leſſe ſhalt thou
ſmarce. I

¶ **I** coulde recite a great numbre of ſembla-
ble good ſentences, oute of theſe and othere
wanton poetes, whiche in latine do expreſſe
them incomparably, with moze grace and
delectacion to the reder, than our engliſh
ſong maie yet comprehend. Wherefoze ſens
good and wiſe matter, mai be picked out of
theſe poetes: it were no reaſon for ſome liſt-
riſ matter, that is in their verſes, to abide on
therfoze all their warkes, no moze than it
were to forbeare or prohibit a man to come
into a ſayze gardeyne, leaſt the rebolant fa-
uours of ſweete herbes and floures ſhal meue
hym to wanton courage, or leſſe in gad-
yng good and hoſome herbes, he may happen to
be ſtung with a nettle. No wiſe ma enreeth
into a gardeyne, but he ſoone eſpieth good
herbes from nettles, and treadeth the nettles
vnder his ſete, whiles he gadzeth good her-
bes: wherby he taketh no damage. Or if he
be ſtungen, he maketh light of it, and thoztly
fozgetteth it. Semblably if he do rede want-
on matter, myrte with wiſedome, he puts
teth the woſt vnder ſote, & ſorteeth out the
bell, or if his corage be ſtred of prouoche,
he remembreth the littell pleaſure and great
detriment that ſhalde cuſe of it: and with
drawyng his mynde to ſome othere ſtudy or
exerciſe, thoztly fozgetteth it.

¶ **A**nd therfoze among the ciwes, though it
were prohibite to childzen, vntill they came
to ripe yeres, to rede the bookes of Seneca,
of the iuges, Laertes, Lanticoſi, and ſome
parte

parte of the booke of Ezechiel the prophete, For that in thim was contained some matter, which mought happē to incense the pōge mynde, wherein were sparkes of carnall concupiscence, yet after certayne yeeres of mans ages, it was lesul for euery man to rede and diligently study those workes. So although I appoyne not the lesson of wanton poetes to be taught vnto all childyren: yet thynke I conuenient and necessarie, that when the mynde is become constant, and courage is astrayed, or that chyldyren of thair naturall disposition be shamfast and continent, none auncient poete wolde be excluded from the lesson of suche one, as despyeth to come to the perfection of wisdom.

¶ But in defendyng of oratours and poetes, I had almoste forgotten where I was Verily there maye no man bee an excellent poete, nor orator, vnlesse he haue part of al other doctrine, specially of noble philosophy And to say the truth, no mē can apprehend the very delectacion, that is in the lesson of noble poetes, vnlesse he haue red very much, and in diuers autours of diuers sermnges Wherefore, as I late sayde, to the augmentation of vnderstanding, called in latine *In tellectus et mens*, is required to be moche redyng and diligent studye in euery science, specially of that parte of philosophy named morall, whiche instructeth manne in vertue and politye gouernance, Also no noble autour, specially of them that wat in

greke

greke or latine before .xii. C. yeeres passed, is not for any cause to be omitted, For therein I am of Quintilianus opinion, that there is fewe or none ancient warke, that yeldeth not some fruite or commoditie to the diligent reders, and it is a very grosse or obstinate wytt, that by readdyng much, is not some what amended.

¶ Concerning the electio of other authoꝝ to be red, I haue as (I trust) declared sufficiently my conceit and opinion, in the .x. and xi. chapters.

¶ Finally, lyke as a delicate tree, that cometh of a kernel, whiche as some as it burgebeth out leaues, if it bee plucked vp, or be sufficiently rooted, and laide in a corner, becometh drye or rotten, and no fruite cometh of it: if it be remoued and sette in an other ayre or earth, whiche is of contrary qualittes where it was before, it either sensibly dyeth, or beareth no fruite, or elles the fruite that cometh of it, leaerth his verdure and tast, and finally his estimation, So the pure and excellent learning, wherof I haue spoken, though it be sown in a chyldre neuer so tymely, and spryngeth and burgebeth neuer so pleasantly, if before it take a deepe roote in the mynde of the chyld, it be laide asyde, either by to muche solace, or continuall attendaunce in seruice, or elles is translated to an other study, whiche is of a more grosse or vnplesant qualittie, before it be co-

f. b.

f. v.

firmed or stablyshed by often reading or diligent exercise in cōclusion it vanishes and cometh to nothing. Wherefore lette men respye as they lyffe, in myne opinion, men bee wonderfully disiected now adayes (I dare not say with the persuasion of auarice) that do put their children at the age of. xiiii. or xv. yeres, to the sudge of the lawes of the realme of Englande, I will shew them reasonable causes why, if they will patient ly heere me, informed partly by myn owne experience.

Howe the students in the lawes of this realme may take excellent cōmoditie by the lesse of sundry doctrines. ca. xiii.

It may not be denyed, but that all lawes be founded on the depest part of reason, and as I suppose, no one lawe so murche as our owne; and the deper men do least engage reason, the more difficulte or hard must needs be the study. Also that euereud study is inuolued in so barbarous a langage, that it is not onely boyde of all eloquence, but also being separate from the exercise of our law onely, it serueth to no cōmoditie or necessary purpose, no man vnderstandyng it, but they, whiche haue studied the lawes. Chan. cap. lxxv. at. xiiii. or. xv. yeres olde, in which yere spyngeth courage sette all in pleasure, and pleasure is in nothing, that is not facile,

of

or elegant being brought to the most difficult and graue learning, which hath nothing like house or delectate to tickle theyr tender wittes, and allure them to study, onles it be lawe, whiche a gentill wit liuel esteemeth) the moze part banquished with tediousnes, eys ther to abandon the lawes, and vnwares to their frendes, do graue them to gaming, and other (as I mought say) ybell busines, no w called pastimes, or els if they be in any wise thereto constrained, they appoynding a pece therof, as if they being long in a darke dunsion, onely dōd se by the lychte of a candoll: And if after. xx. or. xxx. yeres study, they happen to come amonge wise men, heeryng matters cōmēd of, cōcernyng a publick weale or outward affaires betwene princes, they not lesse be astonied, than if they coming out of a darke house at noon daies, were sodainly striken in the eyes with a bygght sunne beam. But I speke not this in reproch of lawiers, for I knowe diuers of them, whiche in consultation will make a right vehement reason, and so do some other, whiche haue neyther lawe nor other learyng, and if they wer furnished with excellent doctrine, theyr reason shulde be the moze substantiall and certain. ¶ There be some also, which by their seemings, be coarted to apply the study of the law onely, and for lache of plentuous exhibition be let of their libertie, wherfore they can not resort vnto pastime. These of all other bee most

moste easie awaye, for nature reprobating, the vniuersal taste any thing that may be profitable, and also their courage is so mortified (whych yet by solace perchance might be made quicke or apt to some other studie or laudable exercise, that they lyue euer after out of al estimacion: Wherefore Cully saith We shuld so endeour our selues, that we stricke not with the vniuersal nature of man but that being conserued, let vs folowe our owne proppr natures, for though there bee studies of moze grauitie and importaunce, yet ought we to regarde the studies, wherto we be, by our owne nature inclinped. And that this sentence is true, we haue dayly experience in this realme specially. For how many men be there, whose sonnes in chyldhode are aptly disposed by nature to paynt herue or graue, to embroder, or doo other lyke thynges, wherein is any arte commendable, concerning inuencion, whiche as soone as they espye it, bee therewith displeas'd, and forthyth byndeth them appentyces to tatlours, weauers, toilers, and sometyme to cobblers, whiche hath bene the inescapable losse of many good wittes, and hath caused that in the said artes englyshe men be inferiorious to all other people, and be constraigned, yf we will haue any thyng well paynted, herued, or embroded, to leaue oure owne countrey men, and resort vnto straungers: but moze of this shall I speake in the

nexte

next volume. But to resorte vnto latwyers. ¶ I thinke verily if chyldren were brought vp, as I haue wrytten, and continually were retermed in the right study of very physiolophy vntill they passed the age of xxi. yeres, and than set to the lawes of this realme (bringe ones brought to a moze certain and compendious study, and either in englyshe, latine, or good french, wrytten in a moze cleane and elegant style (vndoubtedly they shuld become men of so excellent wyseidome, that throught out all the world shuld be founden in no countrey weale moze noble counsaillours, one lawes not onely comprehending moze excellent reasons, but also being gathered and compact (as I might say) of the pure meale or flour, sifted out of the best lawes in al other countreys, as some what I do intend to proue evidently in the next volume, wherein I will render myn office or duetie, to that honourable study, whereby my father was aduanced to a Iudge, and also I my selfe haue attayned no lyttell commoditye. ¶ I suppose, there be dyuers men will say, that the sweetnesse that is conteyned in eloquence, and the multitude of doctrines shuld vnterly withdrowe the myndes of yong men from the moze necessary studie of the lawes of this realme. To them will I make a byefe answer, but true it shall bee, and I truste sufficient to wisse men. In the greate multitude of yonge men, whiche alway will resorte

payre

paye, and the law being once by wrought into
 a more certain and perfect language, will
 also increase in the recurrent study of the
 law: undoubtedly there shall never lacke,
 but some by nature inclined, others by de-
 sire of sundry doctrines, many for hope of
 lucre, or some other aduancement, will ef-
 fectually study the lawes, ne will be therfrom
 withdrawn by any other lesson, whiche is
 more eloquent. Example we haue, at this
 present tyme, of diuers excellent learned men
 bothe in the lawes ciuile and also in physick,
 whiche being exactly studied in all partes
 of eloquence, bothe in the Grecke tong and
 Latine, haue not withstanding red and per-
 used the greates fardelles and trusses of the
 moste barbarous autours stuffed with innu-
 merable gloses: wherby the moste necessary
 doctrines of lawe and physick be reduced in-
 to fragmentes, and in all wise mens opin-
 ons, do perceiue no lesse in the sayd learnyng-
 ges, than they, which neuer knew eloquence
 or neuer tasted other but the fecis of draggis
 of the sayd noble doctrines. And as for the
 multitude of sciences can not indamage any
 student, but yf he be moued to study the law
 by any of the sayd motions, by the before
 touchid, he shall rather increase therein, than
 be hindred, and that shall appere manifest-
 ly to them, that eyther will geue credence to
 my reposit, or els will rede the workes that
 I wil alleadge, which if they vnderstand not

so desyre some learned man by interpretinge
 to canse them perceiue it. And fynde I wyll
 begynne at oratours, who beare the princis-
 pall title of eloquence.

¶ It is to be remembred, that in the learning of the
 the lawes of this realme, there is at this day of rheto-
 an exercise, wherein is a manner of a shadow
 or figure of the auncient Rhetorick, I meane
 the pleadynge vsed in court and chancery cal-
 led motes: Where fynde a case is appointed
 to be moted by certain young men, containing
 some doubtful cōtroversy, which is in stede
 of the head of a declamation, called thema,
 the case being knowen, they which be apoin-
 ted to more, do examine the case, and inuesti-
 gate what they therein can say, whiche may
 make a contention, wherof may rise a ques-
 tion to be argued, and that of Tullis is cou-
 situtio, and of Quintilianus cause. Also
 they cōsider what pleas on euery part ought
 to be made, and howe the case may be reso-
 ned. Whiche is the first part of rhetorick,
 named Inuention. Then apoynt the, how
 many pleas may be made for euery part, and
 in what forme they shuld be set. Whiche
 is the seconde parte of Rhetorick, called
 dispositio, wherein they do muche appoche
 vnto Rhetorick. Then gather they all into
 perfect remembrance, in suche order as it
 ought to be pleaded, whiche is the parte
 of Rhetorick named Memoria. But for
 as much as the tongue, wherein it is spoken,

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so barbarous, and the sterpyng of affections of the mynd in this realme was neuer vsed, therefore there lacketh Eloquouion & Prouinciation, two the pynceppall partes of Rhetorike. Not withstanding som lawyers, if they be well retrained, will in a meane cause psonounce right behemly. Moreover, there seemeth to be in the sayde pleynges, certayn partes of an oration, that is to say, for Pactiones, Partitions, Confirmacions, and Confutations, named of some Rhetoricians, These haue Declaratiōs, Harres, Replications, and Responses, only they lacke pleasant forme of beginning, called in latin Exordium: nor it maketh therof no great matter, they that haue studied retorike, shall perceiue what I meane. Also in arguynge their cases, in myn opinion they lacke very littell of the hole art: for therein they do diligently obserue the rules of Confirmation and Confutation, wherein resteth ppose and dispose: hauyng almost al the places, where of they shall fetche their reasons, called of oratours Ratiō cōmunes, whiche I omit to name, fearing to be to longe in this matter. And verily I suppose, if there mought ones happen some man, hauyng an excellent wit, to be brought vp in suche fourme, as I haue hitherto written, and maye also be exactly or depely learned in the arte of an oratour, and also in the lawes of this realme, the pynce so willing and thereto assentyng, vns

doubt

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doubtedly it shuld not be impossible for him to bypnyng the pleydyng and reasonyng of the lawe, to the auncient fourme of noble oratours: and the lawes and exercise thereof, being in pure latin or douce frenche, fewe men in consultacions, shulde (in myn opinion) compare with our lawyers, by this meane bring brought to be perfect oratours, as in whom shuld than be founden the sharp wittes of logicians, the graue sentences of philosophers, the clegery of poetes, the mesmye of ciuilians, the voyce and gestute of them that can psonounce comedies. whiche is all that Cullis, in the person of the mooste eloquente man Marcus Antonius, coulde require to be in an oratour.

¶ But now to conclude mine assertiō. What lit was eloquence to the studie of the lawe in Quintus Scaenola, whiche being an excellent autor in the lawes ciuile, was called of all lawyers mooste eloquente. Or howe muche was eloquence imphyed by knowelege of the lawes in Caelius, whiche was called of all eloquente men the best lawyer.

¶ Also Seruus Sulpitius, in his tyme one of the moost noble oratours, next vnto Cullis, was not so lette by eloquente, but that on the Ciuile lawes he made notable commentes, and many noble warbes by all lawyers appoynded. Who readeth the texts of Cullis, called the Pandectes or Digestes, & hath a sayd commendable iugement in the latin tong

Li de orae
tope. li. l.

¶ but,

but he will affirme, that *Alpianus*, *Decius*, *Calus*, and all the other there named, of whose saynges al the sayde textes be assembled, were not onely studious of eloquence, but also therein wonderful exercised: for as much as their stile doth approche nere to the antique & pure eloquence, than any other kind of wytters, that wrote aboute that tyme?

Theably *Tulli*, in whom it seemeth, that eloquence hath her glorious *Chion* most richly and preciouslly adourned for al me to wonder at, but no manne to approach it, was not let from beyng an incomparable oratour, ne was by the exact knowlege of other sciences withholden, from pleading infinit causes before the *Senat* and iuges, & thei beyng of most wayghtie importauce: In so much as *Cornelius Tacitus*, an excellent oratour, historien, and lawyer, saith: Hurselfe in the booke of *Tulli*, menne more depeche, that in hym lacked not the knowlege of geometrie, ne musyke, ne grammer, specially of no maner of arte that was honeste, he ofloghe perceived the subtiltye, of that parte that was mozt al the commoditie, and of al thynges the chiefe motions and causes. And yet for all this abundance, and as it were a garnebe heaped with all maner sciences: there sayed not in hym substantiall learning in the lawes little, as it may appere as wel in the booke, whiche he hym selfe made of lawes, as also, and most specially, in many

Coim. Ca.
de orator

of his most eloquent oracions: whiche if one well learned in the lawes of this realme, did reade and well vnderstande, he shoulde finde specially in his oracions called *Actiones* against *Terres*, many places, where he shoulde chyppe by sphekyhode the fountaynes, frome whens proceeded dyuers groundes of our comune lawes. But I will no w leue to speak any moze thereof at this tyme.

In yocour, when yonge menne haue red lawes, expounded in the oracions of *Tully*, and also in histories, of the begynnings of lawes, and in the workes of *Plato*, *Aristophan*, and *Aristotell*, of the dyuers kyndes of lawes and publyke weales, if nature (as I late saide) will dispose them to that maner studie, they shal be therto the more incensed, and come vnto it the better prepared & furnished. And they whome nature therto not thus meueth, haue not onely sau'd all that tyme, whiche many now a daies do consume in idelnesse, but also haue won suche a treasure, whereby they shal all waye be able to serue honourably theyr vytyce: & the publyke weale of theyr countrey, principally if they conferre all their doctrynes to the most noble studie of moztall philosophy, whiche teacheth both vertues maners, & ciuile policie: wherby at the last we shoulde haue in this realme sufficiencye of woztippesfull lawyers, and also a publyke weale equiualtant to the *Greekes* of *Romaynes*.

GOVERNOUR

For what cause at this daye there be in this realme fewe perfecte schole maysters, Capitulo. xv.



God lozde how many good and clene wyttes of childjen be now a daies perished by ignozaunt schole maysters, howe lyttell substantial doctrine is apprehended by the fewenesse of good grammatians: Forwithstanding I know that there be some wel learned, whiche haue taught, and also do teache, but god knoweth a fewe, and they with small effect, hauing therto no comfort: these apert and mooste pyppe scholers, after they be well instructed in speakyng latine, and vnderstandyng some poetes, being taken frome thei schole by thei parents, and eyther be brought to the courte, & made lakais or pages, or elles are bounden penitentes, wherby thei worship that thei mayster aboute anye rewarde, couayteth to haue by thei prayse of his scholer, is vtterly drownded. Wherof I haue harde schole maysters very well learned, of good right, coplayne. But yet (as I said) the fewenesse of good grammatians is a great impediment of doctrine, And here I wolde thei reders shuld marke, that I note to be fewe good grammatians, and not none. I call not them grammatians, whiche only can teache or make rules, wherby a chyldre shall

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shall onely lerne to speake congrue latin, or to make speeke but his standyng in one foote, wherin perchauce shall be neyther sentence nor eloquence. But I name hym a grammatian by the auctorytie of Quintilian, that speakyng latine elegantly, can expounde good auctors, expelling the inuention and disposicion of the matter, their stile or forme of eloquence, explycatyng the figures, as well of sentences as wordes, leuynge nothing, person or place named by the auctor, vnderclered, or hydde from his scholers. Wherfoze Quintilian saith, It is not enough for him to haue red poetes, but al kyndes of wytyng must also be sought for, not for the histories only, but also for the proprietie of wordes, whiche communely doo receiue their auctorytie of noble auctors. Howeouer, withoute musike, grammer may not be perfecte: for as muche as therein musike be spoken of metres and harmonies, called rythme in greke. Neither yf he haue not the knowlege of sterres, he maye vnderstande poetes, whiche in description of tymes (I omitte other thynges) they traict of the ryfing and gongge downe of planettes. Also he may not be ignorant in philosophye, for many places that be almost in euery poete, fetched out of the most subtile parte of naturall questions. These be well sayde the wordes of Quintilian. Than behold howe fewe grammatians, after this description be in this realme.

¶ iii.

¶ iiii.

¶ Fab Quintilian. li. 1.

GOVERNOVR

¶ Undoubtedly there be in this realme many well learned, which yf the name of a scholre mayster were not so much had in contempte and also yf their labours with abundant salarics mought be requited, were epghte sufficiente and able to induce theyr herers to excellēt lernyng, so they be not plucked awaie graue, and er they be in doctrine sufficiently rooted. But now a dayes, yf to a bachelor or mayster of arte, studie of philosophie was perly tedious, yf ye haue a spone full of latin, he wyll shewe forthe a hoggesheede, without any lernyng and otre to teache grammer, and expoune noble wyters: and to be in the roome of a mayster, he will for a smalle salarie, sette a falsse colour of learning on propye wytes, whiche will bee washed awaie with one shoure of rapue. For yf the chyldren be absent frome scholre, by the space of one moneth, the best learned of them, will vnnethe tell whither *F I C D*, wherby *Enas* was brought in to *Italy*, were other a manne, a horse, a myppe, or a wilde goose: Although the their mayster wyll perchance auaunte hym selfe to be a good philospher.

¶ Some men peradventure do thynke, that at the begynnynge of learyng, it forceth not although the maysters haue not soo exacte doctrine as I haue rehersed, but lette them take good herde, what *Quintilian* saith, It is soo muche the better, to be instructed by them that are best learned, for as muche as

Virgilius
Enid, ver
su seu undo

Fab. Quid.
lib. i.

it is difficulte to put out of the minde, that whiche is ones fertilled, the double bournes being princifull to the maysters that shal succede, and verily much moze to vnteach than to teache. Wherfore it is written, that *Cris* mothe the noble musitian, demanded alway a greater reward of them, whom other had taught, than of them that neuer any thyng learned. These be the wordes of *Quintilian* or like.

¶ Also the commune experience teacheth that no manne will put his sonne to a botcher to learne, or he bynde hym pientise to a sailour. Or yf he will haue hym a connyng goldsmith, will bynde hym byste pientise to a tinkar. In these things poore menne be eycumpect, and the nobles and gentilmen, who woulde haue theyr sonnes by excellent learning come vnto honour, for sparing of coste, or for lacke of diligente seeche for a good scholre mayster, wilfully dystrope theyr chyldren, causyng them to bee taughte that learning, whiche woulde requyre six or ten yeres to be forgotten, by whiche tyme the moze parte of that age is spent, wherin is the cheefe sharpenes yf wyete, called in latin *acumen*, and also than appocheyth the stubborne age, where the chyld brought by the pleasure, disdaimeth correction.

¶ Nowe haue I all declared (as I do suppose) the cheefe impechementes of excellent learyng, of the reformation I neede not to

¶ sit.

¶ speaks



GOVERNOVR

speke, sens it is apparant, that by the contrarie, men pursting earnestly with discrete judgement, & liberalitie, it shuld sone be amended.

¶ Of sundry fourmes of exercise necessary for every gentyl man. Cap. xvi.



I thoughe I have hither to aduanced the commendation of learninge specially in gentlemen: yet it is to be considered, that continual studie, withouttosome maner of exercise, shortly exhausteth the Spirites bit all, and hindereth naturall concoction and dygestion, whereby mans body is the soner corrupted & brought into viciers & sicknesses, and finally the life is thereby made shorter. Where contrary wise, by exercise, which is a vehement motion, as Galene pynce of physitions desyneth (the helthe of man is preserved, and his strength increased: for as muche as the members by meeting and mutual touching, do waxe more harde, and naturall heate in all the bodie is thereby augmented. Wherouer it maketh the Spirites of a manne more stronge and vntyrant, soo that by the hardnes of the members, all labours be more toller able, by naturall heate, the appetite is the more quick: the change of the substance receiued, is the more sedy, the nourishing of al partes of the body

is

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is the more sufficient and sure. By valiant motion of the Spirites, all things superfluous be expelled, and the conduites of the body clenched.

¶ Wherfoze this part of physike, is not to be contened or neglected in the education of children, and specially from the age of. xiiii. yeres bywarde, in which tyme strength, with courage increaseth,

¶ Wherouer, there be diuers maners of exercises, wherof some onely prepareth and healpeth digest. n. somme augmenteth also strength and hardnes of body, other serue for agilitie and nimblenes, some for celeritie or speedynesse. There be also, which oughte to be vsed for necessitie only. All these ought he that is a tutor to a noble man, to haue in remembrance: and as oportunitie serueth to put them in experice. And specially them, which with helth do ioin commoditie (and as I mought saie) necessitie: consideringe that he neuer so noble or valiant, sometime he is subiect to perple, or (to speake it more pleasantly) seruant to fortune. Touchyng suche exercises, as may be vsed within the house, or in the shadowe (as is the olde manner of speaking) as dramulation or modest walkings, labouring with portes made of leade or other metall, called in latyne Aliters, Rysting and thpoyng the heavy stone or barre, playng at tenys, and viciers semblable exercises, I will for this tyme passe

S. v.

our,

ouer, exhortyng theym, whiche doo vnder-
stande latyne, and do desire to know the co-
mmodities of sundry exercises, to resorte to the
booke of Galene, of the gouernance of helth,
called in latyne *De sentitate tuenda*, where
they shall be in that matter abundantly satisfi-
fied, and fynde in the readdyng muche dele-
ctation: whiche booke is translated into al-
eine, wonderfull eloquently by doctour Li-
maere, late moste woorthy physicion, to our
moste noble soueraygne lorde kynge Henry
the. viii. And I wylle nowe onely speake of
those exercises, apte to the furniture of a
gentyll mans personage, adaptyng his body
to hardnesse, strengthe, and agilitie, and to
helpe therewith hym selfe in peryll, whiche
may happen in warres or other necessitie.

¶ Exercises, whereby Maide growe both
recreation and profite. Cap. Fviii.

VWastlyng is a verpe good exercise in
the beginning of youth, so that it be
with one that is equall in strength, or
somewhat vnder, and that the place be soft,
that in falling their bodies be not hurted.

Wastlyng
Galenus

¶ There be diuers maners of wastlynges,
but the best, as well for health of bodye, as
for exercise of strength is, when layyng mu-
suallly their handes one ouer a nothers necke
with the other hande, they hyde fast eche o-
ther by the arme, and claspynge their legges
toget

together, they inforce the setles with strenght
and agylytie, to thowse downe eche other
whiche is also praysed by Galene. And vn-
doubtedlye it shall be founde profitable in
warres, in case that a capitayne shall be con-
strained to cope with his aduersarys hande
to hande, hauyng his weapon broken or lost
Also it hath bene sene, that the weaker per-
son by the sleight of wastlyng, hath ouer-
throwen the stronger, almost or he coulde fasten
on the other any violent stroke.

Renning

¶ Also renning is both a good exercise and
a laudable solace. It is witten of Epamy-
nondas, the valiant capytayne of Theba-
nes (who as well in vertue and prowesse, as
in leynng, fourmounted al noble men of his
tyme) that dayly he exercised hym selfe in
the moynng, with runnyng and leapyng, in
the euenyng in wastlyng, to the intent that
whetsoeuer in armure he moughte the moze
strongly, embracing his aduersary, put him
in daunger. And also that in the chase ren-
nyng and leapyng, he moughte eyther ouer-
take his enemy, or beyng pursued, if extrem
nede required, escape hym.

¶ Semblably befoze hym dyd the woorthy
Achilles, for whyles his shippes lay at rode,
he suffered not his people to slumber in idel-
nesse, but dayly exercised theym and hym
selfe in rennyng, wherein he was mooste ex-
cellent, and passed all other: and therfore Do-
mere throughout all his warke calleth him
Swift

swifte foote Achilles.

¶ The great Alexander, beyng a chyld, excelled all his companions in running. Wherfore on a tyme one demaunded of hym, yf he wolde runne at the great game of olympus wherto out of all partes of Grece, came the moste active and valiant persones, to assay maistries. Wherunto Alexander answered in this fourme, I wolde very gladdely comme there, yf I were sure to renne with hynges: for if I shulde contende with a ppyuate person, having respect to our bothe states, our victories shulde not be equall.

¶ Pedes must runnyng be taken for a laudable exercise, seng one of the most noble captaynes of all the Romains, toke his name of runnyng, and was called Papyrus Cur for, whiche is in englyshe, Pappyrus the Renner. And also the valiant Spartus the Romayne, whan he hadde ben seven tymes Consul, and was of the age of foure scoze yeres, exercised hym selfe daily amonge the pong men of Rome, in suche wise, that there escorted people out of far partes, to beholde the strengthe and agilitie of that olde Consul, wherin he compared with the pong and lusty soultours.

swym-
myng.

¶ There is an exercise, whiche is tryght ppytable in extreme danger of warres, but by cause there seemeth to be some perylle in the learnyng thereof, and also it hath not ben of longe tyme muche used, specially among nobles

ble men, perchauce some reders wyl spetell esteeme it, I meane swymmyng. But not withstanding, yf they reuolue the imbecillitie of our nature, the hazards and dangers of battayle, with the crampes, whych shall hereafter be shewed, they wyl (I doubt not) thynke it as necessary to a captayne of man of armes, as any that I haue yet reherced.

¶ The Romaynes, who about al thynges, had mooste in estimation martiall prowesse, had a large and spacious fiede, without the cite of Rome, whiche was called Spartus fiede, in Latine Campus Spartus, wherin the youthe of the cite was exercised. This fiede adioyned to the ryuer of Tyber, to the intent that as well men as chyldren, shoulde washe and refresh theym in the water after theyr labours, as also learne to swymme.

And not men and chyldren only, but also the hores: that by suche usage they shulde moze aptely and boldly passe our greates riuers, and be moze able to resist or cut the waves, and not be aferd of pierces or great stormes, for it hath ben oftentimes sene, that by the good swymmyng of hores, many men hath bene saued: and contrary wyse, by a tymorous royle, where the water hath bnyth com to his bealy, his legges hath soltered, wherby many a good and ppye man hath perished. What benefitt receyued the holle cytie of Rome, by the swymmyng of Dratius Coses? Whiche is a noble history, and worthy

Campus
Spartus

What
benefitt
receyued
the holle
cytie
of Rome,
by the
swymmyng
of Dratius
Coses?

to be remembered.

¶ After the Romaynes had expelled Carquine their kynge, as I haue before remembered, he desired ayde of Porcena, kynge of Thuscane, a noble and valiant prince, to recover of his realme and dignitie: who with a great and puissant host, besieged the citie of Rome, and so sodainly and sharpy assaulted it, that it lacked but bytell, that he was had entred into the citie with his host, ouer the bydge, called Sublicius, where encountered with him this Diatius with a fewe Romaynes. And whyles this noble capitaine being alone, with an incredible strength resisted all the hoste of Porcena, that were on the bydge, he commaunded the bydge to be broken behynd hym, wherewithall the Thuscans thereon standyng, fell into the greate spuer of Tyber, but Diatius all armed leapt into the water, and swamme to his company. All be it that he was striken with many arrowes and darters, and also greuously wounded, not withstandinge by his noble courage and feate of swymmyng, he saued the citie of Rome from perpetuall seruitude, whiche was likely to haue ensued by the returne of the proude Carquine.

*Julius Caesar
at
swym-
myng.*
¶ How much profited the feate of swymmyng to the valyaunt Julius Caesar: Who at the battayle of Alexandri, on a bydge being a bandoned of his people for the multitude of his enemies, whiche oppressed them, whan

whan he myght no longer susteine the shoot of darts and arrowes, he boldly leapt into the sea, and dyuing vnder the water, escaped the shot, and swam the space of .L.L. paces to one of his shypes, drawinge his cote armure with his teethe after hym, that his enemies could not attaine it, and also that it mought somewhat defende hym from their arrowes: And that moze miraculow was, holding in his hand about the water, certain letters, whiche a lttel before he had receiued fro the Senat. *Scipio*

¶ Before hym Scipio (who of the Spanyardes was named the second Anniball for his prowesse) in the battayle that Scipio fought agaynst the Cimbres, whiche invaded Fraunce, whan by negligence of his people, his enemie prevailed, and put his hoste to the worse, he bringe sooze wounded, and his horse beinge losse, armed as he was in a gesseron, holding in his handes, a tergat and his sword, leapt into the ryuer of Rhone, whiche is wonderfull swift, and swymming agaynst the streame, came to his company, not without great wonderyng of all his enemies, whiche stode and behelde hym.

¶ The great king Alexander lamented, that he had not well learned to swymme. For in Indie whan he wente agaynst the puissant kynge Porus, he was constrained, in followinge his enterpryse, to conuey his host ouer a spuer of wonderful greatnes: than caused he his horsemen to gage the water, wherby

he first perceived that it came to the helmes of the hories, & in the myddle of the flame, the hories went in water to the necke, wher with the footmen being asfearde, burste not adventurously to passe over the ryuer. Alexander perceyving that, with a dolozous maner in this wise lamented, O howe most vnhappie am I of al other, that haue not o3 this time lerned to swimme. And therewith he pulled a tergate from one of his souldiours, and castynge it into the water, standynge on it, with his speare, conueyed him self with the flame, and gouernynge the tergate wisely, brought hym selfe vnto the other side of the water. Wher of his people being abashed, some assaied to swimme, some holding fast by the hories, other by speares, and other like weapons, many vpon sardels and reufes, gate ouer the ryuer: in so much as no thyng was perished save a lyttell baggage, and of that no great quantitie loste.

¶ What veltire was shewed to be in swimmyng at the syde warres, whiche the Romaynes had agaynst the Carthaginenses. It happened a battayle to be on the see betwene them, where thei of Carthage, being vanquished, wolde haue set by their sailes to haue fledde, but that perceyving dyuers yonge Romaynes, threwe theim selues into the sea, and swimmyng vnto the shippes, enforced their conuies to steyn on land, and there assailed them so asprely, that the cappy

captaine of the Romaynes, called Luctatius, might easlye take them.

¶ Howe to beholde, what excellent commo ditie is in the feat of swimmyng, sens no kynge, be he neuer so puissaunte o3 perfecte in the experiance of warres, may assure him selfe frome the necessitties, whiche fortune soweth amonge menne that be moztall. And sens on the helth and saulsegarde of a noble captaine, often tymes dependeth the weale of a realme, nothyng shoulde be kepte frome his knowlege, wherby his personne maye be in every scopredy preferuad.

¶ Amonge these exercises, it shall be conueniente, to learne to handle sundry weapons specially the swozd and the bataille axe: whiche be for a noble man most contentent.

¶ But the most honorable exercyse in myne oppynion, and that besemeth the estate of every noble personne, is to ryde surely and cleane, on a great horse and a roughe, which vndoubtedly not onely impozieth a maistris and dyede to inferiour personnes, beholdynge him aboue the common course of other men, dauntynge a fierce and cruel beas, but also is no lyttell succour, as well in pursuite of enemies and confoundynge them, as in escaping imminent daunger, whan wiskdome therto exhorteth. Also a strong and hardy hois doth sometime more damage vnder his maister, than he wylth al his weapon: and also setteth forwarde the stroke, and causeth it to lyghte

Defence
and vauns
with weapons.

Rydyng
and vauns
rynges of
hories,

Bucephal.

with more violence,

Bucephal, the horse of great kyng Alexander, who suffred none on his backe saules only his maister, at the battaile of Thebes beinge soze wounded, wolde not suffre the kyngs to depart from hym to an other hoise, but persistynge in his furiose courage, wonderfully continued out the battaile, with his fete and teth beating down and destroying many enemies: and many semblable maruallies of his strength he shewed. Wherefoze Alexander, after the hoise was slaine, made in remembraunce of hym a citie in the countrey of India, and called it Bucephal, in perpetuall memory of so worthy a hoise, which in his lyfe had so well serued hym.

What wonderful enterpryses did Iulius Cesar achieve by the helpe of his horse, whiche not onely byd be excell all other hoises in fiercenesse and swift rennyng, but also was in some partes discrepante in figure frome other hoises, hauyng his fore hoies lyke to the fete of a mā. And in that figure Plinius wyteth, that he sawe hym herued before the temple of Venus.

Other remembraunce there is of diuers hoises, by whose monstrous power, men did exploit incredible affaires: but because the report of them containeth thinges impossible, and is not wyten by any approued auctour, I will not in this place reherse them. Sauging that it is yet supposed, that the cas-
sell,

stell of Brundel in Sussex, was made by one Bcauuz, erle of Southampton, for a monument of his hoise called Brundell, whiche in sarrre countreys hadde saued his maister from many perils.

Brundell.

Now considering the vtilitie in riding great hoises, it shalbe necessarye (as I haue saide, that a gentelman doo learne to ryde a great and fierce hoise while he is tender, and the braunes and swines of his thyghes not fully consoldate.

There is also a ryghte good exercise, whiche is also expedient to learne, whiche is nam'd the vaunting of a hoise: that is to leape on him at euerye syde without anye oꝝ other helpe, speciallye whiles the hoise is going. And beinge therin expert, than armed at all pointes to assaie the same, the common ditie wherof is so manifeste, that I neede no further to declare it.

The ancient hunting of Greeces, and Romaynes, Ca. xviii.

But nowe will I procede to wyte of exercises, whiche be not vterely reproued of noble auctours, if they be vsed with oportunitie: in measure I mene hunting, hawking, & dauncing. In hunting may be an imitation of battaile, if it be suche as was vsed among them of Persia: wherof Xenophon, the noble and mooste eloquent philosopher,
p. ii. sophre

tophet, maketh a delectable mention, in his booke called the doctrine of Crisus: and also maketh a nother speciall booke, conteynynge the hote discipline of the auncient huntynge of the Grekes, & in that fouerth being vsed, it is a laudable exercise, of the which I will nowe some what write.

The huntynge of Persians Xenophon Lib. i. l. i.

¶ Crisus, and other aunciente kynges of Persia, as Xenophon wytteth) vsed this maner in all their huntynge. Firste, where as it cometh, there was in the realme of Persia, but one Citie, whiche as I suppose, was called Persepolis, there were the chyldren of the Persians, from there infancie, vnto the age of seuentene yeres, brought vp in the learning of iustice and temperaunce, & also to obserue continence in meate and drinke: in so muche, that whither so euer they went, they toke with them for their sustenaunce, but onely breade and herbes, called Cereus, in latin Psectatum: and for their drinke, a drincke to take water out of the ryuers as they passed. Also they learned to shot, & to cast the darte or iavelyn. When they came to the age of xviii. yeres, they were lodged in the palaces, that were there ordeyned for the kynge and his nobles, whiche was as well for the charge of the cite, as for the example of temperaunce, that they daierly had at their eyes given to them by the nobles: whiche also might be called Peres, by the signification of the grecke word, wherein they were called

called Omotini. Wherfore, they were accustomed to epe also in the firste kyng of the daye, and patiently to susteyne alwaie both cold and heate: And the kynge dyd se the exercised in goynge and also in cerryng. And when he intended, in his owne personne, to hunte, whiche he dyd comenly euery month, he tooke with hym the one halfe of the company of yong men, that were in the palaces. Then toke euery man with hym his bowe and quier with arrowes, his sword or hache of steele, a lyttel tergat, and two dartes. The bowe and arrowes serued to pursue beastes that were swyft: the dartes, to assaile them and all other beastes. And when their courage was chaufed, or that by fiercenesse of the beast they were in danger, than forye constrained them to stryke with the sword, or hache, and to haue good eye at the violence of the beaste, and to defende them selfe as they needed were, with theyr tergates, wherein they accounted to be the truest and mooste certayne meditation of warres. And to this huntynge the kynge bydde conducte them, and he hym selfe byste hunted suche beastes as he hapned to encounter. And when he had taken his pleasure, he than with mooste diligence dyd set o ther forwarde, beholding who hunted balyauntly, and reformynge them, who he sawe negligente or slouthfull. But as they wente forthe to this huntynge, they dyed competently: and during their huntynge they

dined no more. For yf by any occasion their hunting continued aboue one day, they toke the said dinner for their supper: and the next day, yf they kyled no game, they hunted vntill supper time: accounting those two daies but for one. And if they roke any thing, they ate it at their supper with ioy and pleasure. If nothyng were kyled, they ate only bread and crests, as I before rehered, and drank thereto water. And if any man will dispurse this diete, lette him thinke what pleasure there is in breade, to him that is hungry: and what dylectation is in drynkyng water to hym that is thurstie. Surely this maner of hunting may be called a necessary solace and pastyme, for therein is the verie imitation of battayle. For not onely it doth shewe the courage and strengthe, as well of the hoise as of him that rydeth, trauesyng ouer mountains and dales, encounteryng and ouerthrowyng great and myghty beastes: but alsoo it increaseth in them bothe agyltye and quicknesse, also sleight and poltice to fynde such passages and strattes, where they may present of intrap their enemies. Also by continuance therein, they shal easily susteyne trauayle in warres, hunger and thurst, cold and heate. Whitherto be the wordes of Fenophon, although I haue not sette them in lyke order as he wate them.

The hunting of the grekes,
 ¶ The chiefe hunting of the valiaunte Grekes was at the lyon, the lybards, the tyger, the

the wyld swyne, and the beate, and some tyme the wolfe, and the hart. Theseus, whiche was companion to Hercules, stepped the greatest parte of his renoume, for fyghtyng with the great boie, whiche the Grekes called Phera, that waked and consumed the fyeldes of a greate countrey.

¶ Pelager likewise for sleynge the greate boie in Calidonia, whiche in greatnes and fiercenes excelled all other boies: and hadde slayne many noble and valiaunte persones.

¶ The greate Alexander, in tymes vacante from battaile, delited in that maner hunting. On a tyme he fought alone with a lyon, wonderful greate & fierce, being present among other straungers, the ambassadour of Acedemonia. And after longe trauayle, with incredible myght, he ouerthrewe the lyon, and slewe hym, wher at the saide ambassadour, wonderyng maruailously, saide to the kyng, I wolde to god (noble pynce) ye shuld fight with a lyon for some great empire. By whiche wordes it seemed, that he nothing appoynted the valiauntes of a pynce by fightyng with a wild best, wherin much more was aduentured, than mought be by the victory gotte.

¶ All be it Pompey, Scythians, and diuers other noble Romanes, when they were in Numidia, Libia, & such other countreys whiche now be called Barbary & Mysico, in the vacation frason from warres, they hunted lions, lybards, and suche other beastes, fierce

The hunting of the Romanes.

and savage, to the entente thereby to exercise them selves & their souldiours. But almightie god be thanked, in this realm be no such cruel beastes to be pursued. Notwithstanding, in the hunting of red dere and falowe, mought be a great parte of semblable exercise, vsed by noble men, specially in forests, whiche be spacious: if they wolde vse but a fewe nombre of houndes, onely to harbozwe oꝝ rouse the game, by their poynnyng to gyue knoweslege, wherche waie it sleeth, the remenaunt of the dispozte to be in pursuyng with (auelyns and other weapons, in maner of war. And to thepm, whiche in this hunting doos shewe mooste pꝛowesse and actiuitie, a garlande, oꝝ some other lyke token, to be gyuen in sygne of victoꝝy, and with a topfull maner to be bꝛoughte in the pꝛesence of him that is cheefe in the companie, there to receiue consydyne pꝛaife foz their good endeuour.

¶ I dyspꝛaife not the hunting of the foxe with rennyng houndes, but it is not to be cōpared to the other hunting in commoditie of exercise. Therfoꝝ it wold be vsed in the deye wynter, whā the other game is vnseasonable.

¶ Hunting of the hare with grehousdes, is a ryght good solace foz men that be studiouse, oꝝ thepm to whome nature hath not gyuen personage, oꝝ courage apte foz the warres. And also foz gentylwome, whiche feare nether come noꝝ wynde foz appayrnyng theꝝ beaustie. And peraduentures they shall see there at,

laste dwell, than they shuld be at home in their chambers.

¶ Killpyng of dere with bowes oꝝ grehousdes, serueth well foz the pot (as to the commune soꝝnyng) and therfoꝝe it must of necessitie be sometyne vsed. But it contyneth there in no commendable solace oꝝ exercise, in comparison to the other soueraine of huntynge, yf it be diligently pꝛeceptued.

¶ As foz haukynge, I can fynde no notable remembraunce, that it was vsed of auncient tyme amonge noble pꝛyncis. I calle auncient tyme, befoꝝe a thousande yeres passed, leng whtche tyme, vertue and noblenes hath rather decayed than increased. For I coulde neuer knowe, who found fyrst that dispozt.

¶ Plinius maketh mention in his .vij. boke of the hystoꝝy of nature, that in the partes of Grece called Thracia, men and haukes, as it were by a confederacy, toke bydes togyther in this wyse. The men sprange the bydes out of the bushes, and the haukes soꝝnyng ouer theim, beate them downe, soo that the men mought casily take them. And than dyd the men departe equally the praye with the fawhons, whiche beynge well serued, eftsouones and of a custome reparyed to suche places, where beynge aloft, they pꝛeceptued men to that purpose assembled.

¶ By whiche rehercall of Plinius, we may coniect, that frome Thracia came this dyspozte of haukynge. And I doubt not, but

Haukynge.

many other, as well as I haue scene a sensible experience of wilde hobbies, whiche in some countreies that be champayne, wyl foze and lye alofte, houerng ouer larkes & quails, and keepe them downe on the grounde. whyles they, whiche awaite on the pray, do take them. But in what wyse, or where so euer the begynnyng of hauyng was, surely it is a ryght delectable solace, though therof commeth not so much vtilitie (concerning exercise) as there doeth of huntynge. But I wold our faukons mought be satiffied with the diuision of their praye, as the faukons of Charcia were, that they needed not to be woune the hennes of this realme, in such nūbe, that vntill it be shortly considered, and that faukons be broughte to a more homely diete, it is ryght likely, that within a shorte space of yeres, our familiar vulture shall be as feare, as be nowe parteiche and feaunt. I speake not this in dyspayse of the faukons but of them, whiche kepeth them lyke cockesnes. The meane gentill menne, and honest householders, whiche care for the gentill entertainment of their freendes, do find in these byrds that I saie trouth, and noble menne shall ryght shortly espie it, when they come sodenly to their freendes house, vnpurseyde for lacke of long warnyng.

¶ But nowe to returne to my purpose. Vndoubtedly hauking measurable vted and for a pastyme, gynceth to a man good appetit to
his

his supper. And at the leaste waye withdroweth him frome other baliance or dysposicion dishonest, and to body and soule perchaunce pernicions.

¶ Nowe I purpose to declare some thyng, concernyng dauncyng, wherein is mycrite of prayse and dyspayse, as I shall expresse it in suche fourme, as I trust the reader shall fynd therein a rare and syngular pleasure, with also good learnyng in thinges not yet commonly knowen in our vulgar. whiche if it be red of hym, that hath good oportunitie and quiete spience, I doubt not, but he shall take thereby suche comodities, as he should not to haue sounden in that exercise, whiche of the more part of sad men is so lyttell esteemed.

¶ That all dauncyng is not to be reproued. Capitulo .xix.

I Am not of that opinton, that all dauncyng generally is repougnant vnto vertue, all though some persones excellently learned, specially diuines, so do asserme it: whiche alwaie haue in theyr mouthes, (when they come into the pulpette) the sayyng of the noble doctour, saint Augustine: That better it weree to delux or to go to ploughte on the sonday, than to daunce. Which mought be spoken of that kynde of dauncyng, whiche was vted in the tyme of saint Augustin, whiche esey thyng with the empire of Roms, destyned from

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from their perfection, and the olde maner of dauncyng was forgotten, and none remembred, but that which was lasciuious, and corrupted the myndes of them that daunced, & prouoked syn, as semblably some do at this day. Also at that time idolatry was nat clerly extinct, but diuers fragmentes thereof remained in every region. And perchance some lewne daunces, whiche were celebrat vnto the papynns false goddes, were yet continued, for as muche as the pure religion of Christ was not in al places consolidated, and the pastours and curates had wynde at such recreations, fearynge if they shoulde hastily haue remoued it, and induced sodaynely the seueritie of goddes lawes, they shuld: slype the people thereby to a generall sedition, to the imminent daunger and subuertio of Christes hole religion, late sowne amonge them, and nat yet sufficiently rooted. But the wise and discrete doctour Saint Augustine, vsing the arte of an oratour, wherein he was right excellent, omitting all rigorosus menace or terroure, diswaded them by the mooste easys way, from that maner ceremony, belonging to idolatry, preferringe before it bodily occupacio, thereby aggravating the offence to god, that was in that ceremony, sens occupacion, whiche is necessary for mans sustynance, and in due tymes vertuous, is nat withstandinge proscribted to be vsed on the sondayes. And yet in these wordes of this

noble

THE I. BOKE.

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noble doctour, is not so generall dyspraise to all dauncyng as some men do suppose. And that for two causes. First in his comparis he preferreth nat befoze dauncyng, or toponeth thereto any vicious exercise, but annexeth it with tellyng and dygging of the earth, whiche be labours incident to mans lyuyng, and in them is conteyned nothyng that is vicious. Wherefoze the pccemince therof aboue dauncyng, qualyfenge the offence, they beynge done out of due tyme, that is to saye in an holy day, concludeth nat dauncyng to be at all tymes and in euery maner vnlaful or vicious, considering that in certayne cases of extreme necessitee, menne moughte bothe plough and delue without doing to god any offence. Also it shall seme to them, that serously do examyn the said wordes, that therein, Saint Augustine doth nat prohibite, dauncyng so generally, as it is taken, but onely suche daunces, whiche (as I late said) were superstitious, & conteyned in them a sptye of ydolatry, or els had with vnleuane motions or countenaunces irritate the myndes of the dauncers to vncleall lustes. Whereby fornication and aduoutry were daily increascd. Also in those daunces were enterlaced bittes of wanton loze or ribaudy, with frequent remembrance of the mooste vile ydols, Venus and Bacchus, as it were that the dauce were to their honour and memozy, whiche mooste of all, abhoyred from Christis religion, came

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erung the auncient error of paganism.
¶ I wolde to god those names were not at this date vsed in balades and ditties, in the courtes of princes and noble men, where many good wittes be corrupted with semblable fantasies, whiche in better wise employed, mought haue bene moze necessary to the pusblyke weale and their princes honour. But no we wyll I leaue this serious matter to diuines, to perswade or dissuade herin, according to their offices. And sens in myne opinion saint Augustine, that blessed clerke repproueth not so generally all dauncyng, but that I maie lauffully reherse some kind thereof, whiche maie be necessary, and also commendable, takyng it for an exercise: I shall no we procede to speake of the first begynnyng thereof, and in how great estimation it was had in dryuers regions,

¶ Of the first begynnyng of dauncyng, and the olde estimation thereof, Cap. xx.

There be sundry opinions of the begynall begynnyng of dauncyng. The poetes do sayne, that whan Saturne whiche denoured dryuers his chyldren, and semblable wolde haue doome with Iupiter, Rhea the mother of Iupiter, deuyfed, that Curetes, which were men of armes in that countrey, shulde daunce in armour, playyng with their swoordes and shieldes, in suche
 fourmer

Curetes.

fourme, as by that new and pleasant deuyfe, they shulde assuage the mildcolp of Saturne and in the meane tyme, Iupiter was conuerted into Phygia, where Saturne also perswyrng hym. Rhea semblably taught the people there called Coribantes, to daunce in another fourme: wherewith Saturne was estonesdenuefed and appaied. Whiche fable hath a resemblance to the hystori of the bible in the first booke of kynges, where it is remembred, that Dauid, whome god chafe fro a heper of asses, to be kyng of Jewes (who in nature excelled, and was aboue all other men by the head) declynyng frome the lawes and preceptes of god, was possessid of an euell spyrte, whiche oftentymes turmented and vexed him: and other remedies founde he none, but that Dauid, which after hym was kyng, beyng at that tyme a propre chyld, and playyng sweetly on a harpe, with his pleasant and perfect harmony, duced his minde into his pryncypate estate: and duryng the tyme that he played, the spyrte called to vex hym: which I suppose haue nat onely of the efficacy of musyke (all be it therein is moche power, as well in repressyng as excityng naturall affectes) but also of the vertue ingenerate in the chyld Dauid, that played, whom god also had predestinate to be a great kyng, and a great prophete. And for the laster apne gyftes of grace and of nature, that he was endowed with, almyghty god sayde
 of

Coribantes

of hym, that he had founde a man after this hart and pleasure. But nowe to returne to speake of daunsyng.

Potus.

¶ Some interpreters of poetes do imagin that Potus, who is supposed to haue turned hym selfe into figures, as some tyme to shewe hym selfe like a Serpente, some tyme like a Lyon, otherwhyles like water, an other tyme like the flame of fyre, signifyeth to bee none other, but a deliuer and crafty daunsler, whiche in his daunse coulde imagine the inflexions of the serpent, the soft and delectable flowyng of the water, the swiftnesse and mountyng of the fyre, the fierse rage of the Lyon, the violence and fury of the libard.

¶ Which exposition is not to be dyspaised sens it discorrdeth not from reason. But one opinion there is, which I will reherse, moze for the mery fantasie, that therein is cōteined, than for any fasty or credyte that is to be giuen therto.

Gelo the kynge of Sicile.

¶ Que Syracusis (a great and aunciente cite in Sicile) there ragned a cruell tyrant called Gelo, whiche by horrible tyrannies and oppressions, brought hym selfe in to the hatred of all his people, whiche he perceiuyng, leste by mutuall communication, they shulde conspire agaynst him any rebellyon, he prohibited al men vnder terrible menaces that no man or woman shoulde speake vnto an other, but in steed of wordes, they shulde vse in their necessary affaires, countenaun-

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ces, tokens, and mouynges, with these secte, handes, and eien, whiche for necessitie slyste vfed, at the laste grew to a perfecte and delectable daunsyng. And Gelo, not withstanding his slypse curiositie, at the laste was slayne of his people moste miserablye. But althoughe this history were true, yette was not daunsyng at this tyme fyrst begon: for Olypheus and Apuleus, the mooste auncient of poetes, and also Homere, whych were longe afoze Gelo, doode make mention of daunsyng. And in Delus, whiche was the mooste auncient temple of Apollo, no solemnitie was done without daunsyng.

¶ Also in Indie, where the people honozeth the son, they assemble together, and whā the sonne slyste appereth, ioynd all in a daunce they salute him, supposing that for as much as he mouerth without sensible noise, it pleaseth hym best to be likewise saluted, that is to saie with a pleasante motion and silence.

¶ The interpreters of Plato do thynke, that the wonderful and incomprehensible order of the celestall bodie, I meane sterres and planettes, and their motions harmonycall, gaue to them, that intently, and by the depe searche of reason beholde their courys, in the sundrye diuersities of nombze & tyme, a forme of imitation of a semblable motiō: whiche they called daunsyng. Wherfore the moze nere they approached to that temperance, and subtile modulation, of the sayde supers-

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erious

four bodies, the more perfect and commendable is their dauncing: whiche is most lyke to the trouthe of anye opinion that I haue hitherto founden.

¶ Other fables there be, whiche I omit for this present tyme: And now I will expresse, in what estimation dauncing was hadde in the auncient tyme, and also sundry fourmes of dauncing, not al, but such as had in them a semblaunce of vertue or hunning.

Archa felderis.

¶ When the arke of god (wherin was put the tables of the commandementes, the perd, wherewith Moyses deuised the red see, and dyd the myracles in the presence of Pharao, kynge of Egypte: also a parte of manna, wherewith the chyldren of Israel were fedde fouerty yeres in deserte) was recovered of the Philistines, & broughte vnto the citie of Gaba, the holie kynge Dauid, wearyng on hym a lynen surplice, daunced befoze the sayde arke, folowynge hym a greet nombre of instrumentis of musike: wherat his wyfe Achol, the daughter of kynge Saul, disdaind and scorned hym, wherewith (as holpe scripture sayth) almyghtie god was muche displeasid. And Dauid not cessynge, daunced forpously throughte the citie, in that manour honoryng that Solenne feast, whiche among the iewes was one of the chiefe and principall, wherewith god was more pleasid, than with all the other obseruances that then were done vnto hym at that tyme.

¶

¶ I will not trouble the readers with the infinite numerable ceremonies of the gētilles, whiche were cōprehended in dauncinges, sens they ought to be noumbered among superstitions. But I will declare, howe wyse men and valiantie capitaines embraced dauncing for a soueraigne and profitabie exercise.

¶ Licurgus, that gaue syzle lawes to the Lacedemones (a people in greece) ordeyned that the chyldren there shoulde be taughte as diligently to daunce in armure, as to fyght. And that in tyme of warres, they shuld incite them in battayle agayn their ennemys, in fourme and maner of dauncing.

¶ Semblablye the olde inhabitants of Ethiopia, at the tosynge of their battalles, and when the trumpettes and other instrumentes souned, they daunce: and in steede of a quiter, they haue their darts set about their heades, like to ratcs or beames of the sonne, wherewith they beleue that they put their ennemys in feare.

¶ Also it was not lesul for any of the, to cast any dart at his enemye but dauncing. And not only this rude people esteemed so much dauncing, but also the most noble of the greekes, whiche for their excellencie in prowesse and wisdom, were called halfe goddis, as Achilles, and his son Hierus, and diuers other. Wherfoze Homere, among the high benefices that god giueth to man, reciteth dauncing. For he sayeth in the firste booke of Iliados.

I ii

God

God graſteth to ſome mā piowelle martial
To a nother daunſing, with ſōg harmonicall

¶ Suppose ye, that the Romaynes, whiche
in grauitie of maners paſſed the Grekes,
had not great pleaſure in daunſyng: Did not
Romulus, the fyrſt kynge of Romaines, and
builder of the citie of Rome, ordeyne certain
pyeſtes and mynyſters to the god Mars,
whom he aduanted to be his father: whiche
pyeſtes, for as much as certaine tymes,
they daunſed aboute the citie with tergates
thāt they ymagined to fall from heuē, were
called in latine Salii, whiche into engliſhe
may be translated daunſers, who continued ſo
long tyme in reuerence among the Romaines
that vnto the tyme that they were chryſtened
the noble menne and pynces chyldeyn there
byng made diligence and ſuite, coueried to
be of the college of the ſaide daunſers.

¶ Moreover, the emperours, that were moſt
noble delited in daunſing, perceiuyng therein
to be a perfecte meaſure, whiche may be cal-
led modulation: wherein ſome daunſers of
olde tyme ſoo wonderfullly excelled, that they
wolde plainely expreſſe in daunſyng, with
out anye wordes, or dittie, hyſtorie, with the
hole circumſtance of all thyngs in them con-
teyned, wherof I ſhall reherſe two merua-
lous experiences.

¶ At Rome, in the tyme of Nero, there was
a philoſopher called Demetrius, which was
of

of that ſect, that for as much as they aban-
doned all ſhamefullnes, in their wordes and
actes, they were called Ciniſi, in engliſhe
doggyſhe. This Demetrius often reproving
daunſing, wolde ſay, that there was nothing
therin of anye impoſtance, and that it was
none other, but a counterſaitpynge with the
feete and handes, of the armonye that was
ſhewed befoze in the rebecke, Chalme & other
inſtruments, and that the motions were but
vayne and ſeperate from al vnderſtandyng,
and of no purpoſe or efficacye. Wherof heas-
pyng a famous daunſer, and one as it ſemed
that was not without good learning: and
had in remembrance many hiſtozies, he came
to Demetrius, and ſayde vnto hym: My I
humbly deſyre you, reſuſe not to do me that
honestie with your preſence, in beholding ſome
dance, which ye ſhal ſe me do without ſounde
of any inſtrument. And than if it ſhal ſeme to
you worthy diſplaye, vtterlye banyiſhe and
conſoūd my ſcience. Wherunto Demetrius
graſted. The yong man daunſed the aduon-
tey of Mars and Venus, and therein expreſ-
ſed how Vulcan, huſband to Venus, ther-
of beynge aduerted by the ſonne, layde ſtra-
ces for his wife and Mars: alſo howe they
were wounden and tyed in Vulcanes net:
moreouer, howe all the goddis came to the
ſpectacle, ſynally howe Venus all aſhamed
and bluſhyng, fearefully deſyred hir louce
Mars to deliuer hir from that perill, and the

residue conteyned in the fable: whiche he did with so subtil and crafty gesture, with such a plaine declaration of euery acte in the matter, whiche of all thing is most difficile, with such a grace and beautie, also with a wit so wonderfull and pleasaunt, that Demetrius as it seemed, therat reioysing and deliiting, cryed with a loude voyce: O man I doo not onely se, but also here what thou dost: And it seemeth alsoo to me, that with thy handes thou speakest, Which saying was confirmed by all them that were at that tyme present.

The same ponge man songe and daunced on a tyme befoze the emperour Nero, when there was also present a strange kyng which vnderstode none other language but of his owne countrepe: yet not withstandyng, the man daunced soo aptly and plainly, as his custome was, that the strange kyng, althought he perceined not what he sayde, vnderstode euery deale of the matter. And whā he hadde taken his leaue of the emperour to departe, the emperour offered to giue hym any thyng that he thoughte moughte be to his commoditie, ye maye (saied the kyng) vounteously rewarde me, yf I sende me the ponge man that daunced befoze your maiesty Nero wondryng, and requiering of him, why he so importunately desyred the daunser, or what commodytie the daunser moughte bee vnto hym. Whi, sayed the kyng, I haue desyres conking & neighbours, that be of sundry
lan.

languages & maners, wherfore I haue often tymes neede of many interpretours. Wherfore if I had this man with me, and shoulde haue any thyng to do with my neyghbours he wold so with his facion & gesture expresse euery thyng to me, and teache them to do the same, that from hensforth I shuld not haue neede of any interpretour.

Also the ancient philosopher commended daunying: in soo muche, as Socrates, the wyfdest of all the greekes in his tyme, and from whome all the sectes of philosophers, as from a fountayne were deriued, was not ashamed to accounte daunying among the serious disciplines, for the comendable beautie, for the apte and proportionate meuyng, and for the crafty disposicio and factioing of the body.

It is to be consydered, that in the said ancient time, there were diuers maners of daunying, whiche varied in the names, likewise as they dydde in tunes of the instrument, as semblablye, we haue at this daye. But those names, some were generall, some were speciall, the generall names were giuen of the vniuersal soueraine of daunying, wherby was represented the qualites or conditions of sundry astatates: as the maiestie of piety was shewed in that daunse whiche was named *Eumelia*, and belinged to tragidies: disolute motions, and wanton countenaunces, in that which was called *Loydax*, and pertained to

I iiii.

some

comedies: wherein men of base hauiour onely daunfed. Also the fourine of battaile and fghtyng in armure, was expreffed in thofe daunces, whiche were called Enoplie. Also there was a kynde of daunfynge called Hyomus of all the other moft like to that, whiche is at this tyme vsed wherein daifed yong menne and maydens: the manne expreffynge in his motion and countenance strength and courage, apt for the warres: the mayden moderation and chafteftenes, whiche expreffed a pleafante coniunction of foititude and temperance.

In fteede of thefe we haue now base daunfes, bargenettes, paupons, turgions, and roundes. And as for the fpeciall names, they were taken as they be now, either of the names of the fpyte inuentours: or of the meafure and nymbre that they do conteyne: or of the fpyte wordes of the dittie, whych the fong cōprehendeth, wherof the daunfe was made. In euerye of thefe daunfes, there was a comenitie of meupnge the foote and body, expreffynge fome pleafant or profitable affectes or motions of the mynde.

Here a manne maye beholde, what craffe was in thancient tyme in daunfynge, whiche at this daye no man can imagine or coniecte. But if we wolde nowe applye the fpyte part of thefe pouthes, that is to fay frowne feuen yeres, to twentye, effectually in the feuen yeres liberal, and knowlege of hydropes, they

shulde

shulde reuue the ancient forme as well of daunfynge, as of other exercyses. Wherof they mought take not onely pleafure, but also profyte and commoditee.

Wherfoze in the good order of daunfynge, a man and woman daunfeth together. Cap. xxi.

It is diligently to be noted, that the company of man and woman in daunfynge, they bothe obferuynge one nymbre and tyme in theyr meupnges, was not begonne without a fpeciall confideration, as well for the neceffarye coniunction of thofe two perfons, as for the imitation of fundrye vertues: whiche be by them reprefented.

And for as muche as by the fornyng of a man and a woman in daunfynge may be fignified matrimony, I could in declaring the dignitie & comoditee of that Sacrament, make intire volumes, if it were not fo commonly knowen to all men, that almost euery feeres fymptour carcieth it written in his bofome.

Wherfoze lefte in repetynge a thyng fo frequent and comone, my boke shulde be as fastidious or fulfome to the readers, as fuche marchant preachers be now to their customers. I will reuerently take my leaue of bytimes. And for my parte, I will endeuoure my felfe, to afsemble out of the bokes of ancient poetes, and philofophers, mater as wel

A b apte

GOVERNOR

apte to my purpose, as also newe, or at the lesse wise infrequent or seldom hard of them that have nat radde verpe many autozo in greke and latine.

¶ But now to my purpose. In euery daunce of a most aunciente custome, there daunseth together a man and a womā, holding eche o ther by the hande of the arme, which beto heth meth concord. Howe se behoueth the daun sers, and also the beholders of the, to know all qualittes incident to a man, and also all qualittes to a womā likewise appertaining.

¶ *Manner
qualittes.*

¶ A man in his natural perfection is fierse, hardy, stronge in opinion, couetouse of glory, desirous of knowlege, appetityn by generation to tryng fothe his semblable.

The good nature of a woman is to be myld timorous, tractable, benigne, of sure remembrance, a shamsall. Diuers other qualittes of eche of them mought be found out, but these be most apparant, and for this time sufficient.

¶ Wherefoze whan we beholde a man and a woman daunspyn together, let vs suppose there to be a concorde of all the said qualittes, beyng ioyned together, as I haue sette them in order. And the meynge of the man wold be more vehement, of the woman more delicate, and with lesse aduancynge of the body, signifyng the courage and strengthe that ought to be in a man, & the pleasant sobri nesse that shulde be in a woman. And in this wyse fierfenes, ioyned with myldenes, ma keth

THE . I. BOKE. 70

heth Seueritie: Hardinesse with Timorositie, maketh Magnanimitie, that is to say, basiliant courage wilfull opinion and Tractabilittie (whiche is to be shortly perswaded and meud) maketh Libertie, a vertue: Courtesie of glorie, adorned with benignitie, causeth honour: Desire of knowlege, with sure remembrance, procureth Sapience: Shamsallnes ioyned to appetite of generatio, maketh Continence: which is a meane betwene Chastitie, and inordinate lust. These qualittes, in this wise beyng knyt together, and signified in the personages of man and woman daunspyn, do expresse or sette out the figure of very nobilitie: which in the hygher estate is conteyned, the more excellent is the vertue in estimation.

¶ Howe daunspyn may be an introduction vnto the first morall vertue called prudenec. Capit. xxi.

As I haue all redy affirmed, the principalle cause of this my lyttell enterprise, is to declare an Induction of meane, howe chyldren of gentil nature or disposition maye be trayned into the way of vertue with a pleasant facilitie: And for as muche as it is very expedient, that there bee myrt with study, some honest and moderate dispoite, or at the lest way recreation, to re sompoit and quicken the vitall spirites, lest they

they long trauaillinge of being muche occupied in contemplation of remembrance of thynges graue and serious, mought happen to be fatigate, or perchance oppressed. And therfore Cully, who vneth founde euer any tyme vacant from studie, permittech in his fyrst booke of officers, that men may vse plays and disport: yet notwithstandinge in suche wyse as they do vse sleepe and other maner of quiete, when they haue sufficiently disposed reuel matters of weighty importance.

¶ Howe because there is no pastyme to be compared to that, wherein maye be founden bothe recreation and meditation of vertue: I haue amonge all honest pastymes, wherein is exercise of the body, nored dauncynge to be of an excellent vtilitie, comprehending in it wonderfull figures (whiche the grekes do call *Idea*) of vertues and noble qualitees, and specially of the comodious vertue called

Cl. of. li. l.
Prudence.

prudence, whome Cully desyneth to be the knowlege of thynges, whiche ought to be despyed and folowed: and also of them, whiche ought to be fled frome or eschewed. And it is named of Aristotle the mother of vertues, of other phylosophers it is called the capitayne or maystresse of vertues, of some the house wyfe, for as muche as by her diligence she dothe inuestigate and prepare places apt and convenient, where other vertues shall execute their powers or offices. Wherfore as Salomon saith, Like as in water be
Q. 2. 2.

Q. 2. 2.
¶ Howeth the visages of them that beholde it, so vnto men that be prudent, the secretes of mens hartes be openly discovered. This vertue being so commodious to man, and as it were the portche of the noble palayce of mans Reason, whereby al other vertues shall enter it seemeth me ryght expedient, that as sone as oportunitie maye be founden, a childe of yonge man, be therto induced. And because that the studie of vertue is tedious for the moze part to them that do flourish in yongeres, I haue deuyced, howe in the foureme of dauncynge now late vsed in this realme among gentlemen, the hole description of this vertue prudence may be fouden out and wel perceyued, as wells by the dauncers, as by them, whiche standing by, will be bylygent beholders and markers, hauing fyrst wyne instruction surely graue in the table of their remembrance. Wherfore all they that haue their courage styred towarde very honoure or perfect nobilitie, let them appoche to this pastyme, and epher them selues prepare the to daunce, or els at the lesse way behold with watchyng eien, other that can daunce truly, heppynge inste measure and tyme. But to the vnderstanding of this instruction, they must marke well the sundry motions and measures, whiche in teus foureme of dauncyng is to be specially obserued.

¶ The fyrst meuyng in euery daunce is called honoure, whiche is a reuerent inclination

as curately, with a long deliberation or pause and is but one motion, comprehending the epine of thre other motions or setting forth the epine of the foote: By that may be signified, that at the beginning of al our actes, we shuld doe due honour to god, which is the roote of prudence, whiche honour is compacte of these thre thynges, feare, loue, and reuerence. And that in the beginnynge of all thynges, wee shuld awfully, with some tract of time, beeholde & foisee the successe of our enterpryse.

Celeritie
quickness
& slownesse

3 bzantle

By the seconde motion, whiche is two, in numbe, may be signified celeritie and slownesse: whiche two, al be it they seme to differre in their effectes and natural properties therfoze they may be well resembled to the bzantle in daunlynge, for in our englyshe tongue we saie, men do bzantle, whan betwene them is altercacion in wordes) yet of the two synneth an excellent vertue, wherunto we lacke a name in englyshe. Wherfoze I am constrained to vsurpe a latine worde, calling it *Maturitie*, whiche worde though it be straunge and darke, yet by declaringe the vertue in a few mo wordes, the name ones brought in custome, shall be as easie to vnderstande as other wordes late commen out of Italy and Fraunce, and made denizens among vs.

Maturitie

Maturitie is a meane betwene two extremities, wherin nothing lacketh or exceedeth, and is in suche a state, that it may neyther increase nor minyssh without losynge the des-

nomi-

nomination of *Maturitie*. The grekes in a proverbe do expresse it properly in two wordes, whiche I can none otherwise interpret in englyshe, but speede the slowly.

¶ Also of this word *Maturitie*, sprange a noble and pious sentence, recited by *Sallust* in the battaile against *Catiline*, whiche is in this maner or like, Consult before thou enterpryse any thyng, and after thou hast taken counsell, it is expedient to do it maturely.

Maturum in latin may be interpreted ripe or redy, as fruite whan it is ripe, it is at the very poynt to be gathered and eaten. And euery other thyng, whan it is redy, it is at the instant after to be occupied. Therfoze that worde *maturitie*, is translated to the acts of man, that whan they be done with such moderation, that nothing in the doynge may be seene superfluous or indigent, we maye say that they be maturely doone: refering the wordes ripe and redy, to fruite and other thinges separate from assayes, as we haue now in vsage. And this do I now remember for the necessary augmentation of our langage.

¶ In the excellent and most noble emperour *Octavianus Augustus*, in whome reigned all nobilitie, nothing is more commended, than that he hadde frequently in his mouth this worde *Matura*, do maturely. As he shoulde haue sayde, do neyther to much ne to lyttell, to loone ne to late, to swyftly nor slowly, but in due tyme and measure.

¶ Howe

στιβυλῆ
βραχύνω

Festina,

Tenae.

Prisquam

incipias

consulto.

Maturum.

¶ Howe I trust I have sufficiently expounded the vertue called Patience, whiche is the meane of mediocritie betwene slothe and celeritie, commonly called speednes, and so have I declared, what vitiitie may be taken of a hault in dauncyng.

The thirde and fourthe branches of prudence. Capl. xxiii.

Singles in dauncyng.

The thirde motion called singles, is of two vinties seperate in pacynge forwarde: by whom maye be signified prouidence and industry, whiche after euery thing maturely achieved, as is before wytes maketh the first pace forwarde in dauncyng. But it shall be expedient to expounde, what is the thyng called Prouidence, for as much as it is not knowen to euery man.

Prouidence what it is.

¶ Prouidence, is wherby a man not onely forseeeth commoditie and incomoditie, profit and aduersitie, but also consulteth, and therewith endeuoureth as well to repell annoyauce, as to attaine and get profit and aduantage. And the difference betwene it and consideration is, that consideration onely consisteth in ponderyng and examynyng thynges, conceyued in the mynde: Prouidence in healyng them with counsaile and acte. Wherfore to consideration pertaineth excogitation and auysement, to prouidence, prouision and executio. For like as the good husband

Consideration what it is.

husbande, whan he hath sowed his ground, seeth by clowthes of shedes, which some call Mayles, some blenthers, or other lyke Qewes, to feare away byrds, which he forseeeth eadye to deuoure and hurte his coine, also perceyuing the impossytable wedes aperryng, whiche wyl anoye his coine or herbes, sooth with wedeth them cleue out of his grounde, and wyl not suffre them to growe or encrease. Semblabyle, it is the parte of a wyse man to forsee and prouide, that either in suche thynges, as he hath acquired by his study or diligence, or in suche affaires as he hath in hande, he be not indamaged or oppressed by his aduersaries.

¶ In lyke maner a gouernour of a publyke weale ought to prouide as well by menaces, as by sharpe and terrible punishmentes, that persons yuell and vnposytable, do not corrupte and deuoure his good subiectes. Finally there is in prouidence suche an aduersion and maiestie, that not onely it is, attributed to kynge and rulers, but also to god creatour of the world.

Industry.

¶ Industry hath not ben so long tyme blessed in the englyshe tongue, as Prouidence: wherfore it is the moze strange, and requyret the moze playne exposition. It is a qualite, proceeding of wyette and experyence, by the whiche a manne perceyuethe quickly, inuentereth freshly, and complayteth speedily: wherfore they that be called Industrious, doo mooste crafty

craftily and deeply vnderstande in all affaires, what is expedient, and by what means and wayes, they may sonest exploitte them. And those things, in whome other men treat wyle, a person industrious lightly and with facilitie speeth, and findeth new wayes and means to byng to effects that he desyreth.

¶ Amonge dyuers other remembred in hystories, suche one amonge the greekes, was Alcibiades, who beyng in chyldhoods mooste amiable of all other, and of mooste subtyle wytt, was instructed by Socrates. The sayde Alcibiades, by the shapenes of his wytt, the doctrine of Socrates, and by his owne experience in sondy assayes in the commune weale of the Athenienses, became soo industrious, that were it good or euill that he enterprised, nothing almost escaped that he achede nat, were the thyng neuer so difficile (or so who sayth) impenturable: and that manye sondy thynges, as well for his countrey, as also agayne it, after that, he for his inordinate pyde and lechery was out of Athens exyled.

Alcibiades.

Jul. Cesar

¶ Amonge the Romains, Caius Julius Cesar, which first toke vpon him the perpetual rule and gouernance of the empire, is a noble example of industrie, for in his incoparable warres, and busines almost incredible, he byd not onely excoigat most excellent policies and deuyses, to banquish the enemyes his enemies, but also persecuted them weth
suche

suche celeritie and effects, that dyuers and manye tymes he was in the campe of his enemyes, or at the gates of their towncs, or fortresses, whan they suposed, that he & his hoste had ben two days iourney from thens, leaping to them no tyme or leysure, to consult or prepare again him sufficient resistance. And euer that, this qualite, industrie, so reigned in him, that he him selfe wolde minister to his secretaries at one tyme & instant, the contentes of the sondy epyttes or letters. Also it is a thyng wonderfull to remembre, that he beyng a pynce of the most auncient and noble house of the Romains, and from the tyme that he came to mannes estate, almost continually in warre, also of gloiy insatiable, of courage inuincible, coulede in affaires of suche importance and difficultie, or (whye he is moche more to be meruayled at now) wolde soo exactly wytt the hystorie of his owne actis and gestes: that for the nature & imitable eloquence, in expelling the counsailes, wises couentions, progressions, interpyles, exploitures, fourmes, and facions of unbatayling, he seemeth to put all other wytters of lyke matters to sylence.

¶ Here is the perfecte patene of industrie, whiche I trust shall suffice to make the pyoze signification therof, to be vnderstand of the readers. And consequently to incense them to appoche to the true practysing therof.

¶ Good is the sengles declared in these two
B. 2. quae

qualities, Providence and Industrie, which seriously noted, and often remembred of the dauncers and beholders, shall acquire to the moe lypel fruits and commoditie, yf there be in theyr mynde any good and laudable matter for vertue to worke in.

¶ Of the spete bjaunche called circumspection, shewed in repynse. Cap. xxiii.

Repynse
in dauning.

Commonly nexte after singles in dauning is a repynse, whiche is one moe upng onely, puttyng backe the ryght fote to his fetowe: And that may be wel called circumspection, whiche signifieth as moch, as beholding on every part, what is wel and sufficient, what lacketh, how, & from when it may be pouldred: Also what hath caused pynsye of damage in the tyme passed, what is the estate of the tyme presente, what advantage of peryl maye succede, or is imminent. And because in it is cōteyned a deliberation in hauing regard to that that foloweth, and is also of admyttie with poudner and industrie, I make hyn in the fourme of a recitat. In this motion a man may, as it were on a mountayne of place of espial, beholde on every syde farre of, measurynge and estymynge every thyng: and epyther purltwe it, yf it be commendable, or escheue it, if it be noyfull. This qualitie (lyke as poudner and industrie be) is a bjaunche of Providence, whiche

some call the pynesse of vertues: and it is not only expedient, but also needfull to every estate and degree of menne, that doo contynue in the lyfe called actiue.

¶ In the Iliados of Homere, the noble biche Nestor, a man of merayulous eloquence & long experience, as he that spued the mens lyues, as he there auanteth, in the counsaile that he gatte to Agamemnon, to reconcile to hym Achilles, the moeste strong and valpante manne of all the greekes, he persuaded Agamemnon specially to be expeumspecte, declaryng, howe that the pynate contention betwene them, shuld repleine the hoost of the Greekes with moche dolour: wherat hynge Priamus and his chyldren shuld laugh, and the residue of the Trojanes in their minde, shoulde restoyse and take courage.

¶ Amonge the Romayns Quintus Fabius for this qualitie is souerainely extolled as amonge hylojens: and for that cause he is often tymes called of them Fabius cōsator, that is to say, the tarter or delayer. For in the warres betwene the Romayns and Anniball, he knowynge all costes of the countrey, continually kepte him and his hoost on mountaynes and hygge places, within a small distance of Hanniballes armie: so that nethe he wolde flee from his enemies, nor yet copys with them battaile. By whiche wonderfull policie, he caused Anniball to be trauaile, thus some tyme for lacke of vittaille, and for woe

li. 3. epuelle.

Nestor

Fabius

ynesse, great multitudes of his hooſe perpe-
 ned. Alſo he oftentimes awayed them in
 dangerous places, vnder, and than Chyrus
 ned with them, as long as he was ſure to
 haue of them aduantage, & after he repayed
 to the high places adoyning, vſyng his ac-
 cuſtomed maner to beholde the paſſage of
 Hanniballe. And by this meanes, this moſte
 circumſpecte capitayn Fabius, wonderfully
 increaſed the power of the ſayde Hanniballe,
 whiche is no laſſe eſteemed in praife, than the
 ſubduyng of Cartage by the valyaunt Scipio.
 For yf Fabius had not ſoo fatigate An-
 nibal and his hoſte, he had moztly ſubuerted
 the epte of Rome, and than coulde not Scipio
 haue bene able to acheue that enterpriſe.

King Henry
 the ſecond.

¶ What moze cleere mirror of ſpectacle can
 we deſyre of circūſpection, than King Hen-
 RY the SEVENTH, of moſt noble me-
 moie, father vnto our moſt dread ſoueraigne
 lord, whoſe woztly renome, like the ſonne in
 the myddes of his ſphere, ſpyneth a ſure ſhall
 ſhine in mens remembrance: what incompara-
 ble circumſpection was in hym alway founden,
 that notwithstanding his long abſence
 out of this realme, the diſturbāce of the ſame
 by ſonday ſeditious among the Nobilitie, & ſi-
 uile warres and batayles, wherein infinite
 people were ſlayne, beſyde Chyrmylides and
 ſlaughters in the pynted contentions and ſa-
 ctions of byrres gentlemen, the lawes layde
 in water (as is the prouerbe) affection & auer-
 ſice,

eyer, ſubduyng iuſtice and equitie: Yet by his
 moſt excellent wit, he in ſewe yeres, not only
 broughte this realme in good order, and vnder
 due obedience, reuened the lawes, mainte-
 ned Juſtice, reſtored his dominions, and
 repayed his manours, but alſoo with ſuch
 circumſpection treated with other pynces
 and realmes, of leagues, of ailaunce, and ami-
 ties, that during the moze part of his reigne,
 he was lytle or nothing inquieted without
 toaere hoſtilite or martiall buſineſſe. And yet
 all other pynces either feared hym, or hadde
 hym in a fatherly reuerence. Whiche prayſe
 with the honoure ther vnto deuoe, as inheri-
 taunce deſcendeth by eyghte vnto his moſte
 noble ſonne, our moſte dere ſoueraigne lord
 that nowe preſently reigneth. For as Cull
 ſayth, The beſt inheritance, that the fathers
 leaue to their chyldre, excellen all other patri-
 monie, as the gloiy of praife of vertue & noble
 actis: and of ſuch ſayre inheritance his high-
 nes maye compare with any pynce that euer
 reigned, whiche he daily augmenteth, adding
 thereto other ſonday vertues, wherby I for
 feare now to reherſe, to the intent I wll ex-
 clude all ſuſpitions of flatterie, ſens, I my ſelfe
 in this warke doo ſpecially reſpoue it. But
 that which is preſently knowen, and is in ex-
 perience nedeth no monument. And vnto ſoo
 excellent a pynce, there ſhall not lacke hereaf-
 ter ſondayde wyters to regyſter his actis,
 with eloquent ſtyle in perpetual remembrance.

Of the spirite seventh and eight braches
of puidence. Cap. xv. b.

A Double in daunsing is compacte of
the nombze of thze, wherby maye be
noted theze thze branches of puidence,
election, experience, and modestie: by theze
the sayde vertue of puidence is made com-
plete, and is in her perfection. Election is of
an excellent power and auctoytie, and hath
suche a maichie, that she wyl not be appoynted
vnto of euerye man. For some there be,
to whom she denyet her ptesence, as chyld-
dzen naturall foolles, menne beyng frantike,
oz subdued with affectes, alsoe they that be
subiectes to flaterers and pvyde menne. In
theze persones reason lacketh libertie, whis
she shulde prepare they; entze vnto election.
This election, wherby is part, and as it were
a membre of puidence, is best described by
Opoytunitie, wherby is the pncipall parte
of counsaile, and is compacte of theze thyn-
ges folowynge.

The importaunce of the thynge consu-
led, The facultie & power of hym that consu-
leth, The tyme whā. The fourme how, The
substance wherewith to do it, The dispositiō
and vsages of the countreis, For whom and
agayne whom it oughte to be done. All theze
thynge ppeposed and gathered together
seriously, and after a due examination, es-
ay of them iustly pondyed in the balance of
reason,

Election.

Opoytu-
nitye.

reason. Immediately commeth the auctoytie
of election, who taketh on her to appoynt,
what is to be effectually folowed oz pursued
executinge the respōdue. And than ought expe-
rience to be at hande, to whom is committed
the actual execution. For without her, Ele-
ction is frustrate, and all inuention of man
is but a fantasy. And therfoze who a dauides
ly beholdeth the estate of mans lyfe, shal wel
percepe, that all that euer was spoken of
wynter, was to be executed, and so that in-
uent was spech specially gyuen to man, wher
in he is moſte discrepant, from byzte beaſtis,
in declarynge by them what is good, what
vicious, what is ppyſtable, what impoſ-
ſible, whiche by cōſideratiō of wynter to excell
in knowledge to theze that be of a moze inſe-
ſiour capacite. And what vtilitie shulde be
acquyred by suche declaratiō, if it shulde not
be experienced with diligēce?

The philosopher Socrates had not be na-
med of Apollo the wyſest man of all Grecia,
yf he had not dayle pꝛactysed the vertues,
whiche he in his lessons commended.

Julius Cesar, the first emperoz, although
there were in hym moche bydde learning, in
so moche as he first founde the order of our
halendye, with the civill and byſect, called the
leape pece: Yet is he not so moche honoured
for his learninge, as he is for his diligēce,
wherewith he explored oz brought to conſi-
deratiō thoſe counsailes, whiche as well by his

Experiēce
oz executiō.

Socrates.

Jul. Cesar

B b

excl.

excellent learning and wisdom, as by the ad-
vantage of other expert counsaillours were be-
foze treated, and as I mought say) vtilate.
¶ Who wpll not repute it a thinge vayne
and scornfull, and moze lyke to a maygame,
than a matter serious or comendable, to be-
holde a personage, whiche in speche or wyse-
pyng, expelseth nothyng but vertuous ma-
ners, sage and discrete counsailes and holy
aduertisementes: to be resolued into all by-
eres, following in his actes nothyng that he
hym selfe in his woordes approueth and tea-
cherly to other?

¶ Who shal any thing esteeme theyr wisdom
whiche with great studies fynd out remedies
and prouisions necessary for thinges dys-
ordred or abused, & where they them selves may
execute it, they leaue it vntouchd, wherby
they deuaise, with the show that prouideth
them, be vanyshed and come to nothyng?

¶ Wherof it is to be thought in all other
doctrines. Wherfoze as it seemed, it was not
without consydracion assyrm'd by Cullis,
that the knowledg and contemplation of
Natures operations were lame and in a ma-
ner imperfect, if there folowed none aduail
experience. Of this shall be moze spoken in
the later ende of this worke.

¶ Herewith wold: be conspyred or rather
mixte with it, the vertue called Modesty:
whiche by Cullis is desygned to be the know-
ledge of oportunitie of thinges to be done or
spoken

Modesty.

Dei.

spoken, in appoynting and setting them in
tyme or place to them conuenient and proppr.
Wherfoze it semeth, to be moze lyke to that
whiche men comonly call discretion. All be it
discretio in latine sygnifieth Separacion:
wherin it is moze lyke to Election. But as it
is commonly vsed, it is not onely lyke to mo-
destie, but it is the selfe Modestie. For he
that fozebeareth to speake, although he can do
it bothe wysely and eloquently, because nei-
ther in the tyme nor in the heeres, he fyndeth
oportunitie, so that no fruite may succede of
his speche, he therfoze is vulgarly called a
discrete person.

Discretio.

¶ Wherof they name hym discrete, that
pursueth an offendour lesse than his mer-
ites do requyre, hauyng regard to the weak-
nes of his persone, or to the aptnes of his
amendement.

Discretus.

¶ So do they in the vertue called Liberali-
tie, where in gyuyng, is had consydracion,
as well of the condition, and necessitee of the
persone that recepueth, as of the benefyte
that commeth of the gyfte receyued. In cur-
ry of these thinges and theyr semblable, is
Modesty: Whiche worde not beinge know-
nen in the englyshe tongue, ne of all them,
whiche vnderstode latine, excepte they had
red good audours, they impropriely named
this vertue discretion. And nowe some men
do as moche abuse the word modestie, as the
other byd discretion. For if a man haue a lab-
our

Liberalitas.

Modesty
abused.

Spanius
eude.

countenance at all tymes, & yet not being ma-
nued with wyath, but pacie, & of most geny-
tes, they which would be seme to be lerne, wil
say that the ma is of a great modesty. where
they shuld rather say, that he were of a great
manufacture: whiche terme being sensibly
before this tyme vnknowen in our tongue,
may be by the suffrance of wyle men, nowe
receued by custome, wherby the terme shalbe
made familiare. That like as the Romaynes
framlated the wisdom of Grecia into their
cite, we may, if we wylle, byng the lerninges
and wisdomes of the bothe into this realme
of England, by the translation of theyr war-
res, senso lye enterprise hathe here taken by
french men, Italians, and Germanys, to our
no litle reproche for our negligence & slooth.
¶ And thus I conclude the last part of dau-
sing, whiche diligently beholden, shall appere
to be as wel a necessary study, as a noble and
vertuose pastime, bled and continued in su-
che fourme as I hyeherto haue declared.

¶ Of other exercises, whiche if they be mo-
derately used, be to surey asate of
man expediente. Cap. xxvi.

I haue shewed howe hunting and dau-
sing may be in the mannye of commendable ex-
ercise, and pastimes, not repugnant to
vertue. And vndoubted, it were muche better
to be occupied in honest recreation, than to do
nothyng

nothyng. For it is sayd of a noble auctor,
In dounge nothyng, men learne to do yuell.
And Quindus the poet sayth,

If thou see ydelnes, Cupide hath no might.
His bow lieth broken, his fire hath no light.

¶ It is not onely called ydelnes, wherin the
body or mynde cesseth from labour, but speci-
ally ydelnes is an omission of all honest ex-
ercise: the other may be better called a vaca-
tion from serious busynesse, which was som
tyme embraced of wyle men and vertuous.

¶ It is writen in the prayse of Ferres king
of Persia, that in tyme vacant from the af-
fayres of his realme, he with his owne han-
des, had planted innumerable trees, whiche
longe or he died, brought forth abundance
of fruite, and for the setting of them, it was to all
men, beholding the princis industrie, exceeding
meruapulous.

¶ But who abhoyreth not the hystoie of
Sardanapalus, kynge of the same realme
whiche hauinge in detestation, al piyncely af-
fayres, and leauyng all company of men, en-
closed hym selfe in a chamber, with a greate
multitude of concubynes: and for that he
wolbe seme to be sometyme occupied, or els
that wanton pleasures and quietnesse became
to hym tedious, he was found by one of his
loydes in a womans attyre spyngnyng in a dis-
kaffe among persons deland, which knowe
abhode,

Onid. de re
medio as
moris.
Iuines.

Byng Fet-
tes.

Sardan-
palus.

abode, was to the people so odious, that finally by them he was bourned, with all this place, whereto he fledde for his refuge.

Playing
at dyse.

¶ And I suppose there is not a moze playn figure of podelnesse, than playing at dyse. For besides, that therein is noo manner of exercise of the body or mynde, they whych play thereat, muste seeme to haue no portion of wryte or kumpng, if they will be called fayne plaiers, or in some companie auoyde the stabbe of a dagger, if they be taken with any crafty conuenance. And by cause alway wysedom is therein suspected, there is seldom any playing at dyse, but therat is vehemēt chydng and hatwylng, horrible othes, cruel, and some tyme mortall menaces. I onely strokes, whiche nowe and than doo happen, oftentimes betwene bytherne and mooste ders frenedes, if fortune byngne alway to one man puell chaunces, whiche maketh the playe of the other suspected. Why should that be called a play whiche is compacte of malycie and robbery? Undoubtedly they that wryte of the first inventions of thynge, haue good cause to suppose Lucifer, prince of dyuelles, to be the first inuentour of dyse playing, and hell the place wher it was founden, although some do wryte, that it was first inuented by Demasius. For what better affectiue coulde Lucifer deuise, to allure and byngne men pleasantly into damnable seruitude, than to purpose to them in sojme of a play, his princypal trefoye wher

The trefoye
of Lucifer.

wherin the moze part of Synne is containyd and all goodnes and vertue confounded.

¶ The first occasion to play, is tediousnes of vertuous occupation: Immediately succedeth couaryng of an other mans goodnes, whiche they calle playng: ther is annexed auarice and strait keeping, whiche they call wyppng, soone after cometh swearing, in rentyng the members of god, whych they name noblenesse (for they will saye, he that sweareth depe, sweareth lyke a loyde) than foloweth fury or rage, whiche they call rage: amōg them cometh inordinat watche, which they name papulnes: he byngeth in gluttony, and that is good felowshyp: and after cometh slepe superfluous, called among them naturall rest: and he sometymes byngeth in lecher: whiche is nowe named dalliance. The name of this trefoye is verisly shelines: the dooze wherof is left wyde open to dyse players: if they hap to byng in their companie, learning, vertuous busynes, liberallitie, paciencie, charitie, temperance, good diet or shamefastnes, they must leaue them without the gates. For yuell custome, whiche is the poster, will not suffer them to enter.

A custom.

¶ Alas what pittie is it, that any christen mā shulde by wanton companie be trayned, I will no moze say into this Trefoye, but into this lothefome dungeon, where he shall be fetozed in chaynes of ignoiaunce, and bourned with the stronge thyrne of obstinacie, harde

harde to be lofed but by grace.

¶ The moſt noble emperor Octavius Auguſtus, who hath amonge writers in diuers of his aetes an honorable remembrance: only for playing at dyſe, and that but ſeldom, ſurely in hiftories a note of reproche.

Counſay-
lers diſers.

¶ The Lacedemonians ſent an ambaffade to the cite of Coyne, to haue with them alpaure: but when the ambaffadours foſide the pynis and counſaylors, playing at diſe they departed without exploiting theyr meſſage, ſaying, that they wolde not maculate the honour of theyr people, with ſuche a reproche, to be ſayde, that they had made alpaure with dyſers.

¶ Alſo to Demetrius, the kynge of Parthians ſent golden dyſe in the rebuke of his lytenelle.

The eſti-
mation of
dyſers.

¶ Every thinge is to be eſteemed after his value. But who herpunge a man, whome he knoweth not, to be called a dyſer, dothe not anone ſuppoſe hym to be of ight credence, diſſolute, vayne, and remiſſe: who almoſt truſteth his brother, who he knoweth a diſe player: yea amonge them felus they laugh, when they perceiue of here any doctrine of vertuouſe worde procede from any of theyr companions, theynkyng that it becommeth not his perſon: moche moze when he bothe any thing with deuotion or wiſedome.

¶ Howe many gentlemen, howe many maſt ſhantes, haue in this damnable paſtime conſumeth

ſumeth their ſubſtance, as well by their owne labours, as by their parentes, with greater ſtudy and painefull trauaile in a longe tyme acqyred, and finiſhed their lyues in dethe and penury: howe many goodly and holde yemene hath it brought vnto theſte, whereby they haue p̄uented the cours of nature, and dyed by the order of the lawes imp̄rably.

¶ Theſe be the fruites and reuenues of that deadly ſho merchaundyſe, beſyde the final reward, whiche is moze ſerpeble, the rep̄oite wherof I leaue to diuines, ſuch as feare not to ſp̄me their ſermynges, or fylle not theyr mouthes ſo full with ſweete meates, or benes eyes, that their tonges be not let to ſpeake truth: for that is their duette and office, excepte I with many oth̄er be moze diſcreet.

¶ Playng at cardes and tables is ſome what moze tollerable; onely for as muche as therein wyte is moze vſed, and leſſe truſte is in fortune, all be it therein is neyther laudable ſtudy nor exerciſe. But yet men deliſtyng in vertue, moughte with cardes & tables deuiſe games, wher in mought be much ſolace and alſo ſtudy com̄odious, & deuiſyng a bataille, or contention betwene vertue and vice, or oth̄er ſyke pleaſaunt and honeſte inuencion.

¶ The cheſſe of all games, wherin is no v̄dibly exerciſe, is moſte to be commended, for therein is ight ſubtile engyne, whereby the wyſe is made moze ſharp, and remembrance quickened. And it is the moze com̄endable & alſo com̄odious, if the players haue red the

Cardes &
tables.

Cheſſe

in ballisacion of the chest, when they playe do thinke vpon it: which boies be in english. But they be verie scarce, because fewe men doo seeke in playes for vertue or wysdome.

That shooting in a longe bowe is principall of all other exercises. Cap. xxvii.

Tully saith in his first booke of Offices, We be not so that intent broughte vpon by nature, that we shoulde seme to be made to play and disporte, but rather to grauite and studie of moze estimation. Wherefore it is written of Alexander, emperor of Rome, for his grauitie called Demetrius, that in his chyldehode, and before he was taught the letters of greke or latyne, he neuer exercised any other playe or game, but only one, wherein was a similitude of Justice: wherefore it was called in latin Ad Iudicium, which is in english to the iudges. But the fouerth thereof is not expressed by the saide autour, nor none other that I haue redde. Wherefore I will repaie agayne to the residue of his next exercise.

Exercise
for preser-
uation of
health.

And for as muche as Galene in his seconde booke of the preseruation of helth, declarerth to be in them these qualitties or diuer sities, that is to saye, that some be done with extendinge of myghte, and as it were vrgolently, and that is called balpant exercise. Some with swifte or hasty motion, other
with

with strengthe and celeritee, and that maie be called vehemente: The particular kindes of euery of them he deseruetly, whiche were to longe here to be rehearsed.

But in as muche as he also sayeth, that he that is of good estate in his body, oughte to knowe the power and effecte of euery exercise: but he needeth not to practise any other, but that which is moderate and meane betwene euery extremitie: I wylle nowe bryefely declare, in what exercise nowe in custums amonge vs, maie be mooste founde of that medio critie, and maie be augmented or mynished, at the pleasure of hym that doeth exercise, withoute thereby appaynyng any parte of delectation or commoditie thereof proceedinge.

And in myne oppinion, none maie be compared with shooting in the longe bowe, and that for sondry vertutes, that come thereof, wherein it incomparably excellet all other exercises. For in drawinge of a bowe, easy and congruent to his strengthe, he that shooteth, dothe moderately exercise his armes, and the other parte of his body: and yf his bowe bee bygger, he must adde to moze strengthe, wherein is no lasse valseunte exercise than in any other, wherof Galene writeth.

In shootinge at buttes, or broad arrowes markes, is a medio critie of exercise of the lower partes of the bodye and legges, by goinge a litle distance a measurable pace. At

The com-
mendaciō
of shooting
in a longe
bowe.

coners of psyches, it is at his pleasure that shotteth, howe faste or softly he lysteth to go: and yet is the prayse of the shooter, neyther moie ne lesse, for as faste or nigh the marke is his arrow, whan he goeth softly, as whan he kenneth.

Temple.

¶ Temple, kelledome vled, and for a lytell space, is a good exercise for yong menne, but it is moie violente than shootinge, by reason that two menne do play. Wherefoze neither of them is at his owne libertie to measure the exercise. For yf the one stryke the balls harde, the other that intenderh to receyue hym, is than constrainyd to vse semblable violence, yf he will retoune the ball from whens it came to hym. If it trell fast on the grounde, and he entenderh to stoppe or yf it rebounde a great distaunce frome hym, and he wold effones retorne it, he can not than kepe any measure in swiftnes of motion.

¶ Some menne wolde saie, that in medycrce, whiche I haue soo muche played in shootinge, why shoulde not boulyng, clayste, pyrnes, and hopyng, be as muche commended: Merly as for two the laste be to be vterly abiected of all noble menne in the wise foote balls, wherin is nothing but beastly fury, and extreme violence, wherof proceedeth hurt, and consequently rancour and malice do remayne with them that be wounded. wherefoze it is to be put in perpetuall silence.

¶ In claiffe is employed to lytell strengthe,

in boulyng often tymes to muche, wherby the sinewes be to much strained, and the brines to muche chafed, wherof often tymes is sene to ensue ache, or the decrease of strength or agilitie in the armes, wher, in shootinge, yf the shooter vse the strength of his arme with in his owne tiller, he shall neuer be therewith greiued or made moie feble.

¶ Also in shootinge is a double vtilitee, wher in it excellerh all other exercises and games incomparably. The one is that it is, and al waie hath ben, the most excellent artillery for warres, wherby this realme of Englande hath bene not onely best defendede frome outwarde hostilitie, but alsoo in other regions a fewe englyshe archers haue bene sene to pteuaile against people innumerable. Also won insaignable cities, strong holdes, and kepte them in the myddes of the strength of thei enemyes. This is the feate, wherby englyshe menne haue ben most dyadde and had in estimation with outward princis, as well ennemyes as allies. And the commodytee thereof hath ben approued as far as Hierusalem, as it shall appere in the lynes of Rycharde the first and Edward the first, kynges of Englande, who made severall tourneys to recover that holie citee of Hierusalem in to the possession of christen men, and achieved them honorablye, the rather by the power of this feate of shootinge.

¶ The premises considered, what cause

Deare of
archers.

¶ III of

GOVERNOR

of reioyce shall the decaye of archers be to vs nowe liuyng & ye what irreuerable damage epyther to vs oꝝ them, in whose tyme neede of semblable defence shall happen: whiche decaye, though we al reioyce, feare, and lament, and for the restoroyng thereof esse not to make ordynances, good lawes and statutes: yet who effectually putteth his hād to contynuall execution of the same lawes and pꝛouisions: oꝝ beholdyng them dayly spoken, wylketh not at the offendours. But I shall herof moze speake in an other place, and retourne nowe to the seconde vylttee, founde in shotyng in the longe bowe, which is kyllyng of deere, wyld foule, and other game, wherein is bothe pꝛofyte and pleasure, aboue any other artyllery.

¶ And verely I suppose, that before crosse bowes and handgunnes were broughte into this realme, by the sleight of our enemies, to the entente to dystroye the noble defence of archerye, contynuall vse of shotyng in the longe bowe made the feate soo perfecte and gracie amonge englyshemen, that they than as surely and soone kylled suche game, whiche they lysted to haue, as they nowe can do with the crossebowe oꝝ gunne. But this sufficeth, for the declaracion of shotyng, whereby it is sufficiently proued, that it incomparably excelleth all other exercyse, pashyng, oꝝ colace.

¶ And herent I conclude to wyte of exercyse,

THE. I. BOKE.

E4

cyse, whiche appertaineth as well to pyrrices, and noble menne, as to all other by their example: whiche determyne to passe for the theyr lyues in vertue and honestie: And here after, with the assystance of god, vnto whom I render this mine accounte, for the taske that I haue of hem receyued, I and (as I mought saie) the particulare studye and affaires of him that by the prouidence of God, is called to the mooste difficulte cure of a publicke weale.

Libri primi
finis.

THE SECONDE
BOKE.

What thynges he that is
elected or appointed to be a
gouernour of a publike weale,
oughte to p[er]forme.
Capitulo. i.



A the boke preceding I have
as I trust sufficiently de-
scribed, as well what is to be
called a verite and r[ig]hte pub-
lyke weale, as also, that there
shoulde be thereof one p[ri]ncipe
and soueraigne above all o-
ther gouernours. And I haue also expressed
my conceite and opinion, touchyng not only
the studies, but also the exercises concerning
the necessary education of noble menne and
other, called to the gouernance of a publike
weale, in suche forme as by the noble exam-
ple of these kynges, and the fruite thereof com-
munge, the publyke weale that shall happen
to be vnder theyr gouernance, shall not faile
to be accounted happy, and the aucto[ri]tie on
them to be employed well and fortunately.
Nowe will I treate of the preparation of
suche personages, whan they shal receiue
any great dignitie charge of gouernance of
the weale publyke.

Prepara-
tion of go-
uernours.

fryste

THE .II. BOKE.

85

Criste suche persones, beinge nowe ad-
ulte, that is to saie: pasted their chyldehode,
as well in maners, as in yeres. yf for their ver-
ties and learninge, they shoulde first a-
moue all company from them, and in a secret
ozatory or priuy chamber, by them selfe as-
semble all the powres of theyr wittes, to re-
memb[er] these .vii. articles, whiche I haue
not of myne owne head deuised, but gathe-
red as well out of holly scripture, as out of
the workes of other excellent mysters of fa-
mous memoire, as they shall loone perceiue,
whiche haue redde and perused good aucto[ri]ty
in greke and latyne.

I fryste and aboue all thyng, let them con-
sider, that from god onely proceedeth all ho-
nour. And that neyther noble p[ro]geny, suc-
cession, noz election to be of suche force, that
by them any estate of dignitie maie be so fas-
tified, that god beinge sp[er]ed to vengia[n]ce,
shall not shortly reforme it, and perchaunce
translate it where it shall lyke hym. And for
as muche as examples greatly do p[ro]fite in
the stede of experyence, here shal it be necessa-
ry, to remembre the hystory of Saul, whom
god hym selfe elected to be the fryste kyng of
Israel, that where god commanded him by
the mouth of Samuell the p[ro]phet. that for
as muche as the people called Amalech, had
resisted the children of Israel, whan they
first departed from Egypte, he shoulde there
fryste
I. v. fryste

The friste
considera-
tion of go-
uernours.

foze distroye al the countrey, and slee men w^omen and chyldren, all beastes and cattell, and that he shoulde nothing save o^r kepe therof. But Saul after that he hadde baynished Amalech, and taken Agag kynge therof prisoner, he hauyng on hym compassion, saueth his lyfe only. Also he preferred the best oxen, cattell, and vestures, and all other thing that was sayeth, & of most estimacion, and wolde not consume it, accordyng as god had commaunded hym, sayyng to Samuell, that the people kepte it to the entent, that they wolde make therof to almighty god a solemne sacrifice. But Samuell reprovynge hym saied, Better is Obedience, than Sacrifice, with other wordes that folowe in the hystorie.

Finally for that offence only, almighty god abieted Saul, that he shoulde no more reigne over Israel: and caused Samuell forthwith to choose Dauid king, the youngest sonne of a poore man of Bethleem, named Iesai, whiche was keepyng his fathers shepe.

¶ Thus for oure neglectyng the commandment of god, and that neither naturall pryncer, nor the entent to doo sacrifice, with that whiche was saued, mought excuse the transgression of goddis commandment, nor mitigate his greuous displeasure: howe diligent ought a christen man, beyng in auctoritee, howe vigilant, & carefull, & industrious & diligent ought he to be in the administracion of a publike weale & dyctyng always the wordes,

des, that be spoken by eternalle sapience to them that be governours of publike weales, All power and vertue is gyven of the lord, that of all other is hyghest, who shal examine your dedes, and inseeche your thoughtes. For whan ye were the ministers of this realm, ye iudged not vpryghtly, ne obserued the lawe of Justice, nor ye walked not accordyng to his pleasure. Ye shall shortly and terrible appere vnto you. For mooste harde and greuous iudgements shall be on them, that haue rule ouer other. To the poore man mercy is graunted, but the great manne shall suffer great tormentes. He that is lord of all excepteth no personne, ne he shall feare the greatnes of any man, for he made as well the great as the small, and careth for euery of them equally. The stronger of more might the personne is: the stronger payne is to hym imminent. Therefore to you governours be these my wordes, that ye maie learne wysedome, and fall not.

¶ This notable sentence is not onely to bee imprinted in the hertes of governours, but alsoo to be often tymes reuolued and called to remembrance.

¶ They shall not thynke, howe muche honoure they receyue, but howe muche care and burdene. As they shall not muche esteeme they reuenues and treasure, consyderyng that it is no buten o^r praye, but a laborious payne and trauaile.

¶ Let

The wordes of Caspiere to governours. Sapience.

The .ii. c^o consideration

Disobedience.

The third. ¶ Let them thinke, the greater dominion they haue, that thereby they susteyne the more care and studie. And that therefore they must haue the laste solace and pastyme, and to sensuall pleasures laste opportunitye.

The. iiii. ¶ Also when they beholde their garmentes and other ornaments, ryche and precious, they shall thinke, what reproche were to them to surmount in that, whiche bee other mens warkes and nat theirs, and to be vanquished of a pooze subiect in sundry vertues wherof they them selues by the artificers.

The fift. ¶ They that regarde them, of whome they haue gouernance, no more than shall appertayne to their owne priuate commoditees, they no better esteeme them than other menne doeth their horses and mules, to whome they employ no laste labour and diligence, not to the benefite of the selfe beastes, but to theyr owne necesseties and singular aduantage.

The. iij. ¶ The moste sure foundation of noble renowne is a man to be of suche vertues and qualitees, as he despyeth to be openly published: For it is a faynt praise, that is gotten with flare, or by flatterers giuen, and the same is but fume, whiche is supported with silence prouoked by menaces.

The. iiii. ¶ They shall also consider, that by theyr preeminence, they syt as it were on a pyllar on the toppes of a mountayne, where all the people do beholde them, not only in their open sayes, but also in their secreete pastymes,

yslike dalyaunce, or other improffitable or wanton condicions, whiche doo alwaie imbrace that studie, wherein their master despecteth, accordyng to the saying of Iesus Hierach, As the Iudge of the people is, so be his ministers: And suche as be the gouernours of the citie, suche be the people. Which sentence is confirmed by sundry histories. For Nero, Caligula, Domitian, Lucius Commodus, Tarius Helogabalus, monstrous emperours, nourished about them, ribaudes and other voluptuous artificers.

¶ Maximianus, Dioclesian, Maxentius, and other persecutours of Christen men lacked not inuentours of cruell, and terrible tourmentes.

¶ Contrary wyse, reingnyng the noble Augustus, Aeria, Traiane, Hadriane, the two Antonines, and the wonderfull emperour Alexander for his grauitie called Suerus, the imperall palatse was alwaie, replenished with eloquent oratours, delectable poetes, wise philosphers, moste cunningge and experte lawyers, prudent & valiant capitaines. Whose semblable examples shall here of be founden, by them whiche purposely do redde histories, whom of all other I moste desyre to be princes and gouernours.

¶ These articles well and substantially grauen in a noble mans memory, it shall also be necessary to cause them to be delectably written and sette in a table within his bed chamber,

C O V E R N O V R.

ber, addynge to, the verses of Claudiane the noble poet, which he wrote to Honorius emperour of Rome. The verses I have translated out of latine into english, not observing the order as they stande, but the sentence belonging to my purpose.

¶ The table of gouernours to be haunted in their chambres.

Claudianus.

Though thy power stretcheth bothe far and large.

Though Iude the ryche, set at the wordes ende,

And Iude with Araby be bothe vnder thy charge,

And also Greece, that sithe to vs doeth sende

If seee the trouble & smal things the offeide.

Corrupt desire thin heere hath ones embraced

Thou art in bondage, thin honour is defaced

Thou shalt be demed this worlde for to resign

Whan of thy selfe thou wynnest the mastery.

¶ Will custome bringeth vertue in disdeigne.

License superfluous perswadesh much to ly.

In to muche pleasure let not felicitie,

If luste or anger do thy minde assaile

Whobue or casto, & thou shalt see some puzasle.

What thou maist do, delite not for to know

But rather what thing wilt become the best.

Embrace thou vertu, & hepe thy courage low,

And thinke that alwaie measure is a feate.

Loze wel thy people, care also for the least.

And whan thou studiest for thy commoditee

¶ Make

T H E . I I . B O K E .

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¶ Make them all partakers of thy felicitie,

Be not much moued with singular appetites

Except it profite vnto thy subiectes all

¶ At thyn example the people will delite

Be it dyce or vertue with the they rise or fall

¶ So lawes auayle, men tourne as doth a ball

For where the ruler in luyng is not stable

¶ Both law & counsaile is tourned into a fable.

¶ These verses of Claudiane, full of excellent

wisedomes, as I haue said, wolde be in

a table, in such a place as a gouernour ones in

a daie maie behold them, specially as they be

expressed in latine by the saide poete, vnto

whose eloquence no translation in english

maie be equiualent. But yet were it better to

can them by herte, ye and yf they were made

in the souern of a ditie, to be songen to an in-

strument, & what a swete song wolde it be

in the eares of wise men: For a meane mu-

cian might therof make a right pleasant

harmonie, where almost euery note shoulde

expresse a counsaile vertuous or necessary.

¶ Ye haue now heard what pmeditations

be expedient befoze that a man take on hym

the gouernance of a publike weale. These

notable pmeditations and remembrances

shuld be in his mynde, which is in auerisitee

often tymes renewed. Than shall he pro-

ceede further in furnishing his person, with

honourable maners and qualitees, wherof

very



by nobilitie is compacte, whereby all other shall be induced to honour, loue, and feare him, whiche thynges chiefly do cause perfect obedience.

¶ Howe of these maners wyll I wytte in order, as in my conceite they be (as it were) naturally disposed and sette in a noble man, and sonest in him noted or espyed.

¶ The exposition of *Ulysses*. *Capit. xi.*

In a governour or man, hauinge in the publike weale some greate authoritie, the fountaine of all excellent maners, is *Ulysses*, whiche is the holle proportion and figure of noble estate, and is properly a beaute or tumlines in his countenance, langage and gesture, apte to his dignitee, and accomodate to tyme, place, and company, whiche lyke as the Sonne dothe his beames, so dothe it cast on the beholders and heres a pleasant and terrible reuerence. In so muche as the wordes or countenances of a noble man, shuld be in the stede of a fyrm and stable lawe to his inferiours. yet is not maiestie alwaie in haute or fierce countenance; nor in speche outragious or arrogant, but in honourable and sobrye demaure, deliberate and graue pronounciacion, words cleane and facile, voyde of euidens and dishonestie, without vaine or inordinate langyng, with such an excellent temperaunce, that he among an infinite

infinite nombre of other persons, by his maiestie maie be espyed for a governour.

¶ Wherof we haue a noble example in *Ulysses*, that when his shyppe and men were perished in the sea, and he vnerth escaped, and was caste on land vpon a coast where the inhabitantes were called *Pheacas*, he beinge al naked, sauyng a mantel lent to hym by the hyngees daughter, withoute other apparell, or seruant, represented suche a wonderful maiestie in his countenance and speche, that the hynge of the countrey, named *Aleinous*, in that extreme calamitee, wished, that *Ulysses*, wolde take his daughter *Pausicaa*, to wyfe, with a great part of his treasure. And declaringe the honour that he bare towards hym, he made for his sake dyuerse noble estatements and passetymes. The people alsoe wonnyng at his maiestie, honoured hym with sondrye presentes. And at thetyr propre charges and expensis, conuayned hym into his owne realme of *Ithaca*, in a shyp of wonderfull beautee, well ordinauned and manned for his defence & cause conserue. The wordes of *Aleinous*, whereby he declarerh the maiestie, that he noted to be in *Ulysses*, I haue putte in englyshe, not so wel as I found them in greke.

Aleis

¶ Alcinous to Ulysses.

¶ When I the consider Ulysses, I perceiue
Thou dost not dissemble to me in thy spech
So other haue doone, whiche craftly can
deceiue
Intruely repositoryng, where they lyke to
preache
Of thynges neuer done, suche falsshod they
do teache.
But in thy wordes, there is a ryght good
grace.
And that thy mind is good, it sheweth in thy
face.

¶ The estimation of maictee in counte-
naunce, shall be declared by two examples
nowe ensuyng.

¶ To Scipio, being in his manour place,
called Internum, came dyuers great theues
& pirates, only to the intent to se his person,
of whose wonderfull prowesse and sondry
victories they hearde the renoume. But he
not knowyng, but that they came to endo-
mage hym, armed hym selfe and suche ser-
uauntes as he than had with hym, and dys-
posed them about the imbatilmentes of his
house, to make defence, whiche the capitai-
nes of the theues perceuyng, dispatched the
multitude from them, & laing aparte their
harnes and weapons, called to Scipio with
a loude voyce, saying: that they came not as
enemies,

enemies, but wondryng at his bectre and
prowesse, despyed only to see hym, whiche yf
he voucht laufe, they wolde account for an
heauenly benefyte. That bringe shewd to
Scipio by his seruauntes, he caused the ga-
tes to be sette wyde open, and the theues to
be suffred to enter: who kysping the gaates
and postes with much reuerence, as they had
bene of a temple or other place dedicate, hu-
bly approached to Scipio, whiche bysaged
them in suche fourme, that they as subdiud
with a reuerent dyde, in beholding his ma-
iestee, at the laste ioyfully kysping his hande
often tymes, whyche he benignly offred to
them, made humble reuerence, and so depar-
ted, laing in the porch semblable o stranges,
as they came to their goddes: And forthwith
retourned to their owne habitacions, reioys-
sing incredibly, that they had sene and tou-
ched a prynce so noble and valiaunt.

¶ It is no littell thyng to meruaile at, the
maictee shewd in extreme fojtune and mys-
fery. The noble Romaine Marius, wha he
had ben. vii. times cosul, being vainquishd
by Scylla, after that he had longe byd hym
selfe in martires, and deserte places, was fy-
nally constrained by famine to repayre to a
towne called Minturne, where he trusted to
haue ben succoured. But the inhabitantes,
bydyng the crueltee of Scylla, toke Marius
and put hym into a dungeon, And after sent
to see hym their common hangeman, which

¶ If it was

was doyne in Lembya, a countrey somtyme
distroyed by Marius. The hangman, behol-
ding the honourable port and maiestie, thas
remained in Marius, notwithstanding that
he was out of honozable apparail, & was
in garments toye & filthy, he thought that
in his visage appered the terrible battayle,
wherein Marius vanquished his countray
menne: he therfoze al trembling, as constra-
ined by feare, dydde let fall out of his hand
the swerde, wherwith he should haue slaine
Marius, & leaping him vnto the bed, fled oute
of the place. The cause of his feare reported
to the people, they mented with reuerence, af-
terward studied & deuised how they mought
deliuer Marius from the malice of Scilla.
¶ In Augustus, emperor of Rome, was a
natiue maiestie. For as Suetonius writeth,
from his eyes proceeded rayes of beames,
whiche perced the eien of the beholders. The
same emperor spake seldom openly, but out
of a comentary, that is to saie, that he hadde
befoze pouldred and wyrtten, to the entent
that he wolde speke no moze ne laste than he
hadde purposed.

¶ To discover, toward the acquieryng of ma-
iestie, the things be required in the oratio-
n of a man hauing autoritee, that it be compo-
dious, sententious, & delectable, hauing also
respekte to the tyme whan, the place wher, e,
and the persones to whom it is spoken. For
the wordes perchance apte for a banckette or
tyme

tyme of solace, be not commendable in tyme
of consultation or seruice of god. What lan-
guage that in the chaumber is toller able, in
place of iudgemente or great assembly is no
thyng commendable.

¶ Of apparayle belongynge to a noble
man being a gouernour or great
counsaillour. Cap. iiii.

Apparayle may be wel a part of ma-
iestie. For as there hath ben euer a
diference of besture of yowthe and
age, menne, and womene, and our lord god
dyd pnd the apparayle of pyppetes distincte
from seculars, as it appereth in holy scrip-
ture: also the gentyles hadde of aunciente
tyme sondy apparayle to sondy estate, as
to the senate, and dignities called magistra-
tes. And what enoyntee shoulde it nowe be
thought & a thyng to laughe at, to se a iudge
or sergant at the lawe in a shoyte cote gar-
ded and pounced after the galyard facion, or
an appoyntee of the lawe or pleber, come to
the barre with a mallyste or frenche bonette
on hys head, set full of aglettes? So is there
apparayle comely to euerie estate and degree,
and that whiche exceedeth or lacketh, pious-
reth reproche, in a noble man specially. For
apparayle symple or frant expouereth him of
auarice. If it be alway exceedig pious and
often tymes changed, as well into charge as
¶ iii. strange

strange and new factions, it caused him to be noted dissolute of maners.

¶ The mooste noble emperours of Rome, Augustus, Traiane, Hadriane, Antonine, Severus, and Alexander, whiche were of al other incomparable in honorable living, vsed a discrete moderation in their apparayle, all though they were great emperours and gentles. Howe muche moze ought than christen men, whose denomination is founded on humilitee, and they that be not of the estate of princis, to shew a moderaciō and constācie in besture, that they distinguish noo part of theyr maictee, either with newe sanglenesse, or with ouer sumptuous expences, and yet make this laste be suffered, where there is a greate assemble of strangers: for than some tyme it is expedient, that a noble man, in his apparayle, do aduance him selfe to be both riche and honourable. But in this as wel as in other partes of maictee, time is to be highly considered.

Wages
and plate
mete for a
noble man

¶ Semblable dechynge oughte to be in the house of a noble man, or manne of honour. I meane concernyng ornamentals of hal and chambres, in Arise, painted tables, and images conteynyng histories, wherein is exprested some monumente of vertue, mooste cunningly wrought, with the circumstance of the matter briefly declared, whereby other menne in beholding, may be instructed, or at the least wates to vertue perswaded. In like wyse

wyse his plate and vesselle wolde be ingrased with histories, fables, or quicke & wyse sentences, comprehending good doctrine of counsailes, whereby one of these commodities may happen, either that they whiche do eate or drynke, haunye those wyse domes euer in syghte, shall happen with the meate to receyue some of theym, or by purposyng them at the table, may susciteate some disputation or reasonyng, whereby some part of tyme shall be saved, whiche elles by superfluous eating and drynkyng, wold be idelly consumed.

¶ What beayn nobilitie is, and wherof it toke fyfte that denominacion, Capitulo, iiii.

NOWE it is to be feared, that where maictee apareth to excellē, and the mynd is obessed with inordinat glorie, lest pyde, of al beces most horrible, shuld sodenly enter and take possessione the heart of a gentylman called to auroreitee. Wherfore in as much as that pestilence corrupteth all senses, and maketh them incurable by any perswasion or doctrine, therfore such persons, from theyr adolscency ought to be perswaded and taught true knowlage of very nobilitie, in fourne folowynge or lyke. ¶ First that in the begynnyng, when priuat possessions & dignitee were gyven by the con

Adolscency, is the age next to the state of man. Nobilitie begynne,

sente of the people, who thus had all thing in commune, and equalitee in degre and condition, Undoubtedly they gaue the one and the other to him, at whose vertue they were traped, and by whose labour and industrie they receiued a commune benefyte, as of a commune father, that with equal affection loued them. And that promptitude or redy-nesse in employenge that benefite was than named in englyshe gentilnesse, as it was in latine Benignitas, and in other tonges after a semblable signification: and the persons were called gentyll menne, moze for the remembrance of their vertue and benefyte, than for discrepance of estates.

¶ Also it fortuneth by the prouidence of god, that of those good menne were ingendred good chyldren, who beyng broughte by their vertue, and perceiving the cause of the aduancement of their progenytour, endeuoured them selves by imitation of vertue, to be equal to them in honour and auctoritee: by good emulation they retained wth the fauour and reuerence of people. And for the goodnes that proceeded of suche generacion, the estate of the was called in greke Euge-
nia, which signifieth good kinde of linage: but in a more briefe maner, it was after called nobilitie, and the persons noble, whiche signifieth excellēt, & in the analogie of signification it is moze ample than gentill, for it consisteth as well all that, whiche is in gentil-
nesse

nesse, as also the honour or dignitee therof receiued, which be so annexed the one to the other, that they can not be separate.

It wolde be mozeouer declared, that where Nobilitie vertue ioyned with great possessions or by-
gnitee, hath longe continued in the blode of house of a gentill man, as it were an inheritance, there nobilitie is moost shewed, and these noble men be moost to be honored: for as muche as continuance in all thing that is good, hath euer preeminence in praise and comparifon. But yet shall it be necessary, to aduertise those personnes, that doo thinke, that nobilitie maie in no wyse be but onely where menne can aduance them of ancient linage, an ancient robe, or great possessions, at this daie verie noble men do suppose to be much error and folly. Whereof there is a familiar example, which we beare euer with vs: for the blode in our bodies beyng in youthe warme, pure, and lustie, is the occasion of beautes, whiche is euer where commended and loued, but in aerge beyng putrefied, it leseth his praise. And the gouttes, car-
buncles, hankers, leproyes, & other like sores and sythenesses, whiche do procede of blode corrupted, be to all men detestable. And this perswasion to any gentillman, in who is apt disposition to beaue nobilitie, will be sufficient, to withdraue hym frome suche vice, whereby he maie compare his owne estimation, & the good renoume of his auncetours
¶

Ancient robes,

GOVERNOR.

¶ If he haue an ancient robe, leste by his auncetour, let hym consider, that if the first owner were of more vertue than he is, that succeedeth, the robe being worn, signifieth his prayse, to them which knowe, or haue heard of the vertue of hym that first owred it. If he that weareth it be vicious, it moze detecteth how much he is vnworthy to weare it, the remembraunce of his noble auncetour making men to abhorre the reprobete gyuen by an yuell successour.

¶ If the first owner were not vertuous, it condemneth him that weareth it of much foolishnesse, to glorie in a thing of so bale effect, which lacking beautilie or glasse, canbe none ornament to him that weareth it, noz honorable remembrance to him that first owred it.

Nobilitie wherein it is.

¶ But nowe to confirme by true histories, that accordyng as I late affirmed, nobilitie is not only in dignitee or auncient signage noz great reuerentes landes or possessions, let yonge gentylmen haue often tymes tolde to them, and as it is vulgarly spoken laied in their lappes, howe Roma Pompeilius was taken from husbandry, which he exercised, and was made kynge of Romains by electiō of the people. What caused it suppose yee but his wisdom and vertue, which in hym was very nobilitie: that nobilitie brought him to dignitee. And yf that were not nobilitie, the Romaines were unreasonably abused, that after the death of Romulus they

kynge,

THE .2. BOKE.

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kynge, hauyng amonge them a hundred senators, whome Romulus dyd set in auctoritee, and also the blod royal, and olde gentilmenne of the Sabynes, who by the procurement of the wyues of the Romaines, being their daughters, inhabited the cite of Rome, they wolde not of somme of them electe a kynge, rather than aduance a ploughman and straunger to that auctoritee.

Quintius, hauyng but xxx. acres of lande, and beinge ploughman thereof, the Senate Dictator, and people of Rome sent a messenger to shew hym, that they hadde chosen hym to be Dictator, whiche was at that tyme the highest dignitee amonge the Romaynes, and for the monethes had auctoritee royal. Quintius hearinge the messager, let his plough stande, & went into the citee, & prepared his host agaynst the Samnites, & vanquished them valiantly. And that done, he surrendred his office, and beinge discharged of the dignitee, repaired a gappe to his plough, & applied it diligently.

¶ It wold demaund now, if nobilitie were onely in the dignitee, or in his prowesse, which he shewed agaynst his enemyes. If it were onely in his dignitee, it therewith reasoned, and he was (as I mought say) effronter vnnoble, and than was his prowesse vnderwarded, whiche was the chiefe and originall cause of that dignitee: which wer incongruent & without reason. If it were in his prowesse, prowesse consistyng of valiaunte courage and

and marshall policie, if they still remaine in the personne, he maie neuer be with out nobilitie, whiche is the commendacion, and as it were the surname of vertue.

Deceit and
they as
uowe.

The two Romaynes, called both Deceit, were of the base estate of the people, and not of the great blode of the Romaynes, yet for the preferacion of their countrey, they allowed to dy, as it were in a satisfaction for all their countrey, and so with valiaunt heretes they perced the host of their enemies, and valiauntly fighting dyed there honourably, and by their example gaue suche audacitee and courage to the residue of the Romaynes, that they employed so their strength against their enemies, that with litle moze losse, they obtayned victory.

Dought not these two Romaynes, whiche by their death gaue occasion of victory, bee called noble? I suppose no mā that knoweth what reason is, will deny it.

Howeouer, we haue in this realme copiers, which be called nobles, as longe as they be sene to be golde, they be soo called: but if they be counterfeit, and made in brass, copper, or other vile metall, who for the print onely, calleth them nobles: wherby it appeareth, that the estimation is in the metall, and not in the printe of figure.

And in a horse or good grey hounde, wee pryse that we se in them, and not the beautye or goodnes of their progenie. Whiche proueth,

meth, that in esteeming of money and cattell, we be led by wysedome, and in appoyning of man, to whom bestis and money do serue, we be onely indued by custome.

Thus I conclude, that nobilitie is not after the vulgare opinion of manne, but is onely the pryse and surname of vertue.

Whiche the longer it continueth in a name of linage, the moze is nobilitie extolled and meruayled at.

Of affabilitie, and the vilitie thereof
in every estate. Cap. v.

That, whiche I before named gentylnesse, be incident the speciall qualities, Affabilitie, Inacabilitie, & Heresy, of whom I will nowe separatly declare the pryse significacions.

Affabilitie is of wonderfull efficacie of power in procuring loue. And it is in soundy wise, but most properly, where a mā is facile or easie to be spokē vnto. It is also where a man speaketh courteisly with a sweete speche of countenance, wherewith the heretike, as it were with a delicate odour, be refreshed and allured to loue him, in whom is this mooste delectable qualitee. As contrariwise, men vehemently hate them, that haue a proude and haulte countenance, be they neuer so hygh in estate or degree. How often haue I heard people saie, when men in great auer-
sities

haunt countenance.

rites haue passed by, without making gentyll countenance, to those which haue done to them reuerence, This man weeneth with a loke, to subdue all the world: Nay nay, mens hartes be free, and wyl loue whom they lyk. And therto all the other do consent in a murmure, as it were bees. Lorde god how they be sooze blynded, whiche do weene, that haule countenance is comelynes of nobilitie, where vndoubtedly nothing is thereto, a moze greater blemyshe: For they haue well proued, which by fortunes mutabilitie haue changed theyr estate, whā they perceiue that the remembraunce of theyr pryde withdraweth all piece, all men reioysynge at the chaunge of their fortune.

¶ Dionysie the proude kynge of Sicilie, after that for his intollerable pryde, was dysyuen by his people out of his realme, the remembrance of his haule and stately countenance was to all men so obious, that he could be in no cuntry wel enterpyned. In so much as yf he hadde not be reueyued by lernyng, teaching a grauer schole in Italy, he for lacke of frendes had bene constrained to beg for his luyng.

¶ Semblably Perces king of Macedonia, and one of the rycheest kynges that euer was in Grece, for his creer able pryde, was at the last abandoned of all his allies and confederates, by reaso wherof he was vanquished, and take prisoner by Paulus Emilius, one

of

of the consules of Rome: & not onely he hym selfe bounden, and ledde as a captiue, in the triumphe of the sayde Paulus, but also the remembrance of his pryde was so obious to people, that his owne sonne destitute of frendes, was by nede constrained to worke in a synthes forze, not fyndyng any man that of his harde fortune had any compassion.

¶ The pryde of Tarquine, the laste kynge of Romaines, was moze occasion of his exile: than the rauishing of Lucrecia, by his sonne Brutus. for the malice that the people by his pryde had long gathered, fyndyng valiant capitaines, Brutus, Colatinus, Lucretius, and other nobles of the citee, at the last blyst out, and taking occasion of the rauishment, althoughe the kynge were therto no partie, they vtterly repulsed him for euer out of the citee. These be the frutes of pryde, and that men do call stately countenance.

¶ When a noble man passeth by, shewyng to men a gentill and familiare visage, it is a world to beholde, how people taketh cōfort, how the bloude in their visage quickeneth, howe their fleshe spyrreth and hartes leape for gladnes: Than they all speke, as it were in an harmony, the one saythe, who beholdyng this mannes most gentill countenance, wyl not with al his hart loue him: Another saith, he is no man but an angel, se howe he reioyseth all men that beholde hym. Finally, al do grant, that he is worthy al honoz that

maie

Gentill countenance.

maie be giuen or wished hym.

¶ But now we to resorte to that, whiche most properly (as I haue sayd) is affabilitie, whiche is facile or easy to be spoken vnto.

¶ Marcus Antonius, emperor of Rome (as Lampadius wyrteth) inferched, who were mooste homely and playne men within the citee, and secretly sent for them into his chambze, where he diligently enquired of them, what the people contected of his language, commaunding them, vpon paine of his hygh indignacion, to tell him trouth, and hyde nothinge from hym. And vpon theyr repozte, yf he hearde any thyng worthy neuer so litle dyspzeise, he forthwith amended it. And also by such meanes, he corrected them that were aboute his person, fynding them neglygent, dissemblers, and flatterers.

¶ The noble Traiane, whā his nobles and counsaillours noted him to familiar and curteise, and therfore dyd blame hym, he answered, that he wolde be a lyke emperor to other men, as if he were a subiecte, he wolde wishe to haue ouer hym selfe.

Libertee in speaking. ¶ What damage hath ensurd to pyyncis and theyr realmes, where libertee of speche hath ben restrayned?

Alexanders crueltie in slaying his frendes. ¶ What anoyed fortune incomparable to the greate kynge Alexander, his wonderfull pyssaunce and hardines, or his synful doctryne in phylosophye, taughte hym by Aristotele, in deliuering hym from the deathe in
his

his yonge and flourisshyng age: where yf he had retygned the same affabilitie, that was in him in the beginninge of his conquest, and hadde not put to silence his counsaillours, whiche before vsed to speche to him frankly, he mought haue escaped all violence deathe: and by similitude haue enioyed the hole monarchie of all the world. For after that he was to be terrible in maners, and prohibited his frendes, and discrete seruauntes, to vse theyr accustomed libertee in speche, he fel into the hateful grudge among his owne people.

¶ But I had almoste forgotten Julius Cæsar, who beinge not able to susteyne the burden of fortune, and enuenge his owne felicitie, abandoned his natural disposition, & as it were, beynge dyonke with ouer much welthe, sought newe waies, howe to be aduanced aboue the state of myral princes. wherfore litle and litle he withdrew from menne his accustomed gentleness, becominge more sturby in language, and strange in countenance, than euer before hadde ben his visage. And to declare moze playnly his intentione, he made an edicte or decree, that no man should pzease to come to him vncalled, and that they shulde haue good awaite, that they spake not in such familiar facis to him as they before hadde ben accustomed: wherby he too dyd alienate from hym the hartes of his mooste wise and assured adherentes,
his

Julius Cæsar
far crāpic
of treaung

that from that tyme forwarde, his life was to them tedious: and abhorring hym as a monstre or commune enemie, being byrte in a confederacie, slewe him bytynge in the Senate: of whiche conspyrace was chiefe capitaine Marcus Brutus, whome of all other he beste loued, for his greate wisdom and p̄uwell. And it is of some witters suspected, that he was begoten of Cæsar, for as muche as Cæsar in his p̄outhe loued Seruilia, the mother of Brutus, and as men supposed, vsed hir moze familiarly then homelike requ'ed. Thus Cæsar by omitting his olde affabilitie, by incense his next frendes and companions to slea hym.

Damage
insuyng by
lacke of ly-
bertee of
speche.

¶ But now take hede what damage ensued to him by his decree, wherein he commaunded, that no man shoulde be so hardy to approache or speake to hym: One, whiche knew of the conspyrace agaynst hym, and by all likelihood did participate therein, being metted either with loue or pittie, or otherwise his conscience remouyng agaynst the destruction of so noble a p̄ince, considering that by Cæsars decree he was prohibited to haue to hym any familiar access, soo that he myght not plainly deterte the conspyrace, he thereto vehemently moued, wrote in a byll all the foume thereof, with the meanes howe it myghte be spied, and sens he thought fynde none other oportunitie, he deliuered the byll so Cæsar the same date that his deathe was

p̄ies

prepared, as he wente towarde the place, where the Senat was holden. But he being radiccate in p̄yde and neglectyng to loke on that byll, not clemmyng the person that deliuered it, which perchâc was but of a meane houlour, continued his way to the Senate, where he incontinent was slayne by the said Brutus and many mo of the Senat for that purpose appointed.

¶ Who beholding the cause of the death of this most noble Cæsar, vnto whō in cloquẽ doctrine, marciall p̄uwell, & gentynesse, no p̄ince maie be comparcd: the & acceleraciō or halt to his cōfusiō, caused by his own edict or decree, wyl not cōmende affabilitie, & extol liberallitee of speche whereby onely loue is in the heartes of people perfectly kendeled, all feare excluded, & consequently realmes, dominions, and all other auctorities consolidated and perpetually stablyshed. The sufferance of noble mē to be spokē vnto, is not only to them an incōparabile suretee, but also a confounder of repentaunce, enemy to p̄uidence, wherof is ingendyred this word, *Had I wist*, which hath be euer of all wise men repoynd.

¶ On a tyme hyngc Philippe, father to the great Alexander sitting in iugement, and having before him a matter agaynst one of his souldiours, being ouercōmen with watchefel on a slombie, and sodeynly beinge a washed, immediately wold haue greeu a sentence agaynst the poore souldiour. But he with a

¶ It

great

Judgement
suspended
through his
bertee of
speche.
Dictator

great voyce and outcrie said: King Philip,
I appele. To whom wilt thou appele sayde
the kynge: To the (said the souldiour) whan
thou arte thoroughly awaked. With whiche
answere the kynge suspended his sentence,
and moze diligently examynynge the matter,
found, the souldiour hadde wronge: whiche
beyng sufficiently discussed, he gaue iudge-
ment for hym, whome befoze he wolde haue
condemned.

¶ Semblably hapned by a poore woman, a
garnise whom the same kynge hadde geuen
iudgement, but she as desperate, with a loud
voyce, cried: I appele, I appele. To whom
appelst thou sayde the kynge? I appeale,
sayde she, frome the, nowe beyng djonke, to
kynge Philip the sojre. At whiche wordes,
though he they were vndiscrete and foolyshe,
yet he not beyng moued to displeasure, but
gatherynge to him his wittes, examined the
matter moze seriously: wherby he syndynge
the poore womanne to susteyne wronges, re-
uered his iudgement, and accordynge to truth
and iustice, gaue to her that she demaunded.
Wherewith he is of noble authors commended, &
put for an honorable example of affabilitee.

Antonine
philoso-
phus
Herodian

The noble emperor Antonine, called the
philosopher, was of suche affabilitee, as he
romane writeth, that to euery manne that
came to hym, he gently deliuered his hand.
And wold not permitte, that his gard quide
prohibite any man to approche hym.

The

¶ The excellent emperor Augustus on a
tyme, in the presence of many meane, played
on cimballis, or an other lyke instrument.
A poore manne standing with other, and be-
holdynge the emperor, sayde with a loude
voyce to his felowe, Heest thou not howe
this voluptuous lechour tempereth all the
worlde with his finger? Whiche wordes
the emperor soo wysely noted, withoute
wraath or displeasure, that euer after, during
his lyfe, he refrained his handes from sen-
sible lightnesse.

¶ The good Antonine, emperor of Rome
commynge to supper to a meane gentyl man,
beside in the house certayne pylers of a de-
licate stoon, called porphoyt, asked of the
good man, where he hadde bought those pil-
lers. Who made to the emperor this ans-
were: Sjs, whan ye come into any other
mans howse, than your owne, euer be you
both dome and dese. Whiche liberall taunte
that moost gentill emperor toke in so good
part, that he often tymes reuered that sen-
sente to other, for a wise & discrete counsaill.

¶ By these examples appereth nowe eu-
dently, what good cometh of affabilitee or
sufferaunce of speche, what most pernicious
danger alway ensueth to them, that either
do refuse counsaill, or prohibite libertie of
speche, sens that in libertee (as it hath ben
proued) is mooste perfect libertee, accordynge
as it is remembred by Platarche, of Cero-
pompus

¶ III

Augustus.

Suetoni-
us.

Antonin⁹
Pius,

Laippidi⁹

J. J. J.

J. J. J.

J. J. J.

populus, King of Lacedemone, who beinge
demanded, howe a realme mought be best
and most surely kept: If (said he) the prince
give to his frendes libertie, to speke to hym
thynges that be iuste, and neglecteth not the
wrynges, that his subiectes susteineth,

¶ Howe noble a vertue placabilitee
liueth, Cap. vi.



lacabilitee is no litle part
of Benignitee, and is properly
where a man is by any occasi-
on moued to be angry, and not
withstandyng eicher by his
owne reason ingenerate, or by
eounsaile perswaded, omitteth to be reuenged,
and often tymes receiueth the teares
grieffull ones reconciled, into moze fauours
whiche vndoubtedlye is a vertue wonder-
full excellent. For as Cally saythe: A oo-
thyng is moze to be meruailed at, or that
moze becometh a man noble and honozable,
thanne merepe and placabilitee. The valente
thereof is beste knowne by the contrarie,
wherpe is pye, called vulgarlye wyathe, a
byce mooste vgly, and farrest from humani-
tee. For who beholdyng a manne in estimati-
on of noblyere and wyldeome, by surpe
changed into an horrible fygure, his face in-
sared with rancour, his mouth foule and
imbosed, his eyes wyde staring, and sparke-
lyng

Cic. off. l.

See or
wyathe.

lyng lyke a fyre, not spekyng, but as a wild
bulle, royyng t byayng out wordes despyte-
full and venemous, forgettyng his estate or
condicion, forgettyng learnyng, ye forget-
tyng al reason, will not haue suche a passy-
on in extreme detestacion: Shal he not wish
to be in such a man placabilitee, wherby ons
ly he shuld be estiones restozed to the fourme
of a man, wherof he is by wyath despoled,
as it is wonderly well described by Quide in
his crafte of loue.

¶ Man to thy bylage it is conuenient,
Beastly fury shortly to asswage,
For peace is beaytfull to man onely sent,
Wyathe to the beaustis cruell and sauage,
For in man the face swelleth, when wyathe
is in rage.
The bloudd becommeth wann, the eyes
frye byght,
Lyke Gozgon the monster, apperyng in the
wyght,

¶ This Gozgon that Quide speakehe of
is supposed of poetes to be a fury, or infer-
nall monster, whose heares weere all in the
fygure of adders, signyfing the abundance
of mischief, that is conteyned in wyathe.
Wherwith the great kyng Alexander byyng
(as I mought say) oblessed, byd put to ven-
geable death his deere frend Citrus, his most
prudent counsaillour Calisthenes, his mooste
ballant

Wyathe,
Alexander
in fury.

R.iii.

ballant

valiant capitaine Philotas, with his father Armenio, and diuers other. Wherof he so soze after repented, that oppressed with heauenes, hadde slayne hym selfe, hadde he not ben lette by his seruantes. Wherfoze his fury and an inordinate wrath, is a fowle and greuous blempe to his glory, whiche without that vice, had incomparably excelled all other vicijs.

The horrible
crueltie
of Sylla &
Parius.

Who abhorreth or hateth not the violence or rage that was in Sylla and Parius, noble Romaine, and in their tyme in highest authoritee within the citee, hauinge the gouernance of the moze parte of the worlde. Sylla, for the malignitee that he hadde to ward Parius, caused the heades of a thousande and seven hundredde of the chiefe citezens of Rome to be stricken of, and broughte so hym freche bledying and quicke, and there on fedde his mooste cruell eyes, whiche to eate his mouthe naturally abhorred. Marius with no lesse ranoure inflamed, beyde a terrible Naughter, that he made of noble men, leaping to Sylla, also caused Caius Cesar (who had ben both Consull and Cen sor, two of the mooste honozable dignities in the citee of Rome) to be violently drawen to the sepulture of one Marius, a simple and sedicious person, and there to be dishonestly flaine. With lyke bestial fury, he caused the head of Marcus Antonius, one of the most eloquent oratours of all the Romaynes, to

be broughte vnto hym, as he late at dyner, & there toke the heade all bloody betwene his handes, and with a malicious countenance reproched hym of his eloquence, wherewith he hadde not onely defended many an innocent, but also the hole publike weale by his wyse consultations singularly profited.

What calamitee hapned to that moost noble citee of Rome, by the implacabilitee of warre insatiabie, of these two capitaines, or as I mought rather say deuilles, the nobles betwene their crbanke, the chynaltey almoste consumed, the lawes oppressed, and lackynge but lyttell, that the publike weale had not be extirped, & the citee utterly desolat.

The vndiscrete hastinesse of thempereur Claudius, caused hym to be noted for foolish. For he moued with wrath, caused dyuers to be flaine, for whom after he demanded, and wold sende for to souper. For with standing that he was right well lerned, and in dyuers greate affayres appeared to be wyse. These discommodities do happen by implacable wrath, wherof there be examples innumerable.

Contrariwise, the valiant king Pirrhos, hearing that two menne at a feast, and in a great assembly and audience, hadde openly spoken wordes, to his reproche, moued with displeasure, sent for the perlones; and when they were come, he demanded whether they spake of hym anye suche wordes: whervnto

A V.

one

Pirrhos.

one of them answered, If (sayde he) the
wise had nat the sooner sayed vs, all that
whiche was tolde to your hyghnes, in com-
paryson of that whiche shuld haue ben spo-
ken, had bene but trifles. The wylle pynce
with that playne confession was mytygate,
and his wraithe conuerted to laughyng.

Placabilis **C** Julius Cesar, after his victorie agaynst
ice. the great Pompei, who had married his doughter,
sittinge in open iudgemente, Sergius
Galba, one of the nobles of Rome, a frende
vnto Pompei, said vnto hym: I was bound
den for thy sonne in law Pompei in a greate
summe, whan he was consul the thyrd tyme,
wherfore I am nowe sewed. What shall I
do? Shall I my selfe pay it: by which wordes
he mought seeme to reproche Cesar of
the selling of Pompeys goodes, in defrauding
his creditours. But Cesar thā hauing
a gentill herte and a patient, was not meted
with any displeasure towarde Galba: but
caused Pompeys dettes to be discharged.

Welache not of this vertue domesticall
examplis, I meane of our owne hynges of
Englande, but mozte specially onc, wherche
in myne opinion, is to be compared with any,
that euer was written of in any region
of countrey.

I good
Judge, a
good pise
a good hig
The mozte renowned pynce hyng Deney
the thyrde, late kyng of Englande, duringe
the lyfe of his father, was noted to be fierse
and of wanton courage: it hapned that one
of

of his seruantes, whome he fauoured well,
was for felony by him committed, arraigned
at the hynges bench: wher of the pynce be-
yng aduertised, and incensed by lighte per-
sones aboute hym, in surpouse rage came
hastly to the barre, wher his seruant stode
as a pynsoner, and commaunded hym to be
vngened and set at libertee. Wher at al men
were abashed, reserued the chiefe Justice,
who humbly exhorted the pynce to be conten-
ted, that his seruante mought bee ordered
accorbyng to the ancient lawes of this re-
alme: or yf he wolde haue hym laued frome
the rigour of the lawes, that he shoulde ope-
taine, if he mought, of the hynges his father
his gracious pardon, wherby no lawe or ius-
tice shulde be derogate. With whiche an-
swere the pynce nothyng appeased, but ras-
ther moze inflamed, endeouered hym selfe
to take away his seruant. The iudge consy-
dering the perillous example, and inconue-
nience that mought thereby insue, with a va-
liant spirite and courage, commaunded the
pynce vpon his alegaunce, to leaue the pyn-
soner and departe his way, with whiche coman-
dement the pynce being set all in a fury, all
chafed and in a terrible maner, cam by to
the place of iudgement, and thinking that he wold
haue claime the iudge, or haue done to hym
some damage: but the iudge sittinge stil with-
out mouing, declaring the mattee of the kin-
ges place of iudgement, with an assured bold
coun-

courtenance, had to the prince these wordes
folowynge.

Chy remembre your selfe, I hope here the
place of the king your soueraine lord and
father, to whom ye owe double obedience,
wherefore estioones in his name, I charge
you despyte of your wyfulness and vnlau-
full enterpylle, and from henceforth the good
example to those, whiche hereafter
shall be your propre subiectes. And now, for
your contempte and disobedience, go you to
the prison of the kynges benche, wherunto
I committe you, and remaine ye there pry-
soner untill the pleasure of the kyng your
father be further knowen. With whiche
wordes being abashed, and also wondryng
at the meruailous graunt of that worship-
full iustice, the noble prince layng his weas-
pon apart, doynge reuerence, departed, and
went to the kynges benche, as he was com-
manded. Wherat his seruantes disdainge
came and shewed to the kyng at the holle as-
saye. Wherat he awholes studienge, after
as a man al rauynged with gladnes, holding
his eyes and handes vp towarde heauen, as
blyssed with a lowde voyce: O mercifull
god, howe muche am I bounde to your in-
finite goodnesse, specially for that ye haue
giuen me a iudge, who feareth not to mini-
ster iustyce, and also a sonne, who can suffice
semblably, and obeye iustice.

C Nowe here a man may beholde thye per-
sones

sones, worthy excellent memorie. I praye a
iudge, who bringe a subiecte, feared not to
execute iustice on the eldest sonne of his so-
ueraygne lord, and by the order of nature
his successour. Also a pyppet, and sonne and
heire of the kyng, in the myddes of his su-
er, more considered his cupill example, and
the iudges constance in iustice, than his own
estate or wisfull appetite. Thirdly, a noble
king and wise father, who contrary to the
custome of parentes, rejoyced to se his sonne
and the heire of his crowne, to bee for his
disobedience, by his subiect corrected. Where-
fore I conclude, that nothing is more hono-
rable, or to be desired in a prince or noble mā
than placabilitee. As contrariwise, nothing
is so detestable or to be feared in suche one,
as wrathe and cruell malignitie.

C That a gouernour ought to be mercif-
full, and the diuersitee of mercy and
bayne pitee. Cap. vii.

Mercy is and hath bene euer of suche
estimation with mankinde, that not
onely reason perswadeth, but also
experience proueth, that in whome mercie
lacketh, and is not founden, in hym al other
vertues be dyuyned, and looke they iust
commendacion.

C The vice called crueltie, whiche is con-
trary to mercie, is by good reason more obi-

Crueltie.

ous of all other vices, in as muche as speke
 of the generation of man. Also likewise as
 by, do lose their bountie and augment the
 malady, semblably diuers vertues in a per-
 son cruell and malicious, be not onely obfus-
 cate or hid, but do minister occasion and
 assistance to crueltie.

But nowe to speake of the inestimable
 price and value of mercy, Lette gouernours,
 whiche knowe, that they haue receiued their
 power from aboue, reuolue in their myndes,
 in what peryle they them selfe bee in dayly,
 if in god were not abundance of mercy, but
 that as soone as they offende him greuousely,
 he should immediately strike hym with his
 moste terrible dart of vengeance: All be it
 vnnethe any houre passeth, that men deserue
 not some punishment.

The moste noble emperours, whiche for
 their merites receiued of the gentyle diuine
 honours, vauquished the greates hartes of
 their mortall enemies, in shewing mercy, a-
 boue mens expectation.

Julius Cesar, which in policy, eloquence,
 celeritie and prowesse, excelled all other ca-
 pitaynes, in mercy onely, surmounted hym
 selfe, that is to saie, contrary to his owne af-
 fectes and determinate purposes, he not on-
 ly spared, but also receiued into tender fa-
 miliaritie his twome enemies, *Wherfore*
 of the

of the disdigne of his owne bloude and a-
 sistance had not traiterously slayne hym, he
 had reigned long and prosperously.

But amonge many other exammples of *Demeca de*
 mercy, wherof the histoyes of Rome do a- *demencia,*
 bounde, there is one remembred by Seneca,
 which may be in the side of a great number.

It was reported to the noble emperour
 Octavius Augustus, that Lucius Cinna,
 whiche was suters sonne to the great Pom- *Wher the*
 pey, had imagined his death: Also that Cin- *wed by Au-*
 na was appoynted to execute his seate, whil- *gustus vnc-*
 les the emperour was doing his sacrifice. *tyll his en-*
emy.

This report was made by one of the conspi-
 ratours, and therewith dyuers other thyn-
 ges agreed: the olde hostilitie betwene the
 houses of Pompei and Cesar, the wild & se-
 dicious witte of Cinna, wth the place and
 tyme, wher and when the emperour should be
 distinguished of seruantes. No woundre
 though the emperours mynde were vnquiet,
 being in so peryllous conspect, consydering
 on the one part, that if he should put to death
 Cinna, whiche came of one of the moste no-
 ble and ancient houses of Rome, he should
 euer lyue in daunger, onles he should destroy
 all that noble family, and cause the memory
 of them to be vtterly extermynate: wher-
 e he mought not be brought to passe, without
 effusion of the bloude of persones innume-
 rable, and also perille of the subuersion of
 the empire, late pacified. *On thother part, he*
con-

GOVERNOR.

considered the imminent danger, that his
person was in, wherefore nature stirred him
to provide for his safety. whereto he thought
than to be none other remedy, but the death
of his adversary. To him being thus per-
suaded, came his wife Livia, the emperesse, who
said unto him: Pleaseth it you sit to here a
womans advise. Doo you as physicians be-
wont to doo, where their accustomed reme-
dies please not, they assaye the contrary. By
securitie ye have hitherto nothing profited:
proue therfore now, what mercy maye ad-
uaile you. Forquere Linna, he is taken with
the mayne, and maye not now indamage
you, profyte he maye muche to the increase
of your renowne and perpetuall glory. The
emperour reioysed to him selfe, that Linna
had founde suche an aduocate, and giuing
her thankes, caused his counsaylours, whi-
che he hadde sent for, to be countermanded,
and calling to him Linna only, commanded
the chamber to be auoyded, and an other
chayre to be set for Linna, and that done, he
said in this maner to him: I desire of the
this one thinge, that whiles I speake, thou
wilt not let or disturbe me: or in the middes
of my wordes make any exclamation.

¶ What time Linna, I founde the in the
house of myne annexes, although he thou-
were not by any occasion made myne enemy,
but by succession from thyne annexes
myne enemy, I not onely caused the,
but

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but also gaue vnto the all thine inheritance:
And at this date thou art so prosperous and
reche, that they, which hadde with me by-
stand, do enuie thee: that were vanquished.
Thou askest best of me a spirituall promoci-
on, and furthwith I gaue it thee. before ma-
ny other, whose parentes hadde serued me in
warres. And for that I haue done so much
for thee, thou haste nowe purposed to slea
me. At that word, when Linna cried oute,
saynge, that suche madnes was farte from
his mynde. Linna (said the emperour) thou
kepest not promise, it was couenanted, that
thou shouldest not interrupte me. I saie thou
prepardest to kyle me. And therto the emperour
named his companyons, the place, tyme, and
order of all the conspiracy, and also to whom
the sword was committed. And when he
percepued him alsoyed, holdynge than his
peace, not for bycause that he too promised,
but that his conscience him mewed. For what
intente dydest thou thus. (saide Augustus)
bycause thou woldest be Emperour? In
good saythe the publy he weale to in an euill
estate, yf nothing letteth the to reigne, but
I onely. Thou canst not mainteyne or de-
fende thine owne house. It is not longe sens
that thou in a private iudgement, wert ones
comen of a poore man: but late intrancchys
led. Therfore thou mayst nothing do bygh-
ther than plede agaynst the emperour. Saye
now, do I alone let the of thy purpose: sup-
pose

possit thou that *Dante*, *Fabius*, *Maximus*,
the Coses, & *Scruilis*, ancient houses of
Rome, and such a sort of noble men (not
 they which have borne ambiguous names,
 but such as for their merit by adorning with
 their proper images) will suffice the? Finally
 said the emperor (after that he had talked
 with him by the space of two houres) *I* give
 to the thy life *Linna* the seconde tyme: *Lyssa*
 being mine enemy, nowe a traitour & mur-
 derer of thy soveraign lord, whom thou ought
 to love as thy father. How frd this day
 let amities betwix us two beginne and lette
 us bothe contende, whether *I* with a better
 heart haue geuen to the thy life, or that thou
 canst more gently recompence my kindnes.
 ¶ *So* after *Augustus* came to *Linna* the
 dignitee of consul vnderstand, blaming hym,
 that he durste not aske it; whereby he hadde
 hym mooste asured and loyalle. And *Linna*
 afterwarde beinge came to the emperor all
 his goodes and possessions. And neuer after
 was *Augustus* in daunger of any treason.
 ¶ *What* sufficient praise maye bee geuen
 to this moste noble and prudente emperor,
 that in a chambye alone, withoute meane, or
 aduance, or weapon, and perchance with
 oute haerics, within the space of .ii. houres,
 with wordes wel touched tempered with ma-
 kesse, not only vanaquished and subdued one
 mortal enemy, which by a malignitee engen-
 dred of a domestical hatred, had determined

to sle hym, but by the same feate excluded out
 of the hole citee of *Rome* all displeasure and
 rancour towarde hym, so that there was not
 left any occasion, wherof might procede
 any littell suspicion of treason, whiche other
 wyse couldenot haue hapned withoute flater-
 ter of people innumerable.

¶ Also the emperesse *Kluisa*, was not of right
 be forgotten, whiche imprisoned to her lord
 that noble countesse in such a perplexitee,
 whereby he saued both hym selfe and his peo-
 ple. Suppose ye that all the *Senatours* of
Rome, and counsaillers of the emperoure,
 whiche were littell fewer than a thousande,
 could haue better aduised hym? This his-
 storie therfore is no lesse to be remembered of
 women than of pynces, takinge thereby com-
 forte to persuade sweetly their husbands
 to meepe and patience, to whiche counsa-
 ouly, they shulde be admitted and haue free
 lybertee. But *I* shall forbere to speke more of
Kluisa nowe, for as muche as *I* purpose to
 make a booke onely for ladies, where in her
 laude shall be more amply expressed. But to
 reioyce nowe to meepe.

¶ Surely nothinge more entirely and fast-
 ly to pyneth the heartes of subiectes to their
 pynce, or to her pynce, than their vnkindnes
 and vnkindnes. For *Seneca* saith: *I* temperate dyed
 expecteth hgh and sturdy mindes: feare fre-
 quent and sharpe, set forth with extreme,
 steech wayne to presumption, and hardines,

and consecrēteth them to experimente all things. He that hastily punisheth, oft times some respecteth. And who that ouer much respecteth, obserueth none equitee. And yett aske me what mixt is, it is a temperance of the mynde of hym, that hath power to be auenged, and it is called in latine Clementia, and is alwaye ioynd with reason. For he that for euery littell occasion is moued with compassion, and beholding a man punished conuictly for his offence, lamēteth or wapieth, is called pitious, which is a sickness of the minde, wherewith at this day the moxe parte of men be diseased. And yett is the sykenesse muche wors by aduynge to one worde, calling it Mayne pitee.

Mayn pitee ¶ Some man perchance wyl demande of me, what is Mayne pitee? To that I wyl answere in a description of daily experience.

¶ Beholde what an infinite nombre of eneglyshe men and women, at this present tyme, wander in all places throughte oute this realme, as beastes hyte and sauage abandonyng all occupation, seruice, and honestie. Howe many scemly personages, by outrage in clothe, garmynge, and erecte of apparayle, be induced to theft and robbery, and somtyme to murder, to the inquitacion of good men, and finally to there owne destruction.

¶ Howe conspyde semblably, what noble fortunes, ordinaunces and actes of counsaill from tyme to tyme haue ben extogitate, and
by

by grane studie and mature consultation enacted and decreed, as welte for the punishmente of the faulde sible perfonces and bascabundres, as also for the suppression of vniuersall lawfull games, and reducyng apparayle to contentie moderate and temperance. Howe many proclamacions therof haue bene byulgate, and not obeyed? Howe many edictes mynyons byreted, & not executed? (Warte well here, that disobediente subiectes, and neglygent gouernours, doo frusteate good lawes) I man hearynge, that his neighbour is slayne or robbed, sayth with hateeth the offendor, and abhorreth his enormitee, thynkyng hym worthy to be punished, accordyng to the lawes: yett what he beholdeeth the trasgressour, a scemly personage, also to be his seruant acquainted or a gentill man borne (I omittet now to speake of any other corruption) he sayth with changeth his opinion, and preferreth the offendors condition of personage, before the example of iustice, condempnyng a good and necessary lawe, for to execute an offence pernicious & dampnable, yett this is not onely done by the vulgare or commune people, but much rather by the, whiche haue auctorytee to thym committed conceyning the effectual execution of lawes. They beholde at there ete the continuall encrease of bacabundres, into infinite number, the obstinate resistens of the that daye, by do transgress the lawes made against ga-
D III mcs,

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mes, and apparayle, whiche be the strengthe
 pathes to robbery, and semblable mischete per
 of any one commysioner, meued with zeale to
 his country accordyng to his duetie do exes
 cute duely, and frequently the lawe of good
 ordinauer, wherin is any sharpe punishme
 ments, some of his companions therat res
 boylecth, infamyng him to be a man without
 charitee, calling him secretly a pryde thanke
 of ambitious of glorie, and by such maner of
 ablogue, secke meanes to byngge hym in to
 the hatred of people. And this may be well
 called vaine pryde, wherein is conteyned ney
 the iustise nor yet comendable charitee, but
 rather thereby enluch negligence, contempte
 disobedience, and fynally all mischete and
 incurable miserie.

Cf this Cyrenesse hadde reigned amonge
 the olde Romanes, suppose ye that the astate
 of their publike weale had six hundred yeres
 increased, and two hundred yeres continued
 in one excellent astate and wonderfull mis
 chete: I thinke ye that the same Romanes
 might soo haue ordjed many gerate coun
 ceyles, with fewer ministers of iustice, than
 be nowe in one thire of Englande.

But of that matter, and also of rigour &
 equalitee of punishment, I wyl treite more
 simply in a place more propise for that pur
 pose, And here I conclude to write any end
 at this tyme of meepe.

The

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The principall partes of humane
 manitee. Cap. viii.

The nature of condition of man, wher
 in he is lesse than god almightie, and
 excellyng not withstanding all other
 creature in earth is called humanitee whiche
 is a general name to those vertues, in whom
 cometh to be a mutuall comode and loue, in
 the nature of man. And although there be
 many of the sayde vertues, yet be there thre
 principall, by whome humanitee is chiefly
 compact, Beniuolence, Benificence, and Li
 beralitee, whiche wherby by the sayde princi
 pall vertue called Benignitee or gentinesse.
Beniuolence, if it do extend to a hole cou
 treye or citee, is properly called charitee, and
 some tyme sale: and yf it concerne one per
 soune, than is it called Beniuolence, And if lence,
 it be very feruent and to one singular person Loue,
 than may it be named loue; amitee. Of that
 vertuous disposition proceedeth an acte, Liberallitee
 wherby some thynge is compljed, whiche is
 profitable and good to hym that receyvet
 it, And that vertue, yf it be in operacion, or
 (as I might say) endeavour: is called than
 Benificence: and the dede (vulgarily named
 a good tourne) may be called a benefyte. If
 it be in monye, or other thynge that hath
 substance, it is than called Liberalitee, whi
 che is not alway a vertue as Benificence is
 for in wyl doing (whiche is the right enterpise
 of this action

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factis of Beneficence) can be no vice included
But Liberalitee, though it proceede of a free
and gentle heart, willing to do some thinge
thankfull, yet may it transgresse the boundes
of vertue, either in excessive rewardes, or
experiences, or els in imposing treasure, promo-
tion, or other substance on persons unworthy,
or on thinges inconueniente, and of small
importance. Wherfore some thinke suche ma-
ner of erogation not to be worthy the name
of Liberalitee.

A liberall
man.

Cap. ii.

Aristotle defineth a liberall man, whiche
doth erogate, according to the rate of his sub-
stance, and as opportunity hapneth. He saith
also in the same place, that Liberalitee is not
in the multitude or quantitee of that whiche
is giuen, but in the habitie or fashion, of the
giue. For he giueth according to his habi-
tude. Neither will approueth it to be Libe-
ralitee, wherein is any mixture of auarice or
caprice: for it is not properly Liberalitee, to
erogate iniustly, or by violence or craffe to take
goodes from particuler persons, and distri-
bute them in a multitude: or to take from
many iniustly, and enrich therewith one per-
son or few. For as the same author saith, the
last precept concerning benefites or rewardes
is, to take good hede, that he contende not a
gainst equitee, ne that he behold no iniury.
¶ Now will I proceede seriously and in a
due sort to speake more particularly of these
the vertues: notwithstanding there is such
a similitude

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affinitie betwene beneficence and liberalitee
beinge alwaies a vertue, that they tende to
one conclusion for purpose, that is to saie,
with a glad and free will to giue to a nother
that thing, whiche he before lacked.

Of what excellence Beneuo-
lence is. Cap. ix.

When I remember, what incompa-
rable goodnes hath euer proceeded of
this vertue Beneuolence, mercifull
god, what sweete flavour taste I, persuing
my spirites, whereas both my soule and bod-
dy, to my thankynge doo conceiue suche re-
creation, that it seemeth me to be in a para-
dise, or other semblable place of incompa-
rable delites and pleasures.

¶ First I beholde the dignitie of that ver-
tue, reuoluerge that god is therby chiefly
known and honoured, both of aungell and
man. As contrarywise, the deuyll is hated
reppoued both of god and man for his ma-
lice, whiche vice is contrariuous and repu-
gnant to Beneuolence. Wherfore withoute
Beneuolence may be no god. For god is all
goodnes, all charitie, all loue, whiche holly
be comprehended in the sayde worde Bene-
uolence.

¶ Nowe let vs see, where any other vertue
maye be equal in dignitie with this vertue
Beneuolence: or if any vertue remaineth:
D b where

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where this is excluded: For what cometh of Indulgence, where lacketh Beneuolence: but disceite, rauine, auarice, and tyranny. What of Fortitude: but beastly crueltie, oppression, and effusion of blood. What iustice may there be without Beneuolence: For the first or chiefe portion of iustice (as Cullis saith) is to endamage no man, onlesse thou be wrongfully vexed. And what is the cause herof, but equall and entire loue, whiche being remoued or cessing, who endeuoreth not him selfe or take frome an other all chynge that he conceiteth, or for every thinge that discontenteth hym, wold not forthwith be auenged: whereby he confoundeth the vertue called Temperance, whiche is the moderatrice as well of all motions of the mynde, called affectes, as of all acts proceeding of man. ¶ Here it sufficiently appeereth (as I suppose) of what estimation Beneuolence is. Now wyl I endeuour me to recreate the specialties of the diligent reader, with some delectable histories, wherein is any noble remembrance of this vertue Beneuolence, that the worthynesse thereof may appeare in a more plain declaration: For in every discipline, example is the beste instructour. But firste I wylle aduertise the reader, that I wylle now write of Beneuolence onely, whiche is most virtuous of all, wherein is equalitie with out singular affection or acceptance of personsages,

And

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¶ And here it is to be noted, that if a gouernour of a publicke weale, iudge, or any other minister of iustice, do geue sentence against one that hath transgressed the lawes, or punisheth hym according to the qualitie of his trespass: Beneuolence thereby is not any thing perished: for the condemnation or punishment, is rather to reduce hym that erreth into the trayne of vertue, or to preserve a multitude from damage, by puttinge men in feare, that be prone to offende, byingne the sharpe correction, that they beholde an other to suffer. And that maner of sentence is toucheth by the prophete Dauid in the fourthe psalme, sayng in this wyse: Be you angry, and loke that you syn not. And Cullis sayeth in his first booke of Offices: It is to be wished, that they, whiche in the publicke weale haue any auctoritie, may be like to the lawes whiche in correctyng be lad onely by equitie and not by wrathe or displeasure.

¶ And in that maner, whā Ichoze, Nathan, and Abiron, moued sedition against Hophoc, he praised god, that the earth might open and swallowe them, considering that the fury of the people might not be by any other means asswaged, as they kept in due rule or obedience.

¶ Helias, the holy prophete of god, byd his owne hande putte to death the priestes of the Idol of Baal, yet ceased he not with fastyng, prayeng, longe and tedious prayers,

That Justice neuer lacke beneuolence.

Sharpnes of iustice.

Prayers.

rages, to pacifye the displeasure that god
toke agaynst the people of Israel. But to
returne to Bencolence.

¶ **M**oyses, being highly entertained with
Pharao kyng of Egypte, and so muche in
his fauour, by the meanes of the kynge's sy-
ster, that (as Josephus saith) he being made
captaine of a huge army, was sent by Phara-
o against the Ethiopians; or Moors,
where he made suche exploiture, that he not
onlye atcheued his enterpryse, but also had
giuen vnto him for his prowes, the kynge's
daughter of Ethiopia to be his wyfe, with
great abundance of riches. And also for his
endeavour, prowes, and wisdom, was much
esteemed by Pharao and the nobles of E-
gypte, so that he moughte haue lyued there
continually in muche honoure and wealth, yf
he wold haue preferred his singular awaile,
before the vniuersall weale of his owne kyn-
reds; or family: But he inflamed with fer-
uent bencolence of scale towarde them, to
redeeme them out of their miserable bondage,
chose rather to be in the dangerous indignas-
ties of Pharao, to committe his person to
the changeable myndes of a multitude, and
they moche vnstable, to passe great and long
iourneys through desertes, replenished with
wyde beastes and venemous serpentes, to
suffre extreme hunger and thyrste, lackynge
often tyme not onlye byraps, but also fresh
water to drynke: than to be in a palace of
Pha-

Pharao, where he shulde haue ben satisfied
with honour, riches, and ease, and all other
thynges pleasant.

¶ **W**ho that redeth the booke of Exod, shal
synde the charitee of this man wonderfull.
For whan almighty god, being greuously
moued with the chyldeyn of Israel, for their
ingratitude, for as muche as they often tymes
murmured agaynst hym, and vnto mought
be kepte by Moyses from ydolatrie, he saied
to Moyses: That he wolde destruye them
bitere, & make hym ruler of a muche great-
ter and better people. But Moyses brenning
in a meruaylous charitee towarde them,
sayd to god: This people good lord, haue
moste greuously sinned, yett eynher forgyue
them this trespass, or yf ye do not, styrre
me cleane out of the booke that he wyte. And
dyuers other tymes he importunately cryed
to god for the sauergarde of them, not with-
standynge that many tymes they concluded
to haue slayne hym, yf he hadde not bene by
his wisdom, and specially by the power of
god preferred.

¶ **B**ut peraduenture some whiche seeke for
steeptyng holes to mapnteyne their vices, will
obiecte, sayng: that Moyses was a holy pro-
phet, and a person elect by predestination, to
helpe the chyldeyn of Israel, out of capti-
uities, whiche he coulde not haue doone yf he
had not ben of suche patience and charitiee.
Therefore let vs see what example of veni-
blable

blable beneuolence we can fynde among the gentiles, in whome was no vertue inspired, but that only which natural reason enduced, **A**d when a furious and wilfull yonge man in a sedition, had striken out one of the eyes of kynge Licurgus. the people wolde haue slaine hym, and the kynge wolde not suffre them, but had hym home to his house, and by such wyse means corrected the yonge man, that at the last he brought him to good manners and wisdom.

Also the same Licurge, to the intent that the effect of his beneuolence, toward the common weale of his countrey might persist and continue, and that his excellent lawes, beyng stablished, shulde neuer be alterate, he byd let sweare all his people: that they shuld change no parte of his lawes, vntil he were returned, saynyng to them, that he wold go to Delphos. where Apollo was chiefly honored, to consult with that god, what seemed to hym to be added to, or minished of those lawes, whiche also he feigned to haue receiued of the said Apollo. But finally he went into the Ile of Crete, where he continued and dyed, commaundyng at his death, that his bones shulde be cast into the sea, lest if they were brought into Lacedaemonia his countrey, the people shulde thynke them self of their othe and promise discharged.

Codrus kynge of Athens, had to his countrey. For where the people

people called Doies/whom some thynke to be nowe Christians/wolde aduenge theyr old grudges againe the Atheniensis, they demaunded of some of their goddis, what success shoulde happen. if they made any warres. Unto whom answer was made, that if they slew not the kynge of Atheniensis, they shulde than haue the victorie. When they came to the fyeelde, straye commaundement was giuen amonge them, that about all thynge, they shulde haue good awayte of the kynge of Athenes, whiche at that tyme was Codrus. But he before knowynge the answer made by the Doies, and what commaundement was giuen to the armye, byd put of his pynely habite or robes, and in apparayle all ragged and rente, cartenge on his necke a bundell of twygges, entred into the hoste of his enimies, and was slayne in the picaue by a souldiour, whom he wounded with a hoke purposely. But whā it was perceiuen and knowne to bee the corps of kynge Codrus, the Doies all dysmayed departed from the fyeelde, withoute profernyng battayle. And in this wyse the Atheniensis, by the vertue of their most beneuolent kynge, who for the saulsegarde of his countrey, wilfully dyed, were cleryp deliuered from hanel. **A**noble Codrus, howe worthy had you bene / if god had bene pleased / to haue aboden the reparacion of mankynd, that in the habite and religion of a christen pyruce, ye

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mought haue shewed your wonderfull benes-
uolence and courage for the sauegarde of
christen men, and to the noble example of o-
ther princes.

Curcius,

¶ Curcius, a noble knight of the Romains
hadde no lesse loue to his countrey than Co-
dus. For loone after the begynnyng of the
citie, there hapned to be a great earthquake,
and after there remained a great dell of pye
without botrome, whiche to beholde was
horrible and lothsome, and out of it proce-
ded suche a dampe of ayre, that corrupted all
the citie with pestilence. Wherefore whanne
they had counsailed with such idols as they
than worshipped, answere was made, that
the earth shulde not close, vntill there were
into it the moste precious thynge in the citie.
Whiche answere receiued, there was thro-
wn in ryche Jewelles of golde and pree-
cious stone: but all anayled not. At the laste
Curcius, beinge psonge and goodly gentil
man, consideringe that no ryche thowen
in, prospered, finally considered, that the lyfe
of man, was aboute all thynges moste pree-
cious, to the entente the residue of the people
mought be saued by his onely deathe, he ar-
med hym selfe at all poyntes, and styring on
a courser, with his swerde in his hande redy
drawen, with a valiant and specke courage
enforced his horse to leape into the del of pye
and forthe with it togged together, and clos-
ed, leaunge onely a pygne where the pyre
was,

Co
ap
the

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was, whiche longe after was called Cur-
cius lake.

¶ I passe ouer the two Decius, Marcus
Regulus, and many other princes and noble
menne, that for the weale of their countrey
dyed willingly. And nowe will I speake of
suche as in many other foyme haue declared
theyr beneuolence.

¶ Xenophon the discipule of Plato, wrote
the lyfe of Cyrus kynge of persia moste cle-
gantely, wherein he expreth the fygure of
an excellent gouernour of capitayn: he sheweth
there, that Crefus kynge of Lidia, whome
Cyrus hadde taken prisoner, subdued his
countrey, and possessed his treasure, sayd on
a tyme to Cyrus, what he behelde his lybe-
ralitee: That suche largenes as he used shuld
byngge hym in pouertee, where yf he lyued,
he mought accumulate by treasure incom-
parable. Than Cyrus demanded of Crefus,
what treasure suppose ye shuld I now haue,
yf buryng the tyme of my reigne, I wolde
haue gadied and hepte money, as ye exhort
me to doo? Than Crefus named a greattes
somme. Wel said Cyrus, send ye some man,
whom ye beste reule, with Histakpa my ser-
uaunt, And thou Histakpa, go aboute to my
freendes, & shewe them, that I lacke golde to-
ward a certayne bulwyne: wherefore I will,
they send me as much as they can, & that they
put it in wrytyng, and sende it sealed by the
seruaunt of Crefus. In the same wyse Cyrus
wrote

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wrote



write in a letter, and also that they shulde receive Histaspas as his countour & frende, and sente it by hym. Histaspas, after that he had done the message of Cyrus, and was returned with the seruante of Creus, who brought letters from Cyrus frende, he said to Cyrus, Wherof, from henceforth loke that ye take me for a man of great substance. For I am hyghely rewarded with many greatte gyften for byngnyng your letters. Then Cyrus, at the houre appoynted, lad wyth hym byng Creus into his campe, saying to hym: now we beholde here is our treasure: account if ye can, howe muche money is redy for me, yf I haue neede of any to occuppe. Whan Creus behelde, & reckened the innumerable treasure, whiche in sondry partes were laid about the pavilion of Cyrus, he found muche more than he sayde to Cyrus that he shoulde haue in his treasure, yf he hym selfe had garded and kept it. And whan all appered sufficiently, Creus than sayde: howe thynke you Creus, haue I not treasure? And ye countat led me, that I shuld gather and hepe money, by occasion wherof I shulde be enuid & hated of my people. And more ouer put my trust to seruantes hyred to haue rule therof. But I do all other wyse, for in making my frendes ryche, I take them all for my treasure, & haue them more sure & trusty keepers, both of me and my substance, than I shuld do those, whom I muste truste onely for their wages.

Lorde

¶ Lorde god, what a notable historie is this; and worthy to be grauen in tables of golde: considering the vertue and power of Benecolence therein expessed, for the benecolence mynd of a gouernour, not onely byndeth the hertes of the people vnto him, with the chain of loue, moze ströger than any material bondes, but also gardeth moze safely his person, than any toure or garison.

¶ The eloquent Tullius saythe in his offices, *Orat.*
A liberall hearte is cause of Benecolence, all though perchauce power somtyme lacketh. Contrary wyse, he saith: They that desire to be feared, nedes muste they dyede them, of whom they be feared.

¶ Also Plini the yonger saythe, He that is *In pane*
not enuironned with charitee, in bayne is he garded with ferroure, sens armure with ar- *grico.*
mure is stered. Whiche is satisfied by the mooste graue phylosophy Benecolence, in his booke of merce, that he wryte to Nero, wher he saith: He is muche deceyued, that thynketh a manne to be sure, wher nothing frome hym can be saufe. For with mutuall assurance, suretee obserued.

¶ Antoninus Pius, emperour of Rome, so much tendred the benecolence of his people, that whan a great numbre hadde conspired treason agaynst him, the senate being therewith greuously moued, endeuoured them to punish the saide conspiratours, but the emperour caused the examination to cesse, saying:

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It



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I should not neede to serke to busily for them that entendeth suche mischiefe, lest if they ffounde many, he shoulde knowe, that many hated him. Also whā the people / for as much as on a tyme they lacked coine in their graynardes, wolde haue slayne him with stones / rather thē he wold haue the seditious persons to be punished, in his owne personne declared to them the occasyon of the scarcitye, wherewith they beyng pacified, euer man helde hym contented.

King
Philipp.

I hadde almoste forgotten a notable and worthy remembraunce of King Philipp, father to great kynge Alexander. It was on a tyme to hym reported, that one of his capitaines had menacing words towarde hym, whereby it seemed he intended somme damage towarde his personne. Wherefore his counsaile aduised hym, to haue good awaite of the said capitayne, and that he were put vnder ward. To whom the king answered, If any parte of my body were sicke, or els soze, whether shulde I therfore cut it from the residus, & cast it frome me, or els endeuour my selfe, that it mought be healed? And than he called for the said capitaine, and so entreated hym with familiaritee and bounteous rewardes, that euer after he hade hym more assured and loyall, than euer he was.

Agacilaus,

Agacilaus, kynge of Macedonia, to hys that demanded, howe a kynge mought moste surely gouerne his realme, wrythout contidours

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blours or a garde to his person, answered, If he reigned ouer his people, as a father doeth ouer his chylde.

The cite of Athens, frome whense issued all excellent doctrine and wisdom, duringe the tyme that it was gouerned by those persones, vnto who the people mought haue a familiar access, and boldly expounde theyr griefes and damages, prospered maruailously, and duringe a longe season reigned in honour and weale. Afterwarde the Macedons, by the mutabilitie of fortune, banquished them in battayle, and committed the cite of Athens, to the keepynge of xxx. of their owne capitaines, whiche were for their pride and auarice called tyranes. But nowe se howe Iprill Suretey is in great number of strengthe, where lacketh beneuolence. These xxx. tyranes were continually enuironed with sundry garisons of armed menne, whiche was a terrible bylage, to people that before lyued vnder the obedience of their lawes only. Finally the Atheniens by feare beyng put frome theyr accustomed access to their gouernours to require iustice, and therewith beyng fatigate as men oppressed with continuall iniurie, toke to them a desperate courage, and in conclusion expelled out of the cite all the said tyranes, and reduced it into his pristinate gouernance.

What misery was in the lyfe of Dionisie the tyran of Sicyle? who knowing, that his

The. xxx.
tyranes of
Athens,

Buttance
lacking be-
neuolence.

¶ iii

people

people deliued his destruction, for his raiuid
and crueltie wold not be of any man shauē,
but first caused his owne daughters to clyp
his beard: And afterwarde also mistrusting
them, he hym selfe with a hennynng cole seased
the heares of his bearde: and yet finally
was destroyed.

Alexander
Phereus

In like wretchednesse was one Alexander,
prince of a citie called Phereus: for he ha-
uyng an excellent saye wife, not onely exclu-
ded al men fro his company, but also as ofte
as he wolde lye with hir, certayne personnes
shoulde go before hym with torches, and he
following with his sword redy drawn, wold
therewith enserche the hedde, coffers, and all
other places of his chaumbre, leaste any man
shoulde be there hydde to hym, to the intent
to slea hym. And that not withstanding, by
the procurement of his sayde wyfe (who at
the laste fatigate with his mooste folye tes-
tously converted hir loue into hatred) he was
slayne by his owne subiectes.

How doth it appere, that this reuerend
Vertue Bencolence, is of all menne, mooste
specially of gouernours and men of honour,
incomparably before other, to be embraced.
The treasure of a gentil countenance, sweete
answers, arde in aduersitee, not with mo-
ney onely, but also with study and diligēt
endetour, can neuer be wasted, ne the loue
of good people thereby acquired, can be from
their heartes in any wise separate. And here
I make

I make an ende to speake any more at this
tyme of Bencolence.

Of Bencolence and liberalitee. Cap. I.

ALTHOUGH philosophers, in the des-
cription of vertues, haue deuided to
set them as it were in degrees, ha-
uyng respect to the qualitee and condition
of the personne, whiche is with them adou-
ned, as applyinge Magnificence to the sub-
staunce and estate of princes, and to priuate
personnes Bencolence and Liberalitee: yet
ben not these in any parte defalcate of their
condigne praptes. For yf vertue be an electio
annered vnto our nature, and consisteth in a
meane, which is determined by reason, and
that meane is the deuyd of two thinges
vicious, the one in superfluous, the other
in lacke: than needes make Bencolence & Li-
beralitee bee capital vertues, & Magnificence
proceedeth from them, appoyching to the ex-
treme partes. And may be tined into vice,
if he lacke the byddel of reason. But Bencol-
ence can by no meane be vicious & retayne
still hys name. Semblably Liberalitee (as
Aristotle saythe) is a meane, as well in ge-
uyng as in takinge of moneye and goodes,
And he is onely liberal, whyche distributeth
accoyng to his substaunce, and where it
is expedient. Therfore he ought to cōspire, to
whom he shuld geue, how much, and when.

¶. iiii. For

Aristotel.
Ethico. I.

Vertue
what it is,

Bencolence

Liberalitee

Considera-
tions in
guyng

for liberalitie, taketh his name of the substance of the personne, from whom it proceedeth: for it resteth not in the qualitye of qualities of thynges that be gotten, but in the naturall disposition of the gver.

Alexander. ¶ The great Alexander on a tyme, after he had vanquished Darius in a battaile, one of his souldiours broughte vnto him the heade of an enemy that he had slayne, whiche the kynge thankefully, & with swete countenance receyued, and takinge a cuppe of golde filled with good wine, said vnto the souldiour, In olde tyme a cuppe of golde was the reward of such vertue, as thou hast shewed, whiche semblably thou shalt receiue. But when the souldiour for shame refused the cup, Alexander added vnto it these wordes, The custome was to giue the cuppe emptye, but Alexander geueth it to the fulle of wyne, with good handsell.

¶ Wherewith he expressed his liberal heart, and as muche comforted the souldiour, as if he had giuen to hym a great cytee.

liberal. ¶ For other, he that is liberall, neglecteth not his substance of goodes, ne geueth it to all men, but vseth it so, as he may continually helpe therewith other, & geueth when, and where, and on whom it oughte to be employed. Wherefore it maye be sayd, that he vseth euery thyng beste, that creriseth vertue, whiche is to the thyng most appropried. For eyche is of the nature of thynges, that may

maye be eyther good or euill, whiche is in the arbitrement of the gener. And for that cause Liberalitie and Beneficence be of like affinitie, that the one maye neuer frome the other be separate. For the employment of money is not Liberalitie, if it be not for a good end or purpose.

¶ The noble emperours Antonine and Alexander Severus, gate of the revenues of the empire innumerable substance, to the redifying of cities and common houses decayd for age, or by earthquakes subuerted, when they practised Liberalitie & also Beneficence.

¶ But Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, Helio-gabalus, and other semblable monsters, whiche exhausted and consumed infinite treasures in heidell houses and places, where abominations were vsed, also in enriching slaves, concubynes, and bandes, were not named liberal, but suffer themselves perpetually epioche of witters, beinge called deuourers and wasters of treasure. Wherfore in as muche as Liberalitie hollye resteth in the geuyng of money, it sometyme colourerh a vice: But Beneficence is neuer taken but in the better parte, and (as Tully saith) is taken oute of vertue, where Liberalitie commeth out of the coffe.

¶ Also where a man distributeth his substance to many persons, the lesse Liberalitie shall he vse to other: so with bountyfullnes, bountie is diminished. Onlye they that be called

Alexander
and liberal
Antonine
emperours

Prodigal
litee.

GOVERNOVR

led beneficiall, and do vse the vertue of Beneficence, whiche consisteth in counsailling and heallpyng other with any assistance in tyme of neede, that alway finde coadiutors and supporters of theyr gentyl courage. And doubtlesse, that maner of gentylnesse, that consisteth in labour, study, and diligence, is moze eömendable, and extēder further, and also mai moze profit persons, than that whtche resteth in rewarde and expences. But to retuene to liberaltee.

Prodiga
lites

What a greates folly may be, thā that thig that a man moſte gladly dothe, to endeavour hym with all study, that it may no longer be done. Wherefoze Cull calleth them prodigall, that in troordinate feastes and banquets, vaine plaires, and huntynge, do spende all there substance, in those thynges, wherof they shall leaue but a moyte or no remembrance. Wherefoze to reſorte to the counsaile of Aristotle before expresse: Liberaltee, in a noble mā specially, is eömmended, although it somewhat exceede the termes of measure. And if it be well and duely employed, it acquirerth perpetuall honoure to the gener, and muche fruite and synguler commodites thereby increaseth. For wher honeste and vertuous personages be aduanced, and wel rewarded, it spyrerth the courages of menne, wherch haue any sparke of vertu, to increafe therein with all theyr foze and endeuour. Wherefoze next to the helppynge and relief

aynge

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ynge of a communaltee, the greates parte of Liberaltee is to be employed on men of vertu and good qualitees, wherth is requyred to be a good election and iugement, that for hope of rewarde or fauoure, vnder the cloke of vertue, be not hyd the moſte mortall poppon of flattery.

The true description of amice or frendshipp. Cap. xi.

I haue al redy treated of Beneuolēce and Beneficence generally. But for as muche as frendshipp, called in latine Amicitia, comprehendeth both those vertues moze specially, and in an hygher degree, and is now so infrequente or straunge amonge moſtall men, by the tyranny of courtly or ambition, whiche haue longe reigned, and per do, that amice mai now vncer be knowen, or found throughout the worlde, by them that seeke for her as diligently, as a mayden wold seeke for a small sylvex pyne in a great chaumbre, strawed with white rushes. I will therefore borowe so much of the gentill reader, though he be nygher weery of this longe matter, because of eloquence and pleasant sētence, and declare somewhat by the way, of veray and true frendshyppe. Whiche perchauce may be an affectiue to good men, to seeke for their semblable, on whome they may practise amice. For as Cull saythe: Nothing is moze

Cl. off. 4.

more to be loued, or to be ioyned together, than similitude of good maners or vertues: wherein be the same or semblable studies, the same wylles or desires: in them it hapneth, that one in an other as muche despreteth as in hym selfe. But nowe let vs enserche, what frendshipp or amitie is.

¶ Aristotle saith: frendshipp is a vertue, or iopneth with vertue. Which is affirmed by Cullis, sayng: frendshipp can not be without vertue, ne but in good men onely. Who be good men, he after declareth, to be those persons, whiche so doo beare thym selues, and in suche wyse do lyue, that their faith, suretee, equalitee, and liberalitee, be sufficiently proued. As that there is in thym any conyctse, wylfulnes, or foolhardinesse, and that in them is great stabilitie or constance; them suppose I / as they be taken / to be called good men, whiche do folowe / as muche as men may / nature the chiefe capitayne of guerde of mans lyfe. Moreouer, the same Cullis despyeth frendshipp in this maner, sayng. It is none other thyng, but a perfecte consent of all thynges apperteigning as well to god as to manne, with Beneuolence and Charitee. And that he knoweth nothyng greater of god, excepte sapience, to man more comodious. Which definitio is excellent and very true. For in god and all thyng that cometh of god, nothyng is of more greater estimacion than loue, called in latyne, Amos-

whoso

whereof Amicitia commeth, named in english the frendshipp or amitie: the whiche taketh awaie frome the lyfe of man, no house shall abide standyng, no field shall be in culture. And that is lightly perceiued, if a man do remember, what commeth of diffencion and disorde: finally he cometh to take the sonne from the world, that taketh frendshipp from mans lyfe.

¶ Whens frendshipp can not bee but in good men, ne may not be without vertue, we may bee assured, that there of none euill may procede, or therewith any euill thyng may participate. Wherefore in as muche as it may bee but in a fewe persones, (good men beyng in a small numbre) And also it is rare and seldom, as all vertues be commonly, I will declare, after the opinion of physyosophers, and partly by commune experience, who amonge good men be of nature mooste apt to frendshipp.

¶ Betwene all men that bee good, can not alwaie be amitie, but it also requiereth, that they bee of semblable or muche lyke maners or study, and specially of muche lyke maners or stabilitie, be euey of their laudable qualitees. So be Securitee and Discapibilitie. Also Magnificence and liberalitee be noble vertues: And yet frugalitee, which is a sobrenesse or moderation in lypynge, is, and that for good cause of all wise men extolled, yet where these vertues and qual-

ter

can be separately in sundry persones assembled, may well be perfect concord, but friendship is there seldom or neuer. For that, whiche one for a vertue imbraceth, the other conuenieth, or at the lesse neglecteth. Wherefore it seemeth, that if, wherin the one despecth, is repougnant to the others nature: And where is any repougnance, may bee none amitie, sens friendship is an entire consent of wylles and desires. Therefore it is seldom scene, that friendship is betwene these persons, I meanne study, of opinion inuestible, and of lowe countenance & speech, with hym that is tractable, and with reason perswaded, and of swete countenance and enteraynement. Also betwene hym, whiche is eleuate in auctoritee, and an other of a verie base estate or degree: ye and yf they be bothe in an equal dignitie, yf they be despyous to chynge, as they doo ascende, so friendship for the more parte decayeth, For as Tuill sayth, in his tythe booke of offices: What thyng so euer it be, in the whiche many can not excell, or haue therein superioritye, therein oftentimes is suche a contention, that it is a thyng of all other most difficult, to kepe among them good or vertuous company: that is as muche to say, as to reape amonge them friendship and amitie. And it is oftentimes sene, that diuers, whiche befoze they came in auctoritee, were of good and vertuous conditions, beyn in their prosperitie

spiritue

spiritue were betterly chaged, and despying their old frendes, set all their study and pleasure on their new acquaintance. Wherein men shall perceiue to be a wonderfull blindness, or (as I might say) a madnesse, if they note diligently al that I shall hereafter write of friendship. But nowe to resort to speake of them, in whom friendship is most frequēt, and they also thereto be most aptly disposed. And doubtlesly it be specially they, which be wylle, and of nature inclined to beneficence, libertie, and Constance. For by wisdom is marked and substantially discerned the wozdes, actes, and demerue of all men, betwene whome happeneth to be any intercourse of familiaritee, whereby is engendred a fauour or disposition of loue. Beneficence that it to loue, mutually putting to theyr study and heale in necessarye affayres, induceth loue. They that be lyberall, doo withholden or hyde nothyng frome them, whome they loue, whereby loue increaseth. And in them that be constant is neuer mistrust or suspicion, nor any surmise or euill reioyce can withholden them frome their affection. And hereby friendship is made perpetuall and stable. But yf symilitude of studie or learninge bee ioyned vnto the sayde vertues, friendship muche rather hapneth, and the mutuall enteruewe and conuersation is moche more pleasaunt, specially if the studious haue in them any delectable affection or motion.

for

GOVERNOR.

For where they be serious, or full of consideration, friendship is often times assaulted, whereby it is often in perill. Where the study is cleight, and the matter obscure, that is to say, sweete to the eare, the course whereof is rather gentill persuasion and quicke reasonings, than ouer subtil argument, or litigious controuersies: there also it happeneth, that the studentes do helpe one in another, and be without enuy or malycious contention.

¶ Nowe let vs try out, what is that friendship, that we suppose to be in good men. Verily it is a blessed and stable conuexion of sundry wylles, making of two persons one, in hauiug and sufferiug. And therefore a frend is properly named of Philosophers, the other 3. For that in them is but one mynde and one possession: and that, whyche mooste, a man moze reioyseth at his frendes good fortune, than at his owne.

¶ Hercules and Philades, being wonderfull lyke in all features, were taken together, and presented vnto a tyranne, who drably hated Hercules. But when he behelde them bothe, and wolde haue slayne Hercules onely, he coulde not deerne the one from the other: And also Philades, to deserue his frend, affirmed, that he was Hercules: on the other parte Hercules, to saue Philades, denied, and sayd, that he was Hercules (as the reourthe was). Thus a longe tyme they together con-

tinu-

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tendyng, the one to dye for the other, at the last so relented the pyere and cruell hert of the tyrant, that wonderyng at theyr meruailous friendship, he suffred them frely to departe, without doyng to them any domage.

¶ Pitheas and Damon, two Pythagorians that is to saie, studentes of Pythagoras learyng, beinge togeder in a perfecte friendship: for that one of them was accused to haue conspired against Dionise kyng of Sicile, they were both taken and brought to the kyng, who immediatly gaue sentence, that he that was accused, shoulde be put to death. But he desired the kyng, that er he dyed, he moughte retourne home, to set his housholde in order, and to dysturb his goodes. Whereat the kyng laughyng, demaunded of hym Chozynfully, what pledge he wolde leaue hym, to come again. At the which wordes, his compayon stopt forth and said that he wolde remayne there as a pledge for his frend, that in case he came not againe, at the day appoynted, he wyllyngly wolde lose his heade. Whiche condicion the tyranne receyued. The ponge man, that shoulde haue dyed, was suffred to departe home to his hous, where he did set all thing in order, and disposed his goodes wisely. The day appointed for his retourne was comen, the tyme muche passed. Wherefore the kyng called for him that was pledge. Who came for the mesur, without semblaunt of dyede, offeryng to

Pitheas & Damon.

¶

abyde

shpde the sentence of the tyranne, and with
out grudgng, to dye for the sauing the life
of his frende. But as the officer of iustice
hadde closed his eien with a kerchiefe, and
had drawen his swerde, to haue striken of
his head, his selowe came renning & crying,
that the date of his appointment was not
yet past: Wherefore he despyed the minister
of iustice to lose his selowe, and to prepare
to doo execution on hym, that hadde geuen
the occasion. wherat the tyranne beyng all
abashed, commaunded bothe to be brought
to his presence, and whan he had enought
wondred at their noble hetes, and their con-
stance in verte frendshyp, he offering to them
greate rewardes, despyed them to receiue
hym into theyr company, and so doing them
muche honour, dyd set them a libertee.

¶ Doubtlesly that frendshyppe, whiche
doth depende either on profite, or els on plea-
sure, if the habitice of the person, whiche
moughte be profytable, dooe faile or
diminish, or the disposition
of the personne, whiche
shulde be pleasaunt, do
change or appayre,
the seruente
of loue ces-
seth, and
whan is there noo
frendshyppe.

The wonderfull hystoie of Titus & Gylippus,
and wherby is fully declared the
figure of perfecte amitie. Cap. xii.

BUt nowe in the middes of my labour,
as it were to pause and take breath, and
also, to recreate the readers, whiche fas-
tigate with long pceptes, desire varietee of
matter, or some new pleasaunt fable of hysto-
rie, I will reherce a right goodly example
of frendshipp, which example studiously red,
shal minister to the readers singular pleasure,
& also incredible comfort to practise amitie.

¶ There was in the citee of Rome a noble
senator, named Fulvius, who sent his son,
called Titus, beyng a childe, to the citee of
Athens in grece (whiche was the fountaine
of all maner of doctrine) there to lerne good
letters: and caused him to bee hosted with a
worshypfull man of that citee, called Chemes.
This Chemes hapened to haue also a
son, named Gylippus, who not onely was
equal to the said yong Titus in yeres, but
also in stature, proporcio of body, fauour, &
colour of visage, countenance and speache.
The two children were so like, that without
muche difficultee it could not be determed
of their proppre parentes, whiche was Titus
from Gylippus, or Gylippus from Titus:
These two yong gentilmē, as they seemed to
be one in forme & personage, so shortly after
acquaintance, the same nature wrought in
theyr

their hertes such a mutual affectio, that their willes and appetites daily more and more considered them selves, that it seemed none other, when their names were declared, but that they hadde only changed their places, ysaying (as I mought say) out of the one booke, & entering into the other. They together, and at one tyme went to their leorning & study, at one tyme to their meales and refection, they delisted bothe in one doctrine, and profyted equally therein, finally they together so increased in doctrine, that within a fewe yeeres, fewe within Athens mought be compared vnto them. At the laste dyed Chremis, whiche was not onely to his son, but also to Titus cause of muche sorowe and heuynesse. Silippus, by the goodes of his father was knowne to be a ma of great substance: wherefore there were offered to him great and rich marriages. And he than being of eppre yeeres, & of an hable & goodly personage, his felldes, hennie, and allies exhorted him busily to take a wyfe, to the intent he mought increase his bygnage and progenie. But the ponge man, hauing his hert all redy wedded to his frend Titus, and his minde fixed to the studie of philosophy, fearing that marriage should be the occasion to seure him both from the one and the other, refused of longe tyme to bee perswaded, vntill at the laste, partly by the importunate callinge on of his kinsmen, partly by the consente and aduise of his

dece

dece frend Titus, therto by other despyed, he consented, to marry such one as should like him. What shal needs any words: his frend found a pong gentil woman, whiche in equaltee of yeeres, vertuous conductio, nobilitie of blood, beautes, and sufficient richesse, they thought was for suche a pong man apt & convenient. And when they and hir frendes vpon the covenantes of marriage were thoroughly accepted, they counselled Silippus to repayre vnto the maiden, and to beholde howe her person contented him. And he so doing, found hir in euery fowm and condition, according to his expectation and appetite, wher at he much reioysed, and became of hir amorous, in soo muche as many and often tymes, leauyng Titus at his studie, he secretly repayred vnto hir. Not withstanding the feruent loue that he had to his frende Titus, at the last surmounted himself. Wherefore he disclosed to him his secreete courting, & what delectation he toke in beholding the excellent beautes of hir, whom he purposed to marry, and howe with hir good manners and sweete entertainements, she hadde consigned hym to be hir loue. And on a tyme, he hauning with hym his frende Titus, went to his lady, of whō he was receiued moste ioyfully. But Titus furthewith as he behelde so beuently a personage, adourned with beautes inexpressible, in whose visage was moste admirable countenance, myete with maydenly

¶ iii, Names

Gamefastnes, and the rare and sobye woꝝ
 des, & well couched, whiche issued out of his
 pyetic mouth, Titus was therat abashed, &
 had the herte through perced with the fyre
 dart of blind Cupide, of the which wound
 the anguish was so exceding and vehement,
 that neither the study of philosophy, neither
 the remembrance of his deere frend Silippus,
 who so muche loued and trusted him, could
 any thyng withdrawe hym frome that vn-
 kynde appetite, but that of force he muste
 loue inordinately that lady, whom his saide
 frend had determined to mary. Al be it with
 incredible paines he kepte his thoughtes se-
 cret, vntil that he & Silippus were returned
 vnto theire lodgings. Then the miserabie
 Titus, withdrawing hym as it were to his
 study, al turreted and oppressed with loue,
 shewde him selfe on a bed, & there rebuking
 his owne most despightful vnkindnes, which
 by the sobeine sight of a maiden, he had con-
 spired against his most deere frend Silippus,
 against al humanitee & reason cursed his fate
 of constellation, & wished that he had neuer
 comen to Athene. And therewith he sent out
 from the doore of his herte depe and colde
 sighes, in suche plente, that it lacked but hys
 self that his herte ne was ryen in pices. In
 dolour & anguish he tolled he him selfe by a ce-
 ceain space, but to no ma wold he discouer it.
 But at the laste, the peine became so intolles-
 eable, that wold he oꝝ no, he was so insoyable

to kepe his bed, beig for lack of slepe & other
 naturall sustenance, brought in suche feble-
 nes, that his legges mought not susteine his
 body: Silippus, missing his deere frend Ti-
 tus, was muche abashed, and hearing that
 he late sicke in his bed, hadde forthwith his
 hert perced with heuines, and with al speede
 came to him, where he laie. And beholding
 the rossall colour, which was wont to be in
 his visage, toorne into sakowe, the residue
 pale, his ruddy lippes want, & his rien ledy &
 holowe, mought vneth kepe him selfe frome
 weeping: but to the extent he wolde not dis-
 comfort his frend Titus, dissimuled his he-
 uines, & with a comfortable countenance de-
 manded of Titus, what was the cause of
 his disease, blaming him of vnkindnes, that
 he so long had susteyned it, without grayng
 him knowlage, that he mought for him haue
 pꝛouided some remedy, if any mought haue
 begotten, though it were with the dispen-
 ding of al his substance. With which woꝝdes
 the most all sighes remued in Titus, and the
 salt teares brast out of his eyes, in suche ab-
 bundance, as it had ben a lande floode ren-
 ning downe of a mountaine after a storme.
 That beholding Silippus, & beeing also re-
 solued into teares, most hartly despyed hym,
 and (as I thought say) conuired him, for the
 seruent and entier loue that had bene, & yet
 was betwene them, that he wolde no longer
 hide frede him his griefe, and that there was

¶ iiii nothing

nothinge to hym so deere or precious (although it were his owne life) that mought restore Titus to helthe, but that he shoulde gladly, and withoute geitcheinge employe it, with whiche wordes, obsecrations, and teares of Sissippus, Titus constrained, all blaspheminge and ashamed, holdyng downe his headde, bzought furthe with great diffcultee his wordes in this wise.

The wordes of Titus to Sissippus.

Why dere and mooste louyng frende, with drawe your frendly offers, cesse of your courtasie, refraine your teares and regrettings, take rather your knife & slea me here where I lie, or otherwise take vengeance on me, most miserable and false traitour vnto you, and of all other mooste worthy to suffer most shamefull deathe. For where as god of nature, lyke as he hath geuen to vs simplicitye in all the partes of our bodye, so had he conioyned our wylles, studies and appetites together in one, so that betwene men was neuer like concorde & loue, as I suppose: And now notwithstanding, only with the loke of a woman, those bondes of loue be dissolved, reason oppressed, frendshipp is excluded, there remaineth no wisdome, no doctrine, no fidelitee of trust: ye your trust is the cause that I haue conspyed againste you this treason. Alas Sissippus, what enuious spirite moued you to bring me with you to hir, whom ye haue chosen to be your wyfe, where I receyued this payson? I saie Sissippus, where was than

than your wisdome, that ye remembred not the fragilitye of our comūne nature? what neded you to calle me for a wytnesse of your pyuate desires? Why wolde ye haue me see that, whiche you your selfe could not be holde withoute ranspheminge of mynde and carnall appetite? Alas, why forgatte ye, that our myndes and appetites were euer one? and that also what so ye lpyed was euer to mee in lyke degre pleasaunt, what wylly ye moze? Sissipp? I say, your trust is the cause that I am intrapped. The rapes or beames issuing from the eyes of hir, whom ye haue chosen, with the remembrance of hir incomparable vertues, hath thysled throughte the middes of my heart, and in such wyse hemyerth it, that aboute all thinges I desire to be out of this wretched and most vnhapply life, whiche is not worthy the company of so noble and louyng a frende as ye be. And therewith Titus concluded his confession, with so pzofounde and bitter a sigh, receyued with teares, that it seemed, that all his bodye shoulde be dissolved and relented in to salt wyopes.

But Sissippus, as he were therewith notwithstanding astonyed or discontented, with an assured countenance, and merry regarde, imbrasyng Titus, and kyssyng him, answered in this wise: Why Titus, is this your only pchences and grieffe, that ye so vncourteously haue so longe conueyled, and with muche

Q b

moze

more vnkindnesse kepte frome me, than ye haue conceined it. I knowlage my follye, wherewith ye haue with good ryght imbrayled me, that in knowing to you hie, whom I loued, I remembred not the commune affaie of our nature, ne the agreeablenes, or (as I mought saie) the vnities of our two appetites. Surely that defaulte can be by no reason excused. Wherfoze it is onely I, that haue offended. For who maie by right proue, that ye haue trespassed, that by the incuprable stroke of Cupides dart, are thus bitterly wounded. Thinke ye me suche a foole or ignorant persō, that I know nat the power of Venus, where she listeth to shewe hir insupportable violence. Haue not ye well resisted againste suche a goddess, that for my sake haue kepzen with hir almost to the deathe. What more loialtee or trouthe can I require of you. Am I of that vertus, that I maie resist againste celestial influence, predominant by prouidence diuine. If I soo thoughte, what were my wittes. where were my studey so long time spent in noble Philosophy. I confesse to you Titus, I loue that maide as much as any wise man mought possible: and tooks in hir company more delite and pleasure than of all the treasure and landes that my father left me, whiche ye know was ryght abundant. But now I perceiue, that the affection of loue towards hir surmounteth in you aboue measure, what that I thinke

ft of a wanton luste, or sodaine appetite in you, whome I haue euer knowen of graue and sad disposition, inclined alwaie to honest doctrine, fleeing all vaine dalliance and dishonest pastetyme. Shall I imagin to be in you any malice or fraude, sens fro the tender time of oure childehode, I haue alwaie founden in you, my swete frende Titus, suche a conformitee with all my maners, appetites, and desyres, that neuer was sene betwene vs any matter of contention. Haeve god foibede, that in the friendship of Cissippus and Titus, shulde happen any suspition: that any fantasy shuld perce my head, whereby that honourable loue betwene vs, shulde be the maintenance of a crumme perished. Praise be to Titus, it is, as I haue said the onely prouidence of god: he was by him from the beginning prepared to be your lady and wife. For suche frequent loue enteth not into the herte of a wyse man and vertuous, but by a diuine disposition: whereat if I shoulde bee discontented or grudge, I shulde not onely be iniuste to you, withholding that from you, whiche is vndoubtedly yours, but also obstinate and repugnant againste the determination of god, whiche shall neuer be founden in Cissippus. Wherfoze gentill frende Titus, dismaie you not at the chauner of loue, but receiue it ioyously with me, that am with you nootherwise discontented, but mercayfullous glabbe.

sens it is my happc to fynde for you suche a lady, with whome ye shall lyue in felicitye, and rectue fruite to the honoz and comforte of all your lignage. Here I renounce to you clerely all my title and interest, that I nowe haue or mought haue in the saye mayden.

Call to you your piskinat courage, washe cleane your vylage and euen thus bewepce, and abandone all heynesse, the date appointed for our maryage approacheth: let vs consulte, howe without difficulte ye may holly atteine your desyes. Take hede, this myne abuse, ye knowe well, that we two bee so lyke, that beyng a parte and in one apparell, fewe men doo knowe vs. Also ye doo remember, that the custome is, that not with standyng any ceremonie doone at the time of the spondayles, the maerpage not wythe standyng is not confymed, vntyll at nyght, that the husbande putteth a rying on the finger of his wyfe, and vniuerseth hys gyrdelle. Therefore I my selfe wil be present with my frendes, and persourne all the parties of a byde. And ye shall abyde in a place secrete, where I shall appoint you, vntill it be nyght. And than shall ye quietly convey your selfe into the maydens chambere: and for the similitude of our personages, and of our apparell, ye shall not be espyed of the women, whiche haue with none of vs any acquaintance, and shortly get you to bed, and putte your owne rying on the maidens finger, and

vndo

vndo hys gyrdell of virginitee, and do all otheer thyng, that shall be to your pleasure. We nowe of good cheer Titus, and comforte your selfe with good refections and solace, that this wantie and pale colour, and your chekes meagre and leane, be not the cause of your discovering. I knowe well, that ye haue purposed your purpose, I shall be in obloquie and derision of all men, and so hated of all my kynred, that they shall seeke occasion to expulse me out of this citee, thinkyng me to be a notable reproche to all my family. But let god therein warke. I force not what peyne that I abyde, soo that ye my frende Titus, may be saue, and pleasantly enjoy your desyes, to the encreasynge of your felicitye.

With these wordes Titus beganne to moue, as it were out of a dreame, and doubtyng, whether he heard Gissippus speake, or elles sawe but a vision, laye still as a man abasht. But whan he beholde the teares, trichelyng downe by the face of Gissippus, he than recomforted him, and thankyng him for his incomparable kynnesse, refused the benefite that he offered, sayng: that it were better, that a hundrede such vnhymde wyretches, as he was, shulde perishe, than so noble a man, as was Gissippus, shulde suffer me reproche or domage. But Gissippus effectuously comforted Titus, and therewith swaue and protested, that with free and glad wyll he wolde that this thyng shulde be in soyme

afore

aforsaid accomplished, and therewith inha
red and sweetly kissed Titus. Who percei
uing the matter sure, and not feigned, as a
man not sicke, but onely awaked out of his
sleepe, let him selfe vp in his bed: the quicke
blisid somewhat reioyced into his visage, &
after a litle good meates and drinke take,
he was shortly and in a fewe daies restoyd
into his olde facion and figure. To make
the tale shorte, The date of marriage was co
men. Gissippus, accompanied with his allies
and frendes, came to the hous of the damo
sel, where they were honorable and ioyously
feasted. And betwene him and the mayden
was a swete entertainmet, which to behold,
all that were presente, toke muche pleasure
and comfort, praisyng the beautee, goodly
nesse, vertue, and curtesy, which in this cou
ple were excellent above all other, that they
had euer sene. What shall I late moze: the
covenantes were read and sealed, the dowar
appointed, and all other bargaines conclu
ded, and the frende of either part toke their
leave & departed: the bride, with a fewe wo
men (as was the custome) brought into her
chamber: thā as it was befoze agreed, Titus
conuoced hym selfe, after Gissippus returned
to his hous, or perchance to the chambr: ap
pointed for Titus, nothing so ioyfull, al
though that he hertily loued the maiden, but
with a glad herte and countenance, that he
had so recouered his frende from death, and

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so well brought him to the effecte of his des
ire. Howe is Titus in bed with the may
den, not knowene of hir, nor of any other,
but for Gissippus. And firste he sweetely de
manded hir, if that she loued him, and dai
ned to take him for hir husbnde, forsahyng
all other. Whiche she all blisfynge with an
eye halfe lauhynge, halfe mourninge (as in
poynt to depart from hir maydenhead, but
supposing it to be Gissippus that asked hir)
answered. And than he clesones asketh hir,
if she in ratifynge that promyse, woulde
receiue his rynge, whiche he had there alre
dy: wher to she consentyng, putteth the rynge
on hir finger, and vniolseth hir girdel. What
thing els he byd, they two only knewe of it,
Of one thyng I am sure, that nighte was
to Titus moze comfortable, than euer was
the lengest daie of the yere. ye and I suppose
a hole yere of daies. The mozo we is comen,
Gissippus, thynkyng it expediente, that the
trouthe shuld be discovered, assembled all the
nobilitie of the citee at his own hous, where
also by appoitemente was Titus, who as
monge them had these woordes, that dooe
folowe.

¶ My frendes Atheniens, there is at this Thozarid
time shewed amongs you an example, al of Titus
most incredible, of the diuine power of god: to Athens
nourable loue, to the perpetual renome and eases,
cōmendacion of this noble citee of Athens,
wherof ye ought to take excellent comforte,

and

and therefore geue due thanks to god, if there remaine amonge you any token of the ancient wysedome of your moste noble progenitors. For what moze prayse may be geuen to people, than beneuolence, faithfulness, and constancie without whom all countreies and cities be brought vnto desolacion and ruine, lyke as by them they becom prosperous, and in moste hygh felicitie. What shall I longe tary you in conceytinge myne intente and meanyng: ye all knowe, frome whens I came vnto this cite, that of aduerture I founde in the house of Chymes, his soune Cissippus, of mine owne age, and in euery thinge so lyke to me, that neyther his father, nor any other man coulde discern of vs the one from the other, but by our own insignement of shewyng: in so muche as there were put about our neckes iaces of sundry colours to declare our personages. What mutuall agreement and loue haue ben alway betwene vs duringe the eyghte yeres, that we haue bene together, ye all be wytnesses, that haue ben beholders and wonderers of our moste swete conueracion and consent of appetites, wherein was neuer any discorde or variance. And so for my parte, after the decease of my father, not withstandyng that there was discorde and happened vnto me great possessions, fayre houses, with abundaunce of ryches: also I being called home by the desyrous and importunate letters of myne

alies

alies and frendes, which be of the most notable of all the Senatours, offered the auancement to the higheste dignities in the publike weale, I will not remembre the lamentacions of my most naturall mother, expressed in hir tender letters, all bespente and blotted with abundaunce of teares, wherein she accuseth me of unkyndnesse, for my longe taryng, and specially now in hir most discomfort. But all this coulde not remoue me the breadth of my naile from my deere friend Cissippus. And but by force coulde not I, nor yet mate be drawn from his swete company, but if he thereto wold consente. I chosynge rather to liue with hym as his companion and fellowe, ye and as his seruante, rather than to be consul of Rome. Thus my kindnes hath be well acquitted (as I thought said) redoubted, deliuering me from the death, yea from the most cruell and painfull death of all other. I perceiue ye wonder hereat noble Atheniens, and no meruaile. For what personne shoulde be so hardye, to attempte any such thinge against me, being a Romaine, and of the noble bloude of the Romaines: Who shoulde be thought so malicious, to slea me, who (as al ye be my iudges) neuer trespasssed against any persō within this cite: I am near my frendes, I haue none of you at therein suspected. I perceiue you desyre and harken to know, what he was, that presumed to do so cruell & great an enterpryse. It was loue,

¶

noble

noble Athenienses, the same loue, which (as your poetes doe remembre) did wounde the moze parte of all the goddess, that ye do honour, that constrained Iupiter to transforme him selfe in a swan, a bull, and diuers other fithneses: the same loue that caused Hercules, the vanquisher and destroyer of Monsters and Giantes, to spinne on a roche, sitting amonge maidens in a womans apparail: the same loue that caused to assemble all the noble princes of Asia and Greece in the sides of Troy: the same loue I say, against whose assaults may be found no defence or resistance, hath sodainly and butwate streken me vnto the herte, with suche vehement and mighte, that I had in shorte space bred with most frequent tourmentes, had not the incomparable frendshipp of Gissippus holpe me, I see, you wold faine know, who she is, that I loued. I will no longer delaye you no bre Athenienses: It is Sophronia, the lady, whome Gissippus hadde chosen to haue his wife, and whome he mooste enterly loued. But whan his mooste gentill hert percerued, that my loue was in a muche higher degree than his toward that lady, and that it placed neither of wantonnes, neither of longe conuersaciō, nor of any other corrupt desire or fantasie, but in an instante, by the onely loke, and with suche feruence, that immediatly I was so cruciate, that I desired, & in all that I mought prouoked dety to take me.

He

He by his wold some percerued, (as I doubt not but that ye do) that it was the very piousiō of god, that the shuld be my wife, and not his, wherto he geuing place, & moze esteeming reue frendshipp, than the loue of a woman, wher vnto he was induced by his frends & not by violence of Cupide constrained as I am, hath willingly graunted to me the interest that he had in the damosell. And it is I Titus, that haue verily wedded hir, I haue put the ryng on his finger, I haue vndone the gyrdell of shamefastenes. what will ye moze I haue lien with hir, and confyrmēd the Matrimony, and made hir a wyfe.

At these wordes al thei that were present began to murmur, and to cast a disdainous and greuous loke vppon Gissippus. That spake againe Titus.

Leau: your grudgynges and menaunge countenance, towarde Gissippus, he hath done to you all honour, and no dede of reproche. I telle you, he hath accomplished all the partes of a frende: that Loue, which was most certaine, hath he continued. He knewe, he mought fynde in Greece another mardē, so saye and as ryche as this that he had chosen, and one perchance, that he mought loue better. But such a frende, as I was (having respect to our similitude, the longe appoyued conoide, also myne astate & conditiō) he was sure to fynd neuer none. Also the damosell suffereth no disparagement.

R. II.

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in his bloude, or hindrance in his marriage,
but is much rather aduanced (no disparage
to my deere frende Cissippus). Also consider
noble Atheniens, that I toke hit not my fa-
ther liuing, when ye mought haue suspected
that as well his speeches as his brautes, shuld
haue thereto allured me: but sone after my
fathers decease, when I far exceeded his in
possessions and substance, when the moste
notable men of Rome and of Italy, desired
mine assistance, ye haue therfoze all cause to
reioyce and thanke Cissippus, and not to be
angry, and also to extol his wonderful kind-
nes towards me, whereby he hath wonne me
and all my bloude suche frendes to you and
your citee, that ye maye be assured, to be by
vs defended against all the world: whiche
being considered, Cissippus, hath well dese-
rued a statue or image of golde, to be set on a
pillar, in the middes of your citee, for an ho-
norable monument, in the remembrance of
our incōparable friendship, and of the good
that thereby maye come to your citee. But if
this perswasion can not satisfie you, but that
ye will imagine any thing to the damage of
my deere frend Cissippus, after my departing
I make mine auowme vnto god, creatour of
al thing, that as I haue knowlage ther-
of, I shall forthwith resorte hither, with the
inuarible power of the Romanes, and re-
uenge him in such wise against his enemies,
that all Greece shall speake of it to theyr perpe-
tuall

tuall dishonour, shame, and reproche.
¶ And therewith Titus & Cissippus tooke,
but the other for feare of Titus dissembled
theyr malice, makinge semblance, as they
had ben with all thing contented.

¶ Sone after Titus, being sent for by the
auctoritie of the senate & people of Rome,
prepared to depart out of Athens, & wolde
faine haue had Cissippus to haue gone with
him, offering to deuide with him all his sub-
stance and fortune. But Cissippus, consid-
ering howe necessarie his counsaile shoulde be
to the citee of Athens wolde not depart out
of his countrey, notwithstanding that aboue
all earthly thinges, he moste desired the com-
pany of Titus: whiche abode also, for the
saied consideration, Titus approued.

¶ Titus with his lady, is departed towar-
des the citee of Rome. Where at their com-
minge, they were of the mother of Titus,
his kinsmen, and of al the senate and people
topouly receiued. And there liued Titus with
his lady in tope inexpressible, and had by his
many fayre children: and for his wysdome
and learning was so highly esteemed, that
there was no dignitee or honourable office
within the citee, that he had not with much
fauour and praise achieved and occupied.

¶ But now let vs resort to Cissippus, who
immediately vpon the departing of Titus,
was soo maligned at, as well by his owne
kintmen, as by the frendes of the lady, that
he

de, to their seeming shamefully abandoned, leaving him to Titus, that they spared not daily to bere him with all kindes of reproche, that they could deuise or imagine: and finally they excluded him out of their countie, and prohibited from him all honest company. And yet not beinge therewith satisfied, finally they aduulged him vnworthily to enioy any possessions or goodes, left to him by his parentes, whome he (as they supposed) by his vnderstande frendshyppe hadde so disturned. Wherefoze they disposed hym of all thinges, and almost naked, expelled him out of the citee. Thus is Silippus, late wealthy, and one of the moste noble men of Athens, for his kynde heere, banished his owne countrey for euer, & as a mā dismayed, wandringe hither & thither, findinge no man that wolde socour him. At the last remembryng in what pleasure his frend Titus liued with his lady, for who he suffered these domages, concluded to go to Rome, and declare his infortune to his said frend Titus, what shal neede a long tale in conclusion, with muche peine, colde, hunger, and thirst, he to commen to the citee of Rome, and diligently enquiryng for the house of Titus, at the laste he came to it: but beholuyng it so beaucous, large, and pyntedly, he was ashamed to appoche nigh to it, beinge in so simple attire and vnkad. but standeth by, that in case Titus came forth out of his house, he mought present him selfe

to him. He beinge in this thought, Titus holdinge his lady by the hande, issued out from his doore, and takinge their horses to solace them selfe, beheld Silippus, and beholuyng his byle appaile, regarded hym not, but passed furthe on their waie, wherewith Silippus was soo wounded to the heerte, thinkinge Titus hadde contempned his fortune, that oppressed with moztall heuines, fel in a sowne. but beinge recovered by some that stode by, thinkinge him to be sicke, forthwith departed, intendinge not to abide any longer, but as a wild beast to wander abode in the woodes. But for wearies he was constrained to cree into an old barn, without the citee, where he castinge him selfe on the bare ground with weepinge & dolorous crynges bewailed his fortune: But most of all accusing the ingratitude of Titus, for whom he suffered all that misery: the remembrance wherof was so intollerable, that he determined no longer to liue in that anguise & dolour. And therewith drew his knife, purposinge to haue slain him selfe. But euer wisdome (whiche he by the study of Philosophy had attained) withdrew him frome that desperate acte. And in this contention, betwene wisdome and wil, fastigate with long iournies and watche, as god wolde haue it, he fell into a depe slepe. His knife (wherewith he woulde haue slaine him self) fallinge downe by him. In the meane tyme a commone and notable rustie of shepe

whiche had robbed and slaine a man: was entred into the barn, where Gissippus laic: the entente to sojorne there all that nyght. And seeing Gissippus bewept, and his visage replenished with sojorne, and also the naked knife by him, perceived well, that he was a man desperate, & suppyssed with heavynesse of herte, was wepse of his life: whiche the said rusyan taking for a good occasion to escape, toke the knife of Gissippus, and putting it in the wound of him that was slaine, put it all bloody in the hande of Gissippus, being fast a slepe, and so departed. Some after the deade man being founde, the officers made diligent serche for the murderer: at the last they entring into the barn, and finding Gissippus on slepe, with the bloody knife in his hande, awaked him, wherwith he entred againe into his olde sojornes, complaining his evil fortune. But whan the officers laid unto him the death of the man, and the hapynge of the bloody knife, thereat rejoyced, thanking god, that such occasion was hapned, wherby he shoulde suffer death by the lawes, and escape the violence of his owne hande. Wherfore he denied nothyng that was laide to his charge, despyng the officers to make haste that he might be shortly out of his life. Wherat they marvelled. And noo report came to the senat, that a mā was slaine, and that a straunger, and a Grecke boyne, was found in such forme, as is before

men

mentioned. They forthwith comanded him to be broughe unto theyr presence, springe there at that time, Titus being the Consul, or in other lyke dignitie. The miserable Gissippus was broughe to the barre, with his les and staves lyke a felon, of whom it was demanded, if he slewe the man, that was founden deade. He nothyng denied, but in mooste sojornfull maner cursed his fortune, naminge him selfe of all other mooste myserable. In the laste one demaundaynge him, of what countrey he was, he confessed to be an Atheniense, and therwith he cast his sojornfull eyes vppon Titus, with muche indignacion, and brast out into speches and teares abundantly: that beholding Titus, and espyng by a lytel signe in his visage, whiche he knewe, that it was his deere frend Gissippus, and anone consideryng, that he was broughe into dispatre by some misadventure rooffe out of his place, wher he late, and falling on his knees before the Judges, laic that he had slaine the man, for olde malice that he bare towards him, and that Gissippus, beinge a straunger, was gyltlesse, and all men mought perceive, that the other was a desperate person. Wherfore to abbreviate his sojornes, he confessed the acte, wherof he was innocēt, to thintent that he wold fruishe his sojornes with death. Wherfore Titus despyed the iudges, to geve sentence on him, accordyng to his merites. But Gissippus

R, b,

Gissippus

Sippus, perceiuing his frende Titus contrary to his expectation to offer him self to the death, for his faultegarde, more importantly cried to the Senat to proceede in their iudgement on him, that was the verie offender. Titus denied it, and affirmed with reasons and arguments, that he was the murderer, and not Sippus. Thus they of long tyme, with abundance of teares contended, whiche of them shuld die for the other, wher at all the senate and people were wonderlye abashed, not knowing what it mente. The murderer in dede, hapned to be in the pcese at that tyme, who perceiuing the meruailous contentio of these two persons, which were both innocent, and that it proceeded of an ineparable frendship, was vehemently prouoked to discouer the truth. Wherefoze he brake through the pcese, and comminge before the senate, spake in this wyse.

¶ Noble fathers, I am such a person, who ye knowe haue bene a common baratur & these by a longe space of yeres: ye know also, that Titus is of a noble blud, and is aproued to be alwaie a man of excellent vertue and wisdom, and neuer was malicious. This other stranger seemeth to be a man full of simplicitie, and that moze is, despectate for some greuous forowe that he hath taken, as it is to you euident. I saie to you fathers, they bothe bee innocent. I am that person, that slew him that is founden dead,

by

by the barne, and robbed hym of his money, and whan I founde in the barne this stranger lying on slepe, hauyng by hym a naked knyfe: I, the better to hide mine offence, did put the kniue into the wood of the dead mans to al bluddy land it again by this stranger. This was my mischeuous deuiſe to escape your iudgement. Wherevnto now I remit me holly, rather thā this noble man Titus, or this innocēt stranger shuld vnworthly die.

¶ Hereat all the Senate, and people toke comfozte, and the noise of reioysing hartes filled all the court. And whan it was further examined, Sippus was discovered, the frendshipp betwene him and Titus was throughte out the citie published, extolled, and magnified. Wherefoze the senate consulted of this matter, and finally at the instance of Titus and the people, discharged the felon. Titus recognised his negligence, in forgetting Sippus, And Titus beyng advertised of the erile of Sippus, and the displeasurfull crueltie of his hynede, was therewith wonderfull wyath, and hauyng Sippus home to his house (where he was with incredible ioy receiued of the ladye, whome somtyme he shulde haue wedded) honourably apparayled him: and there Titus offered to him, to vse all his goodes and possessions at his owne pleasure and appetite. But Sippus, desyringe to bee againe in his propre countreye, Titus by the consente of the senate

Senate and people, assembled a great army and wente with Cissippus vnto Athens, where he hauing deliuered to him all those, whiche were causes of banishing and dispoysing of his frende Cissippus, bydde on them sharpe execution, and restoring to Cissippus his landes and substance, stablished hym in perpetuall quietnes, and so retourned to Rome.

CThis example in the affectes of frendshipp expyseth (if I be not deceiued) the description of frendshipp, engendred by the similitude of age and personage, augmented by the conformitye of maners and studies, and confirmed by the longe continuance of companye.

None euill maye be in frendshipp. It wolde be remembred, that frendshipp is betwene good men onely, and is ingendred of an opinion of vertue. Than maye we reason in this forme. A good man is so named, because all that he willethe or dothe, is onely good: in good can be none euill, therfore noo thinge that a good man willethe or dothe, can bee euill. Likewyse vertue is the affection of a good man, whiche neither willethe nor dothe any thinge that is euill. And vice is contrary vnto vertue, for in the opinion of vertue, is netther euill nor vice. And vice amittes to vertue. Wherefore noo thinge euill or vicious maye happen in frendshipp. Wherefore in the first election of frendes, relecth all the importance, wherfore it wolde

wolde not be without a longe deliberacion and profe, and as Aristotle saith, in as long tyme as by them bothe, being together conuersant, a hole bulshell of salte moughte be eaten. For oftentimes with fortune (as I late saied) is chaunged, or at the least mynded the feruentnes of that affection accordyng as the swete Doctour Quide affirmeth, sayng in this sentence.

CWhytes fortune the fauoureth, frendes thou haste plentye. The time beinge troublous thou art al alone. Thou seest euilers haue houses made white and deintee.

To the rufous to wyse almost cometh none, Of emotes innumerable vnneth thou findest one.

In emptye haerics, where saithest substaer, Hapneth no frende, in whome is assurance.

But if any happeneth in euery fortune to be constant in frendshipp, he is to be made of aboute all thinges that maye come vnto man, and aboute any other that bee of bloudd or hynrede, as Cully saith. For from hynrede maye be taken Beniuolence, from frendshipp it can neuer be severed. Wherfore Beniuolence taken frome hynrede, yett the name of hynfeman remaineth: take it frome frendshipp, and the name of frendshyppe is vtterly perished.

How to discern a friend from a flatterer. **B**ut sens this libertie of speche is now blurred by flatterers, where thei perceiue, that assentacion and paises be abhoyed: For therefo: not well assured, howe a man nowe a daies shall knowe o: discerne suche admonicion from flattery, but by one onely meane, that is to saie, to remēdie that frendship maie not be but between good men. This consider, if he that dothe admonish: the, be him selfe voluptuous, ambitious, couctous, arrogāt, o: dissolute, refuse not his admonicion, but by the example of the emperor Antonine, thankfully take it: and amende suche default, as thou perceiuest, dothe geue occasion of obloquy in such maner as the reporter also by thine example may be corrected. But for that admonicion onely, accompt him not immediatly, to bee thy frende, vntill thou haue of hym a long and sure experience. For vndoubtedly it is wonderful difficile, to finde a man very ambitious o: couctous, to be assured in frendship. For where findest thou him (saith Tully) that will not pferre honours, great offices, rule, auctoritee, and riches before frendship? Therefore (saith he) it is very harde to finde frendship in them, that be occupied in acquirng honour, o: about the affaires of the publike weale. Whiche sayngs is proued by daely experiences. For disdaine and contempt be companions with ambition, like as enuy and hatred be also his followers.

The

The diuision of Ingratitude, and the dispraise thereof. Cap. xiiij.

The most damnable vice, and most against tustice, in mine opinion, is Ingratitude, commonly called vnkindnes. All be it it is in diuers formes, and of sundry importance, as it is described by Seneca, in this fourene.

The is vnkynde, whiche denieth to haue receiued any benefitte, that in dede he hath receiued: He is vnkynde, that dissimuleth: he is vnkynde, that recompenseeth not: But he is most vnkynde, that forgetteth. For the other, though thei render not againe kindnesses, yet thei owe it, and there remaine the some steppes o: tokens of desertes, inclosed in an euit conscience, and at the last by some occasion maie hap to retuene to yeld againe thankes, whan either shame therto prouoketh theym, o: some desire of a thing that is honest, whiche is wout to be for that time in Romakes, though thei be corrupted, if a light occasion do moue them. But he that forgetteth kindnesses, maie neuer bee kynde, sens al the benefite is quite fallen from him: And where lacketh the remembrance, there is no hope of any recompence.

In this vice, men bee muche worse than kindness deales. For diuers of them will remember in deales, a benefite, longe after they receiued it.

The courtes, fierce and couragious, will gladly

Kindnesse
in dogges.

gladly lustre his keper, that dyesteth and feedeth him, to vaunte hym easily, and secretly not, but when he lysteth to prouoke hym: where if any other shalde ryde hym, though he were a kynge, he will flere and plunge, and endeavour hym selfe to throwe hym. Suche kindenes hath bene founden in dogges, that they haue not onely dyed in defendyng theyr maisters but also some after theyr maisters haue died or ben slaine, haue absteyned from meate, and for famine haue dyed by theyr maisters.

¶ Plini remembreth of a dogge, whiche in Spio (a countrey in grece) assaulted the murderer of his maister in a greate assembly of people, that with barkynge and byrnyng he compelled him at the laste, to confesse his offence.

¶ The dogge also of one Jayson, his maister byyng slaine, woulde neuer eate meate, but dyed for hunger.

¶ Many semblable tokens of kindnesse Plini rehereth, but principally one of his owne tyme, worthy to be here remembred.

¶ When execution shoulde be done on one Titus Sabinius and his seruantes, one of them had a dogge, whiche moughte neuer be bypnen from the pysson, nor neuer wold departe from his maisters body: and when it was taken from the place of execution, the dogge howled most lamentably, being compassed with a greate nombie of people, of whome

whom when one of them hadde cast meate to the dogge, he broughte and laide it to the mouth of his maister. And when the corpes was thowen into the ryuer of Tiber, the dogge swamme after it, and as longe as he mought, inforced hym selfe to beare and susteyne it, the people scaterpyng abrode to beholde the faithfulness of the beaste.

¶ Also the Lion, whiche of all other beastes is accounted mooste fierce and cruell, hath ben founden to haue in remembraunce a benefite shewed vnto hym.

¶ Jul. Cellius remembreth the out of the historye of Appion, how a lion, out of whose fote a ponge man had ones taken a stubbe, and clenched the wounde, whereby he warded hole, after knewe the same man, beinge cast to hym to be deuoured, and wolde not hurt hym, but lickynge the legges and handes of the manne, whiche laye byfyt side, lokyng for death, to kee acquaintance of hym, and euer after folowed hym, beinge ladde in a smalle lym, wher at woundyed all they that behelde it. Whiche historye is wonderfull pleasaunte, but for the lengthe thereof I am constrained to abryge it.

¶ Howe muche be they repugnaunte, and (as I moughte saie enemies) bothe to nature and reason, whiche beinge aduanced by any good fortune, will contemne or neglecte such one, who thet haue long knowle, to be to them Beniuolent, and ioined to the

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in a sincere and assured frendshipp, approued by infallible tokens, ratified also with sundry kindes of beneficence: I requirer not suche excellent frendshipp, as was betwene Pitheas and Damo, betwene Hozietes and Pylades, or betwene Silippus and Citus, of whome I haue befoze written (for I firmly beleue, that shall neuer happen in payees or couples) (nor) I seeke not for suche as will alwaie prefer the honour or profite of theys frend befoze their owne, ne (whiche is the leaste parte of frendshipp) for such one as desirously will participate with his frende al his good fortune or substance. But where at this daie maie bee founden suche frendshipp betwene two, but that if soytaine be moze Hencoulet to the one, thā to the other, the frendshipp waxeth tedious, and he that is aduanced, desireth to bee matched with one hauing semblable fortune: And if any domage hapeneth to his olde frende, he piteich him, but he sojowreth not, and though he seeme to be sojowfull, yet he helpeth not: and though he woulde be fene to helpe hym, yet traualleth he not: And though he woulde be fene to traualle, yet he suffreth not. For (let vs late aparte assistance with money, whiche is a veray smalle porcion of frendshipp) (who will soo muche esteeme frendshipp, that therfoze will entre into the displeasure, not of his prince, but of them, whom he supposeth maie minishe his estimaciō towards
his

Frendshipp
of ryme.

THE .II. BOKE.

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his prince, ye and that much lesse is, will displease his newe acquaintance, equal with hym in auctortie or fortune, for the defence, helpe, or aduancement of his atinric and well approued frende: The moste miserable estate at this present time of mankinde, that for the thing, which is most propie vnto them, the example must be founde among the sauage and fierce beastes.

The election of frendes, and the diuersities of flatters. Cap. xiiii.

A Noble man aboue all thynge ought to be veray circumspecte, in the election of suche men, as shulde continually attend vpon his person, at times vsante frome busie affaires, whom he maie vse as his familiars, and saulely committ to the his secretes. For as Plutarche saith: What so euer he be that loueth, hoteth, and is blynde in that thynge, whiche he dothe loue: excepte by leauepage he can accustom hym selfe to ensue and sette moze pyece by those thynge, that bee honeste and vertuous, than by thym that he seeth in experience, and be familiarly vsed. And surely as the women do hyde mooste gladly in costlye wode and sweete, so the mooste gentill and noble wittes, inclined to honoure, replentished with most honeste and curteyse maners do soone admitte flatters, and be by themselues
S. ii. abused,

Plutarch^r
de cognof-
cendis amf-
co ab adu-
latoze,

GOVERNOUR

abused. And it is no meruaile. For like as the wilde coyne, beyng in shape and greateste lyke to the good, if they bee mingled with great difficultie will be tried oute, but either in a narrow holed scieve they will still abide with the good coyne, or els, where the holes bee large, they will issue oute with the other: so flattery from frendshipp is hardly seuered, for as muche as in euerye motion and affecte of the minde, they bee mutually mingled together. Of this peruerse and cursed people be sundrie kindes: Some apparently do flatter, praising and extolling suerly thynge that is done by theyr superiour, and bearing him on hande, that in hym it is of euery man abhoyed and hated, to the aspyraunce wherof they adde to othes, aduiscacions, and horrible curses, offeringe them selves to eternall peines, excepte their reposit be true. And if they perceiue anye parte of theyr tale mistrusted, than they sette for the soideinep an heape and forowfull countenance, as if they were abiected and brought into extreme desperaciō. Other there be, whiche in a moze honest teeme maie be called Assentatours or folowers, whiche do awaite diligently, what is the soueraine of the speche & gesture of their maister, and also other his maners and facion of garmentes: and to the imitation and resemblance thereof they appoyse their studie, that for the symilitude of

THE II. BOKE.

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maners they may the rather be accepted into the moze familiar acquaintance. Lyke to the seruantes of Dionise, kynge of Sicile, whiche although they were inclined to al unhappines and mischefe, yet after the comming of Plato, perceiuing, that for his doctrine and wysedome the kynge hadde him in highe estimation, they than cōterfayted the countenance and habite of the philosopher, thereby encreasynge the kynges fauour towarde theim, who than was holpe geuen to study of philosophie. But after that Dionyse, by theyr imitation had expelled Plato out of Sicile, they abandoned their habite and seruice, and estimes retouerned to their mischecious and voluptuous liuing.

¶ The greatte Alexander bare his heade some parte on the one syde, moze than the other, which dyuers of his seruantes dydde counterfayt.

¶ Simblably did the scholers of Plato, the most noble philosopher, whiche for as much as their maister had a brode breast, and hygh shulders, & for that cause was named Plato whiche signifieth brode or large, they stufed their garmentes, and made on their shulders great bolsters, to seme to be of lyke fouerme as he was. Wherby he shuld conceiue some fauour towarde theim, for the demonstration of loue that they pretended in the ostentaciō of his person. Whiche kind of flattery I suppose Plato coulde right wel laugh at.

S. iiii.

¶ But

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But these manner of flaterers may be well found out & perceived by a good wit, which somtyme by him selfe diligently considereth his owne qualities & naturall appetite. For the company or communication of a person familiar, whiche is alwaies pleasaunte and without sharpnes, inclining to inordinat fauour and affectio, is alwaies to be suspected.

¶ Also there is in that friende small commo- dities, whiche foloweth a man lyke his shadowe, insuing onely whan he moueth, & abiding where he listeth to tary. These be the most enemies of noble wittes, and specially in youth, whan commonly they be more inclined to glory than grauitie. Wherefore that Libraliter, which is on suche flaterers im- ploied, is not onely perished, but also spilled and deuoured. Wherefore in mine opinio, it were a right necessary lawe, that shoulde be made to put such persons openly to tortures, to the fearful example of other, sens in all plices lawes (as Plutarke saith) not onely he that hath slaine the hinges son and heire, but also he that counterfaieth his seale, or

**Flaterer per adulterateth his copie, with moze base met-
nitions to tal, halbe iudged to die as a traitour. In re
gentyl na- son how much moze paine (if there were any
succ. greater paine than death) were he worthy to
suffre, that with false adulacio, doth corrupt
and adulterate the gentil & vertuous nature
of a noble mā, whiche is not only his image,
but the veritate man hym selfe: For without
her:**

vertue man is but in the numbre of beastes. And also by peruerse instructio and flaterie, such one steeth both the soule & good renowme of his master. By whose example negligēce peeceith also an infinite numbre of persons, whiche damage to a royalme neither with treasure ne with power can be redoubed.

¶ But harde it is, alwaies to errewe these flaterers, which like to crows, do picke out mens eyes er they be ded. And it is to noble men most difficult, whom all men coucite to please, and to displease them it is accounted no wisdom, perchance lest there shulde ensue therby moze perill than profyite.

¶ Also Larnedes, the Philosopher, was wonte to saie, that the finnes of noble men learned nothing well but onely to erre.

For whyles they learned letters their may- sters flatered them, praisinge euery woide that they spake. In wastylng they teachers and companions also flatered them, sub- mittinge them selves, and falling downe to theyr feete: But the hoise of courser not vnderstandynge who erreth hym, ne whether he bee a gentill man or yoman, a riche man or a poore, if he lyt not surely, and can sturp of erring, the hoise casteth hym quickely.

This is the sayng of Larnedes. ¶ There be other of this sorte, whiche moze couerly late they snare to take the hertes of princes and noble men. And as he whis che intendeth to take the fierre and mpyghee

Plutarch*
de libe. es
ducandi,
¶ notable
example.

¶ subtil
flaterers,
¶ plar-
tarcho des
cogn. am-
co ad adu-
latio.

¶ iiii
lyon

Iron, ptecheth his hope or nette in the wood amonge greatte trees and thornes, where as is the mooste haunte of the Lyon, that beinge blinded with the thychenes of the couerte, maye or he be ware, sodenly tumble into the nette: where the hunter scelynge bothe his eyes, and byndyng his legges strongly together, finally daunteth his fierceneffe, and maketh hym obediante to his ensignes and to liens. Semblably there bee some, that by dissimulation can ostent or shewe a highe grauttee, mixt with a surdy enterteynement and faction, exiling them selves from al pleasure and recreaciō, frowning and grutchyng at euery thyng, wherein is any myzth or solace, although it be honest, taunting and rebuking immoderately them, with whom they be not contented, flamyng them selves there for plaine men, although they do the semblable, & often times woyle in their owne houses, And by a simplicittee & rudenesse of speaking, with lōge deliberaciō vsed in the same, ppretende the high knowlage of counsaill to be in them only: in this wise pitchyng their net of adulation, they intrap the noble and beuonous herte, whiche onely beholdeche their feigned seueritee and counterfayte wisdōe,

Many feedes necessary for a gouerno.

& the rather because this maner of flattery is most vnlike to that, which is commonly vsed, Aristotle in his politikes, exortethe gouernours, to haue their frendes for a great numbre of eyes, eares, handes, and legges,

con

considering that no one man maie see or here all thing, that many men maie see and here: ne can be in all places, or do as many thynges well at one time, as many persons maie do. And oftentimes a beholder or looker on, espyeth a default, that the doer forgetteth or slippeth ouer: whiche caused the emper or Antonine to enquire of manye, what other men spake of him, correctyng thereby his defaultes, whiche he perceiued to bee unseely reproued,

¶ This I truste shall suffice, for the expresyng of that incomparable treasure, called amitie: in the declaracion wherof, I haue abodenne the longer, to the entente to perswade the readers, to enserche therfore diligently, and beyng so happy to fynde it, accordyng to the said description to embrace and honour it, abhorryng as aboue all thynges Ingratitude, whiche pestilence hath longe time reigned amonge vs, augmented by detraction, a corrupt and lothly sickness, wherof I will treat in the last parte of this wothe, that men of good nature, espyng it, neede not, if they like, be therewith deceiued.

Fini libri

cundi.

S v

¶ The

GOVERNOR
THE THYRDE

BOKE.

Of the noble and moſte excellent
vertue named Juſtice, Cap. i.



The moſte excellent and in-
comparable vertue, called
Juſtice, is ſo neceſſary and
expedient for the governour
of a publyke weale, that
without it, none other ver-
tue may be commendable,

Of the
From wher
the name
of a kinge
firſt proce-
ded.

ne wit of any maner of doctrine profitable,
Cuius ſay, at the beginning, when the mul-
titude of people were oppreſſed by the that
abounded in poſſeſſions & ſubſtance, theſe
eſpying ſome one, whiche excelled in vertue &
ſtrength, repaired to him: who miniſtringe
equities, when he had deſerued the pooer me
from intury, ſynally retained together and
gouerned the greater perſons with the laſſe,
in an equal and indifferent order. After ſoze
they called that man a king, which is ſo mu-
che to ſay, as a ruler. And as Aristotle ſaith,
Juſtice is not only a poſition of ſpice of ver-
tue, but is entirely the ſame vertue. And ther
of only (ſaith Cuius) men be called good me
as who ſaith, without Juſtice, all other qua-
lities and vertues can not make a man good.

The auncient Ciuilians ſai, Juſtice is a
will

THE . III . BOKE. 142

will perpetual and conſtant, which geueth
to euery man his right. In that it is named
conſtant, it importeth ſoſtitude: in diſcer-
ning what is righte or wronge, prudence is
required: And to propoſition the ſentence of
iudgemente, in an equalitee, it belongeth to
temperance. All theſe together conglutinate
and effectually executed, maketh a perfect de-
ſcription of Juſtice.

Juſtice, although it be but one entier ver-
tue, yet is it deſcribed in two kyndes of ſpi-
ces, the one is named Juſtyce diſtributiue,
whiche is in diſtribution of honour, money,
benefite, or other thyng ſemblable: the other
is called commutative: or by exchange. And
of Aristotle it is named in Grecke Dioxtho-
tice, whiche is in engliſh the correctiue. And
that parte of Juſtyce is contained in inter-
medling, and ſometime is voluntarye, ſome-
time in voluntary intermedlinge. Voluntas-
ry is bying or ſellpng, loue, ſucretye, lettynge,
and takynge, and all other thyng, wherin is
mutuall conſent at the beginning: and the
ſoze it is called voluntary. Intermedlyng
involuntary, ſometyme is puniſhye done, as
ſtealpng, auoutere, poſſoning, falſe heade,
diſceypt, ſecrete murder, falſe witneſſe, and
perjury. Sometyme it is violent, as batrepe,
open murder, and manſlaughter, robbery,
open reproche, and other lyke. Juſtyce dy-
ſtributiue hath regarde to the perſonne, iu-
ſtice commutative hath noo regarde to the
perſon

Juſtice co-
mmutative,
Dioxtho-
tice.
Juſtice co-
rectiue,

GOVERNOR

person, but onely consideringe the Inequallitee, whereby the one thinge exceedeth the other, indoutheeth to bringe them bothe to an equalitee.

¶ Nowe will I retoune againe to speake the fyfthe of Justice distributive, leauinge Justice commutative to an other volume. Whiche I suppose shall succede this worke, god geuynge me tyme and quietnesse of minde to performe it.

The first parte of Justice distributive. ca. ii.

IT is not to be doubted, but that the firste and principal part of Justice distributive is, and euer was, to do to god that honoꝝ which is due to his diuine maiestee. Whiche honoꝝ (as I before said in the first booke, where I wrote of the motion called honoꝝ in dauncing) consisteth in loue, feare, and reuerence. For sens all men graunte, that Justice is to geue to euery man his owne, muche moze to render one good deede foꝝ another, mooste of all to loue god, of whome we haue all thynges, and withoute hym we were nothing, and being perished, we were esteemes recouered. Nowe oughte we (to whome is geuen the beete light of true faith) to embrace this parte of Justice moze, oꝝ at the least no lesse than the Gentilles, whiche wandrynge in the darkenes of ignoꝝance, knewe not god as he is, but deuidinge his

THE .III. BOOKE. 143

maiestee into sundry porcions, imagined Idols of diuers fourmes and names, and assigned to them particular auctorities, offices, and dignities. Not withstanding, in the honouringe of those goddes, such as they were, they supposed alwaies to bee the chiefe parte of Justice.

¶ Romulus, the fyfthe hyng of Romaynes, for his fortune and benefittes, whiche he ascribed to his goddes, made to their honoꝝ great and noble Temples, ordeynynge to them images, sacrifices, and other ceremonies. And mozeouer (whiche is muche to be meruailed at) he also prohibited, that any thing should be redde oꝝ spoken, reprochable oꝝ blasphemous to god. And therefore he excluded all fables made of the aduoutyres and other enomytes, that the Greekes had feigned they goddes to haue committed, inducynge his people to speake, and also to cōiect nothing of god, but onely that, whiche was in nature mooste excellent, whiche after was also commanded by Plato in the first booke of his publike weale.

¶ Puma Pompilius, the nexte hyng after Romulus, & elect by the Senat, although he were a straunger borne, and dwelling with his father in a litell towne of the Sabynes, consideringe frome what estate he came to that dignitie, byng a man of excellent wylde borne and lernynge, thought he coulde neuer sufficiently honour his goddes foꝝ that benefite

The honoꝝ that the gentiles bare to theyꝝ goddes Plutarch^o in vita Romuli.

Dionysius halica. li. i.

Deuotion
caue of
tranquil-
lite.

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nesse, by whose pꝛouidence he supposed,
that he had attained the gouernance of so
noble a people and cite. He therfore not on-
ly increased within the cite Temples, auis-
tars, ceremonies, picbles, and sundry reli-
gions, but also, with a wonderfull wylde-
dome and policie, which is to longe to bee
nowe rehearsed, broughte all the people of
Rome, to such a deuotion, oz (as I mought
saie) a superstition, that where alwaie be-
fore, duryng the tyme that Romulus ryl-
gued, whiche was . xxxvij. yeres, they euer
were continually occupied in warres & ra-
uyn: By the space of . xliij. yeres (soo longe
reigned Numā) they gaue them all, as it
were to an obseruance of religion, abando-
nyng warres, and applyng in suche wise
their studie to the honourynge of their gods,
des, and increasynge theyr publyke weale,
that other people adopyng, wondryng
at them, and for their deuotion hauinge the
cite in reuerence, as it were a palace of
god, all that soon neuer attempted any war-
res against them, oz with any hostilitie in-
uaded their cuntry. Many mo pꝛinces and
noble men of the Romains coude I reherse,
who for victories againste their enemies,
raised Temples, and made solempne and
sumptuous plates in honour of theyr gods,
endyng (as it were) vnto them theyr
ductie, and all waies accountynge it the
lyste parte of Justice. And this parte of
Justice

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Justice towards god, in honourynge hym
with conuenient ceremonies, is not to bee
contemned. Example we haue amonge vs
that be mortall. For if a man beinge made
eyche, and aduanced by his lord or mas-
ter, will proude to receiue hym, a saye
and pleasant lodgyn, hangd with ryche
araffe oz tapestrys, and with goodly plate,
and other things necessarie, moſte freſchely
adournd, but after that his master is once
entred, he will neuer entertaine oz counte-
naunce him, but as a stranger: suppose ye,
that the beautes and garnishing of the house
shal only content him, but that he wil thinke
that his seruant broughte hym thither on-
ly for bainglopy, and as a beholder and wo-
derer at the rycheſſe that he hym selfe gaue
him, which the other vnthankefully doth at-
tribute to his own fortune oz policie: Much
rather is that seruant to be comended, whi-
che hauinge a litle reward of his master,
will in a small cotage make hym hertee cheere
with muche humble reuerence.

¶ Yet wolde I not be noted, that I wolde
ſeue ſo muche to extoll reuerence by it selfe,
that churches and other ornamentes dedi-
cate to god, ſhoulde be therfore contemned.
For vndoubtedly ſuche thinges be not on-
ly commendable, but alſo expedient for the
augmentacion and continuing of reuerence.
For be it either after the opinion of Plato,
that all this worlde is the Temple of god, oz
that

Churches
materiall
and orna-
mentes

GOVERNOR.

that man is the same temple, these materiall churches, where vnto repairth the congregation of christen people, in the which is the cozjorall presence of the sonne of god, and beate god, ought to be like to the saide temple, pure, cleane, and well adourned, that is to saie, that as the heauen visible is mooste pleasauntly garnished with planettes and steres, resplendishing in the mooste pure firmament of azure colour, the earthe furnished with trees, herbes, and flowers of diuers colours, facions, and sauours, beastes, fowles, and fishes of sundry kindes: Semblably the soule of man, of his owne kinde being incorruptible, nete, and cleere, the senses and powers wonderfull and pleasaunt, the vertues in it contained noble and ryche, the fourme excellent and royal, as that, whiche was made to the similitude of god, mozeouer, the body of man is of all other mortall creatures in ppropozion and figure most perfect and elegant. What peruerse or frowarde opinion were it to thinke, that god, still being the same god, that he euer was, woulde haue his maiche nowe contemned, or be in lesse estimation: but rather moze honoured for the benefytes of his glorious passion, whiche maie be well perceived, who so peruerseth the holy historie of the Euangelistes, where he shall finde in order, that he desired cleannes and honour.

¶ Firste in preparation of his commynge,
whiche

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whiche was by the washing and cleansing of all the bodye of man by baptisme in water, the soule also made cleane by penance, the clearenes of the most pure and cleane vbrigne to be his mother, and she also of the line of pyntees most noble and vertuous.

¶ It pleased him muche, that Mary humbly knecled at his feete, and washed thei with pierous balme, and wyped them with her heare.

¶ In his glorious transfiguration, his visage shone lyke the son, and his garmentes were wonderfull whyre, and moze pure (as the Euangelist saith) than anye workeman coulde make them.

¶ Also at his comming to Hierusalem, to wards his passion, he wolde than bee receiued with greete routes of people, who laying their garmentes on the way as he rode, other carryinge dowes abrode, wente before him in fourme of a triumphe. All this honour wolde he haue before his resurrection, when he was in the fourme of humiltee.

¶ Than howe muche honour so due to hym nowe, thus al power is geuen to him, as wel in heauen as in earthe, and being glorified of his father, siteth on his right hande, iudging all the worlde.

¶ In readynge the bible menne shall fynde, Creed: mos
nics.
that the infinite numbres of the sturdie heretied Jewes coulde neuer haue bene governed by any wisedome, if they had not benne blynded

deled with ceremonies.

The superstition of the gentiles, preserved often tymes as well the Grekes as the Romaines from small destruction. But we will late all those histories a parte, and come to our owne experience.

For what purpose was it ordeined, that chilsen kynges (all though they by inheritance succeeded their progenitors kynges) shoulde in an open and statly place before all their subiectes, receiue theyr crowne and other R. galities: but that by reason of the honourable circumstances than vsed, shoulde bee impressed in the hartes of the beholders perpetual reuerence: which (as I before said) is fountaine of obedience, or elles moughte the kynges bee enoynted and receiue theyr charge in a place secreete, with lesse pepne to them, and also theyr ministers.

Lette it bee also considered, that we see men and not aungels: wherfore we know nothing but by ourwarde signification. Do moue, wherto reuerence pertaineth, is (as I haue said) the reward of vertus, whiche honour is the estimation of people, whiche estimation is not euery where perceived, but by some exterior signe, and that is either by laudable repute, or excellency in vertue, or other thing semblable. But repute is not so commune a token, as appaile. For in olde tyme kynges ware crownes of golde, and knyghtes onely ware chaines.

¶

Also the mooste noble of the Romaines ware sundry garlandes, wherby was perceived theyr merite. **O** creatures mooste by kynde, and barraine of Justice, that will desyre that thyng to theyr god and creature, whiche of verte duetie and right is giuen to him by good reason afoze all printes, which in a degree incomparable bee his subiectes and vassals, by whiche opinion thri tyme to helpe him of reuerence, whiche shal cause all obedience to esse, wherof will ensue vnter confuson, if good chryste pynces, moued with zeale, do not shortly provide to extirpe utterly all suche opinions.

The thye noble countailes of reason, societee, and knowlage. Cap. iii.

Verely the knowlage of Justice is not so difficile or harde to be attained as to be man, as it is commonly supposed, if he wolde not willingly abandone the excellencie of his propre nature, & foolishly applyceth him self to the nature of creatures vnreasonable, in the stede of Reason embracing sensualitee, and for Societee and Veneuolence, following wilfulness and malice, & for knowlage, blinde ignorance and forgetfulness. Vndoubtedly reason, societee called company, and knowlage remaining, Justice is at hande, and as they were called for, soyneth he selfe to that company, which by his

¶. ii. follows

Countailes
of Justice.

fellowship is made inseparable, whereby hap-
 peth (as I mought saye) a vertuous & moste
 blessed conspire; And in they mozte pre-
 ceptes and aduertisements, man is perswa-
 ded to receive and honoure iustice; Reason
 bedyng him: Do the same thing to an other,
 that thou woldest haue done to the. Socie-
 tee, without which mans life is vnpleas-
 ant & full of anguyshe, saith: Loue thou thy neigh-
 bour, as thou doest thy selfe. And that sen-
 tence or precepte came fro heuen, when So-
 cietee was fyrste ordeined of god, and is of
 suche auctoritee; that the onely son of god,
 byng demaunded of a doctour of law, whi-
 che is the great commaundement in the lawe
 of god, answered: Thou shalt loue thy lord
 god with all thy hart, and in all thy soule, and
 in all thy mynde, that is the fyrste and greate
 commaundement. The seconde is like to the
 same, Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy
 selfe. In these two commaundementes do de-
 pend all the lawe and prophetes. Beholde
 howe one fantour Christe toyneith Benedic-
 tence with the loue of god, and not onely ma-
 keth it the seconde precepte, but also refer-
 reth it vnto the fyrste.

Knowlage Knowlage also as a perfecte Instructrice
 and maistrice, in a moze bryefe sentence than
 yet hath bene spoken, declareth, by what
 meane the sayed preceptes of reason and so-
 cietee maie be well vnderstande, and thereby
 Justice finally executed. The woordes be these

In latine, *Ipse te ipsum, quicquid est in te*. That this
 gyfte, knowe thy selfe. This sentence is of
 olde wyters supposed for to bee the firste
 then by Chilo or some other of the Seven an-
 cient Philosophes, called in latine *Sapienter*, in
 englyshe Sage or wise men. Other do accom-
 moude it to Apollo, who the pallasines ho-
 noured for god of wisdom. But to say the
 trouth, were it Apollo that spake it, or Chi-
 lo, or any other, surely it proceeded of god, as
 an excellent and wonderfull sentence. By
 this counsaile, man is indured to vnderstand
 the other two preceptes, and also, thereby
 is accomplished not onely the seconde part,
 but also the residue of Justice, whiche I be-
 fore haue reherced. For man knowynge his
 selfe, shall knowe that whiche is his owne,
 & pertaineth to him selfe. But what is moze
 his owne, than his soule? Or what thinge
 moze appertaineth to hym, than his bodie?
 His soule is vndoubtedly and feely his own,
 and none other person maie by any meane
 possesse it or claime it. His bodie so pertain-
 eth vnto him, that none other, without his
 consent, may vendicatur therein any propertie.
 Of what valoure or price his soule is, the stu-
 multitude, wher vnto it was made, the unmo-
 talitee, and life euerslastyng, and the powere
 and qualitees thereof, abundantly do declare.
 And of that same matter and substance that
 his soule is of, be all other soules, that nowe

That this
 sentence is of
 the seven an-
 cient philo-
 sophes, called
 in latine
 Sapienter,
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 ce that his
 soule is of, be
 all other soules,
 that nowe

The equa-
 litye in sou-
 les and coz-
 porall sub-
 stance.

see, and haue ben, and cure shall be without singulariter of psychinnence, of nature. Its semblable astate is his body, & of no better slaye / as I thought frankly saie / is a gentyl man made, than a carter, and of lybessee of will, as muche is geuen of god to the poore herdeiman, as to the great and mighty Emperour. Than in knowing the condiciō of his soule and body, he knoweth him self, and consequently in the same thyng he knoweth euery other man.

Knowlage of a gouernour. ¶ If thou be a gouernour, or haue ouer of ther souerayntie, knowe thy selfe. That is in saie, knowe that thou art verely a man, compacte of soule and body, and in that all other men be equal vnto the. Also that euery man taketh with the, equall benefite of the spirite of lyfe, nor thou hast any more of the dewe of heauen, or the byghenes of the son, than any other person. Thy dignitie or auctoritee, wherein thou only differst fro others is / as it were / but a weighty or heavy cloke, feebly gluyeryng in the eyes of them that be poreblinde, wherunto the, it is peynfull, yf thou weare hym in his ryght facion, and as it shall best become the: And from the it may be moztly taken, of hym that dyd put it on the, yf thou vse it negligently, or that thou weare it not comely, and as it apperteyneth. Therfoze whyles thou warrest if, know thy selfe, knowe that the name of a soueraygne or ruler, without actual gouernace, is but a

Shadowe,

Shadowe, that gouernance standeth not by wordes only, but principally by acte & example, that by example of gouernours men do eyfe of sal in vertue or vice. And as it is said of Aristotle, rulers moze greuouly do sinne, by example than by the; acte. And the moze thet haue vnder the; gouernance, the greater accounte haue they to rende, That in the; owne pyceptes and ordinaunces they be not founde negligent. Wherfoze there is a noble aduertisemene of the emperour Alexander, for his grautier called Senecus.

¶ On a time, one of his noble men exhorted hym to do a thing, contrarie to a lawe of edicte, whiche he hym selfe had enacted: But he spynely denied it. The other styl persistynge, saied, The emperour is not bounden to obserue his owne lawes. Wher vnto the saied emperour displeauntly answerynge, saied in this maner, God forbede, that euer I shulde denie any lawes, wherby my people shoulde bee compelled to do any thyng, whiche I my selfe can not tolerate.

¶ Wherfoze ye that haue any gouernance, by this mozte noble pyntes example knowe the boundes of your auctoritee, knowe also your offyce and ducte, beyng your selves men moztall, amonge men, and instructours and leaders of wyl. And that as obedience is due vnto you, so is your ludy your labour, your induly with vertuous example, due to them that be subiecte to your auctoritee.

¶.iiii.

ye

Lappidus,

pe shall knowe alwaie your selfe; if for affecti-
on of motion ye do speake; do nothing
but worthily the immortallitee & moste precious
nature of your soule; and remembering that
your bodys is subiecte to corruption, as all
other be, and lyfe time uncertaine. If ye for
get not this commune affaie, and do also re-
member, that in nothing but onely in vertue
ye are better than an other inferiour persō:

Agessilas. According to the saying of Agessilas, kynge
of Lacedemones, who hearing the great king
of Persia praised, asked howe muche that
great kynge was more than he in iustice. And

Socrates. Socrates, being demanded, if the king of
Persia seemed to hym happy? He can not tell
(said he) of what estimaciō he is in vertue
and learning. Consider also, that auctoritie
being wel and diligently used, is but a token
of superiouritee, but in very dede it is a burde
and losse of a libertie.

And what governor in this wise knoweth
him selfe; he shall also by the same rule knowe
al other men, & shall needes looke them, for whō
he taketh labours, and sojourneth libertie.

Knowledge of subie-
ctes. In semblable manner, the inferiour person
of subiecte ought to consider, that all bee it
(as I haue spoken) he in the substance of
soule and body; is equall with his superiour;
yet for as muche as the powers & qualitees
of the soule and body, with the dispositiō of
reason, be not in every man equall, therefore
god ordeined a diversitie of pytheminences
degrees

degrees to be amonge men, for the necessary
direction and perseruacion of theim in con-
suetude of liuing; Wherof nature myni-
strith to vs examples abundantly; as in bees
(wherof I haue before spoken in the firste
booke) cranes, redde deere, wolues, and dys-
uers other fowles and beastes, whiche her-
derly or flocketh, amonge whom is a gouer-
nour or leader, towards whom all the other
haue a vigilant eye, awaiting his signes or
tokens, and accordyng thereto repayng
theim selfe moste diligently. If we thinke,
that this naturall instinctiō of creatures
vncertaine, is necessary and also conueni-
ble, howe farre out of reason shall we iudge
them to be, that wolde exterminate all su-
perioritee, extirpate all gouernance and lawes,
and vnder the colour of holy scripture, whi-
che they do violently wast to theyr purpose,
endeuour theim selues, to hyng the lyfe of
man into a confusiō inextinguishable, and to be in
much worse estate, than the afore named
beastes: whis without gouernance and
lawes, the persons moste stronge in body,
shulde by violence constrainethem that be
of lesse strength and weaker, to labour as
bondement of slaues for thei sustynance
and other necessaries, the stronge men being
without labour or care. Than were all ovr
equalitee dashed, and finally as beastes sa-
uage, one shal desire to slea an other. I omit
continual manslaughter, and spoyles;

A Booke
of the
Nature of
Man

The neces-
sities that
in gover-
nance,

GOVERNOR

aduoutrie, and enuities horrible to re-
herse, whiche/ gouernance lackinge/ muste
needes of necessitee ensue: excepte these euan-
gellical persons coulde perswade god, or co-
pyle him to change men into angles, ma-
kinge them all of one disposition, & confir-
ming the al in one forme of charitie. And as
concerning al me in a generalite this senten-
ce, Know thy selfe, which of al other is most co-
pendious, being made but of thys wordes, e-
uery word being but one syllable, induceth
men sufficiently to the knowlage of Justice:

¶ Of fraude and disceite, whiche be
against iustice. Cap. iiii.

Li. o. ff. i.
¶ He exel-
lency of ius-
tice.

Tully saith, that the foundacion of per-
petuall praise and renome, is Justice,
without the whiche nothing maye be
commendable. Whiche sentence is verified
by experience. For bee a man neuer so valis-
ant, so wysse, so liberall or plentiful, so
familiar or courtly, if he be seme to exercise
iniustice or wronge, it is often remembred:
But the other vertues bee seldomme rehes-
ned, without an exception, whiche is in this
maner. As in praising a man for some good
qualitie, where he lacketh Justice, men wyll
commonly say: he is an honorable man, a bold
courageous mā, a wysse man, a valiant mā, saying
that he is an oppressor, an extortioner, or is
deceitfull, or of his promises vntrue. But if

he

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he be iuste, with the other vertues, than is if
said, he is good and worshipfull, or he is a
good man & an honorable. Good and gen-
till, or good and hardy, so that Justice only,
beareth the name of good, and like a cap-
taine or leader precedeth all vertues in every
commendacion.

¶ But where as the sayed Tully saith, that
iniury, which is contrary to Justice, is done
by two meanes, that is to say, either by vio-
lence or by fraude, fraude semeth to be propi-
ly of the force, violence or force, of the lion, the
one & the other be far fed the nature of man,
but fraude is worthy most to be hated. That
maner of iniury, which is done with fraude &
disceite, is at this present time so commonly
practised, that if it be but a litle, it is called
policy, and if it be muche, and with a visage
of grautie, it is than named & accounted
wisdom. And of those wise men speaketh
Tully, saying: Of all iniustice, none is more
capital than of those persons, that whā they
disceite a man most, do it, as they wold seme
to be good men. And Plato saith, It is ex-
treme iniustice, one to seme righte, which I
deede is vnjust. Of those.ii. maner of frauds
wil I seuerally speake, but first wil I declare
the most mischeuous imposture of this kind
of iniury in a generalite. Like as the phisici-
ons call those diseases most perillous, against
whā is founde no preseruatiue, & ones entered
be seild or neuer recovered: Doubtlesly those
diseases

Iniury by
two mea-
nes done.

Fraude &
disceite.

Plato be
repub.ii.

GOVERNOR.

injuries be moſte to be feared, againſt the
whiche can be made no reſiſtence, and being
taken, with greate diſculltie or neuer they
can be redreſſed.

¶ Intury apparant and with power info-
ced, either maie be with ſyke power reſiſted,
or with wiſedome elchud, or with entrea-
tie reſreigned. But where it is by craftie en-
gine imagined, ſubtilly prepared, couertes-
ly diſſembled, and diſcretefullie practiſed,
ſurely no man mai by ſtrength withſtand it,
or by wiſedome eſcape it, or by any other
maner of meane reſiſte or auoyde it. Where-
foze of all injuries, that whiche is done by
fraude, is moſt horrible and detestable, not
in the opinion of man onely, but alſo in the
ſight and iudgement of god. For vnto hym
nothyng maie be acceptable, wherein lackerh
veritee, called commonly truth, be him ſelfe,
beyng all veritee: and all thyng containing
vnto truth, is to him cocerarious and aduerſe.
And the deuill is called a lier, and the father
of lyesynges. Wherefoze all thyng, which is
viſage or apparance pretendeth to be any o-
ther thā verily it is, maie be named a lyesyng,
the execution whereof is fraude, whiche is in
effecte but vnto truth, enemye to truth, and
conſequently enemye to god. For fraude is,
(as experyence teacheth vs) an euill diſcrete,
craftily imagined and deuised, which vnder
a colour of truth and ſimplyctee, indoma-
geth hym that nothyng miſtruſteth. And by
cause

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cause it is euill, it can by no meanes be leſul.
Wherefoze it is repugnant vnto iuſtice.

¶ The Neapolitanes, & Polanes (people
in Italy) contended together for the limites
and boundes of theyr landes and ſpydes.
And for the diſcuſſyng of that controuerſie,
either of them ſente theyr ambalſadours to
the ſenate and people of Rome (in whom at
that tyme was thought to be the moſte cre-
dient knowlage and execution of iuſtice) be-
ſpyng of them an indifferent arbitour, and
ſuche as was ſubſtancially learned in the la-
wes Ciuile, to determine the variance, that
was betwene the two cities: conſpiromy-
tyng them ſelves in the name of all theyr
countrey, to abyde and perſourne all ſuche
ſentence and awarde, as ſhoulde be by hym
geuen. The ſenate appoynted for that pur-
poſe one named Quintus Fabius Labes,
whom they accounted to be a man of greate
wyſedome and learning. Fabius, after that
he was come to the place, which was in con-
trouerſye, he ſeparatynge the one people
from the other, commaunded with them bothe
apart, exhortynge the one and the other, that
they wolde not do or deſire any thinge with
a couctous minde, but in treadynge out of
theyr boundes, rather go ſhoite thereof than
ouer. They, doynge accordynge to his exho-
rtacion, left betwene both companies a great
quantitee of grounde, whiche at this dai we
ſal batable. That perceyvinge Fabius af-
ſigned

The frau
of an arbi
tour.

GOVERNOUR.

signed to every of them the besides that that them selves had appointed. And al that side whiche was left in the middes, he aduoyded to the Senate and people of Rome. That manner of dealing (saith Tully) is to decrete, and not to geue iudgement. And verily every good mā will thinke, that this lacke of iustice in Fabius, being a noble man & well learned, was a great reproche to his honour.

Fraude in
cofederacy

It was a notable rebuke vnto the Israelites, that when they besieged the Gabaonites (a people of Chanani) they in conclusion receiued the into a perpetual league. But after the Gabaonites had yelded them, the Jewes perceiuing they were restrained by theyr othe to slea them, or cruelly entreate them, made of the Gabaonites, being their confederates, they Shullyons and Dredges, wherewith almighty god was nothyng contented. For the league or truce, wherin frendshippe and libertie was intended / whiche caused the Gabaonites to bee solden / was not dulge obserued, whiche was clerely againste Justice.

Simplicitie
in coue-
nant or
promyse.

Truly in every couenant, bargaine, or promyse, oughte to bee a simplicitie, that is to saie, one plaine vnderstandyng or meanynge betwene the partes; And that simplicitie is properly Justice. And where any man of a couetous or malicious minde will digresse purposely from that simplicitie, taking aduantage of a sentence or word, whiche

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whiche mought be ambiguous or doubtful, or in some thyng either Superfluous or lacking in the bargaine or promyse, where he certainly knoweth the trouth to bee otherwise: this in mine opinio is damnable fraud being as plaine against iustice, as if it were enforced by violence.

Finally, all disceite and dissimulation, in the opinion of them, whiche exactly honour Justice, is nerer to dispayse than commendacion, although therof mought ensue some thyng good. For in vertue maye be nothing fucate or counterfalte: But therein is onely the image of verities, called Simplicitie.

Wherfore Tully, beinge of the opinion of Antipater the philosopher saith: To comede any thyng, whiche thou knowest, to the extent that for thyne owne profite thou woldest an other, who shal take any damage or benefite thereby, shoulde not knowe it, is not the acte of a person playne or simple, or of a man honest, iust, or good: but rather of a person craftie, vngentill, subtille, deceitfull, malicious, and wylly.

And after he saith, Reason requyryth, that nothing be done by treason, nothing by dissimulation, nothing by disceite. Which he excellently (as he doth all thyng) afterward in a bythese conclusion proueth, saying: Nature is the fountaine, wherof the lawe springeth, and it is accordyng to nature, no man to do that, wherby he shuld take (as it were)

a playe

a praise of an other mans ignorance.
 ¶ Of this matter Tully writeth many pro-
 per examples and quicke solutions. But
 now here I make an ende to write any more
 at this time of fraude, which by no meanes
 maie bee toynd to the vertue named iustice.

¶ That Iustice oughte to be betwene
 enemies. Cap. v.

Suche is the excellency of this vertue ius-
 tice, that the practise thereof hath not
 onely opteyned digne commendacion of
 suche persons, betwene whom hath bene
 moztall hostilities, but also oftentimes, hath
 extinguisht the same hostilities. And the fiero
 enemies hath ben thereby rather
 subdued, than by auaire or strength of
 peoples as it shal appere by examples ensuyng.

¶ When the valiant kynge Pyrrhus war-
 red mozte asprely against the Romains, one
 Timochares, whose sonne was proman for
 the monthe with the king, promised to Sa-
 bycius, than being consul, to slea king Py-
 rrus: which thing being to the senate reported,
 by their ambassade, warned the kynge to be
 ware of such maner of treason, saying: The
 Romains maintained they warres with
 armes, and not with payson. And yet not
 withstanding they discovered not the name
 of Timochares, so that they embraced equi-
 tice as wel in that they slewe not their enemy
 by

Treason
 hated of en-
 emies.

by treason, as also that they betrayed not
 hym, whiche purposed their kynndes.

¶ In so muche was Iustice of olde time es-
 temed, that without it none acte was es-
 teemd, were it neuer so noble or profitable.

¶ What time Peres, king of Persia, with
 his army was expelled out of Grece, all the
 naupe of Lacedemonia laie at rode in an ha-
 uen, called Sythem, within the dominio of
 the Athenienses. Themistocles, one of the
 princes of Athens, a muche noble captain,
 said vnto the people, that he hadde aduised
 hym selfe of an excellent counsaile, where
 vnto if fortune inclined, nothing moughte
 more augmente the power of Athenienses:
 but it ought not to be divulged or published
 by theretoze desired to haue one appointed
 vnto hym, to whom he mought secretly dis-
 couer the enterprise. Where vnto there was
 assigned to hym one Aristides, who for his
 vertue was surnamed rightwise. Themis-
 tocles declared to hi, that his purpose was
 to put fire in the nauy of Lacedemones, whi-
 che lay at Sythem, to thentent that it being
 burned, the dominion, and hole power ouer
 the sea, shoulde be onely in the Athenienses.
 This deuise heard and perceiued, Aristi-
 des comming befoze the people, said: The
 counsaile of Themistocles was very profit-
 able, but the enterprise was dishonest and
 againste iustice. The people hearyng that
 the acte was not honest or iust, cried with
 a
 one

Honestie
 preferred
 befoze ch-
 moditee.

one voice, for yet expedient. And further with they commaunded Themistocles, to raise his enterprise. Wherby this noble people declared, that in every act, speciall regards, and about all thynge, consideration ought to be had of Justice and Honesty.

¶ Of fayth or fidelitee, called in latine Fides, whiche is the foundation of Justice. Capit. vi.

That which in latine is called Fides, is a part of Justice, and may diversely be interpreted: and yet finally tendeth to one purpose in effecte. Sometime it may be called fayth, sometime credence, otherwhyles trust. Also in a frenche terme it is named loyaltie. And to the imitation of latine, it is called often Fidelitee. All which wordes if they be entirely, and (as I mought say) exactly understanden, shall appere to a studious reader, to signifie one vertue or qualitee, although they seme to have some diverse sence. As beliveng the preceptes and promises of god, it is called fayth. In contractes betwene man and man, it is commonly called credence. Betwene persons of equall estate or condition, it is named trust. Fro the subiecte or servaunte to his soueraygne or maister, it is properly named fidelitee, and in a frenche terme loyaltie.

¶ Wherfore to hym, that shall either speake

or

or write, the place is diligently to bee observed, where the propre signification of the word may be best expressed. Considering (as Plato saith) that the name of every thynge is none other, but the vertue or effecte of the same thynge, conceived firste in the mynde, and than by the voyce expressed, and finally in letters signified.

Plato in
Gratio.

¶ But nowe to speake in what estimation this vertue was of olde tyme amonge gentiles, whiche nowe (alas to the lamentable reproche, and perpetual infamy of this present tyme) is so neglected throughout christendome, that neither regards of religion or honoure, sollemn othes or terrible curses, can cause it to be observed. And that I am much ashamed to write, but that I must needs nowe remembre it: Neither scales of armes, signe manuels, subscripcons, nor other specialtees, ye vnyeth a multitude of witnesses bee nowe sufficient, to the obertyping of promises. What publicke weale shalbe we hope to have there, where lacketh fidelity? which as Tally saith, is the foundation of Justice. What increasable is it, though there be in all places contention infinite, and that good lawes be turned into Sophemes & insolubles, sens every where fidelitee is constrained to come in retail, and credence (as I mought say) is become a vagabunde?

¶ So Iohue, whiche succeeded Moses in the gouernance and leading of the Jewes,

Faythe nas
glected.

I. ii.

I. ii.

I. ii.

GOVERNOUR

Of what
auctozitte
fidelitee is.

Canances
piferced
by Iofue

almightee god gave in comāndement to fles
an many as he shulde happen to take of the
people, called Canances. There hapned to
be night to Hierufale a countrey, called Sa
baon, and in dede the people therof were Ca
nances, who hearinge of the pcepte giuen
to Iofue, as men (as it seemed) of greater
wisdomē, sent an ambassade to Iofue, whi
che approached theyz countrey, sayng: They
were ferre distaunt from the Canances, and
desyred to bee in perpetuall leage with hym
and his people. And to dissemble the length
of theyz iouney, as theyz countrey had ben
ferre thens, they hadde on them olde woine
garmentes, & to me shone, Iofue supposyng
all to be true that thei spake, concluded peace
with them, and confyrmed the leage, and
with a solemne othe ratified bothe the one
and the other. Afterwarde it was dyscou
ered, that they were Canances, whiche if I
ofue hadde knowen before the leage made, he
had not spared any of them. But whan he
evolued in his minde, the solemne oth that
he had made, and the honoure, whiche con
sisted in his promise: he presumed, that faith
being obserued vnperished, shuld please al
mightee god about all thinges, whiche was
than proued. For it appereth not, that god
euer did so muche as in any wyse embayed
hym for bryakng of his comāndement.
¶ By this example appereth, in what est
imation and reuerence, leages, and truces
made

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made by princes, oughte to be hadde, to the
breache wherof none excuse is sufficient. But
let vs leaue princes affayres to theyz coun
sailours. And I will now write of the par
tes of Fidelitee, which be more frequent
and accustomed to be spoken of And first of loy
altee and trust, and laste of Credence, which
principally resteth in promise.

¶ In the most renowned warres, betwene
the Romaines and Annibal, duke of Car
thaginentis, a noble citee of Spaine, called
Saguntum, which was in amitie and leage
with the Romaines, was by the saied Anni
ball strongly besieged, in so muche as they
were reftreigned from victualle and all other
sustenance. Of the which necessitee, by theyz
priuē messages they ascertained the Romai
nes. But they being busied about the prepa
rations for the defence of Italy, and also of
the citee, againste the inuoluerable power of
Annibal, hauing also late, two of theyz most
valiaunt capitaines, Publius Scipio, and
Lucius Scipio, with a great hoste of Ro
maines, staine by Annibal in Spayne, de
ferred to send any speedy succours to the Sa
guntines. But not withstanding that An
nibal desired to haue with them amitie, of
ferryng them peace, with theyz citee and goods
at libertee: Considering that they were
brought into extreme necessitee, lacking victual
& despairing to haue succours fro the Roma
nes, All thinghabitantes, cofortyng & exhortyng

Trust and
fidelitee.

The loyaltie
of Saguntines.

Titus Li
uius.
Valerius,
maximus,

¶ iii

eche

GOVERNOVR

ge the other to die, rather than to violatē the league and amitie that they of long time had continued with the Romaines, by one hole assault, after they had made sundrye greates piles of woode and othe matter to brenne, they laied in it all theyr goodes & substance. And laste of all, conuincing them selves into the saied piles of bonafires, with theyr wyues and children, let all on fyre, & there were brenned, or Anniball couldē entre the citee.

¶ Semblable loyaltie was in the inhabytantes of Iherusalem the same tyme, who being lykewise besieged by Anniball, sente for socours to Rome: But for the great losse, that a litle erke the Romaines hadde suffeigned at the batayll of Cannas, they couldē in no wyse deliuer them. Wherfore they discharged the of theyr promise, and licensed them to do that thing, whiche mought be most for their sauegard. By whiche answere they seemed to be discharged, & lesfully mought haue entred into the fauour of Anniball: yet notwithstanding, this noble people, preferring loyaltie before lyfe, putting out of theyr citee theyr women, & al that were of peres unable for the warres that they moughte moze faithfully susteine famine, obstinately defended their walles, that in the defence they al perished. So that whā Anniball was entred, he found, that he toke not the citee, but rather the sepulchre of the loyall citee Iherusalem.

¶ A noble fidelitie, whiche is so muche the

moze

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moze to be wondred at, that it was not onely in one of a fewe persons, but in thousandes of men: and thei not being of the bloude of allstee of the Romaines, but straungers, dwelling in farrē countreys from them, beinge onely of gentille nature and vertuous courage, inclined to loue honour, and to be constant in theyr assurance.

¶ Now wil I write from henceforth of particular persons, whiche haue shewed examplēs of loyaltie, which I pray god may so cleare to the mindes of the reders, that they may be alwaye redy to put the scēdable in experiece.

¶ How muche ought all they, in whom is anye portion of gentill courage, endeouere them selves, to be alwayes trusty and loyall to theyr soueraigne, who putteth them in truste, or hath bene to them beneficiall, as well reason exhorte, as also sundry examplēs of noble personages, whiche as compendiously as I can, I will now bringe to the reders remembraunce.

¶ What tyme Dauid, for his greuous offences was abandoned of almighty god (who of a very poore mans sonne, God auanced to the kingdome of Israel) and that Dauid being his seruant, and as poore a mans son as he, was elected by god to reygne in Israel, and annoynted kynge by the prophete Samuel, Dauid being therfore in a rage, hauing indignation at Dauid pursued him with a greates hoste to haue slaine hym, who (as

A. iiii.

longe

The commendation of loyaltie

Faithfulness in subiects.

long as he might) fled, and forbare Saul
as his souerain lord. In a time, dauid was
so enclosed by the arme of Saul, that he
might by no waies escape, but was faine
to hide him & his men, in a greate caue, whi-
che was wyde and depe in the erth. During
the time that he was in the caue, Saul, not
knowing thereof, entred into the caue, to do
his naturall easement: whiche the people of
Dauid perceiuing, exhorted him to flea Saul
hauinge suche oportunitie, saying: God had
brought his enemy into his handes, & that
Saul beinge slaine, the waies were all at an
ende, consideringe that the people loued bet-
ter Dauid thā Saul. But Dauid, refusinge
their counsaile, saide: He wolde not laie his
kenne handes on his soueraigne lord, beinge
a kyng enoynt of god: but softly appo-
che to Saul, and cutte of a peece of the ne-
cher part of his mantel. And after that Saul
was departed out of the caue towarde his
campe, Dauid called after hī, saying: Who
pursueth thou noble prince, with other wo-
rdes reherced in the bible, in the fyfth booke of
kynges: and than threwed to him the parte of
his mantel. Wherat Saul beinge abashed,
recognised his unkyndnes, callinge Dauid
his deare son and trusty frende, recommen-
dyng to hym his chyldren and wynges, sens
by the will of god he was elected to succede
hym in the kyngdome of Israel. And so de-
parted Saul frome Dauid,

ret

¶ Yet not wylfulyndinge, afterwarde he pur-
sued hym in Gaddy. And in a nyght, when
Saul and hys army were at rest, and that
Dauid by an espiall, knewe they were all
faste on slepe, toke with him a certaine of the
most assured and valiant personages of hys
hoste, and in moche secrett toyle came to the
paulion of hysinge Saul, where he founde
him sleepinge haung by him his speare, and
a cuppe with water: Wherefore one of the
company of Dauid sayed, that he wylth the
speare of Saul, would strike him through,
and flea him. Howe saied Dauid, our lord
seyde, that I suffer my soueraigne lord to
be slaine. For he is annoynted of God. And
therewith he toke the speare with the carpe
of water. And when he was a good distāce
from the hoste of Saul, cryed with a loude
voise to Abner, whiche was than marshall
of the army of Saul, who answered and
sayed, what arte thou that thus dostest the
kyng, which is nowe at his rest? To whome
Dauid sayed, Abner, thou and the companye
are worthy deathe, that haue so negligentlye
watched your prince. Where is his speare,
and the cup of water, that stode at his bedes
des head? Surely ye be but dead men, whā
he shall knowe it. And thenewith he stremed
the speare and cuppe with water. Whiche
Saul perceiuyng, and hearyng the voyce
of Dauid, cryed vnto hym, saying: Is not
this the voyce of my deare sonne Dauid? I
v vns

honestly do pursue him, and he not with-
standinge dothe to me good for euil. With
other wordes, whiche to abhominare the mat-
ter, I passe ouer.

Epitoxios
in hang-
ing
gra.

¶ This noble historie, and other semblable
epithes wroughte in Iresse, or cunningly gain-
ed, wyl muche better becom the houses of
noble men, than the Lecheries, and voluptu-
ous pleasures of the same Dauid, and Sa-
lamon his sonne, whiche be more frequently
expressed in the hangings of houses and
costerpointes, than the vertue and holynes
of the one, or the wise experimentes of the
other. But nowe wyl I passe ouer to histo-
ries, whiche be more strange, and therefore I
suppose more pleasaunt to the reader.

locuzet
man.

¶ Ferres being king of Persia, the greates
cite of Babylon rebelled against him, whiche
the loss of such strength, that the kynge was
not of power to subdue it: this perestupinge
a gentleman one of the counteyle of kynge
Ferres, named Zopirus, a man of notable
wysdomme, writinge to any person, byd cut
of his owne eares and nose, and pryncipe des-
parted towards Babylon: And being knowen
by them of the cite, was demanded,
who had by dyffguared him: Into whome
he answered, with apparant tokens of his
eines, that forasmuche as he had geuen to
Ferres counteyle and aduise, to bee recon-
ced vnto their cite, he being mented with re-
ed and displeasure towards him, in moste
trauel

reuel wise, caused him to bee so shamefull-
ly marulate, addinge therunto respectfull
wordes against ferres. The Babylonians
beholding his miserable estate, and the to-
kens here, whiche (as it seemed to them) appoynd
his wordes to be true much pitied him. And
as well for the greates wysdomme that they
knewe to be in him as for the occasion whiche
they supposed shoulde increase him to be
shortely auenged, made him they these cas-
pitaine, and committed wholpe to vpon the
gouernaunce and defence of their cite: whiche
shehaped in euerye thinge accordinge to
his expectation. Whereupon he shortly gaue
notice to the kynge of all his affaires and
exploitures. And finally so encouraged
him selfe by his wysdomme, that he accom-
ded the kynge and the cite, withoute anye
losse or domage to either of them. Wher-
toke on a tyme the sayde kynge ferres, cut-
tinge an oblye great pomegranate, and be-
holding it full and full of hermelles, sayde
in the presence of all his counteyle: He hadde
leauer here suche one frende as zopirus
was, than as manye Babylonians as there
were hermelles in the pomegranate. And also
that he rather would, that zopirus were re-
sted against his nose, and his eares, than
to haue a hundrede furthe cites as Babylon
was: Whiche by the report of wylres was
incomparably the greatest and fairest cite
of all the world.

¶ The

C The Barthens in a civile discorde as
monge them, feltes, drawe Bethabanus their
cinnam^{us} kynge out of his realme, and elected among
them one Cinnam^{us} to be thyr kynge. Iza-
zate king of Iudaea, vnto whom Betha-
banus was fledde, sente an amb^{assa}de vnto
the Barthens, exhortynge them to receiue
againe Bethabanus: but they made answer
that sens this departing of Bethabanus, they
had by a hole assent cho^{sen} Cinnam^{us}, vnto
whom they had done their faulte, and were
sworne his subiectes, which oth they mought
not lawfully bryake. Thereof hearyng Cin-
nam^{us}, who at that tyme was kynge ouer
them, wrote vnto Bethabanus and Iza-
zate, that they shoulde come, and that he wold ren-
der the royalme of Iudaea vnto Betha-
banus. And when they were come, Cinnam^{us}
mette with them, adourned in the robes of
a kynge, and as he approached Bethabanus,
a lighting downe of his horse, sayed in this
wyle: Wh^{er}, when the people hadde expelled
you out of your royalme, and woulde haue
translated it vnto an other, at there instance
I toke it. But when I perceiued their eans
our asswaged, and that with good wil they
woulde haue you againe, whiche are there na-
turall soueraigne lordes, and that nothyng
tested, but onely that they wold nothyng do
contrary to my pleasure, with good wyll,
and for no dyede or other occasion, as ye may
perceiue, do here redye your realmes citions
vnto

vnto you, and therewith takynge the diadem
of from his owne heade, did set it immediat-
ly vpon the heade of Bethabanus.

The fidelitee of Ferdinando (kynge of
Aragon) is not to be forgotten, whome his
brother Henry, kynge of Castille, deceyflyng,
made gouernour of his sonne, byynge an in-
fant. This Fernando with such Justice, rus-
led and ordered the realme, that in a parlia-
ment, holden at Castille, it was created by
the hole consent of the nobles & people, that
the name or title of the kynge dome of Spaine
shoulde be geuen vnto hym. Whiche honour
he saynyng to receiue thankfully, byd putte
vpon him a large and wyde robe, wherein he
secretly bare the pong pynce his newe, and
so came to the place, where for the said pur-
pose, the nobles and people were assembled,
demaundyng of euerie man his sentences.
Who with one voyce gaue vnto hym the
kynge dome of Spaine. With that he toke
out of his robe the littell babre his newe,
and settyng hym on his swerde, said all as
loude vnto them: Lo ye Castiliens, beholde
here is your kynge. And than he confirmyng
the hertes of the people towards his newe,
finally bestueded to hym his realme in peace,
and in all things abundant. This is the fi-
delitee that appertaineth to a noble and gen-
till herte.

In what hatred and perpetuall reproche
ought they to be, that corrupted with pesti-
lential

A faithful
tutor.

GOVERNOR.

leuefall auarice of ambition, dooe betraye
theyr maisters, or anye other that truste the
them. What monstrous personnes haue
we reade and herd of, whiche for the inordi-
nate and diuellish appetite to reigne, haue
mooste tyannously slaine the chylidren, not
onely of thes soueraigne lordes, but also of
theyr owne naturall bretherne, committed vnto
theyr gouernance / of whome purposely
I leaue at this tyme to wryte, because the
mooste cursed remembrance of them shall not
consume the tyme, that the well disposed re-
ader mought occupy in examplis of vertue.

Vengeāce
for treason

¶ This one thyng, I wolde were remem-
berd, that by the iust prouidence of god, dis-
loyaltee or treason, seldom escapeth greate
vengeance: All be it that it be pretended for
a necessary purpose.

¶ Examplē we haue of Brutus and Cas-
sius, two noble Romans, and men of excel-
lent vertues, whiche pretending an honou-
rable seale to the libertie and commū weale
of theyr cite, slew Iulius Cesar, who trust-
ed them mooste of all other, for that he vsur-
ped to haue the perpetuall dominion of the
empire, supposyng thereby to haue brought the
Senate and people to theyr iustinate libertie.
But it did not so succede to theyr pur-
pose. But by the death of so noble a prince,
happened confusio and ciuile batailles: And
both Brutus and Cassius, after long warres,
vainquished by Octavian, ueneue and
theyr

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heyr vnto Cesar, at the last falling into ex-
treme desperacion, slew them selves. It was
thy and conuenient vengeaunce for the mur-
der of so noble and valiant a prince. Many
other lyke examplis do remaīne, as well in
wrytting as in late remembraunce, whiche I
passe ouer for this tyme.

¶ Of promise and couenant. Cap. vii.

Concerninge that parte of fidelitee,
whiche concerneth the heppynge of
promise, or couenauntes, experience
declareth the howe littell it is nowe had in re-
garde, to the notable rebuke of all vs, whiche
do profess the Chryste religion. Considere
yng that the Turkes and Saracens haue
be therfore in contempt and despiisio, they
haupng fidelitee of promise about all thyng
in reuerence. But no meruaill, that a bare
promise holdeth not, where an othe bypon
the Euangelistes solemnelye and openly
taken, is but littell esteemed. Lozde god, how
frequente and degre throughout Christen-
dome, is this reuerent othe on the Gospels
les of Chryste: Howe it hath bene hitherto
hepte, it is so well knowen and had in daies
lye experyence, that I shal not neede to make
of the neglectyng thereof anye moore de-
claration. Onely I wylle shewe, howe
the Gentiles, lathynge thew religion, had

had solemn othes in great honour, & how terrible a thinge it was amonge them, to bryake their othes or vowes. In so much as they supposed, that there was no power, but of god, which might be equal to the verie of an othe.

Herety
punished.

¶ Amonge the Egyptians, they which were perjured, hadde their heades stricken of, as well for that they violated the honour due vnto god, as also that thereby faith and trust amonge people might be decayed.

¶ The Scythes sware onely by the charye or throne of their kynge, whiche if they bryake, they therfore suffred death.

The forme
of an othe
among an-
cient Ro-
maines.

¶ The ancient Romaines (as Tully writeth) sware in this maner: He that shoulde swear, helde in his hande a stone, and said in this wise: The Citie, with the goddess thereof being faulte, so Jupiter cast me out of it, if I deceiue wittingly, as I calle from me this stone. And this othe was so straitly obserued, that it is not remembred, that euer any man bryake it.

The great-
est othe.

¶ Plutarke writeth, that the fyrste Temple that Anna Domitilla, the second king of Romaines, made in the citie of Rome, was the temple of faith. And also he declared, that the greatest othe, that might be, was faith: whiche nowe a daies is verely taken for any othe, but most commonly is vsed in mortgage, or in such things as men force not, though they be not heldeud.

In

¶ In daily commutation the matter sa- uoureth not, except it be as it were seasoned with horrible othes, As by the holy bloude of Christe, his woundes, whiche for our redemption he painefully suffred, his glorious herte, as it were nimbles chopped in peeces, Childeane (whiche abhorreth me to remem- ber) doo plaie with the armes and bones of Christ, as they were chery stones. The soule of god, which is incorruptible, and not to be named of any creature without a wonder- ful reuerence and dreade, is not only the oth of great gentlemen, but also so vndiscreetly abused, that they make it (as I might say) theyr goonnes, wherewith they thunder out threataunges and terrible menaces, when they be in theyr fury, though it be at the damnable plate of deile. The masse, in whiche honourable ceremonie is left vnto vs, the most of all Christes glorious passion, with his corporall presence in forme of bread, the inuocation of the thre diuine persons in one deite, with all the holy company of blessed spirites and soules elect, is made by custome so simple an othe, that it is nowe almost neglected and littell regarded of the nobilitie, and is only vsed among husbande men and artificers: onelesse some rascall or barbour, as well in his othes as in the exesse of his apparalle, will counterfette and be lyke a gentleman.

¶ In iudiciall causes, bee they of nether so lights

Othes
vsed.

light impossidance, they that be no parties
but strangers, I meane wynnelles and iu-
rates, whiche shall procede in the trial, doo
make no lesse othe, but openly do renounce
the helpe of god and his saintes, and the be-
nefit of his passion, if they saie not true, as
farforth as they knowe. Howe vull that is
observed, where the one partie in degre far
exceedeth the other, or where hope of reward
or affection taketh place, no man is ignorant,
sens it is every yere more commune thā her-
etice. Alas what hope shall we haue of anye
publike weale, where suche a pestilence reig-
neth? Doth not Salomon saie, I man mu-
che swearing, shall bee filled with iniqui-
tee, and the plage shall not departe from his
house? O mercifull god, howe many men
be in this realme, whiche bee horrible swea-
cers, and commune iurates peruerbe? Than
howe muche iniquitee is there? and howe
many plagis ar to be feared, where as be so
many houses of swearers? Surely I am in
more dreads of the terrible vengeance of god,
than in hope of amendment of the publike
weale. And so in mine opinion oughte all
other to be, which beleue, that god knoweth
all thynge that is done here in earthe: and as
he hym selfe is all goodnesse, so loveth he all
thynge that is good, which is vertue, and hat-
teth the cōtrary, which is vice. Also all thing
that please the hym, he preferreth, and that
thynge that he hateth, he at the last destroyeth,

but

but what vertue may be without veriter, col-
led treouth, the declaracion wherof is faith
or fidelitee? For as Cully saith: faith is a
constaunce and truth of thynges spoken or
covenanted. And in another place he saith:
Nothing keepeth so together a publike weale
as doth faith. Than foloweth it well, that
withouth faith a publike weale maye not con-
tinue. And Aristotle saith, By the same craft
or meane, that a publike weale is first con-
stituted, by the same craft or meane is it
preserved. Than sens faith is the founda-
cion of Justice, which is the chief constituto-
ur and maker of a publike weale, and by
the afove mentioned auctorytee, cōservatour
of the same, I maye wel conclude, that faith
is bothe the originall, and (as it were) prin-
cipal constitutour and cōservatour of the
publike weale.

¶ It is also no littell reproche vnto a man
whiche breaketh honestie, to bee lye in ma-
hyng promise: or when he hath promised,
to breake or neglecte it. Wherefore nothing
ought to be promised, whiche should be in
any wyse contrary to Justice.

¶ On a time, one remembered hyng Bege-
laus of his promise: Wh god, saied he, that
is treute, if it stande with Justice: if not,
I than spake, but I promised not.

¶ But nowe at this presente time, we maye
make the exclamacion, that Seneca dothe,
saing, O the foule and dishonest confession

¶ 11 of

Promyse.

Plutarch^o
in apoph-
thegma.Seneca de
benef. ii.

of the fraude or mischief of mankind no we adates, seales bee moze sette by than soules. Has what repoche is it to christen men, and reioysing to Turkes and Sarazens, that no thing is so exactly obserued amonge them, as faith, consistyng in lausfull promise and couenant: And amonge christen men, it is so neglected, that it is moze often times spoken than hepte: And nor onely sealing (whiche Seneca disdeigned, that it shuld be moze set by than soules) is vneth sufficient, but also it is nowe come into suche a general contempt, that all the learned men in the lawes of this realme, whiche be also men of greate wisedome, can not with all theyr iudgemente so sufficient an instrument, to bynde a man to his promise or couenant, But that there shall bee some thyng therein cspied, to bynge it in arguments, if it bee denyed. And in case that bothe the partes be equal in estimacion or credence, or els he that denieth, superioure to the other, and no wrackes, deposeth on knoweladge of the thyng in demaunde, the promise or couenant is vncertely frustrate, whiche is one of the pynepall becaies of the publike weale, as I shall treathe thereof moze largely hereafter. And here at this tyme I leaue to speake any moze of the partes of that mozte royall and necessary vertue, called Justice.

Of

Of the noble vertue fortitude, and of the two extreme vices, Audacitee, and Timozositee. Cap. viii.

It is to be noted, that to him, that is a gouernour of a publike weale, belongeth a double gouernance, that is to saie, an interioir or inward gouernance, and an exteriour or outward gouernance. The fyrste is of his affectes and passions, whiche do inhabite within his soule, and be subiectes to reason. The seconde is of his chydene, his seruantes, and other subiectes to his auctoritee. To the one and thother is requyred the vertue moralle called Fortitude, whiche as much as it is a vertue, is a Mediocritie or meane betwen two extremitiees, the one in surplussage, the other in lacke. The surplussage is called Audacitee, the lacke Timozositee or feare. I name that Audacitee, whiche is an excessive and inordinate truste, to escape all daungers, and causeth a mā to do such actes, as are not to be ioyered. Timozositee is as wel whan a man feareth suche thynges, as bee not to bee feared, as also whan he feareth thynges to be feared, moze than nedeth. For some thynges are necessarye and good to bee feared, and not to feare them is but rebuke. Infamie and repoche, be of all honest men to be dreade. And not to feare thynges that be terrible, against whiche no power or wytt of man can resist, is

¶ iii

foole

Gouernance double.

Audacitee,

Timozositee.

GOVERNOVR

foolhardinesse, and woorthye no praise, as earthquakes, rages of grate and sodaine floodes, which doe beare downe befoze them mountains and greate towne. Also the horrible surfe of sodaine fyre, deuouring all thinge that it apperheth. Yet a man that is valiant, called in latine Fortis, shall not in suche terrible aduentures be resolued into wastynge of desperacion. But where force conserueth hym to abyde, and neither power or wysdome asayed, make faulke to escape, but wyl he or no, he muste nedes perishe, there dothe he patiently susteyne deeth, which is the end of all euill. And like as an excellent Physicion cureth moste dangerous diseases and deadly woundes: so dothe a man that is valiant, auance hym selfe as inuincible in thynges that do seme moste terrible, not vnadvisedly, and as it were in a heauy rage, but of a gentille courage, and with pmeditacion, either by victorie, or by deathe winning hono: and perpetuall memo:ry, the lust reward of theyr vertue.

¶ Of this maner of valiance was Hozatius Cocles, an ancient Romaine, of whose example I haue already writte in the first boke, where I comended the feate of swimminge. ¶ Pirhus, whome Amrball esteemed to be the seconde of the moste valiant capitaynes, assaulyng a stronge forteresse in Sicile called Cete, first of all other scaled the walles,

A valiant man,

King Pirhus the hardy,

THE III. BOKE. 164

les, where he behaued hym so valiantly, that suche as resysted some he slewe, and other by his matelce and sperte countenance he dyd discomfynd. And finally befoze any of his arme, entered the walles, and there alone succinged the hole hant of his enemies, vncill his people, which were without, at the last mislyng hym, steered partly with his courageous example, toke good heart, and enforced them selues in suche wyse, that they clymmed the walles, and came to the succour of Pirhus, and soo by his prowesse wanne the garrison.

¶ What valiant her was in the Romaine Huzius Scucula, which whan Hozena, kynge of Ethyulians, had by great power, conserued the Romaines, to keepe them within theyr citie, toke on hym the habite of a begger, and with a sworde pryntly hyd vnder his garnet, went to the enemies campe, where he being taken for a begger, was nothyng mistrusted: and whan he had espied the knynges pavilion, he dyctue hym thither, where he founde dyuers noble men sptyng. But for as muche as he certainly knewe not whiche of them was the knyng, at the laste psercuting one to be in moze riche apparate, than any of the other, and supposyng hym to be Hozena, hee any manne espied hym, stepte to the layd lord, And with his sworde gaue hym suche a strooke, that he

¶ IIII

immediatly died. And *Scruola* being taken (for he coulde not escape suche a multitude) boldly confessed, that his hande erred, and that his entente was to haue slayne kynge *Pozena*. Wherewith the kynge (as reason was) all chauffed, commaunded a great fire forthwith to be made, wher *Scruola* shuld haue ben bynned, but he nothings abashed, saied to the kynge: *Thynke not Pozena*, that by my deathe onely, thou maist escape the handes of the *Romaines*, for there be in the citee thye hundred yonge men, suche as I am, that be prepared to sicke the by one meanes or other, and to the accomplishment thereof, be also determined to suffer all tourmentes, wherof thou shalt haue of me an experience in thy sight: and incontinently went to the fyre, whiche was made for to bynne hym, and with a gladd countenance hidde put his hande into the flame, and there hidde it without chaunging of any countenance, vntill his saied hande was bynned vnto the flesse. In lykewyse he wolde haue put his other hande into the fyre, if he had not bene withdrawen by *Pozena*, who wonderinge at the valiant courage of *Scruola*, licenced hym to retourne vnto the citee. But whan he considered, that by the wordes of *Scruola*, so great a numbrie of yonge men of semblable prowes, were confederate to his destruction, so that er all they coulde be apprehended, his life shoulde be alwaies in jeopardy

parde, he dispaynyng of winning the citee of *Rome*, raised his sieg, and departed.

In what actes fortitude is, and considerations thereto belonggung. Cap. ix.

But all thoughte I haue nowe reherfed sundry exampls, to the commendaciō of fortitude, concerninge actes martiall, yet by the waie I wold haue it remembred, that the praise is properly to bee referred vnto the vertue, that is to saie, to enterprisye thynges dycadefulle, either for the publike weale, or for wyppninge of perpetuall honour, or els for eschewing reproche or dishonour. Whervnto be annexed these considerations, what importauce the enterprisye is, and wherfore it is done, with the tyme and oportunitie whan it ought to bee done. For (as *Cally* saithe) to entre in battaylle, and to fyghte vnaduisably, is a thyng wilde and a maner of beastes: but thou shalt fight valiantly, whan tyme requirerth and also necessitee. And alwaie death is to be preferred before *Scruitude*, or any dishonestie. And therfore the actes of *Anniball*, against the *Aguntines*, whiche neuer did him displeasure, is not accounted for any prowes. As is the *Lattine*, whiche for his singular commoditee, and a fewe other, making detestable warres against his owne countrey, entendinge to haue bynned the noble citee of

¶.v. Rome

Rome, and to haue destroyed all the good men, is not numberd amonge valiant men, all though he fought manly, and with great courage, vntill he was slaine.

¶ What auailed the boldnes of Tarro & Flaminius, noble capitaines of Romains, whiche despising the prowesse and craft of Anniball, & contemping the sobby counsaile of Fabius, hauing only trust in their owne haebines, lost two noble armies, whereby the power of the Romaines, was nie vterly perished. Wherefore euilnesse I saie, that a valiant man is he, that dothe tollerate or suffre that, whiche is nedeful, and in suche wise as is nedeful, and for that which is nedeful, & al so whā it is nedeful, And he that lacketh any of this may be called hardy, but not valiant.

¶ Moreover, although they, whiche be hardy, or persons desperate, haue a similitude & seme to be valiant, yet be they not valiant, no more than kynges in masqaynes and enterludes be kynges. For they that be hardy, re they come to the perill, seme to be fierce and eager, and in beginning theyr enterpryse wondefull halste, but whā they fele the thyng more harde and greuous than they esteemed, theyr courage decayeth more and more, and as mē abashed and vnprepared, their hertes vterly do faile, & in conclusion they appere more faint, than they that be cowardes.

¶ Also in Desperation cā nor be fortitude: for that despyge a mozell vertue, is euer voluntary,

luntary. Desperacion is a thyng as it were constrained, ne hath any maner consideration, where fortitude expenbeth every thyng and acte diligently, and doth also moderate it with reason.

¶ Here no we appereth (as I suppose) that neither they, whiche employ their foies with our iuste cause or necessite, ne they, whiche without forecast, or (as I thought sa) cireless spection, will take in hande an harde enterprise: ne they, whiche headlonge will fall in to dangers, from whens there is no hope to escape: no; yet mē desperate, whiche die willingly without any motion of honor or sele towarde the publike weale, be in the number of valiant persons, but of a refuse company, and rather to be reckned with beastes sauge, than amonge men, whiche do participate with reason. For as Curtius saith: It apperaineth to men, that be valiant, rather to despyse death, than to hate lyfe.

¶ A Man is called in latine *Atr*, whereof saith Tully, vertue is named. And the most pryncipall vertue longyng to a man, is fortitude, whereof her two excellent properties, that is to saie, the contempt of death, and of griefe. But what very fortitude is, he more plainly declarerth afterwarde, in a more large circumscription, sayng, Thynges humane ought to be littel esteemed, death not regarded, labours & griefes to be thought tollerable. Whā this is ratified by iugement

¶ Curti^s.

Who may
be called a
valiant mā

Arifotl.

GOVERNOR

and a conſtãt opinion, than that is ballant
and ſtable foztitude. But therinto I wold
ſhude be added, whiche opinion and iudge-
mente proceedeth of a reaſon, and not repug-
nant to iuſtice. And thã it ſhal accord with
this ſaying of Arifotle, A ballant man ſur-
reigneth, and dorthe that, whiche belongeth
to foztitude, for caufe of honeſter. And a lit-
tell befoze he ſaith: A man that is ballant,
as well ſuffreth, as doth that, whiche agre-
eth with his wiſdom, and as reaſon com-
mandeth, Do no violence or ſturdye minde, la-
ching reaſon and honeſtie, is any part of fozt-
itude. Unto this noble vertue be attendãt,
or as it were continual adherentes, diuers
vertues whiche doo enſue, and be of ſpgh-
t great eſtimation.

Of peincfulneſſe, the fyrſt com-
paſion of Foztitude. Cap. x.

In them, whiche be either gouernors
or capitains, or in other office, wher-
vnto appertaineth great care or diſ-
patching of ſundry greate affaires, peyn-
fulneſſe, named in latine Collicantia, is wou-
derfull comendable. For thereby thynges be
in ſuche wyſe explored, that vitteus proce-
deth therof, and ſeldome repentance. For as
much as thereof cometh an excellent fruite,
called oportunitie, whiche is euer rpp, & ne-
yer in no other aſtate. For lacke of this ver-
tue

tie, muche wiſedome and many a ballaunt
enterpyle, haue perished and touned to
none effecte. For if thynges ſharply inuen-
ted, prudently diſcuſſed, and balliantly enter-
pyle, be not diligently folowed, and with
out ceaſing applied and purſued, as it were
in a moment all thing is ſubuerted: and the
peynes befoze taken with the tyme therein
ſpente, is bitterly fruſtrate.

The peincfulneſſe of Quintus Fabius,
(being dictatour or principall captain of the
Romans) in leadinge his arme by moun-
tains, and other hard passages, ſo diſap-
pointed Anniball of the hope of victorie, whe-
re in he ſo muche glori- ed, that at the laſt he tra-
ned and drew Anniball and his hoſt into a
fielde, incloſed about with mountains, and
depe riuers, where Fabius had ſo enuyou-
ned hym, by the foztifying of two moun-
tains with his people, that they were in ſcop-
pe, either to be famiſhed, for lacke of vitall,
or els in ſieging, to be ſlaine by the Romans,
if the craftie and politike wyſe of Anniball
had not deliuered them. Whiche for the no-
table inuention, I wil borrow ſo muche time
of the reader, to renewe the remembraunce
therof in our engliſhe tongue.

Anniball, perceiuing the daunger that he
and his army were in, commanded in the depe
of the night, whan nothing was ſteerpyng,
to be brought afoze hym, aboute two thou-
ſande great oxen and bulles, whiche a littell
befoze

The policy
of Annibal
to eſcape
fro the Ro-
mans.

before his men had taken in forraging, and caused saggottes made of dyer sticks to be fastned unto their hoines, and sette on fyre. The beastes troubled with the flame of fyre, ranne as they were woode by towards the mountaines, where as laie the hooft of the Romanes, Anniball with his holle armye following in aray. The Romanes, whiche kepte the mountaines, beyng soze astrayde of this new and terrible syght, forsoke their places. And Fabius dreadynge the deceitfull wyfte of Annibal, kepte the armye within the trenched, and so Anniball with his holle escaped without domage. But Fabius, beyng peinefull in pursuynge Anniball from place to place, awaytynge to haue hym at aduantage, at the last dyd so fatigate hym and his holle, that thereby in conclusy on his power mynished, and also the strength of the Carthaginians, of whome he was generall capitaine. In so muche as they were at the last constrained to countermaunde hym by sundry messengers, willinge hym to abandone the warres in Italy, and to retourne to the defence of his owne citee. Whiche by the opinion of moste excellent wryters shulde neuer haue hapned, if Fabius woide haue left anye parte of his purpose, either for the tediousnesse of the pepre and traualle, or for the intollerable rebukes, geuen vnto hym by Minutius, who embayded hym with towarde,

Amonge

Amonge the vertues, whiche abounded in Julius Cæsar, none was accounted more excellent, than that in his counsaile, affaires, and employments, he omitted no time, ne forsoke anye peine. Wherefore moste soonly of any man, he achieved and brought to good passe all thyng that he enterprised.

Suppote ye that the same Anniballe, of whome we late spake, coulde haue woone frome the Romanes, all Spayne, and haue perced the mountaines, called Alpes, makynge a waye for his armye, where before was neuer anye passage, and also haue gotten all Italye, vnto Rome gates, yf he had not bene a man peinefull, and of labour incomparable.

Julius Cæsar, after he had the entier gouernance and dominion of the empyre of Rome, neuer omitted labour and diligence as well in commune causes as private, concerninge the defence and assistance of innocentes. Also he labourously and studiously discussed controuersies, whiche almost daies, he herde in his owne person.

Cæsar, and both Antonines emperours of Rome, and for their vertue worthy to be emperours of all the worlde, as well in exterior affaires, as in the affaires of the citee, were euer so continually occupied, that vnderneath they founde any litle time, to haue anye recreation or solace.

Alexander also, for his incomparable grauitie

Peinefulness
nes in hearing
cōtro:
uersis.

The pas-
serne of a
perfitte go-
uernour.

GOVERNOUR.

usite, called Severus, beynge but of the age
of .xviii. yeres, whan he first was made em-
perour, fyndinge the noble citee of Rome,
than maistres of the worlde, througely cor-
rupted with most abhominable vices, by the
most shamefull example and lining of that
detestable monster, Tarius Helioabalus,
next emperour before hym, a great parte of
the senate and nobilitie, being resolved into
semblable vices, the chynalic dyspersed,
marciall prowes abandoned, and wel nyghe
the maistie imperiall dissolved and brought
in contempt, was so inflamed wth the zeale
of the pristinate honour of the Romaines,
that he veterely laied apart all pleasures and
quietnes, and holy gaue his witte and bod-
dy to study and trauailes intollerable, and
chosynge out of all partes of the worlde, men
of greattest wysedome and experience, and
consulting with them, neuer ceased, vntill
he hadde reduced as well the Romains, as
all other citees and prouinces, vnto them
subiecte, to theyr olde moderation and tem-
perance.

¶ Many other examples coulde I reherse
to the commendacion of painefulnesse: but
these shall suffice at this present tyme, to
proue that a governour must nedes be pain-
full in his owne person, if he desyre to haue
those thinges prosper, that ar vnder his go-
uernance.

¶

THE III. BOKE. 169

¶ Of the noble and sayre vertue nam-
med Patience. Cap. xi.

Patience is a noble vertue, apperteyning
as well to inward gouernance, as to
exterior gouernance: and to the vaine
quithour of intirice, the sure defence against
all affectes and passions of the soule, retain-
ing alwayes gladd semblant in aduersitee
and dolour.

¶ Sanct Ambrose saith in his boke of offi-
ces, Better is he, that contenteth himselfe,
than he that sorroweth. For he that contents
himsel with it, as he nothing felte, passeth not on it:
But he that is sorrowfull, is therewith tour-
mented, as though he felte it.

¶ Whiche was well proued by zeno Elea-
tes, a noble philosopher, who beynge a man
of excellent wysedome and eloquence, came
to a citee, called Agrigentum, where reigned
Phalaris, the most cruell tyranne of all the
worlde, who kept and bled his owne people
in most miserable seruitude. And first he
thought by his wysedoms and eloquence, to
haue so perswaded the tyran to temperance,
that he shoulde abandon his cruell and aua-
ricious appetite: but custome of vice more
prouailed in hym than profitable counsaile.
Wherfore zeno, hauynge pitye at the wret-
ched estate of the people, excited dyuers no-
ble men, to deliuer the citee of that scerp-
le condition. This counsaile was not soo se-
cretely

cretely geuen, but that notice thereof came to the tyran, who causing all the people to bee assembled in the market place, caused zeno there to be cruciate with sundry tormentes, alwaies demanding of hym, who dyd participate with hym of his said counsaile: but for no pynes wolde he confesse any person, but induced the tyranne to hate in mistruste his nexte secundes and familiar seruautes. And repprouinge the people for theyr cowardyse and dread, he at the last so inflamed the vnto libertee, that sodainly with a great violence they fell on the tyran, and pressed hym with stones. The olde zeno, in all his exquisite tormentes neuer made any lamentable crye, or desyre to be relited.

¶ But for this fource of Pacience, this onely example sufficeth at this tyme, sens there be so frequente examplis of martyrs, whiche for true religion susteined paciently not onely equall tourmentes with zeno, but also farre exceedyng. But no we will I write of that Pacience, that pertaineth vnto interior gouernance, whereby the naturall passions of man be subdued, and the malice of foyntes susteined. For they whiche be in an extoyter, and be occupied aboute great affaires, they liue be not only replenished with labours and greuous displeasures, but also they be subiectes to sundry chaunces.

Pacience
howe it.

¶ The meane to obtayne Pacience, is by two thynges principally, I obiects and by

eggh

eight conscience, and true and constant opinion in the estimation of goodnes, which fel dome cometh onely of nature, excepte it be wonderful excellent, but by the diligent studie of veray philosophy (not that whiche is sophisticate, and consisteth in sophismes) nature is therto prepared and holpen. This opinion is of suche power, that ones cleuyng faste to the mind, it shal werth a man as it were by violence to good or euill. Therefore Cullt saith: like as when the bloud is corrupted, and either fleume or colere, blacke or redde, is superabundant, than in the bodie be ingendred sores and diseases, so the veracion of euill opinions, and their repugnancie, dispoyleth the minde of all helth, and troubleth it with griefes.

¶ Contrarywise afterwarde Cullt describeth good Opinion, and calleth it the beautesse of the soule, saynge in this wise: As of bodily membes, there is an apt figure, with a maner pleasantnesse of colour, and that is called beautesse: so in the soule, the equaltee and constance of opinions, and iudgements ensuyng vertue, with a stable, and steadfast purpose, or contempnyng the selfe same effect, that is in vertue, is named Beautesse. Which sentences depely inuestigate, and wel perceiued, by them that be aboute pynces and gouernours, they may consider, how to are and circumspecte they oughte to be in the inducynge them to opinions.

male be
tetted,

Opinion
good or ill

Cult. q. iii

Y. II.

DE

GOVERNOVR

Of patience in sustaininge wronges
and rebukes. Cap. xii.

Vnto hym that is valiant of courage,
it is a greater payne and difficulte to
susteine iniurie, and not to be forthe
with reuenged: and yet often times there is
accoupted moze valiantnes, in the sufferāce
thā in an haste reuenging. As it was in An-
tonin⁹ the emperor, called the philosopher,
against whom rebelled one Cassius, & vsurp-
ed the imperiall maiestie in Syria, and in
the east partes. yet at the last the same Cas-
sius being slaine by the capitaines of Anto-
nine nexte adioyning, he therof vntwyting,
was therewith foze greued. And therfoze tas-
hyng to hym the chyldren of Cassius, entrea-
ted thym honozably, whereby acquired euer
after, the incomparable and mooste assured
loue of his subiectes.

As muche dishonour and hatred his son
Commodus wan by his impacience, where
in he so exceeded, that for as much as he sou-
d not his blame hette to his pleasure, he cau-
sed the keeper thereof to bee throwen into the
hote bylning fornaies. What thing mought
bee moze odible, than that mooste dyuelly
impacience?

Julius Cæsar, when Catullus the poete
wrote against hym contumelious or repro-
chable verses, not onely forgate him, but to
make hym his frende, caused hym oftentimes

40

THE III. BOKE. 171

to soupe with hym.

The noble emperor Augustus, whan it
was shewed him, that many men in the citee
hadde of hym vnspyring woordes, thought it
a sufficient answer, that in a free citee men
muske haue theyr tungen at libertie. For ne-
uer was with any person, that spake euill of
him, in word or contenaice woys discōtented.

Some menne will not praise this maner
of pacience, but accoumpt it for foolishnes:
but if the beholde on the other side, what in
commoditee cometh of impacience, how a
man is therewith abstracts from reason, and
toured into a monstrous fygure, and do
conferre all, that with the stable continence
and pleasant regard of him that is patient,
and with the commoditee that dothe ensue
thereof, they shall ashyrme, that simplicitie is
an excellent wysedome.

Howeuer, the best way to be aduicid, is
so to cōtinue iniurie and rebuke, & liue with
such honestie, that the doer shal at the last
be therof ashamed, or at the least, leaue the fruit of
his malice, that is to saie, shall not reioyce &
haue glorie of thy hynderance of damage.

Of pacience in repulle of hynde-
rance of promotion. Ca. xiii.

To a man, hauinge a gentill courage,
lykewyse as nothing is so pleasaunt,
or equally reioiceth hym, as rewarde

p iii

03

Remedy a^s
gainst im-
pacience.

GOVERNOVR

oꝝ pꝛeferementē sodainely geuen, oꝝ aboue his merite: so nothing maie be to hym moze displeasaut oꝝ painefull, than to be neglected in his peine takinge, and the rewarde and honour, that he loketh foꝝ, and foꝝ his merite is woꝛthy to haue, to be geue to one of lasse vertue, and perchaunce of no vertue oꝝ laudable qualiter.

¶ Plato in his Epistoll to Dion kynge of Sicilie saithe: It is good ryght, that they, whiche be good men, & do the semblable, obteine honoꝝ, whiche thei be woꝛthy to haue.

Commodities which maie be nothyng moze excellent, ye nothing do happen moze necessarye, than to aduance men afoꝝer the estimation of their goodnes, and that foꝝ two speciall comodities, that come therof. Fyꝛste that thereby they pꝛouoke many men to appꝛehende vertue. Also to them, whiche be good, and al redy aduanced, thei geue suche courage, that they endeouour them selves with all theiꝝ power, to increasē that opynion of goodnesse, wherby they were broughte to that aduancement, whiche nedes muste be to the honoure and benefite of those, by whō they were so promoted. Con-
men.

trarywise, where men frome their infancye haue enclued vertue, wꝛoꝛne the sloppynge tyme of youth in painefull studie, abandonyng all luses and other thyngs, whiche at that time is pleasaunte, trustynge thereby to pꝛofyete the publike weale, and to obteyne honoure

honoure: whan epyther they vertue and trauaile is lyttel regarded, oꝝ the pꝛeferement, whiche they loke for, is geuen to other not equalle in merite, it not onely percereth they herte with muche anguiste, and oppꝛesseth them with discomfoꝛte, but also moꝛtally the courages of many other, whiche be aptely disposed to studie vertue, and hoped thereby to haue the pꝛopꝛe rewarde therof, whiche is commendacion and honoure, whiche beynge geuen to met, lackynge vertue and wysedome, shall be occasion foꝝ them to do euill, as Democritus saithe: Foꝝ who doubteth, but that auctoꝛytee in a good man doth publishe his vertue, whiche before laye hid: In an euill man it ministreth boldnesse and licence to do euill, whiche by deade was before couered.

¶ Surely this Repulse, oꝝ (as thei vulgarly speake) puttyng backe frome promotion, is no lyttel peine oꝝ discomfoꝛte, but it maie be withstande, oꝝ at the least remedyed with Patience, whiche maie bee in this wyse induced.

¶ Fyꝛste, considering that the woꝛlde was neuer so constant that at all tymes before, good men were iustly rewarded, and none but they onely promoted.

¶ Cato, called Atticensis, at whose wyse dome al the woꝛld wondꝛed, and whose grauitie, as wel the Senat and people of Rome, as other kinges and pꝛynces, reuerenced,
 p̄iiii lohyng

Patience
 howe it
 maie be in-
 duced,

lokyng to be one of the Consul, was openly
reiected, wherwith his frendes & kinne
toke no litle discomforte. But Cato hym
selfe, soo lyttell regarded that repulse, that
wher he alwaies he went verte homely, he the
nexte daie solo wyng, decked and trimmed
hym selfe moze freshly than he was wonte:
and whan he had shewed hym selfe so to the
people, at after none he walked with one of
his frendes in the market place, bare legged:
& in sengl apparail, as he was accusd.

¶ Scipio called Nasica, who by the hoole
senate was iudged the beste man in the
crite, and of an auncient house, was yphewise
put backe, frome beyng Consul.

¶ Cletius likewise, whiche was openly cal-
led the wyse man, was semblably refused.
And diuers other, of whō histories do make
mention, were abiecte, whan they had well
deserued honours, and they inferiours in
merites promoted.

¶ Also a mans conscience shall well com-
forte him, whan he hath so lyued, that where
he is knowne, men dooe iudge hym worthy
the preferment. And than maie he saie to the,
whiche meruaile, why he is not aduanced,
as Cato said to a person, that tolde to him,
that men wondred, why amonge so manye
noble mens images, as were sette vp in the
citee, Catos image was not espied. By god
said Cato, I had leuer that men wondred
why I haue none image sette vp, than why
men

Wise sen-
tence of
Cato.

men shoulde set vp mine image. So if mer-
uaille, whye a manne is not aduanced,
kno wyng hym a good man, than iudge the
him to be worthy p̄mociō, whiche iudges-
ment p̄cedeth of fauour: & than if he lacke
p̄mociō, yet hath he perfect gloze, whiche
euery noble herte desyereth. For Cullī saith:
The perfecte and most principall gloze, con-
sisteth in those the thynges: If the multi-
tude loue vs: if they put confydence in vs: if
also, as it were meruailling at vs, they thinke
vs worthy to haue honour geuen vnto vs.

¶ With this glozie and cleaues of conscy-
ence, shall a wise man content hym, and be
induced to Patience, & not be greeued with
his fortune, but to folowe Democritus, in
laughyng at the blinde iudgements of men,
in bestowyng p̄mociōs.

¶ To omitt, at this tyme, to write any moze
of this vertue Patience, sens to the institu-
cion of a gouernour, this seemeth to be suffy-
cient, to the residue he shalbe better perwa-
red by the woyses of Plutarke, Seneca, &
Pontane, wher they write of Patience,
whiche woyses he maie rede at his leasoure.

¶ Of Magnanimitie, whiche maie be na-
med valiaunt courage. Cap. xlii.

Magnanimitie is a vertue muche com-
mendable, and also expedient to be in
a gouernour, and is as I haue said,
p̄ v a com-

a companie of fortitude: And may be in this wise defined, that it is an excellencie of minde, concerning thinges of great importancie or estimacion, doyng all thyng, that is vertuous, for the achieving of honour.

¶ But nowe I remembre me, this woorde Magnanimitie, being yet strange, as late borrowed out of the Latine, shall not content all men, and specially them, whom nothing contenteth out of their accustomed Custom: I will adventure to put for Magnanimitie, a woorde more familiar, calling it good Courage, whiche having respect to the said definition, shal not seeme much inconuenient. But nowe concerning a more larger description of the said vertue. Aristotle saith: That man seemed to bee of noble courage, that is worthy, & also iudgeth him self worthy to haue thinges that be great. He saith also afterwarde: Noble courage is an ornament of vertue, for it maketh them the more ample & without them the hir selfe maie not be.

¶ But I will for a litle time leaue this noble Philosopher Aristotle, and returneth in respect a place in the offices of Cull, where he most eloquently and plainly setteth out this vertue saying: Awaite a valiaunte and noble courage is discerned by two thinges specially, wherof one is in dispatching thinges outward, whan a man is perswaded, neither to meruaile at anye thyng, neither to wylle or desyre any thyng, but that whiche

is honest. Moreover, that a man shoulde not bowe for any fortune or trouble of minde. Another thing is: whan thou art of that minde or courage, as I before saied, that thou then practise those thynges, not onely whiche be great, and most profitable, but also that be very difficile and full of labour and perill, as well concerning mans lyfe, as many other thinges thereto pertyninge.

¶ And afterwarde the same Cully saith: To esteeme litle those thinges, whiche vnto the most part of men seemeth excellent, and also with reason firme & stable to contemne them, is sygne of a noble and valiaunt courage. Also to tolerate those thinges, whiche do seme bytter or greuous (wherof there be many in the lyfe of man, and in fortune) in suche wise as thou departe not frome the estate of nature, neyther frome the woorthy pertyning vnto a wise man, betokeneth a good courage, and also true confidence.

¶ By this it seemeth, that MAGNANIMITIE, or good courage, is as it were the garmente of vertue, wherwith she is set out (as I moughte saie) to the bittermoste. I meane not, that thereby vertue is amended or made more beauteous, whiche of hir selfe is perfecte: but lykewise as a ladye of excellent beautee, though she bee all wayes fayre, yet a ruche and a fresshe garmente declareth hir estate, & causeth hir the more to be looked on, and thereby hir naturall beautee to be

Courage.

to be the better perceived. Semblably dothe Magnanimitee, toynd with any vertue, set it wonderfully furth to be beholden, and (as I thought faie) meruailed at, as it shall appere abundantly in the examples ensuyng.

¶ Agellaus, kynge of Macedonia, in the beginning of his youth, perceiuing al Grece to bee in greate feare, for the same that was spade of the Persians, coming with an infinite armye: with a noble courage profred, not onely to defende his owne countrey, but also with a smal hoste to passe seas into Asia, and from thens either to bying victoꝝy of the Persians, or els a sure & honorable peace. With whose courage, the Macedonnes byghely recomforted, deliuered vnto hym. x. thousande soulbours, with the whiche host he wente into Asia, and there vntiquished the Persians, and returned ioyfully into his countrey, with his people all saulfe, to his perpetuall renowne, and also the honoꝝr and surtee of all Grece.

¶ Antigonus king of Macedonia, being on the sea, one of his capitaines aduised him to departe, sayng: The nauie of his enemye was muche greater in numbꝛe than his: wherunto with a noble courage he answered: And for howe many myppes accountt you our person? wherwith his people toke suche countfoꝝte, that they boldely dyd sette foꝝthe, and vntiquished theyꝝ enemies.

¶ Suche noble courage was in great kynge Alexander

Alexander, that in his warres against Darius, he was sene of all his people spghing in the praise of his enemies bare headed.

¶ It will not be so vncurteise, to leue vntremembꝛed in this place, the notable magnanimitee of a kynge of Englande, whiche I hapned to reade late in an olde chronicle.

¶ Edgar, who in the tyme that the Barons had this royaltie in subiection, hadde subdued all the other kynges Barons, & made them his tributaries. On a tyme he had them all with him at dinner: & after it was serued hym, that Rynde kynge of Scottes, had said, that he wondꝛed howe it shoulde happen, that he and other kynges, that were tall and great personages, wolde suffre them selues to be subdued by so litle a body as Edgare was. Edgare dissembled & answered nothyng, but sayning to go on hunting, toke with hym the Scottishe kynge in his company, and purposely withdrewe hym frome them that were with him: And causyng by a secreete seruant, two swordes to be conueide into a place in the forest, by him appointed. As soone as he came thither, he toke the one sword, and deliuered the other to Rynde, bydding hym to pꝛoue his strength: and to assaie, whether his dedes wolde ratifye his wordes. Wher at the Scottishe kynge being abashed, beholdinge the noble courage of Edgare, with an horrible feare confessed his error, desiryng pardon, whiche he with moste humble

humble submission, at the last obtained.
That noble kinge Edgare, declaring by his
Magnanimitie, that for his vertue and not
by chance, he was elected to reigne ouer so
noble a region.

¶ Plato for his diuine wisdom and clo-
quence, named the god of phylosophers,
was sent for by Dionise kinge of Sicilie, to
the enent, as it seemed, that he wolde be of
hym instructed, concerning the politike go-
uernance of his realme. But when he hadde
ben with him a certaine space, and wold not
flatter with the kyng, and vpholde his ry-
uante, the kyng became wery of him, in so
muche that if it had not ben at the request of
Architas, prynce of Tarent, he wolde haue
put him to death. Wherefoze partly at the
desyre of that prynce, partly for feare of the
Athenienses, he lycensed Plato to departe
withoutt damage: but at his departinge, he
said vnto him, as it were in dispite: Howe
euill wylte thou speake of me Plato, when
thou comest among thy companions and
scholers? This Plato with a noble courage
answered: God defende, there shoulde be in
my schole so muche vacant time fro the stu-
die of wisdom, that there moughte be any
place left, ones to remember the.

¶ Now wil I make an end of this vertue,
and procede further to wyte of some vices,
whiche commonly do folow magnanimitie,
and with great difficultee maye be eschewed.

¶

Of Obstynacy, a familiar vice, folow-
yng Magnanimitie. Cap. xv.

THIS prynce of Oratours, Marcus
Cullius, in his fyfthe boke of offices,
saith: In height and greatnes of cou-
rage, is moste fouell ingendred Obstynacye,
& inordinate desyre of Souerainetie. Ob-
stynacy is an affection inuoucable, fixed to
will, abandoning reason, whiche is ingens-
dred of Hydre, that is to saye, when a man
esteemeth so much him selfe aboue any other,
that he reputeth his owne wytte onely to be
in perfection, and contemmeth all other coun-
saile. Undoubtedly this is an horrible and pe-
rilous vice, and verie familiar with them,
whiche be of moste noble courages. By it
many a valiant capitaine and noble prynce,
haue not onely fallen them selves, but also
brought all theyr countreys in daunger, and
ofentimes to subuercian and ruine.

¶ The wise kyng Salomon saith: Amonge
proude men be alway contencions: And they
that do all thynges with counsaile, be gouer-
ned by wisdoms. I neede not to reherse ex-
amples out of olde wyters, what damage hath
ensued of Obstynacye, considering that cre-
ery hystorie is full thereof, and we shal haue it in
dailey experience. But of one thyng am I
surr, where Obstynacy rulethe, and reason
lacketh place, there counsaile availeth not: and
where counsaile hath not autoritie & fratches,
there

Prouer. xi. there maie nothing be perfecte. Salomons saith: Where be many counsailes, there the people is in suretee. Now will I declare the espydue of Tullies sentence, concerning inordinate desyre of soueraignete, whiche is p[ro]p[er]ly called Ambicion

¶ Of an other vice folowyng magnanimitee, called Ambicion. Cap. xvi.

It was not without a high and prudent consideration, that certaine lawes were made by the Romaines, whiche were named the lawes of Ambicion, whereby men were resigned in the citie to obtaine offices and dignities in the Publyc weale, eith[er] by geatinge rewards, or by other synfull labour or meanes: And they, whiche by that law were condēned, were put to death without any fauour. Verily it was a noble lawe, and for all places necessarie, consyde[ry]ng what inconuenience hapneth by this vaine and superfluous appetite. Witness among the Romains, Sylla, Martius, Carbo, Cinna, Pompei, & Cesar, by whose ambition mo Romaines were slayne, than in acquiring the empyre of all the world. Sylla condemned, and caused to be slaine, foure scoze thousande Romains, besyde many mo that were slayne in the battayles, betwene hym and the bothe Martius.

¶ Also Pompei, and Julius Cesar, the one

suffring

suffring no pierce, the other no superiour, by theyr ambition caused to be slaine betwene them, people sumnerable, and subuerted the best and most noble publyc weale of the world, & finally hauing litle time of retyng theyr vniuersal desyre, Pompey shamefully sleyn, had his head striken of, by the commaundement of Ptolomee, kynge of Egypt, unto whom as vnto his frende he fledde for succour. Cesar the vainquisher, was murdered in the Senate with daggers, by them whome he moste specially fauoured.

¶ I coulde occupy a great volume with his stories of them, whiche contryng to mount into excellent dignities, byd thereby bring us to extreme perilles, bothe them selues and also their countreys. For as Tacitus saith, wonderful elegantly: With them, whiche desyre soueraignete, there is no meane place betwene the toppye and the steppe downe. To the whiche wordes agreynge Tullis saith: Righte auctorities shulde not muche be desyred, or rather not to be taken at some tyme, and oftentimes to be lette and forsaken. So did Sylla, whom I late spake of. And Dioclesian Emperour of Rome, who after he had gouerned the empyre. xxv. yeres honourably: if he had not bene polluted with the bloude of innumerable Chyften men) willingly abandoned the crowne and dignitee imperiall, and liued. ix. yeres on his p[ri]uate possessions. And on a tyme being desyred of

Li. off. l.

Sextus
Surlius.

Here

Herculus and Galcius, vnto whome he had resigned the empire, to take esseones on him the gouernance, abhorring it as a pestilence, answered in this wise: I wold ye did see the herbes, that I haue with myne owne handes sown and set at Salona, surely ye wolde not than in this wise aduise me.

¶ Also Detarius Augustus, whiche in felicitie passed all emperours, deuised often times with his frendes, to haue resigned his auctoytee. And if at that time the Senate had ben as well furnished with noble & wise personages, as it was befoze the ciuill warres, betwene Cesar and Pompey, it is to be thoughte, that he woulde surely haue resioyced the publike weale to his pyssinate glory. But in nowe lette vs see, what is the cause, that Ambicion is soo pernicious to a publike weale.

Ambicion
whi it is it

¶ In mine opinton it is for two causes pyssinally. Firste for as muche as they, whiche be of that courage and appetite, when they be in auctoytee, suppose all thyng to be lesul that lykerh theym. And also by reson of their preheminence, wolde so be separat fro other, that no man shulde controlle them, or warne them of theyr enoyntices, and finally wold do what they lyst withoute contradiction. Wherof do ensue dyuers iniuries and subuersion of iustice. And this, whiche I haue now said, Cullis affirmeth to be true, sayig: Verily it is a great difficultie, where thou wold

woldest be aboue all me, to obserue equitee, Whiche is the thyng moste appoyued to iustyce. And shortly after he sayeth: The more hygher of courage that a man is, and desirous of glory, the sooner is he much to doo thynges against ryght. Being it was so, in the time of Cullis, when almoste every man, that was in auctoytee, had excellent learning, (the Romaines bringng by theyr chyldeyene in study of moztall philosophy) what shal we suppose in our tyme, when fewe men in auctoytee do care for learning? Why shoulde we thynke to bee more iustice nowe vsed in auctoytee, than was in the tyme of Cully? Is there not nowe private affection, particular fauour, displeasure & hatred, as was at that tyme? I woulde the readers hereof, shoulde be iudges, examining these my wordes with dailey experience.

¶ The seconde cause, that condeimeth Ambicion, is couetise of treasure, therewith to mainteine theyr ostentacion and vainglory, whiche ambitious persons do call theyr honour, wherby they be procured to fynde vniuste meanes by theyr auctoytee, to prouide for suche substance, wherewith they maye be not onely satisfied (theyr beinge insatiable) but accordig to theyr own appetite fully satisfied. Wherfore the philosophers, called Stoici, vsed this sentence: Great indigee of lacke coeth not of pouertee, but of great plenty. For he that hath muche, shall neede muche.

Couetise,

Phararch^o
in apoph:
thegma.

GOVERNOVR

¶ But certes such ambitious persones, maye well consider, that the magnificence and pompe, whiche thei couste, is not so muche wondred at, as auarice and collection of money is vntuerally hated. Wherefore Darius kynge of Persia, and father to Xerxes, whā he had commanded a subsidie to be leuied of his subiectes, demāded the chiefe men of the countreys, whether they founde them selfe greued. Thei answering, that they were in a metely good case, he commaunded the one halfe to be esioences restozed, lest he of any auarice shulde be suspected. By the whiche acte, he stablyshed his dignitee, and made it more perfecte.

Li. off. iii.

¶ Doroouer, Cullype saithe, to take any thyng frome an other man, and one man to encrease his comoditee with an other mans detrimēt, is more repugnant to nature, thā death, than pouertee, peine, or othere thyng that mought happen. either to the bodye or other goodes worldly.

¶ The true definicion of abstinence and Continence. Cap. xvi.

Abstinence and Continence bee also companiōs of Fortitude, and he noble and excellent vertues, and I can not tell, whether there be any to be preferred before them. Specially in men hauing auctoritee, they being the byddes of two capitall vices,

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vices, that is to saie, Auarice and Lecherie. Whiche vices beinge reformed by a noble man, that liueth at libertee and without contollemente, procureth vnto him, besyde the fauour of god, immortal glory. And that is the case of realme, wherof the gouernours with these vices, be littel or nothing acquainted, do abyde long in prosperitee. For as Valerius Maximus saith: where so euer this feruent pestilence of mankinde hath entrie, Iusturie reigneeth, reppoche or insamp is sprade, & denoureth the name of nobilitie. The prosperites of these. ii. vertues, be in this maner.

¶ Abstinence is, wherby a man reformed from any thyng, which he maie lefully take, for a better purpose. Continence, is a vertue, whiche kepeth the pleasant appetite of man vnder the yoke of reason. Aristotelle, making them both but one, describeth them vnder the name of continence, saynge: He that is continent, forasmuch as he knoweth that couetous desires be euill, dothe abandon them, reason perswading him. For this tyme I take abstinence, for the resynge of money, possessions, or other thyng semblable. Continence, the onely forbearng the vnlesull company of women.

¶ Martius Coriolanus, a noble yong man whiche lineally descended from Iulus, sometime kynge of Romans, whan he had done many valiant actes, and achieved sundry enterpryses, was accordyng to his merites

3 iii com

commended in the arme by Postumius this beinge consule, and by their vniuersall assent was rewarded with all such honours, as than appertained to a good warrour: Also with one hundred acres of arable lande, the election of ten prisoners, ten horses appraised for the warrs, one hundred of oxen & as muche silver as he mighte beare. But of all this wold he take nothing, but one onely prisoner, whiche was of his acquaintance, and one courser, whiche alwaies after he used in battaile.

Curtius. Marcus Curtius, the verie rule and pattern of Fortitude & moderate living, when the people, called Samnites, whiche hadde warres with the Romans, founde him sitting in his house by the fyre vpon a homely fourme, eatyng his meate in a dishe of tree, ehei bynyng to him a great summe of gold by the consent of the people, and wondryng at his pouertee, with courteous language, desired hym to take that they hadde broughte hym, he therat smiling, said thus vnto them: Ye ministers of a vaine & superfluous mislage, shewe you to the Samnites, that Curtius had leaure haue Dominion ouer them that bee ryche, than he hym selfe to haue rycheesse. And as for this golde, whiche ye accounte precious, take it againe with you, & remember, that ye can neither vauquish me in battaile, nor corrupte me with money.

Cubero. Quintus Cubero, surnamed Catellus, what

what tyme he was Console, the people in Grece, called Tetoli, sent to him by their ambassadours, a great quantitee of silver besseell, curiousely wroughte and grauen. But when they came to hym, they founde on his table besseell onely of erth, And when he sawe them, he exhorted them, that they shulde not suppose, that his contentacion in pouertee, shulde be with theyr presentacion. And with that sayyng, commanded them to depart.

To Epaminondas, the Theban, being in his time, as well in vertue as prowesse, the moste noble man of all Grece, Pertharces, kynge of Persia, to make hym his frende, sent one of his seruautes to Thebes, with a great quantitee of treasure, which seruant knowing his maners, durste not offer it vnto hym when he came, but speaking to a poyngeman, which was familiar with Epaminondas, gaue vnto hym a great rewarde, to mette Epaminondas to receiue the kinges present. Who vnto hearing the first wordes of the poyngeman, commanded the kinges seruant to be brought to him, vnto whome he had these wordes.

Frende, shewe to the king, that he needeth not to offer me moneye: for if he haue any thyng to do with the Thebanes for a good purpose, he maie haue their assistance without any rewarde: if the purpose be nought, he can not with all the treasure of the world hope to obtaine it.

Epaminondas,

¶ Which wordes were spoken with such a grauitee, that the said Ieruaunt, being a kerd, desired Epaminondas, that he might be faultly conuicted out of the cite: whiche he graunted with good will, least if the money were taken awate, he mighte of the receiuing thereof haue bene suspected. Where ouer, he caused the Cheban, whiche was his frende and companion, to restore to the messenger the money that he had receiued.

Phocion. ¶ Semblable abstinence was there in Phocion, a noble counsaillour of Athenes, vnto whom the ambassadour of the greate kynge Alexander, broughte from the master a hundred talentes of golde, whiche were of englyshe money, xii. thousande pounce. But before that he herde them speake any thyng, he demaunded of them, why to hym onely the kynge sent so bounteous a rewarder. And they answered, for as muche as kynge Alexander iudged him onely to be a good man and a iust. Than suffre ye me (saied Phocion) to be and to seme the same man, that your kynge dothe iudge me, and eary your golde againe to hym.

¶ To the same Phocion, the ambassadour of Antipater, who succeeded the great kynge Alexander in Macedonia) offered to geue a greate summe of money: whiche Phocion despyng, saied in this wyse: Mens Antipater is not greater than Alexander, nor his cause better, I do nothyng receiue, why I

shoulde

shuld take any thing of hym. And when the Orator woulde haue had Phocions son, to haue taken the money, Phocion answered: If his sonne wolde be lyke vnto hym, he shulde haue no neede, neither of that money, nor none other. If he wolde be vnylike vnto hym, and of dissolute maneres, neither Antipaters gyftes, nor none others, were they neuer so great, shulde be sufficient.

¶ By these exampls it dothe appere, howe good men dyd alwaie fle from rewardes, all though they mighte haue ben lesfully taken, whiche in them was neither foolshenes, nor yet rusticitie, but of a prudent confyderection. Forasmuch as bothe by wysedome and experience they knewe, that he whiche taketh a reward before any thing done, is noo lengar at libertie, but of a free man is made bonde, because he hath taken earnest for his true enderour. Also by the taking, he is become an euill man, though before he were good. For if he receiue it for an euill purpose, he is thā a wretched and detestable: If the matter were good, thanne is he not rightwylke in selling a good dede, whiche he ought to do thānkfully, and without reward. ¶ And I doubt not, who so euer is contented with this present estate, and supposeth felicitie to be in a meane, and all exesse to be perillous, will allowe these sentences, and thinke them worthy to be had in remembrance, specially of them that be gouernours. For

s. v.

that

that realme, or citee, where men in auctozitee haue theyr handes open for money, and theyr howses for prizes, is euer in the waie to be subuerted. Wherfoze Caius Pócius, prince of Sammitra, was wont to say, I wolde god, that fortune had refered me vnto the tunc, and that I had be than boyne when the Romaines shulde begynne to take gyftes, I shulde thanne not suffre theim any longer to rule.

Paulus
Emilius.

¶ Paulus Emilius, when he had vauquished kynge Perseo, and subdued all Macedonia, brought into the comune treasure of Rome an infinite treasure, that the substance of that one prince discharged all the Romanes to paye euer after any taxe or subsidie. And yet for al that goodes Emilius brought nothing into his owne house, but onely perpetuall renoume.

Scipio Af
frican.

¶ Scipio whā he had gotten and destroyed the greate citee of Carthage, was not there for the ryche or halfe penny.

¶ By this appereth, that honoyr resteth not in rycheffe, all though some perchauce will saye, that theyr reuenues be small, and that they must take suche rewardes as be lesfull, onely to maintaine theyr honoyr: but lette them take hede to the sayng of Cully, No-thing is moze to be abhorred, than Avarice, specially in princes, and in them whiche do gouerne publike weales.

The

¶ The examplis of continence, geuen by noble men. Cap. xvii.

Nowe will I speake of Continence, whiche is specially in refraininge of toybearinge the acte of carnall pleasure, wher vnto a man is feruently meued, or is at libertee to haue it. Whiche vndoubtedly is a thing not only difficile, but also wonderful in a man noble of great auctozitee, but in suche one as it hapeneth to be, nedes must be reputed much vertue and wisdom, and to be supposed, that his minde is inuisible, considering that nothing so sharply assaileth a mans minde, as both carnall affectiō, called (by the folowere therof) loue. Wherfoze Plato sayth, that the soule of mā whiche by loue is possessed, dieth in his owne body, and liueth in another.

Alexander.

¶ The great kynge Alexander, after his first victorie agaynst kynge Darius, hauing alwaies in his host the wyfe of the same Darius, whiche incomparably excelled all other women in beautee, wouide neuer, after he hadde ones seene hir, haue hir come in his presence. All be it that he caused hir state still to bee mainteined, and with as much honoyr as euer it was: and to them, whiche wondring at the ladies beautee, mersuailed, why Alexander dydde not desire to haue with hir company, he answered, sayng: It shuld be to him a reproche, to be any wise

wylke subdued by the wyfe of hym, whome he had vanquished.

Antioch^o. ¶ Antiochus, the noble kynge of Asia, in the cite of Ephesus, behelde a virgyn (being a Myrtyr in the temple of Diana) of excellent beautee, and perceyving him selfe to be ravished in the loue of the maiden, hastily & immediately departed out of the cite, least loue shuld constraine him to violate the virgyn: wylsely considering that it was beste, to absteyne frome doing battaile with that enemye, whiche vnto him mighte be vanquished, but by flight onely.

Pompei^o. ¶ The valiaunte Pompei, when he hadde vanquished the kynge Sithaces, and had taken dyuers of his concubines, whiche in beautee excelled, woulde haue no carnall knowladge with any of them: but when he knewe, that they were of noble lignage, sente them vnto theire parentes and kynnesfolke.

Scipio. ¶ Rememblyng by Scipio, when he wanne Carthage. For amonge dyuers womanne, whiche were there taken: one moke fayrest of other, was brought vnto him, to do with hir his pleasure. But after that she had discovered to him, that she was affianced to a gentil man, called Indibilis, he caused hym to be sent for, and when he behelde the lamentacion and signes of loue betwene them, he not onely deliuered hir to Indibilis, with hir ransom, whiche hir frendes hadde

had payde for hir redemption: but also added thereto an honorable portion of his owne treasure. By the whiche continence and liberalitee, he wanne the hertes of Indibilis and all his bloude, wherby he the sooner obtained and wanne the countrey.

¶ Of this vertue be examplis innumerable as wel of gentils as of christen men: But these for this time, shall suffice, sauinge for the strangenes of it, I will reherse a notable historie, which is remembered by the most excellent doctour sainte Hierome.

¶ Valerian beinge emperour of Rome, and persecutinge the church, In Begypt was a christen man presented vnto him, whome he beholdinge to be yong and lusty, thinkinge therfore to retoune hym frome the faith, rather by vncerall motions, than by sharpnes of tormentes, caused hym to be laide in a bedde within a fayre garden, hauing about him all floures of swete odour and most delectable saunders and perfumes. And then caused a fayre tendre younge woman to be laide by hym all naked, who cessed not swete ly and louinglye to embrace and kysse hym, shewing to hym all pleasant druses, to the intent to prouoke him to fornicatio. There lacked litell, that the younge man was not vanquished, and that the fleshe yelded not to the seruice of Venus. That persecutinge the younge man, whiche was armed with grace, and seeinge none other refuge, with his

I wonder
full conti-
nence in a
christen ma-
n.

teche

teeth byd gnawe of his owne tounge, wherwith he suffered suche incredible paine, that therewith the burning of voluptuous appetite was bitterly extirped.

¶ In this notable acte, I wote not which is to be comended, either his invincible courage, in resisting so muche againste nature, or his wisdom, in subduyng the lasse paine with the moze, and byeyng of that, wherby he mought be constrained to blasphem god, or renounce his religion. Sure I am, that he therfoze receivd immortall life, and perpetual glorie.

¶ And this I suppose sufficeth, to perswade me of good nature, to embrace Continence, I meane not to lyue ever chaste: but to honour matrimony, and to have good awaite, that they lette not the sparkes of concupiscence growe in great flames, wherewith the wittes shall bee dyed wy, and all noble vertues devoured.

¶ Of constance or stabilitie. Cap. xviii.

In building of a foztresse, or other honourable mancion, it ought to be well considered, that the cemente or moztar, wherewith the stones be laid, be firm and well byndyng. For if it be brokly, and wyll mouldye awaite with evere showe of raine, the building maie not continue, but the stones, not surely couched and moztred,
fall

fall awaite one after another, and finally the holle house is defaced and falleth in ruine. Semblably, that man, whiche in chyldhode is brought up by custome, he be not induced, to be alwaite constãt & stable, so that he meue not for any affectiõ griefe or displeasure, all his vertues will shortly decaye, & in the estimation of me be but as a shadowe and some forgotten. For though he haue all the gyftes of nature and fortune, and also be adorned with doctrine and vertue, whiche he in his chyldhode hath acquired with muche trauaile, watche, and studys, and adde not to constaunce, whan he cometh to the tyme of experiance, which experiance is as it were the wo:ke of the craftes of man, beyng meued with any private affection, or feare of aduer sitte, or exteriour damage, will omitte any parte of his learning or vertue, the estimation of his person immediatly ceaseth among perfecte workemen, that is to saie, wise me, & finally beyng wauering or vnstable, what thing in hym maie be commended.

¶ And in one thyng me seemeth that Constance hath equall praise with iustice: that is to saie, that he that is himselfe iniust, loveth that person, that delecth iustly with him: and contrariwise, hateth that person that delecth iniustly, or dothe him wrong. In likewise he, whiche is inconstaunte, extollet hym, whom he syndeth constant, and despyseth to haue

Consta: ce
equall to
iustice.

hane hym his frende: on the other parte, he is angry with him, whom he proueth inconsistent and waicpung, and accospreth him a beast, and vnwoorthy company of men: and awapreth diligently to truste hym with nothing.

¶ We note in childehede inconstancie, and yphawse in women, the one for slackenednes of wyte, the other as a naturall sykennes. Therefore men vse in rebuhyng a man of inconstance, to call him a childehede or womansly person. Albeit some women now a daies be founden moze constant than men, and specially in soue wards theyr husbandes, or els mought there happen to be some wyonge inherytours.

¶ Constance is as propre vnto a manne as is reason: And is of suche estimation, that accordyng as it was spoken of a wise man: It were better to haue a constant enemye, than an inconstant frende. Wherof I my selfe had sufficient experience.

¶ But nowe to declare some experience of Constance, wherby the readers maie be the moze therto prouoked, I wyll reherse some examples thereof, our of olde histories, as I shall happen to remembre them.

¶ After that Sylla had vanquished Marius, and destroyed the parte of his aduersaries, he, with a great number of persons, all armed, enuyonned the senate, intending to compell them by violence to condemne Marius

Marius for a traitour. Whiche request none durst gaue saie: Scetola onely except, who beyng therof demanded, wolde geue no sentence. But when Sylla did cast therof on him a cruell countenance, he with a constant visage, and noble courage, said to him: Sylla, although thou facest & thremest me with thy multitude of souldiours, with whome thou haste thus beseged this court, ye and although thou dost menace me with death neuer so muche, yet shalt thou neuer bring to passe, that for shedding a littell olde bloude, I shall iudge Marius a traitour, by who this citee and all Itaip haue ben preserued.

¶ The constance, that great kynge Alexander had, in trustyng his frende against fals expoyse, saued his life: wherof all men despaired: for after that noble battaile, wherein he had vanquished Darius, and taken his treasure, as he passed through Lidia being sore chaufed with feruente heate, and the length of his iourney, he came by the ryuer, called Lydnus, & beholdyng it ciese and plessaunte, and thynkyng to allwage therein the heates that he suffered, wente therinto naked, and banyke therof: But immediatly, by the excedyng tolde, whiche was in that water, his liueses shanke, and his topites became vnweydey, and as they were dead, and all his hoste beyng discomforyed he was conueryed to a citee thereb, called Carsum. Wherupon the physicians assembled to des

Alexander's
confidence.

ayfe the beste remedy. All were determined to geue hym one medicine, and that it shulde be ministred by one Philip, chiefe physician with Alexander. In the meane time Parmenio, one of the greatest capitaynes aboute Alexander, aduertised him by his letters, that he shulde beware of the treason of the saied Philippe, saying: he was corrupted with a great summe of money by Darius. Wherwith he being nothing elbated: helde in his handes the letter and receiuing the medicin, that Philippe gaue hym, at one tyme deliuered the letter open to Philip, and dranke also the medicine, declaring thereby the constance that was in his friendship. Whiche worke, not onely caused nature the better to worke with the medicine, but also bound so the herte of the Physician toward him, that he euer after studied moze diligentely for the helpe and preservation of the noble prince, that had so muche truste him.

Lato.

The Constauce of Lato Cicerus was alwaie immoueable, in so muche that at sundry times, whan he in the Senate agrely defended the publike weale, with beheret and longe orations, against the attemptates of ambitious persons, he was by them rebused, and committed to prison: But he therfor not crying, but going toward prison, detected to the people as he wente, the vnlessefull purposes & enterpises of them, by whiche he was punished, with the peryll that was

imminente to the publike weale, whiche he had with suche courage and eloquence, that as well the Senate as the people dyed so aboute him, that his aduersaries were saied for feare to discharge him.

Who can sufficiently commend this noble man Lato, whan he reberth in the workes of Plutarke of his excellent courage and vertue? Howe muche worthier had he ben, to haue had Homers the trump of his fame immortal, than Achilles, who for a little wenche contended with Hгамemnon onely: where Lato for the conseruation of the weale publike contended, and also resisted against Julius Cesar and the greates Pompey, & not onely against theyr menaces, but also against theyr desires, and offers of ashyuance. Wherof I wolde gladly haue made a remembrance in this worke, if the volume thereby, shoulde not to muche haue increased and becomen vnihandsome.

Undoubtedly constauce is an honourable vertue, as inconstauce is reprochfull and odious. Wherfor that man, whiche is mutable for euery occasion, muste needes often repent him, and in muche repentaunce is not onely muche folly, but also great detement: whiche euery wise man will eschewe, if he can. Wherfor to gouernours nothing is moze proppie, than to be in theyr liuing stable and constant,

I a ii

The

GOVERNOR

The true significacion of Temperance,
a morall vertue. Cap. xix.

This blessed companie of vertues, in
this wise assembled, foloweth Tem-
perance, as a sad and discret matrone
and reuerent governeſſe, awaiting diligent-
ly, that in any wiſe voluptue or diſcipline
haue no preeminence in the ſoule of man.

Arifto. *ethi.* **A**riftoſtelle deſpneeth this vertue, to bee a
mediocritie in the pleaſures of the body, ſpe-
cially in eating and touchyng. Therefore he that
is temperate, ſeeth pleaſures voluptuous,
and with the abſence of them is not diſcon-
tent, and frome the preſence of them, he
willingly abſteyneth. But in mine opinion
Plotinus, the wonderfull philoſopher, maketh
an excellent definition of temperance,
ſaying: that the properie or office thereof is
to ſeek nothinge, whiche maie be repen-
ted, alſo not to excede the boundes of medio-
critee, and to keepe deſyre vnder the poche of
reaſon.

Temperat
incontinent. **H**e that practiſeth this vertue, is called a
temperate man, and he that dothe contrary
thereto, is named temperate: betwene whom
and a perſon incontinent, Ariftoſtelle maketh
this diſtinction, that he is incontinent, which
by his owne election is ladde, ſuppoſing the
pleaſure that is preſente or, (as I moughte
ſaie) in dre. Mulde alwaie be folowed. But
the perſon incontinent ſuppoſeth not ſo, and
yet he

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yet he notwithstanding doth folow it. The
ſame auctour alſo maketh a diſtinction, be-
twene hym that is temperate, and hym that
is continent, ſaying: The continent man is
ſuche one, that nothing will boode for bodily
pleaſure, whiche ſhall ſtande againſt rea-
ſon. The ſame is he, whiche is temperate, ſa-
yinge that the other hath corrupte deſyres,
whiche this man lacketh.

Alſo the temperate man deſpneeth in no-
thing, contrary to reaſon. But he that is con-
tinent deſireth: yet will he not be ſad againſt
eaſe. Finally to declare it in ſeue woordes,
we maie well call hym a Temperate manne,
that deſireth the thinge whiche he oughte to
deſyre, and as he oughte to deſyre, & when he
oughte to deſyre. Notwithſtanding there be
diuers other vertues, whiche do ſeeme to bee
as it were companions with temperance. Of
whiche for the excluding of tediousnes I will
ſpeake now only of two, moderacion, and ſo-
bernes, whiche no man I ſuppoſe doubteth
to be of ſuche efficacy, that without the
no man maie attaine vnto wiſedome: and by
theſe wiſedome is ſonett eſpied.

Of Moderacion a ſpece of tem-
perance. Cap. xx.

Moderacion in the limites and boundes,
whiche honeſtie hath appointed
in ſpeakyng and doynge: Iſke as in
Ba iii ending

renning, passing the gale, is accounted but rashnesse: so renning halfe waie is rejoynted for slownesse. In this wise, wordes and actes be the parcs, wherein the witte of man maketh his course, & moderation is in steede of the gale, whiche if he passe ouer, he is noted either of presumption, or of foole hardynesse, if he come shorte of the purpose, he is contempned as dull and vnapt to affaires of great importance. This vertue shall best be perceived by rithersing of examples shewed by noble men, whiche is in effecte but daies of experience.

Fabius Maximus, being five times Consul, perceiving his father, his graundfather, and great graundfather, and diuers other his auncestours, to haue had oftentimes that mozte honourable dignitie, when his sonne by the vniuersall consent of the people shuld be also made consul, he earnestly intreated the people, to spare his son, and to geue to the house of Fabius, as it were a vacation time from that honoy: Not for any mistrust that he hadde in his sonnes vertue and honestee, but that his moderation was suche, that he wolde not that excellent dignities shoulde alwaie continue in one familie.

Scipio Africanus the elder, when the senate and people had purposed, that accordyng to his merites he shoulde haue certayne statues or images set in all courttes and places of assembly, Also that wolde haue set his image

image in triumphante apparasse within the capitoll, and haue graunted to hym to haue ben Consul and Dictator during his life, not withstanding he wolde not suffer, that any of them shuld be decreed, either by the acte of the senate, or by the peoples suffrage, wherein he shewed him selfe, to be as valiant in refusing of honours, as he was in his acttes, wherein he had them well deserued.

There is also moderation in tolleracion of fortunes of euerye sorte, whiche of Tully is called equabilitie, whiche is, when there seemeth to be alwaie one byfage and countenance, neither changed nor for prosperitie nor for aduersitie.

Metellus, called Pundicus, in a common sedition being banished frome Rome, and abydng in Asia, as he hapned to fyete with noble men of that countrey, in beholding a greate plate, there were letters deliuered hym, wherein he was ascertained, that by the hole consent of the senate and people, his retourne into his countrey was graunted. Notwithstanding, that he was of that tidynge exceedinge ioyfull, yet he remeued not, untill the plaies were ended, nor anye man sitting by hym, mought perceiue in his countenance any token of gladnes.

Mhan the great king Antiochus, whiche long time had in his domination all Asia, whiche is accounted to be the thirde parte of the world, was at the last vanquished by Lucius

Scipio,

Tolleracion of fortunes good and badde

Heirlo, and had lost the moze part of his empire, and was assigned but to a smal portio, vsed his fortune so moderately, that he gaue great thanks of the Romanes, that beyng deliuered of so great burdon and charge, he moze easly might gouerne a litle dominio. ¶ Alexander beinge chete and made emperour of Rome at .xvi. yeres of his age, so excelled all other in vertue, that the senate and people wolde haue him called, the great Alexander, and father of the countrey, whiche of al names was highest, he with a wonderfull grauntie refused it, saying: It behoued, that those names were obtained by merites and experience of yeres.

¶ The same yince also wold not suffre his empire to vse in his apparail any richer stones than other ladies, and if any were geuen him, he either caused them to be solde, or elles gaue them vnto Temples, affirminge, that the examples of pompe and inordinate expenses, shoulde not procede of the Emperours wyfe.

¶ And when for the honour, that he had to the senate and lawes, his wyfe and his mother rebuked him, sayinge: he shoulde bringe the imperiale matresse into to lowe estate, he answered: It shuld be the surer, and continue the longer.

¶ There is also a Moderation to be vsed againste wythe or appetite of vengeance. ¶ Hadriane the emperour, while he was
but a

Moderation of wythe.

but a private person, bare towarde a capitaine greuous displeasure, who afterwarde hearing, that he was made emperour, was in great feare, leaste Hadriane wolde be aduenged. But when he came to the Emperours presence, he nothinge didde or said to him, but onely these wordes: Thou hast wel escaped. By whiche wordes he well declared his moderation, and also that who so erre putteth on the habite of a comyn person or gouernour, it shal not becom him to reuenge private displeasures.

¶ Archtas, when he had ben a longe space out of his countrey, and at his returne found his possessions and goodes destroyed and wasted, said to his battise: I wolde surely punish the, if I thoughte not be angry.

¶ Whiche lyke didde Plato. For when his seruant hadde offended him greuously, he behyrd Spensippus his frende to punish him, leaste (said he) if I beate him, I shuld happe to be angry. Wherin Plato deserued moze praise than Archtas, in as much as he obserued patience, and yet byd not suffre the offence of his seruants to be unpunished. For mozte often times the omittinge of correction redoubleth a trespass.

¶ Semblable moderation and wysdome Julius Cellus remembereth to bee in Plutarche the philosopher, whiche was master to Traiane the emperour. It hapned that the bondeman of Plutarche had committed
¶ a. v. some

Jul^s Cell.

GOVERNOR

Some greivous offence: wherefore his maister
wiled, that he shulde be sharpe punished:
and commaunding him to be strip'd naked:
caused an other of his seruantes in his pre-
sence to beate him. But the slave, who as it
seemed was learned, while he was in beating
cried out on Plutarche, and in maner of re-
proche saide vnto hym: Howe agreeth this
with thy doctrine, that preached so much of
patience, & in al thy lessons reppoueth wra-
th: and now contrary to thyne owne teaching,
thou art all inflamed with wra-
th, and cleme from the patience, which thou so muche prai-
sest? Vnto whom Plutarche, without any
change of countenance, answered in this
fourme: Thou embraidest me causeles with
wra-
th and impatience, I praise the, what pre-
cedest thou in me, that I am angry or out of
patience? I suppose (excepte I be muche de-
serued) thou seest me not stare with myne
eyen, or my mouth imbofed, or the coloure of
my face changed, or any other deformedie in
my person or gesture, or that my wordes be
swifte, or my voyce louder than modestie re-
quyret, or that I am vnstable in my gesture
or motion, whiche be the signes & euident to-
kens of wra-
th & impatience. Wherefore said
he to the correctour, seue he can not proue,
that I am yet angry, in the meane tyme, while
he and I do dispute of this matter, and vnder-
stand he vicerly doo celle of his presumption &
obstinacy, loke that thou shyl beate him.

Verily

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Verily in mine opinion Plutarche heretofore
declared his excellent wisdom and graunter,
as well in his example of patience, as also
in subduing the stubborne courage of an ob-
scure seruant. Whiche historie shall be re-
membred for gouernours to haue in remem-
brance, that when accordyng to the lawes,
they do punish the offenders, thei them selves
be not chaufed or moued with wra-
th. But (as Cullis saith) be like to the lawes, whiche
be prouoked to punish not by wra-
th or dis-
pleasure, but only by equitee. And immediatly
the same auctour geueth an other noble pre-
cepte, concerning moderation in punishment,
saying: In correctyng, wra-
th is principally
to be forbidden. For he that punisheth while
he is angry, shal neuer kepe that meane, whi-
che is betwene to muche and to lttel.

DELL

Of sobrietie in diet. Cap. xxi.

Verily I nothing doubt, but that the
more part of the readers of this worke
will take in good parte all that is be-
fore written, considering the benefite, and
also the ornament, that those vertues, of
whom I haue spoken, of good reason & con-
gruence muste be to them, in whom thei shall
be planted & do continue. But I know wel,
that this chapter, whiche now ensucth, shal
vneth be thankfully recited of a fewe read-
ers, ne shalbe accounted worthy to be read of
any

any honorable person, considering that the matter therein contained is so repugnant & aduersē to that pernicious custome, whereas in of longe tyme men haue esteemed to bee the moze parte of honour, in so muche as I beerie well knowe, that some shal accōpt great presumption in this mine attempt, in writing against that, whiche hath ben so longe vsed. But sens I haue taken vpon me to write of a publike weale, whiche taketh his beginning at the example of them that be gouernours, I will not let, for the dispraise geuen by them, whiche be abused, with all studie and diligence to discretue the auncient temperaunce, and moderacion in diet, called Sobrietee, or i a moze general terme Frugalitie: The acte wherof is at this daie as infrequent or out of vs amonge all sortes of men, as the termes be straunge vnto them, which haue not ben well instructed in latin.

¶ The noble emperor Augustus, who in all the residue of his life, was for his moderacion and temperance excellently commended, suffered no little reproche, for as much as he in a secret souper or banquet, hauing with him sixe noble men his frendes, and sixe noble women, & naming him selfe at that tyme Apollo, and the other men and women the names of other goddes and goddesses, faced sumptuously and delicately, the citee of Rome at that tyme beinge hered with scarcitee of graine: he therfore was reente with curses and

Frugalitie

and rebukes of the peopler in so muche as he was openly called Apollo the tormentour, saying also that he with his goddes had bestowed their coine, with whiche libertee of speache being moze perswaded than discontented, from that forth he vsed such a frugalitee or moderacion of diete, that he was contented to bee serued at one meale with three dishes, or sixe at the most: whiche also were of a moderate price, and yet therein he vsed such sobrietee, that either he hym selfe would not eate, vntill they whiche dined with him, had eaten a good space: or els if he sat when they did, he would arise a great space, or any of them had left eating. And for what purpose, suppose ye, dyd this emperor in this wise, in whom was neuer spot of auarice or vile courage? Certes for two causes. First, knowing the inconueniences, that alway do hapen by ingurgitations and excessiue feedings: Also that lyke as to hym was committed the soveraigne gouernance of all the worlde, so would he be to all men the general example of lyuinge.

¶ Howe what domages do hapen amonge men by immoderate eating and dnynginge, we be euery daie taught by experience: but to dnyng them (as it were to mens eien) I will set them out euidently.

¶ First, of factetee or fulnesse be ingendred painefull diseases and sicknesses, as squenses, distillacions, called reumes or pokes, he-

Galen^{us} de
Sa. tuenda.
lib. v.

mo to ydes, great bleedings, crampes, dufhes
ness of fight, the rufle, and the fitehe, with
many other that come not now to my reme-
brance. Of so muche dymnyng procedeth
dypstie, wherwith the body, and often ty-
mes the visage, is swollen & defaced, beauly
fury, wherwith the mindes be perished, and
of all other most odious, swyn dionkenes,
wherwith both the body and soule is defor-
med, and the figure of man is as it were by
inchantment transfourmed into an ugly
and lothsome image. Wherfoze the Laces
demones sometime purposely caused the rus-
sicall seruantes to be made very dionk, and
so to be brought in at theyz commune dners
to the intent that yonge men, beholdinge the
deformitee and haly fury of them, that were
dionkhardes, shoulde spue the moze sobriety,
and shulde eschewe dionkenesse, as a thing
fole and abhominable.

¶ Also Pittacus (one of the seven Sages of
Grece) byd constitute a lawe, that they, whis
che beynge dionke bydde offende, shoulde sus-
taine double punishment: that men shoulde
the moze diligently forbear to be dionke.

¶ It is ryght euidente to every wyse man,
who at any time hath haūted affaires, wher
vnto was required contemplatio of serious
study, that to a man, hauing due conceits
and digestion, as so expedient, shall in the
morning fastynge, or with a littell refectiō,
not onely haue his intencion quiter, his
iudgement

iudgement perfecter, his tonge redpar, but
also his reason fresher, his care moze atten-
tife, his remembrance moze sure, and genes-
rally all his powers and wittes moze effe-
ctually, and in better estate, thā after he hath
eaten abundantly. And I suppose for this
cause, the ancient courtes of recoorde in this
realme, haue euer bene vled to be kepte on-
ly before none. And surely the consideracion
is wonderfull excellent, & to be (as I mought
saye) superstitiously obserued: the reasons
why, be so apparant, that they neede not here
to be reherfed.

¶ Pythagoras was neuer seue to eate any
of the oz fleshe, but onely herbes and frutes.
Somewhatly byd many other, who exactly fo-
lowed his doctrine: Wherfoze it was suppo-
sed, that they rather excelled all other, in
finding out the secretes and hid knowlages
of nature, which to other were impenetrable.
¶ Plato, or rather Socrates, inditynge,
in his seconde boke of the publike weale,
wylleth, that the people of his citee, whis-
che he woulde constitute, shoulde bee nou-
rished with barley bycade & eakes of wheat,
and that the residue of their diete shoulde be
salte, olyues, cheese and lynes, and moze ouer
woozes, that the fieldes do bringe forth, for
their potage: but he addeth to, as it were to
make the dner moze delicate, figges, branes,
myxtil beres, & beche mast, whiche they shuld
roast on the coles, and dymne to it water mo-
derately

what pro-
fite is in fo-
briety, and
what dis-
commodi-
tie hapneth
by the con-
terary.

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derately. So (saith he) that liuing restfully and in helthy vnto extreme age, shall leaue the same manner of liuing vnto their successors.

¶ I knowe well, some rebbers, for this diere appointed by Socrates, will scorne him, accounting hym for a foole, who not onely by the answer of Apollo: but also by the consente of all excellent writers, that folowed him, and the diuiner fall renoume of all people, was appoynd to be the wisest man of all Greece.

¶ Certes I haue knowen men of worth in this realme, which, during thry youth, dranke for the more parte water.

¶ But here menne shall not note me, that I write this, as who saith, that noble men in this realme, shoulde lyue after Socrates diere, wherein hauing respecte to this time and region, they mought perchance fynde occasion to reprove me. Surely like as the excesse of fare is to be iustly reproboued, so in a noble man muche pinching and nigar deshypp of meate and drynke is to be discommendid.

¶ I can not commende Aelius Pectinar, who being emperor of Rome, wolde haue his gesses serued with a plante of lettise, deuided in two partes: and except some thing were sent him, he wolde appoint nine pound weight of lettise vnto thre messes, and if any disse hapned to be brought to him, he caused it to be set by untill the nexte date.

¶ I am ashamed to remember, that he wolde

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sende to his frendes, two morsels of meate, a piece of puddynge, or the carkasse of a capon. This was but miserie and wretched nycardshyp in a man of suche honour.

¶ In lyke maner, who will not haue in extreme detestacion, the insatiabie gluttony of Cretellius, Fabius Burges, Apicius, and diuers other, to which carnosantes, neyther lād, water, ne aire, mought be sufficient.

¶ Neither the curiositee and wanton appetite of Helio gabalus, emperoure of Rome, is of any wil: man allowed, who being at Rome, or ferre frome the sea, wolde eate onely sea fysh: And whan he sojourned nyghe to the sea, he wolde touche no fysh, but whyle was taken out of the ruer of Cyber, or other places of equall or of more distaunce. Also he wolde haue dyshes of meate made of camelles heeles, the combes of coches newly curte, the tungues of peroches and nyghtyngales, partriches egges, and other thynges harde for to come by: wherto be no engh the names founden (as I suppose) apte to the true significacion.

¶ Bojocoe, although he I dyspacted nycardshyp and vicious scarstee, yet in these nombre of dyshes, which I haue commended, I desyre not, to haue therein meates for any occasion to muche sumptuous. For in one or two dishes meate be employed as muche money as in twenty, perchance as good or better in eating. Wherof there remaineth

Atgarde
QPPpe.

net h a noble example of Cleopatra, daughter to Ptholomee, late kyng of Egypt, whoe Cleare in his life held for his Leubint. The same lady Antony, (with whom Detavian deuided the empyre) loued also paramours, abandonynge his wife, whiche was Ister to Detavian. And the warres betwene him and Detavian, cessyng by a littell space he (durynge that tyme) liued in moste prodigall expote, and thynking all thing in the sea, the lande, and the carge to be made for satisfiynge his gluttony, deuoured all fleshe and fysh that mought be any where founden. Cleopatra, disdeigning to be vanquished in any exceasse by a Romayne, laied a wager with Antony, that she his selfe wolde receiue into his body at one supper, the value of fiftie thousande poundes, whiche to Antony was thought in a maner to be impossible. The wager was put into the handes of Rumatius Plancus, a noble Romain. The next daie Cleopatra prepared for Antony a right sumptuous supper, but ther at Antonye nothing meruailed, knowing the value thereof by his accustomed fare, than the queene layng, called for a goblette, wherinto she dyd poure a quantitie of very tart vinegar, and taking a perle, whiche hing at one of hir eares, quicklye did let it falle into the vinegar, wherin beynge shortly dissolved (as is the nature of the perle) she immediatly dranke it. And although she had vanquished Antony.

acrop:

acrobpyng to his wager, the perle withoute any doubt, beynge of the value of, l. M. li. yet had she lykewise drunk an other perle of like value, whiche was hangynge at his other eare, had not Rumatius Plancus, as an indifferent Iudge, forthwith geuen iugement, that Antony was all redy vanquished. ¶ I haue rehered this historie, written by Macrobius, and also Pliny, to the effect, that the banitte in sumptuous feasting should be the better cryppled.

¶ Androicdes (a man of excellent wysedoe) wrote vnto the great kyng Alexander an epistell, desyring him to refraine his intemperance, wher in he saied: Noble prince, when thou wilt dypke wine, remember that, that thou dypkest the bloude of the earth. Signifyng thereby (as I suppose) the might, & power of wyne, and also warning Alexander, of the thurst of appetite of bloude. whiche wold ensue by his intemperate dinking. For Pliny that writeth this historie) saith immediately: If Alexander had obeyed the preceptes of Androicdes, he had neuer slaine his frendes in his drunkennes. For vndoubtedly it maye be saied with good right, that there is nothing to the strenght of mans body moze profitable than wine, ne to voluptuous appetites moze pernicio^s, if inclure lacketh. ¶ Also it is verie truly and properly written of Propertius the poete, in th^e sentence following of lyke.

Macrobi^s
Satu. li. ii.
Plin. li. xij
ca. xxxv.Plin. li.
xiiii. natur.
hist. cap. v.

15b ii

15v

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By wine beautie fadeth, & age is defaced,
Wine maketh forgotten, that late was
embraced.

Of gouernour, Salomon in his booke named
Ecclesiastes, calleth that countrey happie,
whereof the gouernours do eate in theyr time.
And what that we suppose is theyr time, but
onely that, whiche nature and the vniuersall
consent of all people hath ordeined? And of
what space is that tyme? But onely that,
whiche suffyseth to the abundant sustentation
and not oppression of nature, ne letteth
any parte of theyr necessarie affaires about
the publike weale.

Of sapience, and the definition
therof. Capit. xxii.

As be it that some men, whiche haue
hitherto readde this booke, will sup-
pose, that those vertues, whereof I
haue treated, be sufficient to make a gouer-
nour vertuous and excellent: yet necessarie
for as muche as the effect of mine enterpryse
in this worke, is, to expresse, as farre forth
as god shall instructe my poore wytte, what
cheynges do belonge to the making of a per-
fecte publike weale, whiche well myghe maie
no more be without an excellent gouernour,
than the vniuersall course of nature maie
stande or be permanent, without one chiefe
disposer and meuer, which is ouer all super-
cunt.

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eminent in power, vnderstanding, and good
nes. Wherefore because in gouernance be in-
cluded Disposition and Order, whiche can
not bee without soueraigne knowlage, pro-
ceeding of wisdom, in a moze elegat worde
called Sapience, Therefore I will now de-
clare, as muche as my littell wytte doth com-
prehende of that parte of Sapience, that
of necessitee muste be in euery gouernour, of
a iust or perfecte publike weale.

The noble philosopher, and moste excel-
le. our Cicero, saith in this wise, Sap-
ience is the sciēce of thinges diuine & human
which considereth the cause of euery thing,
by reason whereof that, which is diuine, he lo-
ueth, that which is human, he esteemeth
far vnder the goodnes of fortune.

This definition agreeth well with the
gift of sapience, that god gaue to Salomō,
king of Israel, who asked onely wisdom,
to gouerne therwith his reialme. But god,
whiche is the fountaine of sapience, graciously
p̄deering the yonge princes petition,
whiche proceeded of an apte inclination to
vertue, with his owne moste bounteous ly-
beralitee, whiche he purposed to employ on
hym, for the entiere loue that he had to his
father: he therefore infused in hym plentie
of all wisdom and counnyng, in thynges
as well naturall as supernaturall: as it ap-
pereth by the wyozes of the same king Sa-
lomon, wherw he well myghe as many wyzes
B b iii done

Lit. fuf.
q. iii.

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comes, as there be sentences. And in mine opinion, one thing is specially to be noted. King David, father to Salomon, was a man of a rare and meruallous strength, in so much, as he him self reporteth in the booke of hynge, being a chyld, and carrying to his byethere theyr dinner, where they kepte theyr cattel, he slew first a great beare, and after a lyon, whiche fierce and hungry assaured hym, although he were unarmed: and whether he had any weapon or no, it is vncertaine, sens he maketh therof no mention. Also of what prowes he was in armes, and howe valiant and good a capitaine in battaile, it maie sufficiently appeere to them that will reade his noble actes & atchieuances in the booke before remembred. Wherein no good catholyke man will any thynge doubt, thoughte they be meruallous. Yet not withstanding all his strength and puissance was not of suche effecte, that in the longe time of his reigne, whiche was by the space of .xl. yeres, he coulde haue any time vacant from warres. But alwaie had either continuall battaile with the Philistines, or elles was molested with his owne chyldrene, and suche as ought to haue bene his frendes. As for any wyse, his sonne Salomon, of whom there is no notable mention made, that he shewed any commendable feat, concerning martiall prowesse, causinge the furniture of his garrisons with innumerable men of warre,

hoyses

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hoyses and chariottes, whiche proueth not hym to be valiant and stronge, but only prudent: after in a litle byspering with the Philistines, in the beginning of his reigne, continued in peace without any notable battaile, or molestation of any persone, wherfore he is named in scripture, Rex pacificus, whiche is in englyshe. The peaceable kynge. And onely by sapience so gouerned his realme, that though it were but a litle realme in quantitee, yet it excelled incomparably all other in honour and rychesse. In so much as siluer was at that time in the citee of Hierusalem, as stones in the streete. Wherfore it is to be noted, that Sapience in the gouernance of a publike weale, is of a more efficacye, than strength and puissance.

The auertizer of Sapience is well declared by Salomons in his prouerbes, saying: By me kynge do reigne, and makers of lawes discern e thynges that be iuste. By me princes do gouerne, and men hauing power and auctorytie, do determine Justice. I loue all them that loue me, & who that watcheth to haue me, shall finde me. With me is both rychesse and honour, stately possessions and Justice. Better is the fruite that cometh of me, than golde and stones that be pricious.

The same kynge saith in his booke, called Ecclesiasticke: A kynge without sapience shall lose his people, and cities shall be inhabited by the wytt of them that be prudent.

Wb iiii

Whiche

Whiche sentence was verified by the soime and successor of the same kyng Salomon, called Roboam, to whō the saied boke was writen, who neglecting the wise and vertuous doctrine of his father, contempned the sage counsaile of auncient men, and embzased the light persuasions of sounge men and flatterers, whereby he losse his honour, and brought his realme in perpetuall diuision.

¶ The empire of Rome (whose begynnyng, prosperitee, and desolation seemeth to bee a myrrour and example to all other realmes and countreies) declareth to them that exactly beholde it, of what force and value Hapierce is: o be esteemed, being begun with shepardes, sleing the wyathe and displeasure of theyr maisters.

Diodorus Siculus.
li. ppi.

¶ Romulus, durynge the time of his reigne (whiche was, xxxvii. yerres) nothyng did enterprise, without the auctozitee and consent of the fathers, whom he him selfe chose to be Senators. And finally, as long as the Senate continued in the cite of Rome, and retained theyr auctozitee, whiche they retained of Romulus, and was increased by Tullius Hostilius, the thyrde kyng, they wonderfully prospered, and also augmented thier empire over the moze part of the world. But soone after the emperor Constantine had abandoned the cite, and translated the senate from thens to Constantinople, and that finally the name and auctozitee of the Senate,

senate, was by lreel and litell exhaust, by the negligence and foly of ignorant emperours, not onely that mooste noble cite, head and pynesse of the world, and fountaine of all vertue and honour, fell into mooste lamentable ruine, but also the maisterpiece of the empire decayed utterly, so that vneche a lreel shadowne thereof nowe remaineth, whiche who so beholdeth and confereth it with Rome, whā it floshed, accordyng as it is lesse in reuerence by noble wyters, he shal vneche here teare out of his eien, beholding it now as a rotten shepcock in comparison of that ciece noble and triumphant. O pooze and myserable cite, what sundry tormentes, excisions, subuersions, depopulations, and other cruell adventures hath hapned vnto the, sens thou werest byrest of that noble court of Hapierce whose auctozitee if it had alway continued, being also confirmed in the faith and true religion of Christe, god being with the pleased, thou couldest neuer haue ben thus desolate vnto the finall consummacion and ende of the world.

¶ I doubt not, but that it is well knownen to every Catholike man, that hath the liberall vte of reason, that all maner of vnderstanding and knowlage, wherof procedeth perfecte operation, do take theyr original of that high sapience, whiche is the operatrice of all thynges. And therfore Salomon or Philo, or who so made the boke called Sapientia, made

Th b his

his prayer to god in this wyse.

Come to me good lord. Sapience, that
spireth by thy throne. And in the later ende
of the prayer he saith: Sende her from the
seate of thy holynes, that she maie bee with
me, and laboure with me, and that I maie
knowe what maie be accepted with the.

Muses
what they
do signifie

Circe (one of the eldest poetes of
Grece) affirmeth in his hymnes, that the mu-
ses were begotten betwene Iupiter and Me-
tore. Whiche saying well vnderstand, and
exactly tried shall appere manifestly to agree
with the saying of the wyse man, conteyned
in the lated prayer late rehearsed.

Cicilius the expositor of Homere,
saith: Musa is the knowlage of the soule,
and is a thyng diuine, as the soule is.

Cur finally, as by old autors a man may
aggregate a definition, that which is called
in greke and latin Musa, is that part of the
soule, that induceth and moueth a man to
serche for knowlage, in the which motion is
a secreete and inexplicable delectaciō. Albeit,
because knowlage is in sundry wyse distri-
buted, and the numbre of names amonge olde
autours was alwaie rehearsed, where they
spake of a multitude, as it shall appere to
them that rede Homere and Vergill. There-
fore there were devised to be nyne Muses,
whiche also for the resemblance of theyr dis-
positiōs, were saigned by the poetes to be nine
berghins, that first inuented all liberall sciens

ces :

ces: but the other opinion approacheth moze
nere vnto the trowth, and agreeth better vnto
my purpose.

Circe Iupiter was alwaie taken of
the poetes and philosophers for the supreme
god, whiche was the greue of Ioue, and crea-
tour of all thynges, as appeareth in all theyr
woorkes, wherfoze sometime they cal him om-
nipotent, sometime the father of goddes & of
me, so that vnder that name they hno wclaged
to be a very god, though they honored hi not
as on only god, as they ought to haue done.
Cur nowe Circeus saying, that the mu-
ses proceded of Iupiter & metore, maie be
in this wyse interpreted. That god almightie
infused Sapience into the Homour of
man: for to the acquiring of science belon-
geth vnderstandinge and memoize, whiche
as a reasoner hath power to receiue, and al-
so to erogate and distribute, whan oportu-
nitie hapneth. And for the excellency of this
thyng, some noted to be in mans soule a di-
uine substance. As Pythagoras, or some of
his scholers, writing his sentence, saith in
this wyse speaking to man.

Cur in thy self haue thou good confidence
Shew mostall men be of the kynde diuine,
In whose nature a reuerent excellency
Appereth cleer, whiche all thyng done define,

Cur whiche sentence of Pythagoras, is not
corrected

reieced neither of Plato, whiche approached vnto the catholike writers, nor of dyuines, whiche enuicpette holy scripture, sayng the soule for the image and similitude of god.

Whiche fro
whence it
procedeth.
Plato in
Timens.
Plato in
Theage.

¶ Whoe ouer, Plato affirmeth, that there is lette in the soule of man, comyng into the world, certain species, or as it were sedes of thynges, and rules of artes or sciences.

Wherfoze Socrates, in the boke of science, resembleth him selfe to a mydwyse, sayng, In teachyng younge men, he dyd putte into theim no science, but rather brought forth the that, whiche all redy was in theim, lyke as the mydwyse brought not in the chyld, but beyng conuerted, did helpe to bryng it forth: And lyke as in houndes is a power or disposition to hunt, In hoyses and grephoundes an aptitude to renne swiftpely, so in the soules of manne is ingenerate a seme of science, whiche with the myxture of a terrestrypalle substance is obscured, or made darke, But where there is a perfect master prepared in tyme, the brightnes of the science appereth poltre and cleer, lyke as the power and aptitude of the beastes before rehered, appered not to the bittermost, except it be by Exercise prouoked, and that slouth and dullnesse, beyng plucked from them by Industry, be insured vnto the continuall acte: whiche as Plato affirmeth, is proued also in the master and the discipule.

¶

¶ Resemblably the foyleayed Socrates, in Platos boke of sapience, sayth to one Theages, Neuer man learned of me any thing, all though by my companie, he became wiser, I onely exhortyng, and the good spryte inspyryng.

¶ Whiche wondrous sentence, as me seemeth, maie well accorde with our catholyke faith, and bee receiued into the commentaries of the most perfect diuines. For as well that sentence, as all other before rehered do comprobate with holy scripture, that god is the fountaine of Sapience, lyke as he is the soueraigne beginning of all generacion.

¶ Also it was wonderfullye well expressed, of whom Sapience is ingendred, by a poete named Titianus, whose verses were sette ouer the porch of the Temple, where the Senate of Rome moske commonly assembled. Whiche verses were in this maner.

Quis me genuit, mater peperit Memoia,
Sophiam me Graui vocat, vos Sapientia.
Whiche in Englyshe maie bee in this wyse translated.

Memorie hyght my mother, my father Experience.
Greekes calle me Dophy, you name me Sapience.

¶ By vse of experience, in these verses expiessed, the poete intended, as well those actes, which we our selfe daily do practyse, as also theim, whiche beyng done by other in

Sapience
fro whence
it procedeth.

time

time passed, for the fruite of vertue, whiche thereof succeeded, were allowed and also proved to be necessary. And the cause, why the porte contyneth Experience and Remoꝝ together (as it were in a lesfull matrimony, Experience by getting, and Remoꝝ alway producing that incomparable fruite, called Sapience) is, for that Remoꝝ in his operation properly succedeth experience for that, whiche is presently done, we perceyue, that whiche is to come, we conceite or dꝛyue: but that, whiche is passed, onely we haue in our memoꝝ. For as Aristotle declareth w^d delectfully in an example, In the princypall sense of Man, there is conceiued an image or figure of a thyng, whiche by the same sense is perceiued, as long as it is retained entire or holle, and as I mought saie, consolydate, pure, manifeste, or playne, and without blemyshe in suche wise, that in every parte of it, the minde is spred or occupied, and also by the same minde, it may be thoroughly perceiued and knowen, not as an image in it selfe, but as representinge an other thyng. This is properly Remoꝝ. But if the hole image or figure bee not retained in the mynde, but parte thereof onely remaineth, parte is put out, either by the length of time, or by some other myschance or miserie, so that it can neyther bynyge the minde eversoones vnto it, nor it can be called againe of the mynde, as often as by that position,

Aristotelis
de memoꝝ:
a et remi
scens,
lib.ii,

position, whiche stille remaineth, and hath aboden alwaie entire and cleare, the reme-
mber that was thereto hynpte and adioyned,
and late serued for the time deade or byrte
from the minde, is reuiued, and (as it were)
retourne home againe, it is than had for
renewed or restozed, and is properly called
Remembraunce.

¶ This is the expocicion of the noble phy-
losopher, whiche I haue written, princypally
to the entent to ornate our language, with v
syng wordes in theyr propre significacion.
Wherof, what commodities may ensue, all
wise men will (I doubt not) consider.

¶ What is the true significacion of vnder-
standyng. Cap. xxiii.

For as muche as in the beginning of the
synde boke of this worke, I endeuored
red my selfe to proue, that by the order
of mannes creation, preheminece in degree
shoulde be amonge men, accordyng as they
do excell in the pure influence of vnderstan-
dyng, whiche can not be denied to be the
pryncipall parte of the soule: somme reuer-
perchaunce, moued with disdeigne, will for
that one assertion, immediately reiecte this
worke, sayng: that I am of a corrupt or
lythe opinion, supposyng that I do entende
by the said wordes, that no man shulde gou-
ernere or be in auctorite, but only he, whiche
superiour.

firmamenteth all other in doctrine, whiche fit his harty malice he demereth, that I onely do meane, where I speake of vnderstandyng. ¶ I suppose all men do knowe, that man is made of body and soule, and that the soule in prehemence excellerth the body, as muche as the matter oz owner excellerth the house, oz the artificer excellerth his instrumentes, oz the kynge his subiectes. And therfore Salust in the conspiracy of Catiline saith: *De vs* specially the rule of the soule, and seruite of the body: the one we participate with goddes, the other with beastes. And Cullis saith: *Man's* soules, beyng decepte oz taken of the pozion of diuinitie called *Mens*, mai be compared with none o ther thig (if a ma mought lefully speake it) but with god him selfe.

¶ Also the noble diuine *Chrysostom's* saith: The bodye was made for the soule, and not the soule for the body. Nowe it is to be further knowen, that the soule is of thre partes: the one, wherein is the power oz efficacy of growyng, which is also in herbes, and trees, as well as in man, and that part is called vegetatife. In other part, wherein man dothe participate with all other thynge liuing, whiche is called sensitiue, by reason that therof the senses do procede, which be distributed into diuers instrumentall partes of the body, as sight into the eyes, heering to the eares, smelling to the nose, tastyng to the mouthes, felyng to euery part of the body wherein

Li. iul. qu. i.

Chrysostom. de reparatione lapsi.

wherin is bloude, withoute the whiche bnd doubtredly mai be no felyng. The thied part of the soule is named the parte intellectuall oz of vnderstandyng, whiche is of all the o ther moste noble, as wherby man is mooste lyk vnto god, & is preferred before all other creatures. For where other beastes by theyr senses do feele, what thyng do profite them, and what do the annoy thymonly man vnderstandeth, wherof the said contrarie dysposicions do come, and by what meanes they do either helpe oz annoy: also he perceiueth the causes of the same thyng, and knoweth howe to resyste, where and when nedd doth requyre, and with reason and craft howe to geue remedy: and also with laboure and industry, to prouide that thyng, whiche is holde some oz profitable. This moste pure part of the soule, and (as *Aristotelle* saith) diuine, impassible, and incorruptible, is named in latine, *Intellectus*, wher vnto I can finde no prople englyshe, but *Vnderstandyng*. For intelligenes, whiche cometh of *Intelligens* ita, is the perceyving of that, whiche is first conceiued by vnderstandyng, called *Intellectus*. Also intelligente is now vsed for an elegant woerde, where there is mutuall treatise oz appointmentes, either by letters oz message, specially concernyng warres, oz the other great affaires betwene princes oz noble men. Wherefore I will vse this woerde vnderstandyng, for *Intellectus*, vntill some

Pris. li. i. de anima.

Et other

other more proppie enghlythe woorde maie be
founden and brought in custome. But to
perceiue more plainly what thyng it is, that
I call vnderstanding, It is the principal part
of the soule, which is occupied about the be-
gynning of originall causes of thynges that
maie fall into mans knowlage: and his office
is, before that any thyng is attempted, to
thinke, consider, and p[re]sence, & after often
to vsing it byp[er]e and downe in the mynde, to
exercise that power: the proprietie wherof is
to espie, seeke for, enserche, and spunde oute:
whiche vertue is referred to w[is]d[om], whiche is
as it were the instrument of vnderstanding.
¶ Moreover, after the thinges be inuict[ed],
corrected, p[re]sented, and by longe time and
often considered, and that the mynde dispos-
seth h[im] selfe to execution of actual operaciō:
than the vertue, named P[ro]vidence, first put-
teth h[im] selfe forwarde, and than appereth
h[im] industry and labour, for as muche as he
teacheth, warneth exhorteth, ordereth, & p[ro]-
fiteth, lyke to a wyse capitaine, that setteth
his host in armarie. And therefore it is to be re-
membred, that the office of ductee of vnder-
standing, p[re]cedeth the enterprise of actes,
and is in the begynning of thynges. I call
that begynning, wherein before any matter
taken in hande, the mynde and thoughte is
occupied, and that a man seercheth and dou-
teth, whether it be to be enterprised, and by
what way, & in what time it is to be executed

Who

Who by this tytel introduction, knowing
what vnderstanding dothe signifie, will not
suppose, that he, whiche therein doth excel, is
not with honour to be abanaced? Than it
foloweth not by this argument, that for as
muche as he that excelleth other in vnder-
standing, shuld be preferred in honour, ther
foze no man shoulde be preferred to honour,
but onely they that excel other in learning. No
man hauing naturall reason, though he neuer
redde logyke, will iudge this to be a good ar-
gument, consideringe that vnderstanding,
called in latin Intellectus, and Mens, is by
it self sufficient, & is not of any necessite an-
nered to doctrine, but doctrine p[re]cedeth of
vnderstanding. But if doctrine be alwaie attē-
ding vpon vnderstanding, as the daughter
vpon the mother, vndoubtedly than vnder-
standing must be the more perfect, & of a more
efficacie, being increased by the inuencions and
experiences of many other declared by do-
ctrine, no one mā without inspiraciō haui-
ng knowlage of all thyng. I call Doctrine disci-
pline intellectuall, or learning, whiche is either
in writing or by report of thinges before
known, whiche p[re]cedeth from one man to
an other. That which I haue said, is in this
wise confirmed by Salomon, sayng: I mā
that is wise, by hearinge shall become wiser.
And he that hath vnderstanding, shall be a
gouernour, Demeca saith: We instructe our
chilidzen in liberal sciences, not because those

Ec. ii.

Scient. 9

Arist. ethi.
li. v. postea-
riorū. i. pos-
teriorū. li. i.

Prover. i.

sciences make give any vertue, because they prepare the mind, and make it apt to receive vertue. Whiche being considered, no man will deny, but that they be necessary to every man, that counteth here nobilitie, which as I haue often times said, is in the haupnge and use of vertue. And vncle in whom doctrine hath ben founden, ioined with vertue, these vertue hath semed excellent, and as I might saie triumphant.

¶ Scipio, commen of the most noble house of the Romaines, in hyghe learninge and knowlage of the nature of thinges wonderfull studious, hauinge alwaie with hym the most excellent Philosophers and poetes that were in his time, was an example and myrrour of marcell prowesse, continence, deuotion, liberalitee, and of all other vertues.

¶ Cato, called Vticenses, named the chiefe pillar of the publike weale of the Romains, was so muche inflamed in the desyre of learninge, that (as Suetonius writeth) he could not tempe him selfe in readinge greke booke whyles the Senate was sitting.

¶ How muche it profited to the noble Augustus, whiche vntill the deathe of his vncle Julius Cesar, diligently applyed his studie in Athens, it well appered after that the Cato warres were all finished: when he reforming the hole estate of the publike weale, stablished the Senate, and takinge vnto him ten honorable personages, daily in his own
person

person consulted with them of matters, to be reported twice in a moneth to the Senat, in suche wise aduyng and helping forth that mooste noble courte with his incomparable study and diligence.

¶ The emperor Titus, sonne to Vaspasian, for his learninge and vertue was named the delicate of the worlde.

¶ Marcus Antoninus, the emperor, was in every kinde of learninge so excellent, that he was therfoze openly named the philosopher, not in repproche (as menne doo nowe a daies in despyte call them philosophers and poetes, whom they perceiue studious in sundry good disciplines) but to the augmentation of his honour. For beinge of his owne nature aptly inclined to embrace vertue, he addinge to abundance of learninge, became thereby a wonderfull and perfecte pynce, beinge neither of studie withdrawn frome affaires of the publike weale, nor by any busynes utterly plucked frome philosophye, and other noble doctrines. By the whiche mutuall coniunction and iuste temperance of those two studies, he attained to suche a fourme in all his gouernance, that he was named & taken for father of the Senat, of the people, & vniuersally of all the hole empire.

¶ Moreover, his dedes and wordes were of all men hadde in so hyghe estimation and reuerence, that bothe the Senate and people toke of him lawes and rules of theyr liuyng.

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And in his gouernāce and pꝛoꝛe liuing, as well at home in his hous, as in his ciuile busines, he was to him selfe the only lawe and example. And as he was aboute other highēt in auctozitee, so by the vniuersal opinion of all men he was iudged to be of al other men, than hꝛing, the beste and also the wisest.

Of Experience whiche haue pꝛeceded our tyme, with a defence of Historiōs. Cap. xxiij.

EXPERIENCE, wherof commeth wysedome, is in two maner of wyse: The one is actes committed or done by other menne, wherof profitte or damage succedynge, we maye (in knowynge or beholdynge it) be thereby instructed to apprehende the thing, which to the publicke weale, or to our owne personnes, maye be commodious: and to excheue that thynge, whiche either in the begynninge, or in the conclusion appereth noysome and viciōus. The knowlage of this Experience is called Example, and is expressed by historiō, whiche of Calli is called the lyfe of memoꝛie. And so it agreeth well with the verses of Afrani⁹, by me late declared. And therfoꝛe to suche persons, as doo contempne auncient historiōs, reputyng them amonge leafynge and fantasties (these be theyꝝ wordes of reproche) it maye be said, that they frustrate Experiences whiche

Citus I.
citus in
pꝛoemio.
ii.

Historiōs
wherfoꝛe
they be cō-
mendable.

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whiche (as the said Calli saith) is the light of vertue, whiche they wolde be lene so much to fauour, although they do selhom embrace it. And that shall they perceiue manifestly if they will a litle while lay apart theyꝝ accustomed obstinacie, & suffer to be distilled in to their eares two or thre dropes of the sweet oyle of remembꝛaunce.

Let them reuolue in theyꝝ myndes generally, that there is no doctryne, be it eyther diuine or humane, that is not eyther all expressed in historiō, or at the lest myxt with historiō. Was to the intent that there shalbe leste none ignorance, wherby they might be detained in theyꝝ errour, I will nowe declare vnto them what it is, that is called an historiō, and what it comprehendeth.

First it is to be noted, that it is a grecke name, & cometh of a word or verbe in Greke Historo, whiche doth signifie, to knowe, to se, to enterche, to enquire, to here, to lerne, to tell, or expounde vnto other. And than must historiō, whiche commeth therof, be wonderfull profitable, whiche leaureth nothyng hꝛd frome mannes knowlage, that vnto hym maye be eyther pleasaunt or necessary. For it not only repoꝛteth the gesses or actes of pꝛinces or capitaines, theyꝝ counsailes and attemperates, enterpyses, affayres, maners in liuing good and bad, descriptions of regions and ciities with theyꝝ inhabitantes: but also it byngenthy to our knowlage, the fomyes of

Historiō
what it si-
gnifieth.

Ec. iiii. sundy

sunby publyke woales, with theyz augmen-
tations and decraies, and occasion therof.

Whosoeuer preceptes, exhortacions, counsailes, and good persuasions, comprehended in quicke sentences and eloquent oracions. Finally so large is the compasse of that, whiche is named historie, that it comprehendeth all thynge that is necessary to be put in memory.

In so muche as Aristotelle, where he declarerth the partes of mannes bodye, with thoz description and offices, and also the sundry soumes & dispositions of all beastes, fowles, and fishes, with theyz generaciō, nameth his booke an historie. Semblably Theophrastus his scholar, a noble philosopher, descriuynge all herbes and trees, wherof he mought haue the trewe knowlage, intitlith his booke,

The historie of plantes. And finally Pliny the elder, calleth his most excellent and wonderfull wozke, the historie of nature: in the whiche booke he nothyng omitteth, that in the bosome of Nature is cōtained, and maye be by mannes wyrtie comprehended, and is woorthy to be had in remembrance. Whiche autowrittes of these thye noble and excellent learned men, appoynteth the significacion of Historie, to agree well with the exposition of the verbe Historio, wherof it cometh.

¶ Howe letteth vs se what booke of holy scriptures, I meane the olde testamente and the newe, maye be saied, to haue no parte of historie. The five bookes of Moyse, the booke of

of Judges, the foure bookes of Kinges, Job, Psester, Iudith, Ruth, Tobias, And also the historie of Adrahables (whiche from the other is separate) I suppose no man will deny, but that they be all historical: or (as I mought saie) entyre histories. Also Esdras, Remias, Ezechiel, and Daniell, although they were prophetes: yet be theyz wozkes cōpacte in foure of narraciōs, whiche by oza toze be called emunctariue, & only pertaineth to histories, wherin is expressed a thynge done, and persons named. All the other prophetes, though they speake of the tyme future or to come, whiche is out of the description of an historie, yet eather in rebukynge the synnes and enormities passed, or bewailynge the destruction of theyz countrey, or captiuitie of the people, and such like calamities or miserable estate, also in meryng or persuading the people, they do recite some circumstance of a narration.

¶ But now we be come to the newe testamente, and principally the bookes of the Euangelistes, vulgarly called the gospels, whiche be one context of an historie: do not they conteyne the temporall lyfe of our saviour Christe, byng of kynge, and lord of the worlde, vntyll his glorious ascension? And what thynge lacketh therein, that doth perswade to a perfect historie? There lacketh not in thinges, ordye and disposition, in the context of narraciō, verities, in the sentences

Lc. v. grauites,

gratitice, vtiles in the counsailes, in the perswasions doctrine, in expositions of declarations facilitie. The booke of actes of apostles, what thynge is it elles but a plaine history: The epistles of saint Paul, saint Peter, saint Iohn, saint James, and Iudas, the apostles, doo conteyne counsailes and aduertisements in the forme of oracions, reciting diuers places as well out of the old testamēt, as out of the gospels, as if were an abbreuiate, called of the grekes & latines *Epitoma*. This is well knowe to be true, of them that haue had anye leasure to reade holy scripture: who remembryng the selues by this myttel inuention, will leaue to us gleeke histories, or contempne it with so general a dyspaise as they haue ben accustomed.

But yet some will impugne them with a moze particuler obiection, sayng: The histories of the Grekes and Romanes be nothing but lyes, and feigning of poetes: some suche persons there be, betwene whom and good auctors hath ever ben perpetual hostilitie. Spite how do they knowe, that all the histories of Grekes and Romanes be leasurges, sens they fynde not, that any scripture authentike, made about that tyme that those histories were writen, doo reprove or contempne them? But the moste catholyke and renowned doctours of Christs religiō, in the corroboraciō of their argumentes and sentences doo allege the same histories, and
 youthe

youthe (as I mought saie) to their aide the auctoritie of the writers. And yet some of those Rabines (in goddes name) whiche in comparisō of the sated noble doctours, be as who sathe petites, and vnnerth letters: will perswade, with theyr owne selfe writtes, to dysproue that, which both by auncientie of tyme, & consent of blessed and noble doctours is allowed, and by theyr woordes honoured.

If they will conterte histories to be lyes, because that sometime make repute of thinges sene, and actes done, whiche do seme to the reders incredible: by the same reason may that not onelye condemne all holy scripture, whiche containeth thinges moze wonderful, than any historian wytereth, but also exclude creditulite vtterly from the company of mā? For how many thinges be daily sene, which beynge reposed vnto hym that neuer sawe them, shulde seme impossible?

And if they will allege, that all thing contained in holy scripture, is approbat by the hole consente of all the clergie of Christens dome: at diuers general counsailes assembled, Certes the same counsailes neuer dysproued or reiected the histories of grekes or Romanes, but the moste catholyke and excellent learned men of those congregacions, embraced their examplis, and soewing them in their woordes, made of the to the church of Christ a necessaie ornament. Admytte, that some histories be interlaced with leasurges: why
 shoulde

shoude we therfore neglecte them? Sens the
affaires there reported, nothinge concei-
neth vs, we beinge thereof no parteners, ne
therby onely maie receive any damage. But
if by readinge the sage counsaile of Nestor,
the subtil perswasions of Ulysses, the com-
pendious graunter of Democles, the imperi-
all maiestee of Agamemnon, the piouesse
of Achilles, and valiant courage of Hector,
we maie apprehende any thinge, whereby our
wittes maie be amended, & our personages
be moze apte to serue our publike weale and
our payntee: what fozeeth it be, though I ha-
uere wyite leaſynges?

¶ I suppose no man thynketh, that Elope
wrote goſpels: yet who doubteth, but that in
his fables, the foxe, the hare, and the wolfe,
though they neuer spake, dooe teache many
good wisdomes? whiche beinge well con-
ſydered, menue (if they haue not allowed to
repyne agaynst reason) shall confesse with
Quintilian, that fewe, and bnech one maie
be founde of auncient wyters, whiche shall
not bringe to the reders some thinge commo-
dious: And specially they that do wyite ma-
ters hystorical, the lesson wherof is as if wee
the myrrour of mans life, expyſſing actually
and (as it were at the eye) the beautee of
vertue, and the deformities and torhelynes of
vice. Wherefoze Lactantius saithe: Thou
maist nedes perſeue, if thou knowe not, what
is to the life profitable, that thou maist seche
for it:

for it: and what is dangerous, that thou
maist flee and eschue it. Whiche I dare as-
ſerme may come sonck to passe by the reding
of hystories, and retaininge them in continual
remembraunce.

¶ The Experience of practiſe necessarie in
the person of a gouernour of a pu-
blye weale. Cap. xxv.

The other experience, whiche is in our
proppr persons, and is of some men
called practiſe, is no smal moment of
efficacie in the acquringe of Sapience: in so
muche that it seemeth, that no operation of
affaire maie be perfecte, nor no science of art
complete, except experience be there vnto ad-
ded, whereby knowlage is ratified, and (as
I mought saie) consolidate.

¶ It is wyiten, that the greates kyngge Ale-
xander, on a time beinge (as it hapned) vns-
occupied, came to the shop of Apelles, the ex-
cellent painter, and standyng by him, whyles
he painted, reasoned with him of lines, adu-
bations, propoſitions, & other lyke thinges
perteynyng to imagerie, whiche the paintee
a littell whyles sufferyng, at the last saied to
the kyng, with countenance al ſmiling: Seekest
thou noble pynce, how the hope, that geyn-
deth my colours, dothe laughe the to scoyne?
whiche wordes the kyng toke in good parte,
and helde him therewith iustely corrected con-
ſideryng

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sidering by his owne office in martiall affaires, that he than had in hande, howe great a portio of knowlage saileth, where lacketh experience. And therein gouernours shall not disclaime to bee resembled vnto phisicians, considering their offices in curing and preseruing, be most lyke of any other.

¶ That parte of phisike, called Racionall, whereby is declared the facultes or powers of the body, the causes, accidentes, and tokens of sicknesses, can not alwayes be sure, without some experience in the temperaturre or disemperaturre of the regions, in the disposition of the patient, in diete, concoction, quietnesse, exercise, and sleepe. And Galene, prince of phisition, exhorteth them, to know exactly the accustomed diete of theyr patientes, whiche can not hapen withoute muche resort into theyr companies, seriously notig theyr vsage in dyete. Semblably the vniuersall state of a countrey or citee, maie be well likened to the body of man. Wherefore the gouernours, in the seeke of phisitions, attending on theyr cure, ought to know the causes of the decaye of theyr publike weale, whiche is the healtie of theyr countrey or citee, and than with expedition to procede to the most speedy and sure remedy. But ceases the veritate cause of decaye, ne the trewe meane to cure it, maie neuer be sufficiently known of gouernours, excepte theyr them selues will personally resorte and peruse all partes

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partes of the countreys, vnder theyr gouernance, & inserche diligently, as well what bee the customes & maners of people good & bad, as also the comodities and discōmodities: how the one maie be preserued, the other suppressed, or at the least waies amended.

¶ Also among them that haue ministracion or execution of Justice (whiche I maie lyken vnto the membris) to take and sele, how euery of them do practyse theyr offices, that is to saie, whether they do it feebly or vnpromysably, and whether it happē by negligence, discouragement, corruption, or affection.

¶ But nowe maie the reader with good reason demaunde of me, by what maner experience, the gouernours maie come to the true knowlage hereof. That shall I now declare.

¶ Firste the gouernours them selues, adorned with vertue, being in suche wyse an example of liuing to their inferiours, and makinge the people iudges of them and theyr domestricall seruantes and adherentes, shuld sundry times during theyr gouernance, es their purpose, or by waite of solace, repayre into dyuers partes of theyr iurisdiction or prouince, & makinge theyr abode, shall partly the selues attentively here, what is comonly or priuately spoken, concerning the estate of the countrey or persons, partly shall cause their seruantes or frendes, of whose honestie and truth they haue good assurance, to resorte, in disposing them selues in dyuers townes

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townes and villages, and as they happen to be in company with the inhabitants, ppytily and with some manner of circumstance, enquire, what men of honour dwelle neygh unto the, what is the forme of theyr living, of what estimation they be in iustice, liberallitee, diligence in executing the lawes, and of other semblable vertues. Contrarywise, whether they bee oppyressours, covetous menne, maintainours of offendours, remisse or negligent, if they be officers. And what the examiners do here the greater nountbe of people reporte, that they entirely and truly denounce it to the saied governour: by the which intimatio, and their owne prudent endevours, they shall have infallible knowlage, who amonge the inhabitants bee men towarde the public weale best disposed. The which they call for, and mooste courttesely entertaine, and (as it were) lovingly embrace, with thanks for their good will and endevours towarde the publicke weale, commending them openly for theyr vertue and diligence: offering to them their assistance in their semblable doynge, & also theyr furtherance toward the due recedence of theyr travails.

¶ On the contrary part, when they see any of them, who amonge their inferiours, observe not Justice, and lyke wyse officers, whiche be remisse, or favourable to common offendours and breakers of lawes, and negligent in the execution of theyr auctorities, to

them

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them shall they give condigne reprehensions, manifesting their defaults, in omitting their duties, and in giving evil example to their companions, also boldnes to transgresse & to contene the lawes. Declaring also, that they ministerig such occasiō, deserue not only a sharp rebuke, but also right greuous punishment.

¶ And if he, that thus admonished, be a soveraigne governour, or prince, & mostly here he doth ratifie his wordes, by expelling some of the, which I now reherced, from their offices, or otherwise sharply correcting them, and contrarywise advauncyng higher some good man, and whome he hath proved to be diligent in the execution of Justice, undoubtedly he shall inflame the appetite and zeale of good ministers, & also suscite or reeke the courage of al men, inclined to vertue, so, that these shall never lacke me apt and propice to be set in auctoritee. Where the merites of me be hid and unknown to .he soveraigne governour, and the negligent ministers or inferiour governours have not only equal thake or reward but perchance muche more than they, which be diligent, or would be, if they mought have assistance, there undoubtedly is greuous discouragement, & perill of conscience: forasmuche as they omitte oftentimes theyr duties and offices, reputig it great folly and madnes, to acquire by the executing of Justice, not only an opinion of tirany among the people, & consequently hatred, but also malignitee among his equals & superiours, with a note of ambiciō

DD

Eph

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This revolved and considered by a chiefe simplicitie governour, loyde god, how shortly, and with howe little difficultie, shall he dispense the publike weale that is greued, to recieve medicine, whereby it shalbe be some healed and reduced to his perfection.

Of detraction, and the image thereof made by the printer Apelles. Cap. xxxvi.

There is muche conuersaunt amonge men in auctoritie a vice very vgly and monstrous, who vnder the pleasant habite of friendship and good consaite, with a breath pestilentiall infecteth the wyettes of them that nothing mistrusteth. This mother is called in englishe Detraction, in latin Calūnia, whose propertie I will now declare. **I**f a mā, be determined to equitee hauing the eien and eares of his minde, set onely on the truth, and the publike weale of his countrey, wil haue no regard to any request or desire, but proceedeth directly in the administration of iustice, either he, whiche by iustice is offended, or some his fauourers, abettours, or adherentes, if he him selfe, or any of them be in seruise or familiaritee with him that is in auctoritie, as sone as by any occasiō, mediō hapneth to be made of him, who hath executed iustice exactly, forthwith thei imagin some vice or default, be it neuer so ittel, whereby thei make minishe his credence, and crafs

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ly omitting to speake any thynge of his reproche in Justice, will note and touche some thing of his manners, wherein shal either seeme to be lightnes, or lacke of grauitie, or to muche loyernes or lacke of fauillitee: or that he is not beneuolēt to him in auctoritie, or that he is not sufficient to recieve any dignitie, or to dispatche matters of weightie importāce: or that he is superfluous in wordes, or tolo scarce. Also if he liue temperately, and delecteth muche in studie, thei embraied him with nygardship, or in derisiō, call him a clerke or a poete, vnnete for any other purpose. And thus do thei covertly and with a moze grauitie, thā any other thing that thei enterpryse.

This euill report, called Detraction, was wonderfully well expessed in figures, by the most noble penynter Apelles. After he was discharged of the crime, wherof he was falsely accused to Ptholomee, king of Egypt, hauing for his amēdes of the said king, xi. M. pounds sterling, and his accuser to his bond man perpetually, the table, wherein detraction was expessed, he painted in this fourme.

At the right hande was made, kitting a man, hauing longe eares, putting forth his hande to Detraction, who sarre of came towards him. About this man stode two women, that is to saie, ignorance, and suspiciō, On the other side came Detraction, a woman about measure wel trimmed, all chaunced and angry, hauing hir aspecte of loke like to

The image
of detraction.

Do it
the



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the fyre, in Drawing a maner of rage of fury: In his left hande, she helde a burninge toyche or tynde, & with his other hand, she drew by the hear of his head, a yong mā, who held vp his handes toward heuen, calling god & the sayntes for witness: with his came a man pale, and euyl favoured, beholding the yong man intently, like vnto one that had ben with long sickness consumed, who he mought lightly coniecte, to be enuy. Also there folowed two other women, that tymmed and aparapled Detraction, the one was Cretche, the other Feaude. After folowed a woman, in a mourninge weede, blacke & ragged, and she was called Repentance, who tourninge hir backe, wepyng and sooze ashamed, behelde Vertice, who than approached.

In this wise Apelles described Detraction, by whome he him selfe was in peryll. Which in mine opinion is a right necessary matter to be in tables of hanginges, set in euery mans hous that is in auctozitee, considering what damage and losse hath ensued, and may hereafter ensue, by this horrible pestilence, false Detraction, to the auoydinge whereof, Luciane, who writeth of this picture, giveth a notable counsaile, saying,

If a wyse man, when he doubteth of the honestie and vertue of the persō accused, shuld kepe close his eares, and not open them hastily to them, whiche bee with this spechness infected, and put Beson for a diligent portee and watche, which ought to examine and let

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in the reportes that bee good, and exclude & prohibite them that be contrary. For it is a thinge to laughe at, and verie vsuising, to ordeine for thy house a keeper of portee: and so leaue thine eares and mind to alme wids open. Wherefore, when any person cometh to vs, to tel vs any report or complaint: first it shall behoue vs thoghely and euently to consider the thing, not hauing respect to the pces of him that reporteth, or to his forme of liuing, or wisdom in speaking. For the moze vchement the reporter is in persuading, the moze diligent and exacte trial and examination ought to be vsed. Therefore trust is not to be geuen to an other mans iudgment, muche lesse to the malice of an accuser. But euery mā shal retaine to him selfe the power, to enserche out the truth, and leuing the enuy or displeasur to the detractour, shal ponder or wate the matter indifferently, that euery thing, in suche wise being curiously inserched and proued, he maie at his pleasure either loue or hate hym, whom he hath so substantially tried. For in good faith, to geue place to detraction at the begynnyng, is a thing childlike and base, and to be feared amonge the moste great inconueniences and mischeifes. These be well vprgh the wordes of Luciane: whether the counsaile be good, I exempt it to the wyse readers. Of one thing I am sure, that by Detraction, as well many good wyttes haue bene drowned, as also vertue and painfull study vntewarded, and

Dd iii maie

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manye 3:latours oꝝ fauouers of the publike weale, haue ben discouraged.

Of consultacion and counsaile, and in what forme they ought to be vsed in a publicke weale. Cap. xxvii.

The grieke oꝝ diseases, whiche of Aristotles, be called the diseases of the publicke weale, being inuestigate, examined, and tried by the experie before expressed, thā cometh the time and oportunitie of consultacion: wherby, as I said, is provided the remedies moſte necessarie foꝝ the healing of the said grekes, oꝝ reparacio of detraits

Consultacion.

This thing that is called Consultacion, is the general denominacio of the act, wherin men do deuise together, and reason, what is to be done. Counsaile is the sentence oꝝ aduise particularly geue by euery man foꝝ that purpose assembled. Consultacio hath respect to the time future oꝝ to come, that is to saie, the end oꝝ purpose thereof is adressed to some act oꝝ affaire, to be practised after their consultacion. And yet be not all other times excluded, but first the state of thinges present, ought to be examined, the power, assistance, and substance to be esteemed, scilicet thinges passed, with much & long deliberacio, to be resolued & tossed in the minde, and to be offered with them that be present, & beinge exactly waied the one against the other, thā to inuestigate oꝝ enquire requisitly, the forme

and

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and reason of the affaire, and in that study to be resolued so effectually, that they which be constantours, maie beare with them out of the counsaile house, as it were on their shulders, not onely what is to be solowed and exploited, but also by what meanes oꝝ waies it shalbe pursued, and howe the affayre maie be hondirable, also what is expedient and of necessitee, and howe muche is needfull, and what space and length of tyme, and finally howe the enterpryse, beinge achieved & brought to effect, maie be kept and retained. Foꝝ ofte times, after exploitures hapneth occasions, either by assaults, oꝝ other incumbrances of enemies, oꝝ of too muche trust in fortunes assistance, oꝝ by disobedience oꝝ presumption of some persons, whom the thing toucheth, thas this last part of Consultacion is omitted, oꝝ moie rather neglected: where much study traueil, & cost haue vtterly perished, not onely to the great detrimēt of infinite persons, but also to the subuerſio of most noble publicke weales.

However, it is to be diligently noted, that euery counsell is to be approued by thre thinges principally, that it be ryghtwise, that it be good, & that it stande with honestie. That whiche is ryghtwise, is brought in by reason. Foꝝ nothing is ryght, that is not ordered by reason. Goodnesse cometh of vertue, of vertue & reason proceedeth honestie. wherfoze counsaile, beinge compact of these thre, maie be named a perfecte Capitaine, a trustie companyon, a playne and vnspayed frenche.

*Counsaile
proued by
iii. thinges.*

Id iii Ther

Considerations of counsaile.

Counsaillers
of all
kinds.
Counsaillers
many.

Consider that in every thinge, concerning a publike weale, no good counsaillour be omitted or passed over, but that his reasons therein, be heard to an ende. I call him a good counsaillour, which (as Cesar saith) in the contrivacion of Catalyne, whyles he consulted in doubtful matters, is void of all hate, frendshipp, displeasure, or pitee. Howe necessary to a publike weale it shall be, to have in anye wise, mens opinions declared, it is manifest to them, that do remember, that in many heades be divers maners of wyttes, some inclined to sharpnes and rigour, many to pitee & compassion, divers to atterpance and meane betwene bothe extremities, some have respect to tranquillitee only, other more to welthe and commoditie, divers to muche renoume and estimacion in honoz. There be, that will speake all theyr mynde sodenly, and perchance ryght well. Divers require to haire respects and study, wherein is muche more surte, many will speake warily, for feare of displeasure, some more bolde in veritie, will not spare, to shewe theyr myndes plainly, divers will assent to that reasons wherwith they suppose, that he, whiche is chosen in auctoritee, will be best pleased. These undoubtedly be the diversities of wyttes, And moreover, where there is a great nombre of counsaillours, they all being heard, needes must the counsaile be the more perfect. For sometime perchance one of them, which

in doctryne, wytt, or experience is in least estimation, maie hap to expresse some sentence more available to the purpose, wherein they consulted, than any that before came to the others remembrance. No one man is of suche perfection, that he can haue in an instant remembrance of all thinge. Whiche I suppose was considered by Romulus, the first kynge of Romanes, in the first constitution of theyr publike weale. For hauing of his owne people but the thousand fote me, and the hundred horsemen, he chose of the eldest and wisest of them all, one hundred counsaillours. But to the more asseccion of dyvers mens sentences, I will declare a notable experience, whiche I late hapned to reade. Helinger Balsasine, a ma of great wit, singular learning, & excellent wisdom (who was one of the counsaillours to Ferdinando, kynge of Fregon) when any thing doubtful, or weightie matter was consulted of, where he was present, after ward when he had souped at home in his house, he wolde call before him all his seruantes, & merely purposing to them some signeid question or fable, wherein was as craftely hid, the matter, whiche remained doubtfull, woulde merely demaunde of everye man his particuler opinion, and getting good care to theyr iudgements, wolde conferre togyther every mans sentence, and with good deliberacion pondering their vail, he at the last perceiued, whiche was the

Dionis,
Halicarnas-
sus.

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truft and moft apt to his purpose: and being in this wyse furnished, translating iaspes and thinges feigned to matter serious & true, he among the kynges counsaillers, in getting good and substantiall aduys, had a way preeminente. How much comoditie that suppose he mought be taken of the sentences of many wyse and experie counsaillers. And lyke as Calchas, as Homer writeth, knewe by diuination thynges present, thynges to come, and them that were passed, so counsaillers garnished with learning, and also experie, shall thereby consider, the places, tymes, and personages, examining the state of the matter, than pryctised, and expending the power, assistance, and substance, also resoluing longe and ostentimies in theyr myndes, thinges that be passed, and conferringe them to the matters that be than in experie, studiously do seke out the reason and maner, howe that, whiche is by them appoyued, maie be brought to effect. And suche mens reasons wolde be throughly hearde, and at length: for the wyse that a man is, in earlyng his welehome increase, his reason is more liuely, and quicke sentence aboundeth. And to the more parte of menne, when they be chaunged in reasoning, argumentes, solitions, examplis, similitudes, and experimenes dose recourse, and (as it were) slowe vnto theyr remembrance,

The

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The seconde consideration to be had in consultation. Cap. xxi.

The seconde consideration is, that the generall and vniuersall estate of the publike weale, wolde be preferred in consultation, before any particular comoditie: and the profite of domage, whiche maie happen within our owne countreies, wolde be more considjed, than that, whiche maie happē from other regions: which to helpe, commune reason and experie leadeth vs. For who commendeth those gardiners, that will put all their diligence in trimmyng of keeprage delicately one knotte of bedde of herbes, sufferinge all the remanent of theyr gardene to be subuerted with a great number of molles, and to attende at no tyme for the takinge and destroying of them, vntill the herbes, wherein they haue employed all theyr laboure, be also touned vp and perished, and the molles increased in so infinite numbers, that no industry of labour, maie suffice to consume them: whereby the laboure is frustrate, and all the gardene made vniprofitable, and also vniplacant. In this similitude to the gardene maie be resembled the publike weale, to the gardyners, the gouernours and counsaillers, to the knottes of beddes, sundry degrees of personages, to the molles, vices and sundry enormities. Wherefore the consultation is but of a small effecte.

Generall thinges be fore particular.

Homerus
liad. p. 11.

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El. of M. l.

efferte, when the vniuersal estate of the pit
blyke weale doth not occupie the moze parte
of the ryme, and in that generallie euery par
ticular estate, be not diligently ordered. For
as Cullit saith: That that consulte for parte
of the peoplr, and neglecte the residue, they
bying into the citee or countrey a thing most
pernicious, that is to saie, sedicion and dis
cord. Where of it hapned, that some will seme
to fauour the multitude, other be inclined to
leane to the beste fozte, fewe do studie for all
vniuersally. Whiche hath bene the cause,
that not onely Athens (whiche Cullit dothe
name) but also the Citee a cemptre of Rome,
with diuers other citees and realmes, haue
decayed and ben finally broughte in extreme
desolation.

Plato in
achete.

¶ Also Plato, in his booke of Fortitude,
saith in the person of Socrates: When so
euer a man sekerthe a thng, for cause of an
other thng, the consultation oughte to be
alwaie of that thng, for whose cause the
other thng is sought for, and not of that,
whiche is soughte for because of the other
thng. And surely, wise menne do consider,
that damage often times hapneth, by abus
ing the due forme of consultation: men
like euill Physicians, seing for medicines,
ee they perfectly knowe the sicknesses: and
as euill marchantes do vtter fynde the wa
res and commodities of strangers, whyles
stranges be robbing of theyr owne coffers.
¶ Therfoze

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¶ Therfoze these thinges, that I haue res
hered, concerning consultation, ought to be
of all men in auctoritie substantiallyly ponder
ed and most diligently obserued, if they in
tende to bee to theyr publike weale profita
ble: for the whiche purpose onely, they be cal
led to be gouernours.

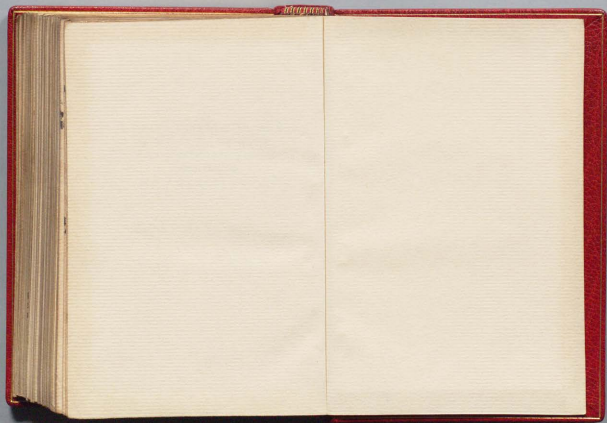
¶ And thus I conclude, to write any moze
of consultation, which is the last part of mo
rall sapience, and the begynninge of sappy
ence politike.

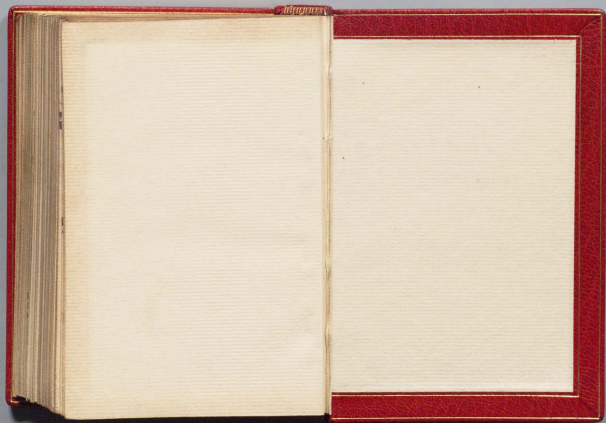
¶ Nowe all ye readers, that desyre to haue
your children to be gouernours, or in any o
ther auctoritie in the publike weale of your
countrey, if ye bying them by, instruct them
in suche forme, as in this boke is declared,
they shall than seme to all men, worthy to be
in auctoritie, honour, and noblenes. And all
that is vnder theyr gouernance shall pros
per and come to perfection, and as a
precious stone in a riche ouche, they
shalbe beholden and wonderd at,
and after the death of their bo
dy, their soules for theyr en
deuour, shalbe incompar
ably rewarded of the
geuer of wisdomes,
to whome onely be
geuen eternall
glozy Amen.

FINIS.

LONDINI in ædibus Thomæ Bers
theletitypis impress.
Cum privilegio ad imprimens
dum solum.
ANNO. M. D. XLVI.









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