

Renascence Editions

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The Boke named The Governour

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Sir Thomas Elyot

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The Boke named The Governour

Devised by Sir Thomas Elyot, Knight

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**The Proheme of Thomas Elyot, knyghte, unto the most noble
and
victorious prince kinge Henry the eyght, kyng of Englande
and Fraunce,
defender, of the true faythe, and lorde of Irelande.**



LATE consideringe (moste excellent prince and myne onely redoughted soueraigne lorde) my duetie that I owe to my naturall contray with my faythe also of aliegeaunce and othe, wherewith I am double bounden unto your maiestie, more ouer thaccompt that I haue to rendre for that one litle talent deliuered to me to employe (as I suppose) to the increase of vertue, I am (as god iuge me) violently stered to deuulgate or sette fourth some part of my studie, trustyng therby tacquite me of my dueties to god, your hyghnesse, and this my contray. Wherfore takinge comfort and boldenesse, partly of your graces moste beneuolent inclination towarde the uniuersall weale of your subiectes, partly inflamed with zeale, I haue nowe enterprised to describe in our vulgare tunge the fourme of a iuste publike weale: whiche mater I haue gathered as well moste noble autours (grekes and latynes) as by myne owne experience, I beinge continually trayned in some dayly affaires of the publike weale of this your moste noble realme all mooste from my chylhdhode. Whiche attemptate is nat of presumption to teache any persone, I my

selfe hauinge moste nede of teachinge: but only to the intent that men which which wil be studious about the weale publike may fynde the thinge therto expedient compendiously writen. And for as moch as this present boke treateth of the education of them that hereafter may be demed worthy to be gouernours of the publike weale under your hyghnesse (whiche Plato affirmeth to be the firste and chiefe parte of a publyke weale; Salomon sayenge also where gouernours be nat the people shall falle in to ruyne), I therfore haue named it The Governour, and do nowe dedicate it unto your hyghnesse as the fyrste frutes of my studye, verely trustynge that your moste excellent wysedome wyll therein esteme my loyall harte and diligent endeouour by the example of Artaxerxes, the noble kynge of Persia, who rejected nat the pore husbandman whiche offred to hym his homely handes full of clene water, but mooste graciously receyued it with thankes, estemyng the present nat after the value but rather to the wyll of the gyuer. Semblably kynge Alexander retayned with hym the poete Cherilus honorably for writing his historie, all though that the poete was but of a small estimation. Whiche that prynce dyd not for lacke of iugement, he beyng of excellent lernynge as disciple to Aristotell, but to thentent that his liberalite emploied on Cherilus shulde animate or gyue courage to others moche better terned to contende with hym in a semblable enterpryse.

And if, moste vertuous prince, I may perceyue your hyghnes to be herewith pleased, I shall sone after (god giuing me quietenes) present your grace with the residue of my studie and labours, wherein your hyghnes shal well perceiue that I nothing esteme so moche in this worlde as youre royall astate, (my most dere soueraigne lorde), and the publike weale of my contray. Protestinge unto your excellent maiestie that where I commende herin any one vertue or dispraise any one vice I meane the generall description of thone and thother without any other particuler meanyng to the reproche of any one persone. To the whiche protestation I am nowe dryuen throughe the malignite of this present tyme all disposed to malicious detraction. Wherefore I mooste humbly beseche your hyghnes to dayne to be patrone and defendour of this little warke agayne the assaultes of maligne interpretours whiche fayle nat to rente and deface the renoume of wryters, they them selves beinge in nothings to the publike weale

profitable. Whiche is by no man sooner perceyued than by your highnes, beinge bothe in wysedome and very nobilitie equall to the most excellent princes, whome, I beseche god, ye may surmount in longe life and perfect felicitie Amen.

THE FIRSTE BOKE

I. The significacion of a Publike Weale, and why it is called in latin Respublica.



PUBLIKE weale is in sondry wyse defined by philosophers, but knowyng by experience that the often repetition of anything of graue or sad importance wyll be tedious to the reders of this warke, who perchance for the more part haue nat ben trayned in lerning contaynyng semblable matter: I haue compiled one definition out of many, in as compendious fourme, as my poure witte can deuise: trustyng that in those fewe wordes the trewe significacion of a publike weale shall euidently at) ere, to them whom reason can satisfie.

A publik weale is a body lyuyng, compacte or made of sondry astates and degrees of men, whiche is disposed by the ordre of equite and gouerned by the rule and moderation of reason. In the latin tonge it is called Respublica, of the whiche the worde Res hath diuers significacions, and dothe nat only betoken that, that is called a thyng, whiche is distincte from a persone, but also signifieth astate, condition, substance, and profite. In our olde vulgare, profite is called weale. And it is called a welthy contraye wherin is all thyng that is profitable. And he is a welthy man that is riche in money and substance. Publike (as Varro saith) is diriuied of people, whiche in latin is called Populus, wherfore hit semeth that men haue ben longe abused in calling Rempublieam a commune weale. And they which do suppose it so to be called for that, that euery thinge shulde be to all men in commune without discrepance of any astate or condition, be thereto moued nore by sensualite than by any good reason or inclination to humanite.

And that shall sone appere unto them that wyll be satisfied either with autorite or with naturall ordre and example. Fyrst, the propre and trewe signification of the wordes publike and commune, whiche be borrowed of the latin tonge for the insufficiencie of our owne langage, shal sufficiently declare the blyndenes of them whiche haue hitherto holden and maynteyned the sayde opinions. As I haue sayde, publike toke his begynnyng of people: whiche in latin is Populus, in whiche worde is conteyned all the inhabitantes of a realme or citie, of what astate condition so euer they be.

Plebs in englisse is called the communalte, which signifieth only the multitude, wherin be contayned the base and vulgare inhabitantes not auanced to any honour or dignite, whiche is also used in our dayly communication - for in the citie of London and other cities they that be none aldermen or sheriffes be called comuners: And in the countrey, at a cessions or other assembly, if no gentyl men be there at, the sayenge is that there was none but the communalte, whiche proueth in myn oppinion that Plebs in latin is in englisse communalte: and Plebeii be comuners. And consequently there may appere lyke diuersitie to be in englisse betwene a publike weale and a commune weale, as shulde be in latin betwene Res publica and Res plebeia. And after that signification, if there shuld be a commune weale, either the comuners only must be welthy, and the gentil and noble men nedy and miserable, orels excluding gentelite, al men must be of one degre and sort, and a new name prouided. For as moche as Plebs in latin, and comuners in englisse, be wordes only made for the discrepance of degrees, wherof procedeth ordre: whiche in thinges as wel naturall as supernaturall hath euer had suche a preeminence, that therby the incomprehensible maiestie of god, as it were by a bright leme of a torche or candel, is declared to the blynde inhabitantes of this worlde. More ouer take away ordre from all thynges what shulde than remayne? Certes nothyng finally, except some man wolde imagine eftsones Chaos: whiche of some is expounde a confuse mixture. Also where there is any lacke of ordre nedes must be perpetuall conflicte: and in thynges subiecte to Nature nothyng of hym selfe onely may be norished; but whan he hath destroyed that where with he dothe participate by the ordre of his creation, he hym selfe of necessite muste than perisse, wherof

ensueth the uniuersall dissolution.

But nowe to proue, by example of those thynges that be within the compasse of mannes knowlege, of what estimation ordre is, nat onely amonge men but also with god, all be it his wisdom, bounte, and magnificence can be with no tonge or penne sufficiently expressed. Hath nat he set degrees and astates in all his glorious warkes?

Fyrst in his heuenly ministres, whom, as the church affirme, he hath constituted to be in diuers degrees called hierarches.

Also Christe saithe by his euangelist that in the house of his father (which is god) be many mansions. But to treat of that whiche by naturall understanding may be comprehended. Beholde the foure elementes wherof the body of man is compacte, howe they be set in their places called spheris, higher or lower, accordyng to the soueraintie of theyr natures, that is to saye, the fyer the most pure element, having in it nothing that is corruptible, in his place is higheste and aboue other elementes. The ayer, whiche next to the fyre is most pure in substance, is in the seconde sphere or place. The water, whiche is somewhat consolidate, and approacheth to corruption, is next unto the erthe. The erthe, whiche is of substance grosse and ponderous, is set of all elementes most lowest.

Beholde also the ordre that god hath put generally in al his creatures, begynnyng at the moste inferiour or base, and assendyng upward: he made not only herbes to garnisse the erthe, 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, other holsome and medicinable, some commodious and necessary. Semblably in byrdes, bestis and fisshes, some be good for the sustinance of man, some beare thynges profitable to sondry uses, other be apte to occupation and labour; in diuerse is strength and fiersenes only; in many is both strength and commoditie; some other serue for pleasure; none of them hath all these qualities; fewe aue the more part or many, specially beautie, strength, and profite. But where any is founde that hath many of the said propreties, he is more set by than all the other, and by that estimation the ordre of his place and degree

eidentlye apperethe; so that euery kinde of trees, herbes, birdes, beastis, and fisses, besyde theyr diuersitie of fourmes, haue (as who sayth) a peculiar disposition appropored unto them by god theyr creatour: so that in euery thyng is ordre, and without ordre may be nothing stable or permanent; and it may nat be called ordre, excepte it do contayne in it degrees, high and base, accordyng to the merite or estimation of the thyng that is ordred.

Nowe to retourne to the astate of man kynde, for whose use all the sayd creatures were ordained of god, and also excelleth them all by prerogatif of knowlege and wisdom, hit semeth that in hym shulde be no lasse prouidence of god declared than in the inferiour creatures; but rather with a more perfecte ordre and dissposition. And therefore hit appereth that god giveth nat to euery man like gyftes of grace or of nature but to some more, some lesse as it liketh his diuine maiestie.

Ne they be nat in commune, (as fantastical foles wolde haue all thyngs), nor one man hath nat al vertues and good qualities. Nat withstandyng for as moche as understandyng is the most excellent gyft that man can receiue in his creation, whereby he doth approche most nyghe unto the similitude of god; whiche understandyng is the principall parte of the soule: it is therfore congruent, and accordyng that as one excelleth an other in that influence, as therby beinge next to the similitude of his maker, so shulde the astate of his person be auanced in degree or place where understanding may profite: whiche is also distributed in to sondry uses, faculties, and offices necessary for the lyuing and gouernance of mankynde. And like as the angels whiche be most feruent in contemplation be highest exalted in glorie, (after the opinion of holy doctours), and also the fire whiche is the most pure of elementes, and also doth clarifie the other inferiour elementes, is deputed to the highest sphere or place; so in this worlde, they whiche excelle other in this influence of understandyng, and do imploye it to the detaynyng of other within the boundes of reason, and shewe them howe to prouyde for theyr necessarye lyuynge; suche oughte to be set in a more highe place than the residue where they may se and also be sene; that by the beames of theyr excellent witte, shewed throughe the glasse of auctorite, other of inferiour understandyng maybe directed to the way of vertue and

commodious liuyng. And unto men of such vertue by very equitie appertaineth honour, as theyr iuste rewarde and duetie, whiche by other mennes labours must also be maintained according to their merites. For as moche as the saide persones, excelling in knowlege wherby other be gouerned, be ministers for the only profite and commoditie of them whiche haue nat equall understandyng: where they whiche do exercise artificiall science or corporal] labour, do nat trauallye for theyr superiours onely, but also for theyr owne necessitie. So the husbände man fedethe hym selfe and the clothe maker: the clothe maker apparayleth hym selfe and the husbände they both socour other artificers: other artificers them: they and other artificers them that be gouernours. But they that be gouernours (as I before sayde) nothings do acquire by the sayde influence of knowlege for theyr owne necessities, but do imploye all the powers of theyr wittes, and theyr diligence, to the only preseruacion of other theyr inferiours: amonge whiche inferiours also behoueth to be a disposition and ordre accordyng to reason, that is to saye, that the slouthfull or idell persone do nat participate with hym that is industrious and taketh payne: whereby the frutes of his labours shulde be diminissed: wherin shulde be none equalite, but therof shulde procede discourage, and finally disolution for lacke of prouision. Wherfore it can none other wyse stande with reason, but that the astate of the persone in preeminence of lyuyng shulde be esteemed with his understandyng, labour, and policie: where unto muste be added an augmentation of honour and substaunce; whiche nat onely impressethe a reuerence, wherof procedethe a due obedience amonge subiectes, but also inflameth men naturally inclined to idelnes or sensuall appetite to coueyte lyke fortune, and for that cause to dispose them to studie or occupation. Nowe to conclude my fyrst assertion or argument, where all thyng is commune, there lacketh ordre; and where ordre lacketh, there all thyng is odious and uncomly. And that have we in daily experience; for the pannes and pottes garnissheth wel the ketchyn, and yet shulde they be to the chambre none ornament. Also the beddes, testars, and pillowes besemeth nat the halle, no more than the carpettes and kushhyns becometh the stable. Semblably the potter and tynker, only perfects in theyr crafte, shall littell do in the ministration of iustice. A ploughman or carter shall make but a feble answeere to an ambassadour. Also a wayuer or fuller shulde be an unmete

capitaine of an armie, or in any other office of a gouernour. Wherefore to conclude, it is only a publike weale, where, like as god hath disposed the saide influence of understanding, is also appoynted degrees and places according to the excellencie therof; and therto also wold be substance conuenient and necessarye for the ornament of the same, whiche also impresseth a reuerence and due obedience to the vulgare people or communalitie; and with out that, it can be no more said that there is a publike weale, than it may be affirmed that a house, without his propre and necessarye ornamentes, is well and sufficiently furnished.

II. That one soueraigne gouernour ought to be in a publike weale. And what damage hath happened where a multitude hath had equal authorite without any soueraygne.

LYKE as to a castell or fortresse suffisethe one owner or souerayne, and where any mo be of like power and authoritie seldome cometh the warke to perfection; or beinge all redy made, where the one diligently ouerseeth and the other neglecteth, in that contention all is subuerted and commeth to ruyne. In semblable wyse dothe a publike weale that hath mo chiefe gouernours than one. Example we may take of the grekes, amonge whom in diuers cities weare diuers fourmes of publyke weales gouerned by multitudes: wherin one was most tollerable where the gouernance and rule was alway permitted to them whiche excelled in vertue, and was in the greke tonge called aristocratia, in latin Optimorum Potentia, in englisse the rule of men of beste disposition, which the Thebanes of longe tyme obserued.

An other publique weale was amonge the Atheniensis, where equalitie was of astate amonge the people, and only by their holle consent theyr citie and dominions were gouerned: whiche moughte well be called a monstre with many heedes: nor neuer it was certeyne nor stable: and often tymes they banyssed or slewe the beste citezins whiche by their vertue and wisdomed had moste profited to the publike weale. This maner of gouernaunce was called in greke Democratia, in latin Popularis potentia, in englisse the rule of the comminaltie. Of these two gouernances none of them may be

sufficient. For in the fyrste, whiche consisteth of good men, vertue is nat so constant in a multitude, but that some, beinge ones in authoritie, be incensed with glorie: some with ambition: other with coueitise and desire of treasure or possessions: wherby they falle in to contention: and finallye, where any achiuethe the superioritie, the holle gouernance is reduced unto a fewe in nombre, whiche fearinge the multitude and their mutabilitie, to the intent to kepe them in drede to rebelle, ruleth by terrour and crueltie, thinking therby to kepe them selfe in suertie: nat withstanding, rancour coercted and longe detained in a narowe roume, at the last brasteth out with intollerable violence, and bryngeth al to confusion. For the power that is practized to the hurte of many can nat continue. The populare astate, if it any thing do varie from equalitie of substance or estimation, or that the multitude of people haue ouer moche liberte, of necessite one of these inconueniences muste happen: either tyranny, where he that is to moche in fauour wolde be elevate and suffre none equalite, orels in to the rage of a commualtie, whiche of all rules is moste to be feared. For lyke as the communes, if they fele some seueritie, they do humbly serue and obaye, so where they imbracinge a licence refuse to be brydled, they flynge and plunge: and if they ones throwe downe theyr gouernour, they ordre euery thyng without iustice, only with vengeance and crueltie: and with incomparable difficultie and unneth by any wysedome be pacified and brought agayne in to ordre. Wherefore undoubtedly the best and most sure gouernaunce is by one kyng or prince, whiche ruleth onely for the weale of his people to hym subiecte: and that maner of gouernaunce is beste approued, and hath longest continued, and is moste auncient. For who can denie but that all thyng in heuen and erthe is gouerned by one god, by one perpetuall ordre, by one prouidence? One Sonne ruleth ouer the day, and one Moone ouer the nyghte; and to descende downe to the erthe, in a litell beast, whiche of all other is moste to be maruayled at, I meane the Bee, is lefte to man by nature, as it semeth, a perpetuall figure of a iuste gouernaunce or rule: who hath amonge them one princpall Bee for gouernour, who excelleth all other in greatness yet hath no pricke or sting but in hym is more knowledge than in the residue: For if the day folowyng shall be fayre and drye and that the bees may issue out of theyr stalles without peryll of rayne or vehement wynde, in the mornyng ereley he calleth them, makyng a noyse as it were

the sowne of a horne or a trumpet; and with that all the residue prepare them to labour, and fleeth abrode, gatheryng nothing but that shall be swete and profitable, all though they sitte often tymes on herbes and other thinges that be venomous and stynkinge.

The capitayne hym selfe laboureth nat for his sustinance, but all the other for hym; he onely seeth that if any drane or other unprofitable bee entreth in to the hyue, and consumethe the hony, gathered by other, that he be immediately expelled from that company. And when there is an other nombre of bees encreased, they semblably haue also a capitayne, whiche be nat suffered to continue with the other. Wherefore this newe company gathered in to a swarme, hauyng their capitayne amonge them, and enuironyng hym to perserue hym from harme, they issue forthe sekyng a newe habitation, whiche they fynde in some tree, except with some pleasant noyse they be alured and conuayed unto an other hyue. I suppose who seriously beholdeth this example, and hath any commendable witte, shall therof gather moche matter to the fourmyng of a publike weale. But because I may nat be longe therin, consideryng my purpose, I wolde that if the reder herof be lerned that he shulde repayre to the Georgikes of Virgile, or to Plini, or Collumella, where he shall fynde the example more ample and better declared. And if any desireth to haue the gouernance of one persone proued by histories, let hym fyrste resorte to the holy scripture: where he shall fynde that almyghty god commanded Moses only, to bryng his elected people out of captiuite, gyuyng onely to hym that authoritie, without appoyntyng to hym any other assistance of equall power or dignitie, excepte in the message to kyng Pharo, wherin Aaron, rather as a minstre than a companion, wente with Moses. But onely Moses conducted the people through the redde see; he onely gouerned them fourtie yeres in deserte. And bicause Dathan and Abiron disdayned his rule, and coueyted to be equall with hym, the erthe. opened, and fyre issued out, and swallowed them in, with all their holle familie and confederates, to the nombre of 14,700.

And all thoughe Hietro, Moses' father in lawe, counsailed hym to departe his importable labours, in continual iugementes, unto the wise men that were in his company, he nat withstandyng styll retayned the soueraintie by goddis

commandement, untyll, a litle before he dyed, he resigned it to Josue, assigned by god to be ruler after hym. Semblably after the deth of Josue, by the space Of 246 yeres, succeeded, from tyme to tyme, one ruler amonge the Jewes, whiche was chosen for his excellencie in vertue and speciallye Justice, wherfore he was called the iuge, untill the Israelites desired of almighty god to let them haue a kynge as other people had: who appointed to them Saul to be their kynge who exceded all other in stature. And so successiuely one kynge gouerned all the people of Israell unto the time of Roboaz, sonne of the noble kynge Salomon, who, beinge unlike to his father in wisdom, practised tyranny amonge his people, wherfore ix partes of them which they called Tribus forsoke hym, and elected Hieroboaz, late seruant to Salomon, to be their kynge, onely the x parte remaynyng with Roboaz.

And so in that realme were continually two kynges, untill the kynge of Mede had depopulated the countrey, and brought the people in captiuite to the citie of Babylon; so that duryng the tyme that two kynges rayned ouer the iewes was euer continuall bataile amonge them selves: where if one kynge had alway rayned lyke to Daudid or Solomon of lykelyhode the countrey shuld nat so sone haue ben brought in captiuite.

Also in the tyme of the Machabeis, as longe as they had but one busshop whiche was their ruler, and was in the stede of a prince at that dayes, they valiantly resisted the gentils: and as well the Romanes, then great lordes of the worlde, as Persians and diuers other realmes desired to haue with them amitie and aliaunce: and all the inhabitantes of that countrey liued in great weale and quietnes. But after that by symony and ambition there happened to be two bisshops whiche deuided their authorities, and also the Romanes had deuided the realme of Judea to foure princes called tetrarchas, and also constituted a Romane capitayne or president ouer them: among the heddes there neuer cessed to be sedition and perpetuall discorde: wherby at the last the people was distroyed, and the contray brought to desolation and horrible barrennes.

The Grekes, which were assembled to reuenge the reproche of Menelaus, that he toke of the Trojans by the rauisshing of Helene, his wyfe, dyd nat they by one assent electe

Agamemnon to be their emperour or capitaine: obeinge him as theyr soueraine duryng the siege of Troy?

All though that they had diuers excellent princes, nat onely equall to hym, but also excelling hym: as in prowes, Achilles, and Ajax Thelemonius: in wisdom, Nestor and Ulisses, and his oune brother Menelaus, to whom they mought haue giuen equall authoritie with Agamemnon: but those wise princes considered that, without a generall capitayne, so many persones as were there of diuers realmes gathered together, shulde be by no meanes well gouerned: wherfore Homere calleth Agamemnon the shepeherde of people. They rather were contented to be under one mannes obedience, than seuerally to use theyr authorities or to ioyne in one power and dignite; wherby at the last shuld haue sounded disention amonge the people, they beinge seperately enclined towarde theyr naturall souerayne lorde, as it appered in the particuler contention that was betwene Achilles and Agamemnon for theyr concubines, where Achilles, renouncyng the obedience that he with all other princes had before promised, at the bataile fyrst enterprised agaynst the Trojans. For at that tyme no litell murmur and sedition was meued in the hoste of the grekes, whiche nat withstandyng was wonderfully pacified and the armie unscattered by the maiestie of Agamemnon, ioynynge to hym counsailours Nestor and the witty Ulisses.

But to retourne agayne. Athenes and other cities of Grece, whan they had abandoned kynges, and concluded to lyue as it were in a commualtie, whiche abusifly they called equalitie, howe longe tyme dyd 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 theyr citie, whom they dyd not banisshe or slee in prison? Surely it shall appiere to them that wyll rede Plutarke, or Emilius probus, in the lyues of Milciades, Cimon, Themistocles, Aristides, and diuers other noble and valiant capitaynes which is to longe here to reherce.

In lyke wyse the Romanes, duryng the tyme that they were under kynges, which was by the space of 144 yeres, were well gouerned, nor neuer was amonge them discorde or sedition. But after that by the persuation of Brutus and Colatinus, whose wyfe (Lucretia) was rauyssed by Aruncius,

sonne of Tarquine, kynge of Romanes, nat only the saide Tarquine and al his posterite were exiled out of Rome for euer, but also it was finally determined amonge the people, that neuer after they wolde haue a kinge reigne ouer them.

Consequently the communalitie more and more encroched a licence, and at the last compelled the Senate to suffre them to chose yerely amonge them gouernours of theyr owne astate and condition, whom they called Tribunes: under whom they resceyued suche audacitie and power that they finally obtained the higheste authoritie in the publike weale, in so moche that often tymes they dyd repele the actes of the Senate, and to those Tribunes mought a man appele from the Senate or any other office or dignite.

But what came therof in conclusion? Surely whan there was any difficulte warre immynent, than were they constrained to electe one soueraine and chiefe of all other, whom they named Dictator, as it were commander, from whom it was not lafull for any man to appele. But bicause there appered to be in hym the pristinate authorite and maiestie of a kyng, they wolde no longer suffre hym to continue in that dignite than by the space of vi. monthes, excepte he then resigned it, and by the consente of the people eftsones dyd resume it. Finally, untill Octavius Augustus had destroyed Anthony, and also Brutus, and finisshed all the Ciuile Warres, (that were so called by cause they were betwene the same selfe Romane citezins) the cite of Rome was neuer longe quiete from factions or seditions amonge the people. And if the nobles of Rome had nat ben men of excellent lernynge, wisdom, and prowesse, and that the Senate, the moste noble counsaile in all the worlde, whiche was fyrste ordayned by Romulus, and increased by Tullus hostilius, the thyrde kynge of Romanes, had nat continued and with great difficultie retayned theyr authorite, I suppose verily that the cite of Rome had ben utterly desolate sone after the expellyng of Tarquine: and if it had bene eftsones renewed it shulde haue bene twentye tymes destroyed before the tyme that Augustus raigned: so moche discorde was euer in the cite for lacke of one gouernour.

But what nede we to serch e so ferre from us, sens we haue sufficient examples nere unto us? Beholde the astate of Florence and Gene, noble cites of Italy, what calamite haue

they both sustained by their owne factions, for lacke of a continuall gouernour. Ferrare and the moste excellent citie of Venise, the one hauyng a duke, the other an erle, seldome suffreth damage excepte it happen by outwarde hostilitie. We have also an example domesticall, whiche is moste necessary to be noted. After that the Saxons by treason had expelled out of Englande the Britons, whiche were the auncient inhabitantes, this realme was deuyded in to sondry regions or kyngdomes. O what mysery was the people than in. O howe this most noble Isle of the worlde was decerpt and rent in pieces: the people pursued and hunted lyke wolfes or other beastes sauage; none industrie auayled, no strength defended, no riches profited. Who wolde than haue desired to haue ben rather a man than a dogge: whan men either with sworde or with hungre perished, hauynge no profit or sustinance of their owne corne or catell, whiche by mutuall warre was continually destroyed? yet the dogges, either takynge that that men coulde nat quietly come by, or fedyng on the deed bodies, whiche on euery parte laye scatered plenteously, dyd satisfie theyr hunger.

Where finde ye any good lawes that at that tyme were made and used, or any commendable monument of science or crafte in this realme occupied? suche iniquitie semeth to be than, that by the multitude of soueraigne gouernours all thinges had ben brought to confusion, if the noble kynge Edgar had nat reduced the monarch to his pristinate astate and figure: whiche brought to passe, reason was reuiued, and people came to conformitie, and the realme began to take comforte and to shewe some visage of a publike weale: and so (lauded be god) haue continued: but nat beinge alway in like astate or condition. All be it it is nat to be dispaired, but that the kynge our soueraigne lorde nowe reignyng, and this realme alway hauynge one prince like unto his highnes, equall to the auncient princis in vertue and courage, it shall be reduced (god so disposynge) unto a publike weale excellynge all other in preeminence of vertue and abundance of thynges necessary. But for as moche as I do wel perceiue that to write of the office or duetie of a soueraigne gouernour or prince, farre exceedeth the compasse of my lernyng, holy scripture affirmyng that the hartes of princes be in goddes owne handes and disposition, I wyll therefore kepe my penne within the space that is discribed to me by the thre noble maisters,

reason, lernynge, and experience; and by theyr enseignement or teachyng I wyll ordynately treate of the two partes of a publike weale, wherof the one shall be named Due Administration, the other Necessary Occupation, whiche shall be deuided in to two volumes. In the fyrste shall be comprehended the beste fourme of education or bringing up of noble children from their natiuitie, in suche maner as they may be founde worthy, and also able to be gouernours of a publike weale. The seconde volume, whiche, god grantyng me quietnes and libertie of mynde, I wyll shortly after sende forthe, it shall conteine all the remnant, whiche I can either by lernyng or experience fynde apt to the perfection of a iuste publike weale: in the whiche I shall so endeuour my selfe, that al men, of what astate or condition so euer they be, shall finde therein occasion to be alway vertuously occupied; and not without pleasure, if they be nat of the scholes of Aristippus or Apicius, of whom the one supposed felicity to be onely in lechery, the other in delicate fedyng and glotony: from whose sharpe talones and cruell tethe, I beseeche all gentill reders, to defende these warkes, whiche for theyr commodite is onely compiled.

III. That in a publike weale ought to be inferiour gouernours called Magistrates: whiche shall be appoynted or chosen by the soueraigne gouernour.

THERE be bothe reasones and examples, undoutedly infinite, wherby may be proued, that there can be no perfect publike weale without one capital and soueraigne gouernour whiche may longe endure or continue. But sens one mortall man can nat haue knowlege of all thynges done in a realme or large dominion, and at one tyme, discusse all controuersies, reforme all transgressions, and exploite al consultations, concluded as well for outwarde as inwarde affaires: it is expedient and also nedefull that under the capitall gouernour be sondry meane authorities, as it were aydyng him in the distribution of iustice in sondry partes of a huge multitude: wherby his labours beinge leuigate and made more tollerable, he shall gouerne with the better aduise, and consequently with a more perfect gouernance. And, as Jesus Sirach sayth, The multitude of wise men is the welth of the worlde. They whiche haue suche authorities to them committed may be

called inferiour gouernours, hauynge respecte to theyr office or duetie, wherin is also a representation of gouernance. All be it they be named in latine Magistratus. And herafter I intende to call them Magistratis, lackynge a more conuenient worde in englisshe; but I do in the seconde parte of this warke, where I propose to write of theyr sondry offices or ffecteds authoritie. But for as moche as in this parte e to write of theyr education and vertue in whiche they haue in commune with princes, in as moche as therby they shall, as well by example as by authoritie, ordre well them, whiche by theyr capitall gouernour shall be to theyr rule committed, I may, without anoyance of any man, name them gouernours at this tyme, apropriatynge, to the soueraignes, names of kynges and princes, sens of a longe custome these names in commune fourme of speakyng be in a higher preeminence and estimation than gouernours. That in euery commune weale ought to be a great nombre of suche maner of persons it is partly proued in the chaptre nexte before writen, where I haue spoken of the commodite of ordre. Also reason and commune experience playnly declareth, that, where the dominion is large and populouse, there is hit convenient that a prince haue many inferiour gouernours, whiche be named of Aristotel his eien, eares, handes, and legges, whiche, if they be of the beste sorte, (as he further more saythe), it semeth impossible a cuntry nat to be well gouerned by good lawes. And evcepte [sic] excellent vertue and lernynge do inhabite a man of the base astate of the communalitie, to be thought of all men worthy to be so moche auauanced: els suche gouernours wolde be chosen out of that astate of men whiche be called worshipfull, if amonge them may be founden a sufficient nombre, ornate with vertue and wisdom, mete for suche purpose, and that for sondry causes.

Fyrste it is of good congruence that they, whiche be superiour in condition or hauiour, shulde haue also preeminence in administration, if they be nat inferiour to other in vertue. Also they hauinge of their owne reuenues certeine wherby they haue competent substance to lyue without takyng rewardes: it is lykely that they wyll nat be so desirous of Iucre, (wherof may be engendred corruption), as they whiche haue very litle or nothyng so certeyne.

More ouer where vertue is in a gentyll man, it is commonly

mixte with more sufferance, more affabilitie, and myldenes, than for the more parte it is in a persone rural, or of a very base linage; and whan it hapneth other wise, it is to be accompted lothesome and monstruous. Furthermore, where the persone is worshypfull, his gouernaunce, though it be sharpe, is to the people more tollerable, and they therwith the lasse grutch, or be dissobedient. Also suche men, hauyng substance in goodes by certeyne and stable possessions, whiche they may aporcionate to their owne liuyng, and bryngyng up of theyr children in lernyng and vertues, may, (if nature repugne nat), cause them to be so instructed and furnisshed towarde the administration of a publike weale, that a poure mannes sonne, onely by his naturall witte, without other adminiculation or aide, neuer or sledome may atteyne to the semblable. Towarde the whiche instruction I haue, with no litle study and labours, prepared this warke, as almighty god be my iuge, without arrogance or any sparke of vayne glorie: but only to declare the feruent zeale that I haue to my cuntry, and that I desyre only to employ that poure lerning, that I haue gotten, to the benefite thereof, and to the recreation of all the reders that be of any noble or gentill courage, gyuyng them occasion to eschewe idelnes, beyng occupied in redyng this warke, infarced througly with suche histories and sentences wherby they shal take, they them selves confessing, no lytell commodite if they will more than ones or twyse rede it. The first reding being to them newe, the seconde delicious, and, euery tyme after, more and more frutefull and excellent profitable.

IV. The education or fourme of bringing up of the childe of a gentilman, which is to haue authoritie in a publike weale.

FOR as moche as all noble authors do conclude, and also commune experience proueth, that where the gouernours of realmes and cities be founden adourned with vertues, and do employ theyr study and mynde to the publike weale, as well to the augmentation therof as to the establysshynge and longe continuance of the same: there a publike weale must nedes be both honorable and welthy. To the entent that I wyll declare howe suche personages may be prepared, I will use the policie of a wyse and counnyng gardener: who

purposynge to haue in his gardeine a fyne and precieuse herbe, that shulde be to hym and all other repairynge therto, excellently comodious or pleasant, he will first serche throughout his gardeyne where he can finde the most melowe and fertile erth: and therin wil he put the sede of the herbe to growe and be norished: and in most diligent wise attende that no weede be suffred to growe or aproche nyghe unto it: and to the entent it may thrive the faster, as soone as the fourme of an herbe ones appereth, he will set a vessell of water by hit, in suche wyse that it may continually distille on the rote swete droppes; and as it spryngeth in stalke, under sette it with some thyng that it breake nat, and alway kepe it cleane from weedes. Semblable ordre will I ensue in the fourmynge the gentill wittes of noble mennes children, who, from the wombes of their mother, shal be made propise or apte to the gouernaunce of a publike weale.

Fyrste, they, unto whom the bringing up of suche children apperteineth, oughte, againe the time that their mother shall be of them deliuered, to be sure of a nourise whiche shulde be of no seruile condition or vice notable. For, as some auncient writers do suppose, often times the childe soukethe the vice of his nouryse with the milke of her pappe. And also obserue that she be of mature or ripe age, nat under xx yeres, or aboue xxx, her body also beinge clene from all sikenes or deformite, and hauing her complection most of the right and pure sanguine. For as moche as the milke therof comminge excelleth all other bothe in swetenes and substance. More ouer to the nourise shulde be appointed an other woman of approued vertue, discretion, and grauitie, who shall nat suffre, in the childes presence, to be shewed any acte or tache dishonest, or any wanton or unclene worde to be spoken: and for that cause al men, except physitions only, shulde be excluded and kepte out of the norisery. Perchance some wyll scorne me for that I am so serious, sainge that ther is no suche damage to be fered in an infant, who for tendernes of yeres hath nat the understanding to decerne good from iuell. And yet no man wyll denie, but in that innocency he wyll decerne milke from butter, and breadde from pappe, and er he can speake he wyll with his hande or countenaunce signifie whiche he. desireth. And I verily do suppose that in the braynes and hertes of children, whiche be membres spirituall, whiles they be tender, and the litle slippes of reason begynne

in them to burgeine, ther may happe by iuel custome some pestiferous dewe of vice to perse the sayde membres, and infecte and corrupt the softe and tender buddes, wherby the frute may growe wylde, and some tyme conteine in it feruent and mortal poyson, the utter destruction of a realme.

And we haue in daily experience that litle infantes assayeth to folowe, nat onely the wordes, but also the faictes and gesture, of them that be prouecte in yeres. For we daylye here, to our great heuines, children swere great othes and speake lasciuious and unclene wordes, by the example of other whom they heare, wherat the leude parentes do reioyce, sone after, or in this worlde, or els where, to theyr great payne and tourment. Contrary wise we beholde some chyldren, knelynge in theyr game before images, and holdyng up theyr lytell whyte handes, do moue theyr praty mouthes, as they were prayeng: other goynge and syngynge as hit were in procession: wherby they do expresse theyr disposition to the imitation of those thynges, be they good or iuell, whiche they usually do se or here. Wherefore nat only princis, but also all other children, from their norises pappes, are to be kepte diligently from the herynge or seyng of any vice or euyl tache. And encontinent as sone as they can speake, it behoueth, with most pleasaunt allurynges, to instill in them swete maners and vertuose custome. Also to prouide for them suche companions and playfelowes, whiche shal nat do in his presence any reprocheable acte, or speake any uncleane worde or othe, ne to aduaunt hym with flatery, remembrynge his nobilitie, or any other like thyng wherin he mought glory: onlas it be to persuade hym to vertue, or to withdrawe him from vice, in the remembryng to hym the daunger of his euill example. For noble men more greuously offende by theyr example than by their dede. Yet often remembrance to them of their astate may happen to radycate in theyr hartes intollerable pride, the moost daungerous poyson to noblenes: wherfore there is required to be therein moche cautele and sobrenesse.

V. The ordre of lernynge that a noble man shulde be trayned in before he come to thaige of seuen yeres.

Some olde autours holde oppinion that, before the age of seuen yeres, a chylde shulde nat be instructed in letters; but those writers were either grekes or latines, amonge whom all doctrine and sciences were in their maternall tonges; by reason wherof they saued all that longe tyme whiche at this dayes is spente in understandyng perfectly the greke or latyne. Wherefore it requireth nowe a longer tyme to the understandyng of bothe. Therefore that infelicitie of our tyme and countray compelleth us to encroche some what upon the yeres of children, and specially of noble men, that they may sooner attayne to wisdom and grautie than priuate persones, consideryng, as I haue saide, their charge and example, whiche, above all thinges, is most to be estemed. Nat withstanding, I wolde nat haue them inforced by violence to lerne, but accordyng to the counsaile of Quintilian, to be swetely allured therto with praises and suche praty gyftes as children delite in. And their fyrst letters to be paynted or lymned in a pleasaunt maner: where in children of gentyl courage haue moche delectation. And also there is no better allectyue to noble wyttes than to induce them in to a contention with their inferiour companions: they somtyme purposely suffring the more noble children to vainquysse, and, as it were, gyuyng to them place and soueraintie, thoughe in dede the inferiour chyl dren haue more lernyng. But there can be nothyng more conuenient than by litle and litle to trayne and exercise hem in spekyng of latyne: infourmyng them to knowe first the names in latine of all thynges that cometh in syghte, and to name all the partes of theyr bodies: and gyuyng them some what that they couete or desyre, in most gentyl maner to teache them to aske it agayne in latine. And if by this meanes they may be induced understande and speke latine: it shall afterwards be lasse greffe to them, in a maner, to lerne any thing, where they understande the langage wherein it is writen. And, as touchyng grammere, there is at this day better introductions, and more facile, than euer before were made, concernyng as wel greke as latine, if they be wisely chosen. And hit shal be no reproche to a noble man to instruct his owne children, or at the leest wayes to examine them, by the way of daliaunce or solace, consideryng that the emperour Octavius Augustus disdayned nat to rede the warkes of Cicero and Virgile to his children and newwes. And why shulde nat noble men rather so do, than teache their children howe at dyse and cardes,

they may counnyngly lese and consume theyr owne treasure and substaunce? Moreouer teachynge representeth the auctoritie of a prince wherfore Dionyse, kynge of Sicile, whan he was for tyranny expelled by his people, he came in to Italy, and there in a commune schole taught grammer, where with, whan he was of his enemies enbraided, and called a schole maister, he answered them, that al though Sicilians had exiled hym, yet in despite of them all he reigned, notynge therby the authorite that he had ouer his scholers. Also whan hit was of hym demanded what auailed hym Plato or philosophy, wherin he had ben studious, he aunswered that they caused hym to sustaine aduersitie patiently, and made his exile to be more facile and easy: whiche courage and wisdom consydered of his people, they eftsones him unto his realme and astate roiall, where, if he had procured agayne them hostilite or warres, or had returned in to Sicile with any violence, I suppose the people wolde haue alway resysted hym, and haue kepte hym in perpetuall exile: as the romaynes dyd the proude kynge Tarquine, whose sonne rauysshed Lucrece. But to retourne to my purpose, hit shall be expedient that a noble mannes sonne, in his infancie, haue with hym continually onely suche as may accustome hym by litle and litle to speake pure and elegant latin. Semblably the nourises and other women aboute hym, if it be possible, to do the same: or, at the leste way, that they speke none englisse but that which is cleane, polite, perfectly and articulately pronounced, omittinge no lettre or sillable, as folisshe women often times do of a wantonnesse, wherby diuers noble men and gentilmennes chyldren, (as I do at this daye knowe), haue attained corrupte and foule pronuntiation.

This industry used in fourminge litel infantes, who shalt doubt, but that they, (not lackyng naturall witte) shall be apt to receyue lerninge, whan they come to mo yeres? And in this wise maye they be instructed, without any violence or inforsinge: using the more parte of the time, until they come to the age of vii yeres, in suche disportis, as do appertaine to children, wherin is no resemblance or similitude of vice.

VI. At what age a tutour shulde be provided, and what shall appertaine to his office to do.

AFTER that a childe is come to seuen yeres of age, I holde it expedient that he be taken from the company of women: sauynge that he may haue, one yere, or two at the most, an auncient and sad matrone, attendynge on hym in his chambre, whiche shall nat haue any yonge woman in her company: for though there be no perille of offence in that tender and innocent age, yet, in some children, nature is more prone to vice than to vertue, and in the tender wittes be sparkes of voluptuositie: whiche, norished by any occasion or obiecte, encrease often tymes in to so terrible a fire, that therwith all vertue and reason is consumed. Wherefore, to eschewe that daunger, the most sure counsaile is, to withdrawe him from all company of women, and to assigne unto hym a tutor, whiche shulde be an auncient and worshipfull man, in whom is aproued to be moche gentilnes, mixte with grauitie, and, as nighe as can be, suche one as the childe by imitation folowyng may growe to be excellent. And if he be also lerned, he is the more commendable. Peleus, the father of Achilles, committed the gouernaunce of his sonne to Phenix, which was a straunger borne: who, as well in speakyng elegantly as in doynge valiauntly, was maister to Achilles (as Homere saith). Howe moche profited hit to kyng Philip, father to the great Alexander, that he was deliuered in hostage to the Thebanes? where he was kepte and brought up under the gouernance of Epaminondas, a noble and valiant capitaine: of whom he receiued suche lernynge, as well in actes martiall as in other liberal sciences, that he excelled all other kynges that were before his tyme in Grece, and finally, as well by wisdom as prowes, subdued all that countray. Semblably he ordayned for his sonne Alexander a noble tutor called Leonidas, unto whom, for his wisdom, humanitie, and lernyng, he committed the rule and preeminence ouer all the maisters and seruantes of Alexander. In whom, nat withstandyng, was suche a familier vice whiche Alexander apprehending in childhode coulde neuer abandon: some suppose it to be fury and hastines, other superfluous drinking of wine: whiche of them it were, it is a good warnyng for gentilmen to be the more serious, inserching, nat only for the vertues, but also for the vices of them, unto whose tuition and gouernance they will committe their children.

The office of a tutor is firste to knowe the nature of his pupil, that is to say, wherto he is mooste inclined or disposed, and in

what thyng he setteth his most delectation or appetite. If he be of nature curtaise, piteouse, and of a free and liberall harte, it is a principall token of grace, (as hit is by all scripture determined.) Than shall a wyse tutor purposely commende those vertues, extolling also his pupill for hauyng of them; and therewith he shall declare them to be of all men mooste fortunate, whiche shall happen to haue suche a maister. And moreouer shall declare to hym what honour, what loue, what commodite shall happen to him by these vertues. And, if any haue ben of disposition contrary, than to expresse the enormities of theyr vice, with as moche detestation as may be. And if any daunger haue therby ensued, misfortune, or punisshement, to agreue it in suche wyse, with so vehement wordes, as the childe may abhorre it, and feare the semblable aduenture.

VII. In what wise musike may be to a noble man necessarie: and what modestie ought to be therein.

THE discretion of a tutor consisteth in temperance that is to saye, that he suffre nat the childe to be fatigate with continuall studie or lernyng, wherwith the delicate and tender witte may be dulled or oppressed but that there may be there with entrelased and mixte some pleasaunt lernynge and exercise, as playenge on instruments of musike, whiche moderately used and without diminution of honour, that is to say, without wanton countenance and dissolute gesture, is nat to be contemned. For the noble kyng and prophete Daud, kyng of Israell (whom almighty god said that he had chosen as a man accordinge to his harte or desire) duringe his lyfe, delited in musike: and with the swete harmony that he made on his harpe, he constrayned the iuell spirite that vexed kyng Saul to forsake hym, continuyng the tyme that he harped.

The mooste noble and valiant princis of Grece often tymes, to recreate their spirites, and in augmenting their courage, enbraced instrumentes musicall. So dyd the valiaunt Achilles, (as Homere saith), who after the sharpe and vehement contention, betwene him and Agamemnon, for the taking away of his concubine: wherby he, being set in a fury, hadde slayne Agamemnon, emperour of the grekes armye, had nat Pallas, the goddessse, withdrawen his hande; in which rage he,

all inflamed, departed with his people to his owne shippes that lay at rode, intendinge to haue retourned in to his countray; but after that he had taken to hym his harpe, (whereon he had lerned to playe of Chiron the Centaure, which also had taught hym feates of armes, with phisicke, and surgery), and playeng theron, had songen the gestes and actis martial of the auncient princis of Grece, as Hercules, Perseus, Perithous, Theseus, and his cosin Jason, and of diuers other of semblable value and prowesse, he was there with asswaged of his furie, and reduced in to his firste astate of reason: in suche wyse, that in redoubyng his rage, and that thereby shulde nat remayne to him any note of reproche, he retaynyng his fiers and stourdie countenance, so tempered hym selfe in the entertaynement and answeyng the messagers that came to him from the residue of the Grekes, that they, reputing all that his fiers demeanure to be, (as it were), a diuine maiestie, neuer embayded hym with any inordinate wrathe or furie. And therefore the great kynge Alexander, whan he had vainquished Ilion, where some tyme was set the moste noble citie of Troy, beinge demaunded of one if he wold se the harpe of Paris Alexander, who rauished Helene, he therat gentilly smilyng, answered that it was nat the thyng that he moche desired, but that he had rather se the harpe of Achilles, wherto he sange, nat the illecebrous dilectations of Venus, but the valiaunt actes and noble affaires of excellent princis.

But in this commendation of musike I wold nat be thought to allure noble men to haue so moche delectation therin, that, in playenge and singynge only, they shulde put their holle studie and felicitie: as dyd the emperour Nero, whiche all a longe somers day wolde sit in the Theatre, (an open place where al the people of Rome behelde solemne actis and playes), and, in the presence of all the noble men and senatours, wolde playe on his harpe and synge without cessayng: And if any man, hapned, by longe sittynge, to slepe, or, by any other countenance, to shewe him selfe to be weary, he was sodaynly bobbed on the face by the seruantes of Nero, for that purpose attendyng: or if any persone were perceiued to be absent, or were sene to laughe at the folye of the emperour, he was forthe with accused, as it were, of missprision: wherby the emperour founde occasion to committe him to prison or to put hym to tortures. O what misery was it to be subiecte to suche a minstrell, in whose musike was no melodye, but

anguisshe and dolour?

It were therefore better that no musike were taughte to a noble man, than, by the exacte knowlege therof, he shuld haue therin inordinate delite, and by that be illected to wantonnesse, abandonyng grauitie, and the necessary cure and office, in the publike weale, to him committed. Kyng Philip, whan he harde that his sonne Alexander dyd singe swetely and properly, he rebuked him gentilly, saynge, But, Alexander, be ye nat ashamed that ye can singe so well and connyngly? whereby he mente that the open profession of that crafte was but of a base estimation. And that it suffised a noble man, hauynge therin knowlege, either to use it secretely, for the refreshynge of his witte, whan he hath tyme of solace: orels, only hearynge the contention of noble musiciens, to gyue iugement in the excellencie of their counnynges. These be the causes where unto hauinge regarde, musike is nat onely tollerable but also commendable. For, as Aristotle saith. Musike in the olde time was nombred amonge sciences, or as moche as nature seketh nat onely howe to be in busines well occupied, but also howe in quietnes to be commendably disposed.

And if the childe be of a perfecte inclination and towardnes to vertue, and very aptly disposed to this science, and ripely dothe understande the reason and concordance of tunes, the tutor's office shall be to persuade hym to haue principally in remembrance his astate, whiche maketh hym exempt from the libertie of usinge this science in euery tyme and place: that is to say, that it onely serueth for recreation after tedious or laborious affaires, and to shewe him that a gentilman, plaigne or singing in a commune audience, appaireth his estimation: the people forgettinge reuerence, when they beholde him in the similitude of a common seruant or minstrell. Yet, notwithstanding, he shall commend the perfecte understandinge of musike, declaringe howe necessary it is for the better attaynyng the knowlege of a publike weale: whiche, as I before haue saide, is made of an ordre of astates and degrees, and, by reason therof, conteineth in it a perfect harmony: whiche he shall afterwarde more perfectly onderstande, whan he shall happen to rede the bokes of Plato, and Aristotle, of publike weales: wherin be written diuers examples of musike and geometrye. In this fourme may a

wise and circumspecte tutor adapte the pleasant science of musike to a necessary and laudable purpose.

VIII. That it is commendable in a gentilman to paintt and kerue exactly, if nature therto doth induce hym.

IF the childe be of nature inclined, (as many haue ben), to paint with a penne, or to fourme images in stone or tree: he shulde nat be therfrom withdrawen, or nature be rebuked, whiche is to hym beniuolent: but puttyng one to him, whiche is in that crafte, wherin he deliteth, moste excellent, in vacant tymes from other more serious lernynge, he shulde be, in the moste pure wise, enstructed in painting or keruinge.

And nowe, perchance, some enuious reder wyll hereof apprehende occasion to scorne me, sayenge that I haue well hyed me, to make of a noble man a mason or peynter. And yet, if either ambition or voluptuose idelnes wolde haue suffered that reder to haue sene histories, he shuld haue founden excellent princis, as well impayntyng as in keruyng, equall to noble artificers: suche were Claudius, Titus, the sonne of Vaspasian, Hadriane, both Antonines, and diuers other emperours and noble princes: whose warkes of long tyme remayned in Rome and other cities, in suche places where all men mought beholde them: as monuments of their excellent wittes and vertuous occupation in eschewynge of idelnes. And nat without a necessary cause princis were in their childhode so instructed: for it serued them afterwarde for deuysynge of engynes for the warre: or for making them better that be all redy deuysed. For, as Vitruuius (which writeth of buyldynge to the emperour Augustus) sayth, All turmentes of warre, whiche we cal ordinance, were first inuented by kinges or gouernours of hostes, or if they were deuysed by other, they were by them made moche better. Also, by the feate of portraiture or payntyng, a capitaine may discriue the countray of his aduersary, wherby he shall eschue the daungerous passages with his hoste or nauie: also perceyue the placis of aduauntage, the forme of embataylynge of his ennemys: the situation of his campe, for his moste suertie: the strength or weakenes of the towne or fortresse whiche he intendeth to assaulte. And that whiche is moost

specially to be considered, in visiting his owne dominions, he shal sette them out in figure, in suche wise that at his eie shal appere to hym where he shall employ his study and treasure, as well for the saulgarde of his countray, as for the commodite and honour therof, hauyng at al tymes in his sight the suertie and feblenes, aduancement and hyndrance, of the same. And what pleasure and also utilite is it to a man whiche intendeth to edifie, hymselfe to expresse the figure of the warke that he purposeth, accordyng as he hath conceyued it in his owne fantasie? wherin, by often amendyng and correctyng, he finally shall so perfecte the warke unto his purpose, that there shall neither ensue any repentance, nor in the employment of his money he shall be by other deceiued. More ouer the feate of portraiture shall be an allectiue to euery other studie or exercise. For the witte therto disposed shall alway couaite congruent mater, wherin it may be occupied. And whan he happeneth to rede or here any fable or historie, forthwith he apprehendeth it more desirously, and retaineth it better, than any other that lacketh the sayd feate: by reason that he hath founde mater apte to his fantasie. Finally, euery thinge that portraiture may comprehend will be to him delectable to rede or here. And where the liuely spirite, and that whiche is called the grace of the thyng, is perfectly expressed, that thinge more persuadeth and stereth the beholder, and soner istructeth hym, than the declaration in writyng or speakyng doth the reder or hearer. Experience we haue therof in lernyng of geometry, astronomie, and cosmographie, called in englisse the discription of the worlde. In which studies I dare affirme a man shal more profite, in one wike, by figures and chartis, well and perfectly made, than he shall by the only reding or heryng the rules of that science by the space of halfe a yere at the lest, wherfore the late writers deserue no small commendation whiche added to the autors of those sciences apt and propre figures.

And he that is perfectly instructed in portrayture, and hapneth to rede any noble and excellent historie, wherby his courage is inflamed to the imitation of vertue, he forth with taketh his penne or pensill, and with a graue and substanciall studie, gatherynge to him all the partes of imagination, endeuoureth him selfe to expresse liuely, and (as I mought say) actually, in portrayture, nat only the faict or affaire, but also the sondry affections of euery personage in the historie recited, whiche,

mought in any wise appiere or be perceiued in their visage, countenance or gesture: with like diligence as Lysippus made in metall kynge Alexander, fightyng and struggling with a terrible lyon of incomparable magnitude and fiersenesse, whom, after longe and difficulte bataile, with wonderfull strength and clene might, at the last he ouerthrewe and vainquished; wherin he so expressed the similitude of Alexander and of his lordes standyng about him that they all semed to lyue. Amonge whom the prowes of Alexander appiered, excelling all other; the residue of his lordes after the value and estimation of their courage, euery man set out in suche forwardnes, as they than semed more prompt to the helpyng of their maister, that is to say, one lasse a ferde than an other. Phidias the Atheniense, whom all writers do commende, made of yuory the simulachre or image of Jupiter, honoured by the gentiles on the high hille of Olympus: whiche was done so excellently that Pandenus, a counnyng painter, therat admaruailinge, required the craftis man to shewe him where he had the example or paterne of so noble a warke. Then Phidias answered that he had taken it out of thre verses of Homere the poet: the sentence wherof ensueth, as well as my poure witte can expresse it in englisshe

Than Jupiter the father of them all
Therto assented with his browes blake,
Shaking his here, and therewith did let fall
A countenance that made al heuen to quake,

where it is to be noted, that immediately before Thetis the mother of Achilles desired Jupiter importunately to inclyne his fauour to the parte of the Troyanes.

Nowe (as I haue before sayde) I intende nat, by these examples, to make of a prince or noble mannes sonne a commune painter or keruer, whiche shall present him selfe openly stained or embrued with sondry colours, or poudered with the duste of stones that he cutteth, or perfumed with tedious sauours of the metalies by him yoten.

But verily myne intente and meaninge is only, that a noble childe, by his own naturall disposition, and nat by coercion, may be induced to receiue perfect instruction in these sciences. But all though, for purposesis before expressed,

they shall be necessary, yet shall they nat be by him exercised, but as a secret pastime, or recreation of the wittes, late occupied in serious studies, lyk as dyd the noble princis before named. Al though they, ones beinge attayned be neuer moche exercised, after that the tyme cometh concerning businesse of greater importaunce. Ne the lesse the exquisite knowlege and understanding that he hath in these sciences, hath impressed in his eares and eies an exacte and perfecte iugement, as well in desernyng the excellencie of them, whiche either in musike, or in statuary, or paynters crafte, professeth any counnyng, as also adaptinge their saide knowlege to the adminiculation of other serious studies and businesse, as I haue before rehersed: whiche, I doubt nat, shall be well approued by them that either haue redde and understande olde autors, or aduisedly wyll examine my considerations.

The swete writer, Lactantius, saythe in his first booke to the emperour Constantine agayne the gentiles: 'Of conninge commeth vertue, and of vertue perfect felicite is onely ingendred.'

And for that cause the gentiles supposed those princis, whiche in vertue and honour surmounted other men, to be goddes. And the Romanes in lyke wise dyd consecrate their emperours, which excelled in vertuous example, in preseruyng, or augmentinge the publike weale, and ampliatinge of the empire, calling them Diui, whiche worde representeth a signification of diuinitie, they thinkynge that it was excedynge mannes nature to be bothe in fortune and goodnes of suche perfection.

IX. What exacte diligence shulde be in chosinge maisters.

AFTER that the childe hathe ben pleasantly trained, and induced to knowe the partes of speche, and can separate one of them from an other, in his owne langage, it shall than be time that his tutor or gouernour do make diligent serche for suche a maister as is excellently lerned both in greke and latine, and therwithall is of sobre and vertuous disposition, specially chast of liuyng, and of moche affabilite and

patience: leste by any uncleane example the tender mynde of the childe may be infected, harde afterwarde to be recouered. For the natures of children be nat so moche or sone aduanced by thinges well done or spoken, as they be hindred and corrupted by that whiche in actis or wordes is wantonly expressed. Also by a cruell and irous maister, the wittes of children be dulled; and that thinge for the whiche children be often tymes beaten is to them euer after fastidious: wherof we nede no better autor for witnes than daily experience. Wherfore the moste necessary thinges to be obserued by a master in his disciples or scholers (as Licon the noble grammarien saide) is shamfastnes and praise. By shamfastnes, as it were with a bridell, they rule as well theyr dedes as their appetites. And desire of prayse addeth to a sharpe spurre to their disposition towarde lernyng and vertue. Accordyng there unto Quintilian, instructyng an oratour, desireth suche a childe to be giuen unto hym, whom commendation feruently stereth, glorie prouoketh, and beinge vainquished wepeth. That childe (saithe he) is to be fedde with ambition, hym a litle chiding sore biteth, in hym no parte of slouthe is to be feared. And if nature disposeth nat the childes witte to receiue lernynge, but rather other wise, it is to be applied with more diligence, and also policie, as chesing some boke, wherof the argument or matter approacheth moste nighe to the childes inclination or fantasie, so that it be nat extremely vicious, and therwith by litle and litle, as it were with a pleasant sauce, prouoke him to haue good appetite to studie. And surely that childe, what so euer he be, is well blessed and fortunate, that findeth a good instructour or maister: whiche was considered by noble kynge Philip, father to the great king Alexander, who immediately after that his sonne was borne wrote a letter to Aristotle, the prince of philosophers, the tenour herof ensueth.

Aristotle, we grete you well. Lettinge you weete that we haue a sonne borne, for the whiche we gyue due thankes unto god, nat for that he is borne onely, but so for as moche as it happeneth hym to be borne, you yuinge. Trusting that it shall hapen that he, by you taught and instructed, shall be herafter worthy to be named our sonne, and to enioy the honour and substance that we nowe haue prouided. Thus fare ye well.

The same Alexander was wont to say openly, that he ought to

gyue as great thankes to Aristotle his mayster as to kynge Philip his father, for of hym he toke the occasion to lyue, of the other he receiued the reason and waye to lyue well. And what maner a prince Alexander was made by the doctrine of Aristotle, hit shall appere in diuers places of this boke: where his example to princes shall be declared. The incomparable benefite of maisters haue ben well remembred of dyuers princes. In so moche as Marcus Antoninus, whiche amonge the emperours was commended for his vertue and sapience, hadde his mayster Proculus (who taught hym grammer) so moche in fauour, that he aduanced hym to be proconsul: whiche was one of the highest dignites amonge the Romanes.

Alexander the emperour caused his maister Julius Fronto to be consul: whiche was the highest office, and in astate nexte the emperour: and also optayned of the senate that the statue or image of Fronto was sette up amonge the noble princes.

What caused Traiane to be so good a prince, in so moche that of late dayes whan an emperour receyued his crowne at Rome, the people with a commune crye desired of god that he mought be as good as was Traiane, but that he hapned to haue Plutarche, the noble philosopher, to be his instructour? I agre me that some be good of natural inclination to goodnes: but where good instruction and example is there to added, the naturall goodnes must there with nedes be amended and be more excellent.

X. What ordre shulde be in lernynge and whiche autours shulde be fyrst redde.

Nowe lette us retourne to, the ordre of lernyng apt for a gentyll man. Wherein I am of the opinion of Quintilian that I wolde haue hym lerne greke and latine autours<35> both at one time: orels to begyn with greke, for as moche as that it is hardest to come by: by reason of the diuersite of tonges, which be fyue in nombre: and all must be knowen, or elles uneth any poet can be well understande. And if a childe do begyn therin at seuen yeres of age, he may continually lerne greke autours; thre yeres, and in the meane tyme use the latin tonge as a familiar langage: whiche in a noble mannes sonne may well come to passe, hauynge none other persons to serue

him or kepyng hym company, but suche as can speake latine elegantly. And what doubt is there but so may he as sone speake good latin, as he maye do pure frenche, whiche nowe is broughte in to as many rules and figures, and as longe a grammar as is latine or greke. I wyll nat contende who, amonge them that do write grammers of greke, (whiche nowe all most be innumerable) is the beste: but that I referre to the discretion of a wyse mayster. Alway I wolde aduyse hym nat to detayne the childe to longe in that tedious laboure, eyther in the greke or latyne grammer. For a gentyll wytte is there with sone fatigate.

Grammer beinge but an introduction to the understanding of autours, if it be made to longe or exquisite to the lerner, hit in a maner mortifieth his corage: And by that time he cometh to the most swete and pleasant redinge of olde autours, the sparkes of feruent desire of lernynge is extincte with the burdone of grammer, lyke as a lyttel fyre is sone quenched with a great heape of small stickes: so that it can neuer come to the principall logges where it shuld longe bourne in a great pleasaunt fire.

Nowe to folowe my purpose: after a fewe and quicke rules of grammer, immediatly, or interlasynge hit therwith, wolde be redde to the childe Esopes_fables in greke: in whiche argument children moche do delite. And surely it is a moche pleasant lesson and also profitable, as well for that it is elegant and brefe, (and nat withstanding it hath moche varietie in wordes, and therwith moche helpeth to the understandinge of greke) as also in those fables is included moche morall and politike wisdom. Wherefore, in the teachinge of them, the maister diligently must gader to gyther those fables, whiche may be most accommodate to the aduancement of some vertue, wherto he perceiuethe the childe inclined or to the rebuke of some vice, wherto he findeth his nature disposed. And therein the master ought to exercise his witte, as wel to make the childe plainly to understande the fable, as also declarynge the signification therof compendiously and to the purpose, fore sene alwaye, that, as well this lesson, as all other autours whiche the childe shall lerne, either greke or latine, verse or prose, be perfectly had without the boke: wherby he shall nat only attaine plentie of the tonges called Copie, but also encrease and nourissh

remembrance wonderfully.

The nexte lesson wolde be some quicke and mery dialoges, elect out of Luciane, whiche be without ribawdry, or to moche skorning, for either of them is exactly to be eschewed, specially for a noble man, the one anoyeng the soule, the other his estimation concerning his grautie. The comedies of Aristophanes may be in the place of Luciane, and by reason that they be in metre they be the sooner lerned by harte. I dare make none other comparison betwene them for offendinge the frendes of them both: but thus moche dare I say, that it were better that a childe shuld neuer rede any parte of Luciane than all Luciane.

I coulde reherce diuers other poetis whiche for matter and eloquence be very necessary, but I feare me to be to longe from noble Homere: from whom as from a fountaine proceded all eloquence and lernyng. For in his bokes be contained, and moste perfectly expressed, nat only the documentes marciall and discipline of armes, but also incomparable wisdomes, and instructions for politike gouernaunce of people: with the worthy commendation and laude of noble princis: where with the reders shall be so all inflamed, that they most feruently shall desire and coueite, by the imitation of their vertues, to acquire semblable glorie. For the whiche occasion, Aristotel, moost sharpest witted and excellent lerned Philosopher, as sone as he had receiued Alexander from kynge Philip his father, he before any other thyng taught hym the moost noble warkes of Homere: wherin Alexander founde suche swetenes and frute, that euer after he had Homere nat onely with hym in all his iournayes, but also laide hym under his pillowe whan he went to reste: and often tymes wolde purposely wake some houres of the nyght, to take as it were his passe tyme with that mooste noble poete.

For by the redinge of his warke called Iliados, where the assembly of the most noble grekes agayne Troy is recited with theyr affaires, he gathered courage and strength agayne his ennemies, wysdome, and eloquence, for consultations, and persuations to his people and army. And by the other warke called Odissea, whiche recounteth the sondry aduentures of the wise Ulisses, he, by the example of Ulisses,

apprehended many noble vertues, and also lerned to eskape the fraude and deceitfull imaginations of sondry and subtile crafty wittes. Also there shall he lerne to enserche and perceiue the maners and conditions of them that be his familiars, siftinge out (as I mought say) the best from the warst, wherby he may surely committe his affaires, and truste to euery persone after his vertues. Therefore I nowe conclude that there is no lesson for a yonge gentil man to be compared with Homere, if he be playnly and substancially expounded and declared by the mayster.

Nat withstandynge, for as moche as the saide warkes be very longe, and do require therefore a great time to be all lerned and kanned, some latine autour wolde be therwith myxte, and specially Virgile; whiche, in his warke called Eneidos, is most lyke to Homere, and all moste the same Homere in latine. Also, by the ioynynge to gether of those autours, the one shall be the better understande by the other. And verily (as I before saide) none one autour serueth to so diuers witts as doth Virgile. For there is nat that affect or desire, wherto any childe fantasie is disposed, but in some of Virgils warkes may be founden matter therto apte and propise.

For what thinge can be more familiar than his bucolikes? nor no warke so nighe approacheth to the commune daliaunce and maners of children, and the praty controuersies of the simple shepeherdes, therin contained, wonderfully reioyceth the childe that hereth hit well declared, as I knowe by myne owne experience. In his Georgikes lorde what pleasaunt varietie there is: the diuers, graynes, herbes, and flowres that be there described, that, reding therin, hit semeth to a man to be in a delectable gardeine or paradise. What ploughe man knoweth so moche of husbandry as there is expressed? who, delitynge in good horsis, shall nat be therto more enflamed, reding there of the bredyng, chesinge, and kepyng, of them? In the declaration whereof Virgile leaueth farre behynde hym all breders, hakneymen, and skosers.

Is there any astronomer that more exactly setteth out the ordre and course of the celestially bodies: or that more truely dothe deuine in his pronostications of the tymes of the yere, in their qualities, with the future astate of all thinges prouided by husbandry, than Virgile doth recite in that warke?

If the childe haue a delite in huntynge, what pleasure. shall he take of the fable of Aristeus: semblably in the huntynge of Dido and Eneas, whiche is discriued moste elegantly in his boke of Eneidos. If he haue pleasure in wrastling, rennyng, or other lyke exercise, where shall he se any more plesant esbatementes, than that whiche was done by Euealus and other troyans, whiche accompanied Eneas? If he take solace in hearynge minstrelles, what minstrell may be compared to Jopas, whiche sange before Dido and Eneas? or to blinde Demodocus, that played and sange moste swetely at the dyner, that the kynge Alcinous made to Ulisses: whose dities and melodie excelled as farre the songes of our minstrelles, as Homere and Virgile excelle all other poetes.

If he be more desirous, (as the most parte of children be,) to here thinges marueilous and exquisite, whiche, hath in it a visage of some thinges incredible, wherat shall he more wonder, than whan he shall beholde Eneas folowe Sibille in to helle? What shal he more drede, than the terrible visages of Cerberous, Gorgon, Megea, and other furies and monsters? Howe shall he abhorre tyranny, fraude, and auarice, whan he doth se the paynes of duke Theseus, Prometheus, Sisiphus, and suche other tourmented for their dissolute and vicious lyuyng? Howe glad soone after shall he be, whan he shall beholde, in the pleasant felde of Elisius, the soules of noble princes and capitaines which, for their vertue, and labours in aduancing the publike weales of their countrayes, do lyue eternally in pleasure inexplicable. And in the laste bokes of Eneidos shall he finde matter to ministre to hym audacite, valiaunt courage, and policie, to take and susteyne noble enterprises, if any shall be nedefull for the assailyng of his enemies.

Finally (as I haue saide) this noble Virgile, like to a good norise, giueth to a childe, if he wyll take it, euery thinge apte for his witte and capacite: wherfore he is in the ordre of lernyng to be preferred before any other autor latine. I wolde set nexte unto hym two bokes of Ouid, the one called Metamorphosios, whiche is as moche to saye as, chaungynge of men in to other figure or fourme: the other is intituled De fastis where the ceremonies of the gentiles, and specially the Romanes, be expressed! bothe right necessary for the

understandynge of other poetes. But by cause there is litell other lernyng in them, concernyng either vertuous maners or policie, I suppose it were better that as fables and ceremonies happen to come in a lesson, it were declared abundantly by the maister than that in the saide two bokes, a longe tyme shulde be spente and almost lost: which mought be better employed on suche autors that do minister both eloquence, ciuile policie, and exhortation to vertue. Wherefore in his place let us bringe in Horace, in whom is contayned moche varietie of lernynge and quicknesse of sentence.

This poet may be enterlaced with the lesson of Odissea of Homere, wherin is declared the wonderfull prudence and fortitude of Ulisses in his passage from Troy. And if the childe were induced to make versis by the imitation of Virgile and Homere, it shulde ministre to hym moche dilectation and courage to studie: ne the making of versis is nat discommended in a noble man: sens the noble Augustus and almost all the olde emperours made bokes in versis.

The two noble poetis Silius, and Lucane, be very expedient to be lerned: for the one setteth out the emulation in qualities and prowesse of two noble and valiant capitaynes, one, enemy to the other, that is to say, Silius writeth of Scipio the Romane, and Haniball duke of Cartaginensis: Lucane declareth a semblable mater, but moche more lamentable: for as moche as the warres were ciuile, and, as it were, in the bowelles of the Romanes, that is to say, under the standerdes of Julius Cesar and Pompei.

Hesiodus, in greke, is more briefe than Virgile, where he writeth of husbandry, and doth nat rise so high in philosophie . But is fuller of fables : and therfor is more illecebrous.

And here I conclude to speke any more of poetis, necessary for the childehode of a gentill man: for as moche as these, I doubt nat, will suffice untill he passe the age of xiii yeres. In which time childhode declineth, and reason waxeth rype, and deprehendeth thinges with a more constant iugement. Here I wolde shulde be remembred, that I require nat that all these warkes shud be throughly radde of a childe in this tyme, whiche were almost impossible. But I only desire that they

haue, in euery of the saide bokes, so moche instruction that they may take therby some profite.

Than the childes courage, inflamed by the frequent redyng of noble poetes, dayly more and more desireth to haue experience in those thinges, that they so vehemently do commende in them, that they write of Leonidas, the noble kynge of Spartanes, beinge ones demaunded, of what estimation in poetry Tirtaeus, (as he supposed) was, it is writen that he answeryng saide, that, for sterynge the myndes of yonge men he was excellent, for as moche as they, being meued with his versis, do renne in to the bataile, regardyng no perile, as men all inflamed in martiall courage.

And whan a man is comen to mature yeres, and that reason in him is confirmed with serious lerning and longe experience, than shall he, in redyng tragoedies, execrate and abhorre the intollerable life of tyrantes: and shall contemne the foly and dotage expressed by poetes lasciuious.

Here wyll I leaue to speake of the fyrste parte of a noble mannes studie: and nowe wyll I write of the seconde parte, which is more serious, and containeth in it sondry maners of lernynge.

XI. The moste commodious and necessary studies succedyng ordinally the lesson of poetes.

AFTER that xiv. yeres be passed of a childes age, his maister if he can, or some other, studiouslye exercised in the arte of an oratour, shall firste rede to hym some what of that parte of logike that is called Topica, eyther of Cicero, or els of that noble clerke of Almaine, which late floured, called Agricola whose warke prepareth inuention, tellynge the places from whens an argument for the profe of any mater may be taken with litle studie: and that lesson, with moche and diligent lernyng, hauyng mixte there with none other exercise, will in the space of halfe a yere be perfectly kanned. Immediately after that, the arte of Rhetorike wolde be semblably taught, either in greke, out of Hermogines, or of Quintilian in latine, begynnyng at the thirde boke, and instructyng diligently: the childe in that parte of rhethorike, principally, whiche

concerneth persuasion for as moche as it is moste apte for consultations. There can be no shorter instruction of Rhetorike than the treatise that Tulli wrate unto his sonne, which boke is named the partition of rhetorike. And in good faythe, to speake boldly that I thinke: for him that nedeth nat, or doth nat desire, to be an exquisite oratour, the litle boke made by the famous Erasmus, (whom all gentill wittis are bounden to thanke and supporte), whiche he calleth Copiam Verborum et Rerum, that is to say, plentie of wordes and maters, shall be sufficient.

Isocrates, concerning the lesson of oratours, is euery where wonderfull profitable, hauynge almost as many wyse sentences as he hath wordes: and with that is so swete and delectable to rede, that, after him, almost all other seme unsauery and tedious: and in persuadynge, as well a prince, as a priuate persone, to vertue, in two very litle and compendious warkes, wherof he made the one to kynge Nicocles, the other to his frende Demonicus wolde be perfectly kanned, and had in continual memorie.

Demosthenes and Tulli, by the consent of all lerned men, haue preeminence and soueraintie ouer all oratours: the one reinyng in wonderfull eloquence in the publike weale of the Romanes, who had the empire and dominion of all the worlde: the other, of no lasse estimation, in the citie of Athenes, whiche of longe tyme was accounted the mother of Sapience, and the palaice of musis and all liberall sciences. Of whiche two oratours may be attained, nat onely eloquence, excellent and perfecte, but also preceptes of wisdome, and gentyll maners: with most commodious examples of all noble vertues and pollicie. Wherfore the maister, in redynge them, muste well obserue and expresse the partis and colours of rhetorike in them contayned, accordynge to the proceptes of that arte before lerned.

The utilitie that a noble man shall haue by redung these oratours, is, that, whan he shall happe to reason in counsaile, or shall speke in a great audience, or to strange ambassadours of great princes, he shall nat be constrayned to speake wordes sodayne and disordred, but shal bestowe them aptly and in their places. Wherfore the moste noble emperour Octavius is highly commended, 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 childe to understandyng of histories, whiche, beinge replenished with the names of countrayes and townes unknowen to the reder, do make the historie tedious or els the lasse pleasant, so if they be in any wyse knowen, it increaseth an inexplicable delectation. It shall be therefore, and also for refreshing the witte, a conuenient lesson to beholde the olde tables of Ptholomee, where in all the worlde is paynted, hauynge firste some introduction in to the sphere, wherof nowe of late be made very good treatises, and more playne and easie to lerne than was wonte to be.

All be it there is none so good lernynge as the demonstration of cosmographie by materiall figures and instrumentes, hauynge a good instructour. And surely this lesson is bothe pleasant and necessary. For what pleasure is it, in one houre, to beholde those realmes, cities, sees, ryuers, and mountaynes, that uneth an olde mannes life can nat be iournaide and pursued: what incredible delite is taken in beholding the diuersitiee of people, beastis, foules, fisses, trees, frutes, and herbes: to knowe the sondry maners and conditions of people; and the varietie of their natures, and that in a warme studie or perler, without perill of the see, or daunger of longe and paynfull iournayes: I can nat tell what more pleasure shulde happen to a gentil witte, than to beholde in his owne house euery thyng that with in all the worlde is contained. The commoditie therof knewe the great kynge Alexander, as some writars do remembre. For he caused the countrayes wherunto he purposed any enterprise, diligently and counningly to be discribed and paynted, that, beholdynge the picture, he mought perceyue whiche places were most daungerous: and where he and his host mought haue most easy and couenable passage. Semblably dyd the Romanes in the rebellion of France, and the insurrection of theyr confederates, settinge up a table openly, wherin Italy was painted, to the intent that the people lokying in it, shuld reason and consulte in whiche places hit were best to resiste or inuade their ennemies.

I omitte, for length of the matter, to write of Cirus, the great kinge of Perse, Crassus the Romane, and dyuers other valiant

and experte capitaines: whiche haue lost them selves and all their army by ignorance of this doctryne.

Wherefore it maye nat be of any wyse man denied, but that Cosmographie is to all noble men, nat only pleasant, but profitable also, and wonderfull necessary.

In the parte of cosmographie wherwith historie is mingled Strabo reigneth: whiche toke his argument of the diuine poete Homere. Also Strabo hym selfe, (as he saithe) laboured a great part of Africa and Egypte, where undoubtedly be many thinges to be maruailed at. Solinus writeth almost in like forme, and is more brefe, and hath moche more varietie of thinges and maters, and is therfore maruailous delectable: yet Mela is moche shorter, and his stile, (by reason that it is of a more antiquitie) is also more clene and facile. Wherefore he, or Dionisius, shall be sufficient.

Cosmographie beinge substancially perceiued, it is than tyme to induce a childe to the redinge of histories but fyrst to set hym in a feruent courage, the mayster in the mooste pleasant and elegant wise expressinge what incomparable delectation, utilitie, and commodite, shal happen to emperours, kinges, princis, and all other gentil men by reding of histories: shewinge to hym that Demetrius Phalareus, a man of excellent wisdom and lerninge, and whiche in Athenes had ben longe exercised in the publick weale, exhorted Ptholomee, kyng of Egipt, chiefly aboute all other studyes, to haunte and embrace histories, and suche other bokes, wherin were contayned preceptes made to kynges and princes: sayng that in them he shulde rede those thinges whiche no man durst reporte unto his persone. Also Cicero, father of the latin eloquence, calleth an historie the witnessse of tymes, maistres of life, the lyfe of remembrance, of trouthe the lyght, and messenger of antiquite.

Moreouer, the swete Isocrates exhorteth the kynge Nicocles, whom he instructeth, to leaue behynde him statues and images, that shall represent rather the figure and similitude of his mynde, than the features of his body, signifienge therbye the remembraunce of his actes written in histories.

By semblable aduertisementes shall a noble harte be trayned to delite in histories. And than, accordyng to the counsaile of Quintilian, it is best that he begynne with Titus Liuius, nat onely for his elegancie of writinge, whiche floweth in him like a fountaine of swete milke: but also for as moche as by redyng that autor he maye knowe howe the mooste noble citie of Rome, of a small and poure begynnyng, by prowes and vertue, litell and litell came to the empire and dominion of all the worlde.

Also in that cite he maye beholde the fourme of a publike weale: whiche, if the insolencie and pryde of Tarquine had nat excluded kynges out of the citie, it had ben the most noble and perfect of all other.

Xenophon, beyng bothe a philosopher and an excellent capitayne, so inuented and ordred his warke named Paedia Cyri, whiche may be interpreted the Childehode or discipline of Cyrus, that he leaueth to the reders therof an incomparable swetenes and example of lyuyng, specially for the conductyng and well ording of hostes or armyes. And therefore the noble Scipio, who was called Affricanus, as well in peace as in warre was neuer seene without this boke of Xenophon.

With hym maye be ioyned Quintus Curtius, who writeth the life of kyng Alexander elegantly and swetely. In whom may be founden the figure of an excellent prince, as he that incomparably excelled al other kinges and empereurs in wysedome, hardynes, strength, policie, agilite, valiaunt courage, nobilitie, liberalitie and curtaisie: where in he was a spectacle or marke for all princes to loke on. Contrarye wise whan he was ones vainquished with voluptie and pride his tyranny and beastly crueltie abhorreth all reders. The comparison of the vertues of these two noble princes, equally described by two excellent writars, well expressed, shall prouoke a gentil courage to contende to folowe their vertues.

Julius Cesar and Salust for their compendious writyng to the unerstandyng wherof is required an exact and perfect iugement, and also for the exquisite ordre of bataile and continyng of the historie without any varietie, wherby the payne of studie shulde be alleuiate, they two wolde be

reserued untyll he that shall rede them shall se some experience in semblable matters. And than shal he finde in them suche pleasure and commodite as therwith a noble and gentyl harte ought to be satisfied. For in them both it shall seme to a man that he is present and hereth the counsayles and exhortations of capitaines, whiche be called Conciones, and that he seeth the ordre of hostes whan they be embatayled, the fiers assaultes and encountringes of bothe armies, the furiose rage of that monstre called warre. And he shall wene that he hereth the terrible dintes of sondry weapons and ordinaunce of bataile, the conducte and policies of wise and expert capitaines, specially in the commentaries of Julius Cesar, whiche he made of his exploiture in Fraunce and Brytayne, and other countraies nowe rekned amonge the prouinces of Germany: whiche boke is studiously to be radde of the princes of this realme of Englande and their counsailors; considering that therof maye be taken necessary instructions concernyng the warres agayne Irisshe men or Scottes, who be of the same rudenes and wilde disposition that the Suises and Britons were in the time of Cesar. Semblable utilitie shal be founden in the historie of Titus Liuius, in his thirde Decades, where he writeth of the batayles that the Romanes had with Annibal and the Charthaginensis.

Also there be dyuers orations, as well in all the bokes of the saide autors as in the historie of Cornelius Tacitus, whiche be very delectable, and for counsayles very expedient to be had in memorie. And in good faythe I haue often thought that the consultations and orations wryten by Tacitus do importe a maiestie with a compendious eloquence therin contained. In the lerning of these autors a yonge gentilman shal be taught to note and marke, nat only the order and elegancie in declaration of the historie, but also the occasion of the warres, the counsailes and preparations on either part, the estimation of the capitaines, the maner and fourme of theyr gouernance, the continuance of the bataile, the fortune and successe of the holle affaires. Semblably out of the warres in other dayly affaires, the astate of the publike weale, if hit be prosperous or in decaye, what is the very occasyon of the one or of the other, the forme and maner of the gouernance therof, the good and euyll qualities of them that be rulers, the commodites and good sequele of vertue, the discommodities and euyll conclusion of vicious licence.

Surely if a noble man do thus seriously and diligently rede histories, I dare affirme there is no studie or science for him of equal commoditie and pleasure, hauynge regarde to euey tyme and age. By the time that the childe do com to xvii yeres of age, to the intent his courage be bridled with reason, hit were nedefull to rede unto hym some warkes of philosophie; specially that parte that may enforme him unto vertuous maners, whiche parte of philosophie is called morall. Wherefore there wolde be radde to hym, for an introduction, two the fyrste bokes of the warke of Aristotell called Ethicae, wherin is contained the definitions and propre significations of euey vertue; and that to be lerned in greke; for the translations that we yet haue be but a rude and grosse shadowe of the eloquence and wisdom of Aristotell. Forthe with wolde folowe the warke of Cicero, called in Latin De officiis, wherunto yet is no propre englisshe worde to be gyuen; but to prouide for it some maner of exposition, it may be sayde in this fourme: 'Of the dueties and maners appertaynyng to men.' But aboue all other, the warkes of Plato wolde be most studiously radde whan the iugement of a man is come to perfection, and by the other studies is instructed in the fourme of speakynge that philosophers used. Lorde god, what incomparable swetnesse of wordes and mater shall he finde in the saide warkes of Plato and Cicero; wherin is ioyned grautie with dilectation, excellent wysedome with diuine eloquence, absolute vertue with pleasure incredible, and euey place is so infarced with profitable counsaile, ioyned with honestie, that those thre bokes be almoste sufficient to make a perfecte and excellent gouernour. The prouerbes of Salomon with the bokes of Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus be very good lessons. All the historiall partes of the bible be righte necessarye for to be radde of a noble man, after that he is mature in yeres. And the residue (with the newe testament) is to be reuerently touched, as a celestiall Jewell or relike, hauynge the chiefe interpretour of those bokes trewe and constant faithe, and dredefully to sette handes thereon, remembryng that Oza, for puttyng his hande to the holy shryne that was called Archa federis, whan it was broughte by kyng Dauid from the cite of Gaba, though it were waueryng and in daunger to fall, yet was he stryken of god, and fell deed immediately. It wolde nat be forgotten that, the lytell boke of the most excellent doctour Erasmus

Roterodamus, (whiche he wrate to Charles, nowe beyng emperor and than prince of Castile) whiche booke is intituled the institution of a christen prince, wolde be as familiare alway with gentlemen, at all tymes, and in euery age, as was Homere with the great king Alexander, or Xenophon with Scipio; for as all men may iuge that haue radde that warke of Erasmus, that there was neuer boke written in latine that, in so lytle a portion, contayned of sentence, eloquence, and vertuous exhortation, a more compendious abundaunce. And here I make an ende of the lernynge and studie wherby noble men may attayne to be worthy to haue autorite in a puplike weale. Alway I shall exhorte tutors and gouernours of noble chyldren, that they suffre them nat to use ingourgitations of meate or drinke, ne to slepe moche, that is to saye, aboue viii houres at the moste. For undoubtedly bothe repletion and superfluous slepe be capitall enemies to studie, as they be semblably to helth of body and soule. Aulus Gellius sayth that children, if they use of meate and slepe ouer moche, be made therewith dull to lerne, and we se that therof slownesse is taken, and the children's personages do waxe uncomely, and lasse growe in stature. Galen wyll nat permitte that pure wyne, without alay of water, shulde in any wyse be gyuen to children, for as moche as it humecteth the body, or maketh it moyster and hotter than is conuenient, also it fylleth the heed with fume, in them specially, whiche be lyke as children of hote and moiste temperature. These be well nigh the wordes of the noble Galen.

XII. Why gentlemen in this present tyme be nat equal in doctryne to the auncient noble men.

NOWE wyll I somewhat declare of the chiefe causes why, in our tyme, noble men be nat as excellent in lernying as they were in olde tyme amonge the Romanes and grekes. Surely, as I haue diligently marked in dayly experience, the principall causes be these. The pride, avarice, and negligence of parentes, and the lacke or fewenesse of suffycient maysters or teachers.

As I sayd, pride is the first cause of this inconuenience. For of those persons be some, which, without shame, dare affirme,

that to a great gentelman it is a notable reproche to be well lerned and to be called a great clerke: whiche name they accounte to be of so base estymation, that they neuer haue it in their mouthes but whan they speke any thyng in derision, whiche perchaunce they wolde nat do if they had ones layser to rede our owne cronicle of Englande, where they shall fynde that kynge Henry the first, sonne of willyam conquerour, and one of the moste noble princes that ever reigned in this realme, was openly called Henry beau clerke, whiche is in englysshe, fayre clerke, and is yet at this day so named. And wheder that name be to his honour or to his reproche, let them iuge that do rede and compare his lyfe with his two bretherne, william called Rouse and Robert le courtoise, they both nat hauyng semblable lernyng with the sayd Henry, the one for his dissolute lyuyng and tyranny beyng hated of all his nobles and people, finally was sodaynely slayne by the shotte of an arowe, as he was huntyng in a forest, whiche to make larger and to gyue his deere more lybertie, he dyd cause the houses of hi parisshe, to be pulled downe, the people to be expelled, and all beyng desolate to be tourned in to desert, and made onely pasture for beestes sauage; whiche he wolde neuer haue done if he had as moche delyted in good lerning as dyd his brother.

The other brother, Robert le Courtoise, beyng duke of Normandie, and the eldest sonne of wylliam Conquerour, all be it that he was a man of moche prowesse, and right expert in martiall affayres, wherfore he was electe before Godfray of Boloigne to haue ben kyng of Hierusalem; yet natwithstandyng whan he inuaded this realme with sondrie puissaunt armies, also dyuers. noble men aydinge hym, yet his noble brother Henry, beau clerke, more by wysdome than power, also by lernyng, addyng polycie to vertue and courage, often tymes vaynquished hym, and dyd put him to flyght. And after sondry victories finally toke him and kepte hym in prison, hauyng none other meanes to kepe his realme in tranquillitie.

It was for no rebuke, but for an excellent honour, that the emperour Antonine was surnamed philosopher, for by his moste noble example of lyuing, and industrie incomparable, he during all the tyme of his reigne kept the publike weale of the Romanes in suche a perfecte astate, that by his actes be

confirmed the sayeng of Plato, That blessed is that publike weale wherin either philosophers do reigne, or els kinges be in philosophie studious.

These persones that so moche contemne lernyng, that they wolde that gentilmen's children shulde haue no parte or very litle therof, but rather shulde spende their youth alway (I saye not onely in huntyng and haukyng, whiche moderately used, as solaces ought to be, I intende nat to dispryse) but in those ydle pastymes, whiche, for the vice that is therin, the commaundement of the prince, and the uniuersall consent of the people, expressed in statutes and lawes, do prohibite, I meane, playeng at dyce and other games named unlesfull. These persones, I say, I wolde shulde remembre, or elles nowe lerne, if they neuer els herde it, that the noble Philip kyng of Macedonia, who subdued al Greece, aboue all the good fortunes that euer he hadde, most reioysed that his sonne Alexander was borne in the tyme that Aristotle the philosopher flourished, by whose instruction he mought attaine to most excellent lernynge.

Also the same Alexander often tymes sayd that he was equally as moche bounden to Aristotle as to his father kyng Philip, for of his father he receyued lyfe, but of Aristotle he receyued the waye to lyue nobly.

Who disprayed Epaminondas, the moost valiant capitayne of Thebanes, for that he was excellently lerned and a great philosopher? Who euer discommended Julius Cesar for that he was a noble oratour, and, nexte to Tulli, in the eloquence of the latin tonge excelled al other? Who euer reproued the emperour Hadriane for that he was so exquisitely lerned, nat onely in greke and latine, but also in all sciences liberall, that openly at Athenes, in the uniuersall assembly of the greatteste clerkes of the worlde, he by a longe tyme disputed with philosophers and Rhetoriciens, whiche were esteemed mooste excellent, and by the iugement of them that were present had the palme or rewarde of victorie? And yet, by the gouernance of that noble emperour, nat only the publik weale flourished but also diuers rebellions were suppressed, and the majesty of the empire hugely increased. Was it any reproche to the noble Germanicus (who by the assignement of Augustus shulde haue succeeded Tiberius in the empire, if traitorous enuy had

nat in his flourysshynge youth bireft hym his lyfe) that he was equall to the moost noble poetes of his time, and, to the increase of his honour and moost worthy commendation, his image was set up at Rome, in the habite that poetes at those dayes used? Fynally howe moche excellent lernynge commendeth, and nat dispraiseth, nobilitie, it shal playnly appere unto them that do rede the lyfes of Alexander called Seuerus, Tacitus, Probus Aurelius, Constantine, Theodosius, and Charles the gret, surnamed Charlemaine, all being emperours, and do compare them with other, whiche lacked or had that so moche of doctrine. Verily they be ferre from good raison, in myne opinion, whiche couaite to haue their children goodly in stature, stronge, deliuer, well synging, wherin trees, beastes, fysshes, and byrdes, be nat only with them equall, but also ferre do excede them. And connynge, wherby onely man excelleth all other creatures in erthe, they reiecte, and accounte unworthy to be in their children. What unkinde appetite were it to desyre to be father rather of a pece of flesshe, that can onely meue and feele, than of a childe that shulde haue the perfecte fourme of a man? What so perfectly expresseth a man as doctrine? Diogines the philosopher seing one without lernynge syt on a stone, sayde to them that were with him, beholde where one stone sytteth on an other; whiche wordes, well considered and tried, shall appere to contayne in it wonderfull matter for the approbation of doctrine, wherof a wyse man maye accumulate ineuitable argumentes, whiche I of necessite, to auoide tediousnes, must nedes passe ouer at this tyme.

XIII. The seconde and thirde decay of lerning amonge gentilmen.

THE seconde occasion wherfore gentylmens children seldome haue sufficient lernynge is auarice. For where theyr parentes wyll nat aduenture to sende them farre out of theyr propre countrayes, partely for feare of dethe, whiche perchance dare nat approche them at home with theyr father; partely for expence of money, whiche they suppose wolde be lesse in theyr owne houses or in a village, with some of theyr tenants or frendes; hauyng seldome any regarde to the teacher, whether he be well lerned or ignorant. For if they hiare a schole maister to teche in theyr houses they chiefly enquire with howe small a salary he will be contented, and

neuer inserche howe moche good lernynge he hath and howe amonge well lerned men he is therin esteemed, using therin lasse diligence than in takynge seruantes, whose seruice is of moche lasse importance and to a good schole maister is nat in profite to be compared. A gentil man, er he take a cooke in to his seruice, he wyll firste diligently examine hym, howe 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 nourishynge; yea and if it be but a fauconer, he wyll scrupulously enquire what skylle he hath in feedynge, called diete, and keepynge of his hauke from all sickenes, also how he can reclaime her and prepare her to flyght. And to suche a cooke or fauconer, whom he findeth expert, he spareth nat to gyue moche wages with other bounteous rewardes. But of a schole maister, to whom he will committe his childe, to be fedde with lernynge and instructed in vertue, whose lyfe shall be the principall monument of his name and honour, he neuer maketh forther enquirie but where he may haue a schole maister; and with howe litel charge; and if one be perchance founden, well lerned, but he will nat take paynes to teache without he may haue a great salary, he than speketh. nothing more, or els saith, What shall so moche wages be gyuen to a schole maister whiche wolde kepe me two seruantes? to whom maye be saide these wordes, that by his sonne being wel lerned he shall receiue more commoditie and also worship than by the seruice of a hundred cokes and fauconers.

The thirde cause of this hyndrance is negligence of parentes whiche I do specially note in this poynt; there haue bene diuers, as well gentill men as of the nobilitie, that deliting to haue their sonnes excellent in lernynge haue prouided for them connyng maysters, who substancially haue taught them grammer, and very wel instructed them to speake latine elegantly, wherof the parentes haue taken moche delectation; but whan they haue had of grammer sufficient and be comen to the age of xiiii yeres, and do approche or drawe towarde the astate of man, whiche age is called mature or ripe, (wherin nat onely the saide lernynge continued by moche experience shal be perfectly digested, and confirmed in perpetuall remembrance, but also more seriouse lernynge contayned in other lyberall sciences, and also philosophy, wolde than be lerned) the parentes, that thinge nothinge

regarding, but being suffised that their children can onely speke latine proprely, or make verses with out mater or sentence, they from thens forth do suffre them to liue in idelnes, or els, putting them to seruice, do, as it were, banisse them from all vertuous study or exercise of that whiche they before lerned; so that we may beholde diuers yonge gentill men, who in their infancie and childehode were wondred at for their aptnes to lerning and prompt speakinge of elegant latine, whiche nowe, beinge men, nat onely haue forgotten their congruite, (as in the commune worde), and unneth can speake one hole sentence in true latine, but, that wars is, hath all lernynge in derision, and in skorne therof wyll, of wantonnesse, speake the moste barberously that they can imagine.

Nowe some man will require me to shewe myne opinion if it be necessary that gentilmen shulde after the age of xiiii yeres continue in studie. And to be playne and trewe therein, I dare affirme that, if the elegant speking of latin be nat added to other doctrine, litle frute may come of the tonge; sens latine is but a naturall speche, and the frute of speche is wyse sentence, whiche is gathered and made of sondry lernynges. And who that hath nothinge but langage only may be no more praised than a popiniay, a pye, or a stare, whan they speke featly. There be many nowe a dayes in famouse scholes and uniuersities whiche be so moche gyuen to the studie of tonges onely, that whan, they write epistles, they seme to the reder that, like to a trumpet, they make a soun without any purpose, where unto men do herken more for the noyse than for any delectation that therby is meued. Wherefore they be moche abused that suppose eloquence to be only in wordes or coulours of Rhetorike, for, as Tulli saith, what is so furiose or mad a thinge as a vaine soun of wordes of the best sort and most ornate, contayning neither connyng nor sentence?

Undoubtedly very eloquence is in euery tonge where any mater or acte done or to be done is expressed in wordes clene, propise, ornate, and comely: whereof sentences be so aptly compact that they by a vertue inexplicable do drawe unto them the mindes and consent of the herers, they beinge therwith either perswaded, meued, or to delectation induced. Also euery man is nat an oratour that can write an epistle or a flatering station in latin: where of the laste, (as god helpe me)

is to moche used.

For a right oratour may nat be without a moche better furniture, Tulli saienge that to him belongeth the explicating or unfolding of sentence, with a great estimation in gyuing counsaile concerninge maters of great importaunce, also to him appertaineth the steringe and quickning of people languisshinge or dispeiringe, and to moderate them that be rasshe and unbridled. Wherefore noble autours do affirme that, in the firste infancie of the worlde, men, wandring like bestes in woddes and on mountaines, regardinge neither the religion due unto god, nor the office pertaining unto man, ordred all thing by bodily strength: untill Mercurius (as Plato supposeth) or some other man holpen by sapience and eloquence, by some apt or propre oration, assembled them to geder and perswaded to them what commodite was in mutual conuersation and honest maners. But yet Cornelius Tacitus describeth an oratour to be of more excellent qualities, saynge that, an oratour is he that can or may speke or raison in euery question sufficiently elegantly: and to persuade proprely, accordyng to the dignitie of the thyng that is spoken of, the oportunitie of time, and pleasure of them that be herers. Tulli, before him, affirmed that, a man may nat be an oratour heaped with praise, but if he haue gotten the knowlege of all thynges and artes of greatest importaunce. And howe shall an oratour speake of that thyng that he hath nat lerned? And bicause there may be nothyng but it may happen to come in praise or dispraise, in consultation or iugement, in accusation or defence: therefore an oratour, by others instruction perfectly furnished, may, in euery mater and lernyng, commende or dispraise, exhorte or dissuade, accuse or defende eloquently, as occasion hapneth. Wherefore in as moche as in an oratour is required to be a heape of all maner of lernyng: whiche of some is called the worlde of science, of other the circle of doctrine, whiche is in one worde of greke Encyclopedia: therefore at this day may be founden but a very few oratours. For they that come in message from princes be, for honour, named nowe oratours, if they be in any degre of worshyp: onely poore men hauyng equall or more of lernyng beyng called messagers. Also they whiche do onely teache rhetorike, whiche is the science wherby is taught an artifyciall fourme of speykng, wherin is the power to persuade, moue, and delyte, or by that science onely do speke or write, without any

adminiculation of other sciences, ought to be named rhetoriciens, declamatours, artificiall spekers, (named in Greeke Logodedali), or any other name than oratours. Semblably they that make verses, expressynge therby none other lernynge but the craft of versifyeng, be nat of auncient writers named poetes, but onely called versifyers. For the name of a poete, wherat nowe, (specially in this realme) men haue suche indignation, that they use onely poetes and poetry in the contempte of eloquence, was in auncient tyme in hygh estimation: in so moche that all wysdome was supposed to be therin included, and poetry was the first philosophy that euer was knowen: wherby men from their childhode were brought to the raison howe to lyue well, lernynge therby nat onely maners and naturall affections, but also the wonderfull warkes of nature, mixing serious mater with thynges that were pleasaunt: as it shall be manifest to them that shall be so fortunate to rede the noble warkes of Plato and Aristotle, wherin he shall fynde the autoritie of poetes frequently alleged: ye and that more is, in poetes was supposed to be science misticall and inspired, and therefore in latine they were called Vates which worde signifyeth as moche as prophetes. And therefore Tulli in his Tusculane questyons supposeth that a poete can nat abundantly expresse verses sufficient and complete, or that his eloquence may flowe without labour wordes wel sounyng and plentuouse, without celestiall instinction, whiche is also by Plato ratified.

But sens we be nowe occupied in the defence of Poetes, it shall nat be incongruent to our mater to shewe. what profite may be taken by the diligent reding of auncient poetes, contrary to the false opinion, that nowe rayneth, of them that suppose that in the warkes of poetes is contayixed nothyng but baudry, (suche is their foule worde of reproche) and unprofitable leasinges.

But first I wyll interprete some verses of Horace, wherin he expresseth the office of poetes, and after wyll I resorte to a more playne demonstration of some wisdomes and counsayles contayned in some verses of poetes. Horace, in his seconde booke of epistles, sayth in this wyse or moche lyke

The poete facyoneth by some plesant mene
The speche of children tendre and unsure:

Pullyng their eares from wordes unclene,
Gyuingn to them preceptes that are pure:
Rebukyng enuy and wrathe if it dure:

Things wel done he can by example commende:

The nedy and sicke he doth also his cure
To recomfort, if aught can amende.

But they whiche be ignoraunt in poetes wyll perchaunce
obiete, as is their maner, agayne these verses, sayeng that in
Therence and other that were writers of comedies, also Ouide,
Catullus, Martialis, and all that route of lasciuious poetes that
wrate epistles and ditties of loue, some called in latine
Elegiae and some Epigrammata, is nothyng contayned but
incitation to lechery.

First, comedies, whiche they suppose to be a doctrinall of
rybaudrie, they be undoutedly a picture or as it were a mirroure
of man's life, wherin iuell is nat taught but discouered; to the
intent that men beholdyng the promptnes of youth unto vice,
the snares of harlotts, and baudes laide for yonge myndes, the
disceipte of seruantes, the chaunces of fortune contrary to
mennes expectation, they beinge therof warned may prepare
them selfe to resist or preuente occasion. Semblably
remembring the wisdomes, aduertisements, counsailes,
dissuasion from vice, and other profitable sentences, most
eloquently and familiarely shewed in those comedies,
undoubtedly there shall be no litle frute out of them gathered.
And if the vices in them expressed shulde be cause that
myndes of the reders shulde be corrupted: than by the same
argumente nat onely entreludes in englisshe, but also
sermones, wherin some vice is declared, shulde be to the
beholders and herers like occasion to encrease sinners.

And that by comedies good counsaile is ministred: it
appiereth by the sentence of Parmeno, in the seconde comedie
of Therence:

In this thinge I triumpbe in myne owne conceipte,
That I have founden for all yonge men the way
Howe they of harlottes shall knowe the deceipte,

Their wittes, their maners, that therby they may
Them perpetually hate; for so moche as they
Out of theyr owne houses be fresshe and delicate,
Fedyng curiously; at home all the daye
Lyuinge beggarly in moste wretched astate.

There be many mo words spoken whiche I purposely omitte
to translate, nat withstandyng the substance of the hole
sentence is herin comprised. But nowe to come to other
poetes, what may be better saide than is written by Plautus in
his firste comedie?

Verily Vertue dothe all thinges excelle.
For if libertie, helthe, lyvyng and substance,
Our countray, our parentes and children do well
It hapneth by vertue ; she doth all aduance.
Vertue bath all thinge under gouernaunce,
And in whom of vertue is founden great plentie,
Any thinge that is good may neuer be deintie.

Also Ouidius, that semeth to be moste of all poetes lasciuious,
in his mooste wanton bokes hath righte commendable and
noble sentences; as for proufe therof I will recite some that I
haue taken at aduenture.

Time is in medicine if it shall profite;
Wyne gyuen out of tyme may be anoyauce.
A man shall irritate vice if he prohibite
Whan tyme is nat mete unto his utterance
. Therefore, if thou yet by counsaile arte recuperable,
Flee thou from idlenesse and alway be stable.

Martialis, whiche, for his dissolute wrytyng, is mooste
seldome radde of men of moche grautie, hath nat
withstandyng many commendable sentences and right wise
counsailles, as amonge diuers I will reherce one whiche is first
come to my remembrance.

If thou wylte eshewe bytter aduenture,
And auoide the gnawynge of a pensifull harte,
Sette in no one persone all holy thy pleasure,
The lasse ioy shalte thou haue but the lasse shalt thou

smarte

I coulde recite a great nombre of semblable good sentences out of these and other wanton poets, who in the latine do expresse them incomparably with more grace and delectation to the reder than our englisshe tonge may yet comprehende.

Wherfore sens good and wise mater may be picked out of these poetes, it were no reason, for some lite mater that is in their verses, to abandone therefore al their warkes, no more than it were to forbears or prohibite a man to come into a faire gardein, leste the redolent sauours of swete herbes and floures shall meue him to wanton courage, or leste in gadringe good and holsome herbes he may happen to be stunge with a nettile. No wyse man entreth in to a gardein but he sone espie the good herbes from nettiles, and treadeth the nettiles under his feete whiles he gadreth good herbes.

Wherby he taketh no damage, or if he be stungen he maketh lite of it and shortly forgetteth it. Semblablye if he do rede wanton mater mixte with wisdom, he putteth the warst under foote and sorteth out the beste, or, if his courage be stered or prouoked, he remembreth the litel pleasure and gret detriment that shulde ensue of it, and withdrawynge his minde to some other studie or exercise shortly forgetteth it.

And therefore amonge the iewes, though it were prohibited to children untill they came to rype yeres to reade the bokes of Genesis, of the iuges, Cantica Canticorum, and some parte of the boke of Ezechiel the prophete, for that in them was contayned some matter whiche moughte happen to incense the yonge mynde. Wherin were sparkes of carnall concupiscence, yet after certayne yeres of mennes ages it was leful for euery man to rede and diligently studie those Warkes. So all thoughe I do nat approue the lesson of wanton poetes to be taughte unto all children, yet thynke I conuenient and necessary that, whan the mynde is become constante and courage is asswaged, or that children of their naturall disposition be shamfaste and continent, none auncient poete wolde be excluded from the leesson of suche one as desireth to come to the perfection of wysedome.

But in defendynge of oratours and poetes I had all moste forgotten where I was. Verily there may no man be an

excellent poet nor oratour unlasse he haue parte of all other doctrine, specially of noble philosophie. And to say the truth, no man can apprehende the very delectation that is in the leesson of noble poetes unlasse he haue radde very moche and indiuers autours of diuers lernynges. Wherefore, as I late said, to the augmentation of understandyng, called in latine Tntellectus et mens, is required to be moche redyng and vigilaunt studie in euery science, specially of that parte of philosophie named morall, whiche instructeth men in vertue and politike gouernaunce. Also no noble autour, specially of them that wrate in greke or latine before xii. C. yeres passed, is nat for any cause to be omitted. For therin I am of Quintilianes opinion, that there is fewe or none auncient warke that yeldethe nat some frute or commoditie to the diligent reders. And it is a very grosse or obstinate witte that by readyng moche is nat some what amended.

Concernynge the election of other autours to be radde I haue (as I truste) declared sufficiently my conceipt and opinionn the x and xi chapiters of this litle treatise.

Finally, like as a delicate tree that cometh of a kernell, whiche as ne as it burgeneth out leues, if it be plucked uppe or it be sufficiently rooted, and layde in a corner, it become th drye or rotten and no frute cometh of it, if it be remoued and sette in an other ayre or erthe, which is of contrary qualities where it was before, it either semblably diethe or beareth no frute, or els the frute that cometh of it leseth his verdure and taste, and finally his estimation. So the pure and excellent lerning wherof I haue spoken, thoughe it be sowen in a childe neuer so tymely, and springeth and burgeneth neuer so pleasauntly, if, byfore it take a depe rote in the mynde of the childe, it be layde a syde, either by to moche solace or continuall attendaunce in seruice, or els is translated to an other studie whiche is of a more grosse or unpleasaunt qualitie before it be confirmed or stablISHED by often reding or diligent exercise, in conclusion it vanissheth and cometh to no thing.

Wherefore lete men replie as they list, but, in myne opinion, men be wonderfully disceyued nowe a dayes, (I dare nat saye with the persuasion of auarice) that do put their children at the age of xiiii or xv yeres to the studie of the lawes of the realme of Englande. I will shewe to them reasonable causes

why, if they wyll paciently here me, infourmed partely by myne owne experience.

XIV. Howe the studentes in the lawes of this realme maye take excellent commoditie by the lessons of sondrie doctrines.

IT may nat be denied but that al lawes be founded on the depest parte of raison, and, as I suppose, no one lawe so moche as our owne; and the deper men do inuestigate raison the more difficile or harde muste nedes be the studie. Also that reuerende studie is inuolued in so barbarouse a langage, that it is nat onely voyde of all eloquence, but also beyng seperate from the exercise of our lawe onely, it serueth to no commoditie or necessary purpose, no man understanding it but they whiche haue studyed the lawes.

Than children at xiiii or xv yeres olde, in whiche tyme springeth courage, set all in pleasure, and pleasure is in nothyng that is nat facile or elegaunt, beyng brought to the moste difficulte and graue lernyng whiche hath no thyng illecebrouse or delicate to tickyll their tender wyttes and alure them to studie, (onles it be lucre, whiche a gentyll witte lytle estemeth) the more parte, vainquished with tediousnesse, either do abandone the lawes and unwares to their frendes do gyue them to gamyng and other (as I mought saye) idle busynesse nowe called pastymes; or els if they be in any wyse therto constraigned, they apprehendyng a piece therof, as if they beyng longe in a derke dungeon onely dyd se by the light of a candell, than if after xx or xxx yeres studie they happen to come amonge wyse men, hering maters commened of concerning a publike weale or outwards affaires betwene princes, they no lasse be astonied, than of commyng out of a darke house at noone dayes they were sodaynly striken in the eyen with a bright sonne beame. But I speke nat this in reproche of lawyers, for I knowe dyuers of them whiche in consultation wyll make a right vehement raison, and so do some other whiche hath neither lawe nor other lernyng, yet the one and the other, if they were fournished with excellent doctrine, their raison shulde be the more substanciall and certayne.

There be some also whiche by their frendes be coarted to aplye the studie of the lawe onely, and for lacke of plentuous exhibition be let of their lybertie, wherfore they can nat resorte unto passetyme; these of all other be moste caste awaye, for nature repugnyng, they unneth taste any thing that may be profytable, and also their courage is so mortified (whiche yet by solace perchaunce mought be made quicke or apte to some other studie or laudable exercise) that they lyue euer after out of all estimation.

Wherfore Tulli sayeth we shulde so indeuour our selves that we striue nat with the uniuersall nature of man, but that beyng conserued, lette us folowe our owne propre natures, that thoughe there be studies more graue and of more importaunce, yet ought we to regarde the studies wherto we be by our owne nature inclined. And that this sentence is true we haue dayly experience in this realme specially. For how many men be there that hauyng their sonnes in childhode aptly disposed by nature to paynte, to kerue, or graue, to embrowder, or do other lyke thynges, wherin is any arte commendable, concernyng inuention, but that, as sone as they espie it, they be therwith displeased, and forthwith byndeth them apprentices to taylours, to wayuers, to towkers, and somtyme to coblers, whiche haue ben the inestimable losse of many good wittes, and haue caused that in the said artes englisshmen be inferiors to all other people, and be constraigned, if we wyll haue any thinge well paynted, kerued, or embrowdred, to abandone our owne countraymen and resorte unto straungers, but more of this shall I speke in the nexte volume. But to resorte unto lawyars. I thinke verily if children were broughte uppe as I haue written, and continually were retayned in the right studie of very philosophy untyll they passed the age of xxi yeres, and than set to the lawes of this realme (being ones brought to a more certayne and compendious studie, and either in englishe, latine, or good french, written in a more clene and elegant stile) undoughtedly they shuld become men of so excellent wisdom that throughout all the worlde shulde be founden in no commune weale more noble counsaylours, our lawes nat onely comprehendyng most excellent raisons, but also beyng gadred and compacte (as I mought saye) of the pure mele or floure syfted out of the best lawes of all other countrayes, as somewhat I do intende to proue evidently in the nexte volume,

wherin I wyll rendre myne offyce or duetie to that honorable studie wherby my father was aduanced to a iuge, and also I my selfe haue attained no lytle commoditie.

I suppose dyuers men ther be that will say, that the swetnesse that is contayned in eloquence and the multitude of doctrines, shulde utterly withdrawe the myndes of yonge men from the more necessary studie of the lawes of this realme. To them wyll I make a briefe answeere, but true it shalbe, and I trust sufficient to wise men. In the gret multitude of yonge men, whiche alway will repayre, and the lawe beinge ones brought in to a more certayne and perfect langage, will also increase in the reuerent studie of the lawe, undoughtedly there shall neuer lacke but some by nature inclyned, dyuers by desyre of sondrie doctrines, many for hope of lucre or some other aduancement, will effectually studie the lawes, ne will be therfrom withdrawen by any other lesson whiche is more eloquent. Example we haue at this present tyme of diuers excellent lerned men, bothe in the lawes ciuile as also in phisike, whiche being exactly studyed in all partes of eloquence, bothe in the Greeke tonge and latine, haue nat wistanding radde and perused the great fardelles and trusses of the most barbarouse autours, stuffed with innumerable gloses, wherby the moste necessary doctrines of lawe and phisike be mynced in to fragmentes, and in all wise mens opinions, do perceyue no lasse in the said lernynges than they whiche neuer knewe eloquence, or neuer tasted other but the fecis or dragges of the sayd noble doctrines. And as for the multitude of sciences can nat indamage any student, but if he be meued to studie the lawe by any of the sayd motions by me before touched, he shal rather increase therein than be hyndred, and that shall apere manifestly to theym that either will gyue credence to my reporte, or els will rede the warkes that I wyll alledge; whiche if they understande nat, to desyre some lerned man by interpretinge to cause them perceyue it. And first I wil begyn at oratours, who beare the principall tyle of eloquence.

It is to be remembred that in the lernyng of the lawes of this realme, there is at this daye an exercise, wherin is a maner, a shadowe, or figure of the auncient rhetorike. I meane the pleadyng used in courte and Chauncery called motes; where fyrst a case is appoynted to be moted by certayne yonge men,

contaynyng some doubtfull controuersie, which is in stede of the heed of a declamation called thema. The case beinge knowen, they whiche be appoynted to mote, do examine the case, and inuestigate what they therin can espie, whiche may make a contention, wherof may ryse a question to be argued, and that of Tulli is called constitutio and of Quintilian status causi.

Also they consider what plees on euery parte ought to be made, and howe the case maye be reasoned, whiche is the fyrste parte of Rhetorike, named Inuention; than appoynte they howe many plees maye be made for euery parte, and in what formalitie they shulde be sette, whiche is the seconde parte of Rhetorike, called disposition, wherin they do moche approche unto Rhetorike: than gather they all in to perfecte remembrance, in suche ordre as it ought to be pleaded, whiche is the parte of Rhetorike named memorie. But for as moche as the tonge wherin it is spoken, is barberouse, and the sterynge of affections of the mynde in this realme was neuer used, therefore there lacketh Eloquution and Pronunciation, two the principall partes of rhetorike. Nat withstanding some lawyars, if they be well retayned, wyll in a meane cause pronounce right vehemently. Moreouer there semeth to be in the sayd pledinges certayne partes of an oration, that is to say for Narrations, Partitions, Confirmations and Confutations, named of some Reprehensions, they haue Declarations, Barres, Replications and Reioyndres, onely they lacke pleasaunt fourme of begynnyng, called in latine Exordium, nor it maketh therof no great mater they that haue studied rhetorike shal perceyue what I meane. Also in arguyng their cases, in myn opinion, they very litle do lacke of the hole arte; for therin they do diligently obserue the rules of Confirmation and Confutation, wherin resteth proufe and disproufe, hauyng almoste all the places wherof they shall fetche their raisons, called of Oratours loci communes, which I omitte to name, fearinge to be to longe in this mater. And verily I suppose, if there mought ones happen some man, hauyng an excellent wytte, to be brought up in suche fourme as I haue hytherto written, and maye also be exactly or depely lerned in the arte of an Oratour, and also in the lawes of this realme, the prince so willyng and therto assistinge, undoughtedly it shulde nat be impossible for hym to bring the pleadyng and reasonyng of the lawe, to the auncient fourme

of noble oratours; and the lawes and exercise therof beyng in pure latine or doulce frenche, fewe men in consultations shulde (in myne opinion) compare with our lawyars, by this meanes beinge brought to be perfect orators, as in whome shulde than be founden the sharpe wittes of logitians, the graue sentences of philosophers, the elegancie of poetes, the memorie of ciuilians, the voice and gesture of them that can pronounce commedies, which is all that Tulli, in the person of the most eloquent man Marcus Antonius, coulde require to be in an oratour.

But nowe to conclude myne assertion, what let was eloquence to the studie of the lawe in Quintus Sceuola, whiche beinge an excellent autour in the lawes ciuile, was called of al lawiars moste eloquent?

Or howe moche was eloquence minished by knowlege of the lawes in Crassus, whiche was called of all eloquent men the beste lawiar? Also Seruus Sulpitius, in his tyme one of the moste noble oratours next unto Tulli, was nat so let by eloquence but that on the ciuile lawes he made notable commentes, and many noble warkes by all lawyars approued. Who redeth the text of Ciuile, called the Pandectes or Digestes, and hath any commendable iugement in the latine tonge, but he wyll affirme that Ulpianus, Sceuola, Claudius, and all the other there named, of whose sayenges all the saide textis be assembled, were nat only studious of eloquence, but also wonderfull exercised: for as moche as theyr stile dothe approche nerer to the antique and pure eloquence, than any other kinde of writars that wrate aboute that tyme?

Semblably Tulli, in whom it semeth that Eloquence hath sette her glorious Throne, most richely and preciousely adourned for all men to wonder at, but no man to approche it, was nat let from beinge an incomparable oratour, ne was nat by the exacte knowlege of other sciences withdrawen from pleadyng infinite causes before the Senate and iuges, and they beinge of moste waightye importance. In so moche as Cornelius Tacitus, an excellent oratour, historien, and lawiar, saithe, Surely in the bokes of Tulli, men may deprehende, that in hym lacked nat the knowlege of geometrye, ne musike, ne grammer, finally of no maner of art that was honest: he of logike perceiued the subiltie, of that parte that was morall all

the commodite, and of all thinges the chiefe motions and causis.

And yet for all this abundance, and as it were a garnerde heaped with all maner sciences, there failed nat in him substanciall lernyng in the lawes Ciuile, as it may appiere as wel, in the bokes, whiche he him selfe made of lawes, as also and most specially, in many of his most eloquent orations; whiche if one well lerned in the lawes of this realme dyd rede and wel understande, he shulde finde, specially in his orations called Actiones agayne Verres, many places where he shulde espie, by likelihode, the fountaynes, from whense proceded diuers groundes of our commune lawes. But I wyll nowe leue to speake any more therof at this tyme.

All that I haue writen well considered, it shall seme to wise men, that neither eloquence, nor knowlege of sondry doctrines, shall utterly withdrawe all men from studie of the lawes. But all though many were allected unto those doctrines by naturall disposition, yet the same nature, whiche wyll nat (as I mought saye) be circumscribed within the boundes of a certayne of studies, may as well dispose some man, as well to desire the knowlege of the lawes of this realme, as she dyd incline the Romanes, excellently lerned in all sciences, to apprehende the lawes ciuile; sens the lawes of this realme, beinge well gathered and brought in good latine, shal be worthy to haue like praise as Tulli gaue to the lawes comprehended in the xii tables, from whens all ciuile lawe flowed, whiche praise was in this wise. Al though men will abraide at it, I wyll say as I thinke, the one litle boke of the xii tables semeth to me to surmounte the libraries of all the philosophers in waighty autoritie, and abundance of profite, beholde who so wyll the fountaines and heedes of the lawes.

More ouer, whan yonge men haue radde lawes, expounded in the orations of Tulli, and also in histories of the begynnyng of lawes, and in the warkes of Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotell, of the diuersities of lawes and publike weales, if nature (as I late saide) wyll dispose them to that maner studie, they shall be therto the more incensed, and come unto it the better prepared and furnisshed. And they whom nature therto meueth, haue nat only saued all that time, which many now a dayes do consume in idlenesse, but also haue wonne suche a

treasure, wher by they shall alway be able to serue honourably theyr prince, and the publike weale of theyr countray, principally if they conferre al their doctrines to the moste noble studie of morall philosophie, whiche teacheth both vertues, maners, and ciuile policie: wherby at the laste we shulde haue in this realme sufficiencie of worshypfull lawyars, and also a publike weale equiualent to the grekes or Romanes.

XV. For what cause at this day there be in this realme fewe Perfects schole maisters.

LORDE god, howe many good and clene wittes of children be nowe a dayes perished by ignorant schole maisters. Howe litle substancial doctrine is apprehended by the fewenesse of good gramariens? Not withstanding I knowe that there be some well lerned, whiche haue taught, and also do teache, but god knoweth a fewe, and they with small effecte, hauing therto no comforte, theyr aptist and moste propre scholers, after they be well instructed in speakyng latine, and understanding some poetes, being taken from theyr schole by their parentes, and either be brought to the courte, and made lakayes or pages, or els are bounden prentises; wherby the worshyp that the maister, aboue any reward, couaiteih to haue by the praise of his scholer, is utterly drowned; wherof I haue herde schole maisters, very well lerned, of goode righte complayne. But yet (as I sayd) the fewenesse of good gramariens is a great impediment of doctrine. (And here I wolde the reders shulde marke that I note to be fewe good gramariens, and not none) I call nat them gramariens, whiche onely can teach or make rules, wherby a childe shall onely lerne to speake congrue latine, or to make sixe versis standyng in one fete, wherin perchance shal be neither sentence nor eloquence. But I name hym a gramarien, by the autoritie of Quintilian, that speakyng latine elegantly, can expounde good autours, expressyng the inuention and disposition of the mater, their stile or fourme of eloquence, explicating the figures as well of sentences as wordes, leuyng nothyng, persone, or place named by the autour, undeclared or hidde from his scholers. Wherfore Quintilian saith, it is nat inough for hym to haue rad poetes, but all kyndes of wrytyng must also be sought for; nat for the histories only, but also for the propertie of wordes, whiche comunely do receiue theyr

authoritie of noble autours. More ouer without musike gramer may nat be perfecte; for as moche as therin muste be spoken of metres and harmonies, called rythmi in greke. Neither if he haue nat the knowlege of sterres, he may understande poetes, whiche in description of times (I omitte other things) they traicte of the risinge and goinge downe of planettes. Also he may nat be ignorant in philosophie, for many places that be almooste in euerye poete fetched out of the most subtile parte of naturall questions. These be well nighe the wordes of Quintilian.

Than beholde howe fewe gramariens after this description be in this realme.

Undoubtedly ther be in this realme many well lerned, whiche if the name of a schole maister were nat so moche had in contempte, and also if theyr labours with abundant salaries mought be requited, were righte sufficient and able to induce their herers to excellent lernynge, so they be nat plucked away grene, and er they be in doctrine sufficiently rooted. But nowe a dayes, if to a bachelor or maister of arte studie of philosophie waxeth tedious, if he haue a sponne full of latine, he wyll shewe forth a hoggesheed without any lernynge, and offre to teache grammer and expoune noble writers, and to be in the roome of a maister: he wyll, for a small salarie, sette a false colour of lernyng on propre wittes, whiche wyll be washed away with one shoure of raine. For if the children be absent from schole by the space of one moneth, the best lerned of them will uneth tell wheder Fato, wherby Eneas was brought in to Itali, were other a man, a horse, a shyppe, or a wyld goose. Al thoughe their maister wyll perchance auaunte hym selfe to be a good philosopher.

Some men perauenture do thinke that, at the begynning of lernynge, it forceth nat, all thoughe the maisters haue nat so exacte doctrine as I haue reherced; but let them take good hede what Quintilian saith, that it is so moche the better to be instructed by them that are beste lerned, for as moche as it is difficulte to put out of the mynde that whiche is ones settilled, the double bourden beinge painfull to the maisters that shal succede, and verily moche more to unteache than to teache. Wherefore it is writen that Timothe, the noble musitian, demaunded alway a gretter rewarde of them whom other had

taught, than of them that neuer any thinge lerned. These be the wordes of Quintilian or like.

Also commune experience teacheth that no man will put his sonne to a botcher to lerne, or he bynde hym prentise to a taylour: or if he wyll haue hym a connyng goldsmith, wyll byn de hym firste prentise to a tynkar: in these thynges poure men be circumspect, and the nobles and gentilmen, who wolde haue their sonnes by excellent lerning come unto honour, for sparynge of cost or for lacke of diligent serche for a good schole maister wilfully distroy their children, causinge them to be taught that lerninge, whiche wolde require sixe or seuen yeres to be forgotten: by whiche tyme the more parte of that age is spente, wherin is the chiefe sharpnesse of witte called in latine acumen, and also than approacheth the stubborne age, where the childe broughte up in pleasure disdayneth correction.

Nowe haue I all declared (as I do suppose) the chiefe impechementes of excellent lernynge: of the reformation I nede nat to speake, sens it is apparant, that by the contraries, men pursuinge it earnestly with discrete iugement and liberalitie, it wolde sone be amended.

XVI. Of sondry fourmes of exercise necessary for euery gentilman.

ALL thoughe I haue hitherto aduanced the commendation of lernyng, specially in gentil men, yet it is to be considered that continuall studie without some maner of exercise, shortly exhausteth the spirites vitall, and hyndereth naturall decoction and digestion, wherby mannes body is the soner corrupted and brought in to diuers sickennesis, and finallye the life is therby made shorter: where contrayrye wise by exercise, whiche is a vehement motion (as Galene prince of phisitions defineth) the helthe of man is preserued, and his strength increased: for as moche the membres by meuyng and mutuall touching, do waxe more harde, and naturall heate in all the body is therby augmented. More ouer it maketh the spirites of a man more stronge and valiant, so that, by the hardnesse of the membres, all labours be more tollerable; by naturall hete the appetite is the more quicke; the change of the substance

receiued is the more redy; the nourisshinge of all partes of the body is the more sufficient and sure . By valiaunt motion of the spirites all thinges superfluous be expelled, and the condutis of the body clenched. Wherfore this parte of phisike is nat to be contemned or neglected in the education of children, and specially from the age of xiiii yeres upwarde, in whiche tyme strength with courage increaseth. More ouer there be diuers maners of exercises wherof some onely prepareth and helpeth digestion; some augmenteth also strength and hardnesse of body; other serueth for agilitie and nymblesse; some for celeritie or spedinesse. There be also whiche ought to be used for necessitie only. All these ought he that is a tutor to a noble man to haue in remembrance, and, as opportunitie serueth, to put them in experience. And specially them whiche with helth do ioyne commoditie (and as I moughte say) necessitie: consideryng that be he neuer so noble or valiant, some tyme he is subiecte to or (to speake it more pleasauntly) seruant to fortune. Touching suche exercises, as many be used within the house, or in the shadowe, (as is the olde maner of speking), as deambulations, laborynge with poyses made of leadde or other metall, called in latine Alteres, lifynge and throwyng the heuy stone or barre, playing at tenyse, and diuers semblable exercises, I will for this tyme passe ouer; exhortyng them which do understande latine, and do desire to knowe the commodities of sondrye exercises, to resorte to the boke of Galene, of the gouernance of helth, called in latine De Sanitate tuenda, where they shal be in that mater abundantly satisfied, and finde in the readyng moche delectation; whiche boke is translated in to latine, wonderfull eloquently by doctor Linacre, late mooste worthy phisition to our mooste noble soueraigne lorde kynge Henry the VIII.

And I wyll nowe only speake of those exercises, apt to the furniture of a gentilmannes personage, adapting his body to hardnesse, strength, and agilitie, and to helpe therwith hym selfe in perile, whiche may happen in warres or other necessitie.

XVII. Exercises wherby shulde growe both recreation and profite.

WRASTLYNGE, is a very good exercise in the begynnyng of youthe, so that it be with one that is equall in strengthe, or some what under, and that the place be soft, that in fallinge theyr bodies be nat brused.

There be diuers maners of wrastlinges, but the beste, as well for helthe of body as for exercise of strengthe, is whan layeng mutually their handes one ouer a nothers necke, with the other hande they holde faste eche other by the arme, and claspyng theyr legges to gether, they inforce them selves with strengthe and agilitie to throwe downe eche. other, whiche is also praysed by Galene. And undoubtedly it shall be founde profitable in warres, in case that a capitayne shall be constrayned to cope with his aduersary hande to hande, hauyng his weapon broken or loste. Also it hath ben sene that the waiker persone, by the sleight of wrastlyng, hath ouerthrowen the strenger, almost or he coulde fasten on the other any violent stroke.

Also rennyng is bothe a good exercise and a laudable solace. It is written of Epaminondas the valiant capitayne of Thebanes, who as well in vertue and prowesse as in lerninge surmounted all noble men of his tyme, that daily he exercised him selfe in the mornyng with rennyng and leaping, in the euening in wrastling, to the intent that likewise in armure he mought the more strongly, embracinge his aduersary, put him in daunger. And also that in the chase, rennyng and leaping, he mought either ouertake his enemye, or beyng pursued, if extreme nede required, escape him. Semblably before him dyd the worthy Achilles, for whiles his shippes laye at rode, he suffred nat his people to slomber in ydlennesse, but daily exercised them and himselfe in rennyng, wherin he was most excellent and passed all other, and therefore Homere, throughout all his warke, calleth hym swifte foote Achilles.

The great Alexander beyng a childe, excelled all his companions in rennyng; wherfore on a tyne one demanded of hym if he wolde renne at the great game of Olympus, wherto, out of all partes of Grece, came the moste actife and valiant persons to assay maistries; wherunto Alexander answered in this fourme, I wold very gladly renne ther, if I were sure to renne with kinges, for if I shulde contende with a priuate person, hauing respect to our bothe astates, our

victories shulde nat be equall. Nedes muste rennyng be taken for a laudable exercise, sens one of the mooste noble capitaynes of all the Romanes toke his name of rennyng, and was called Papirius Cursor, which is in englisshe, Papirius the Renner. And also the valiant Marius the Romane, whan he had bene seuen tymes Consul, and was of the age of foure score yeres, exercised him selfe dayly amonge the yonge men of Rome, in suche wyse that there resorted people out of ferre partes to beholde the strength and agilitie of that olde Consul, wherin he compared with the yonge and lusty souldiours.

There is an exercise whiche is right profitable in exstreme daunger of warres, but by cause there semeth to be some perile in the lernynge therof, and also it hath nat bene of longe tyme moche used, specially amonge noble men, perchance some reders wyll litle esteme it, I meane swymmyng. But nat withstandyng, if they reuolue the imbecilitie of our nature, the hasardes and daungers of batayle, with the examples which shall herafter be showed, they wyll, (I doubt nat) thinke it as necessary to a capitayne or man of armes, as any that I haue yet rehersed. The Romanes, who aboue all thinges had moste in estimation martiall prowesse, they had a large and spaciose felde without the citie of Rome, whiche was called Marces felde, in latine Campus Martiu, wherin the youth of the citie was exercised. This felde adioyned to the ryuer of Tyber, to the intent that as well men as children shulde wasshe and refresshe them in the water after their labours, as also lerne to swymme. And nat men and children only, but also the horses, that by suche usaige they shulde more aptely and boldly passe ouer great riuers, and be more able to resist or cutte the waues, and nat be aferde of pirries or great stormes. For it hath ben often tymes sene that, by the good swimmyng of horses, many men haue ben saued, and contrary wise, by a timourouse royle where the water hath uneth come to his bely, his legges hath foltred, wherby many a good and propre man hath perished. What benefite receiued the hole citie of Rome by the swymmyng of Oratius Cocles, whiche is a noble historie and worthy to be remembred. After the Romanes had expelled Tarquine their kynge, as I haue before remembred, he desired ayde of Porsena, kynge of Thuscanes, a noble and valiant prince, to recouer eftsones his realme and dignitie; who with a great and puissant hoste besieged the citie of

Rome, and so sodaynely and sharpely assaulted it, that it lacked but litle that he ne had entred into the citie with his host ouer the bridge called Sublicius; where encountred with hym this Oratius with a fewe Romanes. And whiles this noble capitayne, beinge alone, with an incredible strengthe resisted all the hoste of Porcena that were on the bridge, he commaunded the bridge to be broken behynde hym, where with all the Thuscanes theron standyng fell in to the great riuer of Tiber, but Oratius all armed lepte in to the water and swamme to his company, al be it that he was striken with many arowes and dartes, and also greuouslye wounded. Nat withstandyng 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 Tarquine.

Howe moche profited the feate in swymmyng to the valiant Julius Cesar, who at the bataile of Alexandri, on a bridge beinge abandoned of his people for the multitude of his enemyes, whiche oppressed them, whan he moughte no lenger sustaine the shotte of dartes and arowes, he boldly lepte in to the see, and, diuynge under the water, escaped the shotte and swamme the space of CC pasis to one of his shyppes, drawyng his cote armure with his teethe after hym, that his enemies shulde nat attayne it. And also that it moughte some what defende hym from theyr arowes. And that more maruaile was, holdyng in his hande aboue the water certayne lettres, whiche a litle before he had receyued from the Senate.

Before hym Sertorius, who of the spanyardes was named the second Anniball for his prowesse, in the bataile that Scipio faughte agayne the Cimbres, whiche inuaded Fraunce. Sertorius, when, by negligence of his people, his enemyes preuailed and put his hoste to the warse, he beinge sore wounded, and his horse beinge lost, armed as he was in a gession, holdyng in his handes a tergate, and his sworde, he lepte in to the ryuer of Rone, whiche is wonderfull swyfte, and, swymmyng agayne the streme, came to his company, nat without greatte wondryng of all his enemies, whiche stode and behelde hym.

The great kynge Alexander lamented that he had nat lerned to

swimme. For in Inde whan he wente agayne the puissaunt kyng Porus, he was constrayned, in folowyng his entreprise, to conuay his hoste ouer a ryuer of wonderfull greatnesse; than caused he his horse men to gage the water, whereby he firste perceiued that it came to the brestis of the horsis, and, in the muddle of the streme, the horsis wente in water to the necke, wherwith the fotemen beinge aferde, none of them durst auenture to passe ouer the ryuer. That perceiuyng Alexander with a dolorouse maner in this wyse lanented. O howe moste unhappy am I of all other that haue nat or this tyme lerned to swymme? And therwith he pulled a tergate from one of his souldiours, and castyng it in to the water, standyng on it, with his spere conuaied hym selfe with the streme, and gouernyng the tergate wysely, broughte hym selfe unto the other side of the water; wherof his people beinge abasshed, some assayed to swymme, holdyng faste by the horses, other by speares and other lyke weapons, many upon fardels and trusses, gate ouer the ryuer; in so moche as nothyng was perished sauue a litle bagage, and of that no great quantitie lost.

What utilitie was shewed to be in swymmyng at the firste warres whiche the Remanes had agayne the Carthaginensis? It happened a bataile to be on the see betwene them, where they of Carthage beinge vainquished, wolde haue sette up their sailes to haue fledde, but that perceiuyng diuers yonge Romanes, they threwe them selves in to the see, and swymmyng unto the shippes, they enforced theyr ennemies to stryke on lande, and there assaulted them so asprely, that the capitaine of the omanes, called Luctatius, mought easily take them.

Nowe beholde what excellent commoditie is in the feate of swymmyng; sens no kyng, be he neuer so puissaunt or perfecte in the experience of warres, may assure hym selfe from the necessities whiche fortune sowethe amonge men that be mortall. And sells on the helth and saulfe garde of a noble capitayne, often tymes dependeth the weale of a realme, nothing shulde be kepte from his knowlege, wherby his persone may be in euery ieoperdie preserued.

Amonge these exercises it shall be conuenient to lerne to handle sondrye waipons, specially the sworde and the batayle

axe, whiche be for a noble man moste conuenient. But the most honorable exercise, in myne opinion, and that besemeth the astate of euery noble persone, is to ryde suerly and clene on a great horse and a roughe, whiche undoubtedly nat onely importeth a maiestie and drede to inferiour persones, beholding him aboue the common course of other men, dauntyng a fierce and cruell beaste, but also is no litle socour, as well in pursuete of enemies and confoundyng them, as in escapyng imminent daunger, whan wisdom therto exhorteth. Also a stronge and hardy horse dothe some tyme more damage under his maister than he with al his waipon: and also settethe forwarde the stroke, and causethe it to lighte with more violence.

Bucephal, the horse of great kynge Alexander, who suffred none on his backe saulfe onely his maister, at the bataile of Thebes beinge sore wounded, wolde nat suffre the kinge to departe from hym to another horse, but persistyng in his furiose courage, wonderfully continued out the bataile, with his fete and tethe betyng downe and destroyenge many enemies. And many semblable maruailes of his strength he shewed. Wherefore Alexander, after the horse was slayne, made in remembrance of hym a citie in the countray of India and called it Bucephal, in perpetual memorie of so worthy a horse, whiche in his lyfe had so well serued hym.

What wonderfull enterprises dyd Julius Cesar achieue by the helpe of his horse? Whiche nat onely dyd excell all other horsis in fiercenesse and swyfte rennyng, but also was in some parte discrepant in figure from other horsis, hauing his fore hoeues like to the feete of a man. And in that figure Plinius writeth that he sawe hym kerued before the temple of Venus.

Other remembrance there is of diuers horsis by whose monstrous power men dyd exploite incredible affaires: but by cause the reporte of them contayneth thinges impossible, and is nat writen by any approued autour: I will nat in this place reherce them: sauynge that it is yet supposed that the castell of Arundell in Sussex was made by one Beauuize, erle of South hamton, for a monument of his horse called Arundell, whiche in ferre countrayes had saued his maister from many periles. Nowe considerynge the utilitie in rydyng

greate horses, hit shall be necessary (as I haue sayd), that a gentilman do lerne to ride a great and fierce horse whiles he is tender and the brawnes and sinewes of his thighes nat fully consolidate. There is also a ryght good exercise which is also expedient to lerne, whiche is named the vauntynge of a horse: that is to lepe on him at euery side without stiroppe or other helpe, specially whiles the horse is goynge. And beinge therin experte, than armed at all poyntes to assay the same; the commoditie wherof is so manifest that I nede no further to declare it.

XVIII. The auncient huntynge of Greekes and romanes.

BUT nowe wyll I procede to write of exercises whiche be nat utterly reprobud of noble auctours, if they be used with oportunitie and in measure, I meane huntynge, hauking, and daunsyng. In huntynge may be an imitacion of batayle, if it be suche as was used amonge them of Persia, wherof Xenophon, the noble and moste eloquent philosopher, maketh a directable mention in his booke called the doctrine of Cirus: and also maketh another speciall boke, contayning the hole discipline of the auncient huntynge of the Grekes: and in that fourme beyng used, it is a laudable exercise, of the whiche I wyll nowe somewhat write.

Cirus and other auncient kynges of Persia (as Xenophon writeth) used this maner in all their huntynge. First, where as it semeth, there was in the realme of Persia but one citie, whiche as I suppose, was called Persepolis, there were the children of the Persians, from their infancie unto the age of seuentene yeres, brought up in the lernyng of iustice and temperance, and also to obserue continence in meate and drinke: in so moche that, whyder so euer they went, they toke with them for their sustenance but onely breed and herbes, called Kersis, in latine Nasturtium, and for their drinke, a disshe to take water out of the ryuers as they passed. Also they lerned to shote and to caste the darte or iauelyn. When they came to the age of xvii yeres, they were lodged in the palaises that were there ordayned for the kynge and his nobles, whiche was as well for the sauegarde of the citie, as for the example of temperance that they dayly had at their

eyes gyuen to them by the nobles, whiche also mought be called Peeres, by the signification of the greeke worde, wherin they were called, Omotimi. More ouer they were accustomed to ryse alway in the first spring of the day, and patiently to sustayne alwaye bothe colde and heate. And the kyng dyd se them exercised in goynge and also in rennyng. And whan he intended in his owne persone to hunte, whiche he dyd comenly euery monethe, he toke with him the one halfe of the company of yonge men, that were in the palaises. Than toke euery man with him his bowe and queuer with arowes, his sworde or hache of steele, a lytell tergate, and two dartes. The bowe and arowes serued to pursue beestes that were swyfte, and the dartes to assayle them and all other beestes. And whan their courage was chaufed, or that by fiersenesse of the beest they were in daunger, than force constraigned them to stryke with the sworde, or hache, and to haue good eye at the violent assaulte of the beest, and to defende them if nede were with their tergates, wherin they accounted to be the truest and moste certayne meditation of warres. And to this huntyng the kyng dyd conducte them, and he him selfe first hunted suche beestes as he hapned to encounter. And whan he had taken his pleasure, he than with moste diligence dyd sette other forwarde, beholdyng who hunted valiauntly, and refourmyng them whom he sawe negligent or slouthfull. But er they went forthe to this huntyng, they dyned competently, and duryng their huntyng they dyned no more: for if, for any occasion, their huntyng continued aboue one daye, they toke the sayd dyner for their souper, and the next daye, if they kylled no game, they hunted untyll souper tyme, accountyng those two dayes but for one. And if they toke any thyng, they ete it at their souper with ioye and pleasure. If nothyng were killed, they ete onely breed and Kersis, as I byfore rehersed, and dranke therto water. And if any man wil dispraise this diete, lette him thinke what pleasure there is in breed, to him that is hungry, and what dilectation is in drinkyng water, to him that is thirsty. Surely this maner of huntyng maye be called a necessary solace and pastyme, for therin is the very imitation of batayle, for nat onely it dothe shewe the courage and strength as well of the horse as of him that rydeth, trauersyng ouer mountaynes and valeys, encountring and ouerthrowyng great and mighty beestes, but also it increaseth in them bothe agilitie and quicknesse, also sleight and policie

to fynde suche passages and straytes, where they may preuent or intrappe their enemies. Also by continuance therin they shall easily sustayne trauaile in warres, hunger and thirst, cold and heate. Hytherto be the wordes of Xenophon, althoughe I haue nat set them in lyke order as he wrate them.

The chiefe hunting of the valiaunt Grekes was at the lyon, the lybarde, the tigre, the wild swyne, and the beare, and somtyme the wolfe and the harte. Theseus, whiche was companyon to Hercules, attayned the greatest parte of his renome for fightyng with the great bore, whiche the Grekes called Phera, that wasted and consumed the felde of a great countray.

Meleager likewise for sleynge of the great bore in Calidonia, whiche in greatnesse and fiercenesse excede d all other bores, and had slayne many noble and valiaunt, persones.

The great Alexander, in tymes vacaunt from bataile, delyted in that maner huntynge. On a tyme he faughte alone with a lyon wonderfull greatte and fierce, beinge present amonge other straungers, the ambassadour of Lacedemonia, and, after longe trauaile, with incredible might he ouerthrewe the lyon, and slewe him; wherat the said ambassadour wondring meruaylously sayde to the king, I wolde to god (noble prince) ye shulde fight with a lyon for some great empire. By whiche wordes it semed that he nothing approued the valiauntnesse of a prince by fighting with a wylde beest, wherin mochp more was aduentured than mought be by the victorie goten.

Al be it Pompei, Sertorius, and diuers other noble Romanes, whan they were in Numidia, Libia, and suche other countrayes, which now be called Barbary and Morisco, in the vacation season from warres, they hunted lions, liberdes, and suche other bestis, fierce and sauage, to then tent therby to exercise them selves and their souldiours. But all myghty god be thanked, in this realme be no suche cruel bestie to be pursued. Not withstandyng in the huntynge of redde dere and falowe, mought be a great parte of semblable exercise used by noble men, specially in forestis which be spaciose, if they wold use but a few nombre of houndes, onely to harborowe, or rouse, the game, and by their yorning to gyue knowlege whiche way it fleeth; the remenant of the disporte to be in

pursuyng with iauelyns and other waipons, in maner of warre. And to them whiche, in this hunting, do shewe moste prowesse and actyuytie, a garlande or some other lyke token to be gyuen, in signe of victorie, and with a ioyfull maner to be broughte in the presence of him that is chiefe in the company; there to receiue condigne, prayse for their good endeouour. I dispraise nat the huntyng of the foxe with rennyng houndes, but it is nat to be compared to the other hunting in commoditie of exercise. Therefore it wolde be used in the deepe wynter, whan the other game is unseasonable.

Huntyng of the hare with grehoundes is a righte good solace for men that be studious, of them to whom nature hath nat gyuen personage or courage apte for the warres. And also for gentilwomen, whiche fere neither sonne nor wynde for appairing their beautie. And peraventure they shall be there at lasse idell, than they shulde be at home in their chambres.

Kylling of dere with bowes or grehoundes serueth well for the potte, (as is the commune sayng) and therefore it muste of necessite be some time used. But it contayneth therein no commendable solace or exercise, in comparison to the other fourme of hunting, if it be diligently perceiued.

As for haukyng, I can finde no notable remembrance that it was used of auncient tyme amonge noble princes. I call auncient tyme before a thousande yeres passed, sens whiche tyme vertue and noblenesse hath rather decayed than increased. Nor I coulde neuer knowe who founde firste that disporte.

Plinius makethe mention, in his viii boke of the historie of nature, that in the partes of grece, called Thracia, men and haukes, as it were by a confederacie, toke byrdes to gether in this wyse. The men sprange the birdes out of the bussches, and the haukes, sorynge ouer them, bete them downe, so that the men mought easily take them. And than dyd the men departe equally the praye with the faukons, whiche be inge well serued, eftsones, and of a custome, repayred to suche places, where, beinge a lofte, they perceued men to that purpose assembled. By which rehersall of Plinius we may coniecte, that from Thracia came this disporte of hauking. And I doubt nat but many other, as wel as I, haue sene a semblable

experience of wilde hobbies, whiche, in some countrayes that be champaine, wyll sore and lie a lofte, houeringe ouer larkes and quailles, and kepe them downe on the grounde, whiles they whiche awayte on the praye do take them. But in what wise, or where so euer, the beginninge of hauking was, suerly it is a right delectable solace, though the therof commeth nat so moche utilitie, (concerning exercise) as there dothe of huntinge. But I wolde our fawkons mought be satisfied with the diuision of their pray, as the fawkons of Thracia were; that they neded nat to deuour and consume the hennes of this realme in suche nombre, that unneth it be shortly considred, and that fawkons be brought to a more homely diete, it is right likely that, within a shorte space of yeres, our familiar pultrie shall be as scarce, as be nowe partriche and fesaunt. I speake nat this in dispraise of the fawkons, but of them whiche kepeth them like coknays. The meane gentilmen and honest housholders, whiche care for the gentill entertainment of their frendes, do finde in their disshe that I saye trouthe, and noble men shall right shortly espie it, whan they come sodainly to their frendes house, unpuruaied for lacke of longe warning.

But nowe to retourne to my purpose: undoubtedly haukyng, measurably used, and for a passetyme, gyueth to a man good appetite to his souper. And at the leest waye withdraweth hym from other daliance, or disportis dishonest, and to body and soule perchance pernicious.

Nowe I purpose to declare somthyng concerning daunsing, wherin is merite of prayse and dispraise, as I shall expresse it in suche forme, as I trust the reder shal finde therein a rare and singuler pleasure, with also good lerning in thinges nat yet comunely knowen in our vulgare. Which if it be radde of hym that hath good opportunitie and quiete silence. I doubt nat, but he shall take therby suche commoditie, as he loked nat to haue founden in that exercise, whiche of the more parte of sadde men is so litle esteemed.

XIX. That all daunsinge is nat to be reprovued.

I Am nat of that opinion that all daunsinge generallye is repugnant unto vertue: al though some persones excellently

lerned, specially diuines, so do affirme it, whiche alwaye
 haue in theyr mouthes (whan they come in to the pulpet) the
 sayeng of the noble doctor saincte Augustine, That better it
 were to delue or to go to ploughe on the sonday than to
 daunce: whiche moughte be spoken of that kynde of
 daunsinge whiche was used in the tyme of saincte Augustine,
 whan euery thing with the empire of Rome declined from
 their perfection, and the olde maner of daunsinge was
 forgotten, and none remayned but that whiche was lasciuiose,
 and corrupted the myndes of them that daunsed, and
 prouoked sinne, as semblably some do at this day. Also at
 that tyme Idolatry was nat clerely extincte, but diuers
 fragmentes therof remained in euery region. And perchance
 solempne daunsis, whiche were celebrate unto the paynymys
 false goddes, were yet continued; for as moche as the pure
 religion of Christe was nat in all places consolidate, and the
 pastors and curates dyd wynke at suche recreations, fearyng
 that if they shulde hastily haue remeued it, and induced
 sodaynely the seueritie of goddis lawes, they shulde stere the
 people therby to a generall sedition; to the imminent daunger
 and subuersion of Christis hole religion, late sowen amonge
 them, and nat yet sufficiently rooted. But the wyse and
 discrete doctor saincte Augustine, usinge the arte of an
 oratour, wherin he was right excellent, omitting all rigorous
 menace or terrour, dissuaded them by the moste easie te way
 from that maner ceremony belonging to idolatrie; preferring
 before it bodily occupation; therby aggrauatyng the offence to
 god that was in that ceremonie, sens occupation, which is
 necessary for mannes sustinance, and in due tymes vertuous,
 is nat withstanding prohibited to be used on the sondayes.
 And yet in these wordes of this noble doctor is nat so generall
 dispraise to all daunsinge as some men do suppose. And that
 for two causis. Firste in his comparison he preferreth nat
 before daunsing or ioyneth therto any viciouse exercise, but
 annecteth it with tillynge and diggyng of the erthe, whiche
 be labours incident to mannes luyng, and in them is
 contained nothyng that is vicious. Wherefore the preeminence
 therof aboue daunsing qualifieng the offence, they beinge
 done out of due tyme, that is to say, in an holy day,
 concludeth nat daunsinge to be at all tymes and in euery
 maner unlauffull or vicious, consideryng that in certaine casis
 of exstreme necessitie menne mought bothe ploughe and
 delue without doinge to gode any offence. Also it shall seme

to them that seriously do examine the said wordes that therein sainte Augustine doth nat prohibite daunsinge so generally as it is taken, but onely suche daunsis whiche (as I late saide) were superstitious and contained in them a spice of idolatrie, or els dyd with unclene motions of countinances irritate the myndes of the dauncers to venereall iustes, wherby fornication and auoutrie were daily increased. Also in those daunces were enterlased dities of wanton loue or ribaudry, with frequent remembrance of the moste vile idolis Venus and Bacchus, as it were that the daunce were to their honour and memorie, whiche most of all abhorred from Christes religion, sauerynge the auncient errour of paganysme. I wolde to god those names were nat at this day used in balades and ditties in the courtes of princes and noble men, where many good, wittes be corrupted with semblable fantasies, which e in better wise employed mought haue bene more necessarye to the publike weale and their princes honour. But nowe wyll I leue this seriouse mater to diuines to persuade or dissuade herein accordinge to their offices. And sens in myn opinion sainte Augustine that blessed clerke reproueth nat so generally all daunsinge, but that I may lafully reherce some kynde therof whiche may be necessary and also commendable, takyng it for an exercise, I shall nowe procede to speake of the firste begynnyng therof, and in howe great estimation it was had in diuers regions.

XX. Of the firsts begynnyng of daunsing and the old estimation therof.

THERE be sondry opinions of the originall begynnyng of daunsing. The poetes do faine that whan Saturne, whiche deuoured diuers his children, and semblably wolde haue done with Jupiter, Rhea the mother of Jupiter deuised that Curetes (whiche were men of armes in that countray) shuld daunce in armour, plainge with their swordes and sheldes, in suche fourme as by that newe and pleasant deuise they shulde assuage the melancoly of Saturne, and in the meane tyme Jupiter was conuaied in to Phrigia, where Saturne also pursuyng hym, Rhea semblably taught the people there called Coribantes, to daunce in a nother fourme, wherwith Saturne was eftsones demulced and appaysed, whiche fable hath a resemblaunce to the historie of the bible in the first boke of kyngs, where it is remembred that Saule (whom god chase

from a keper of asses to be kyng of iewes, who in stature excelled and was aboue all other men by the heed), declining from the lawes and preceptes of god, was possessed of an iuell spirite whiche often tymes turmented and vexed him, and other remedie founde he none but that Daud, whiche after hym was kyng, beinge at that tyme a propre childe and playinge swetelye on a harpe, with his pleasant and perfect harmonie reduced his minde in to his pristinate estate, and duryng the tyme that he played the spirite cessed to vexe him, which I suppose hapned nat only of the efficacie of musike (all be it therin is moche power, as well in repressing as exciting naturall affectes), but also of the vertue ingenerate in the childe Daud that played, whom god also had predestinate to be a great kyng, and a great prophete. And for the soueraigne gyftes of grace and of nature, that he was endowed with, All mightye god sayde of him that he had founde a man after his harte and pleasure. But nowe to retourne to speake of daunsinge.

Some interpretours of poets do imagine that Proteus, who is supposed to haue turned him selfe in to sondry figures, as some tyme to shewe him selfe like a serpent, some tyme like a lyon, other whiles like water, a nother time like the flame of fire, signifieth to be none other, but a deliuer and crafty daunser, which in his daunse coulde imagine the inflexions of the serpents, the softe and delectable flowynge of the water, the swiftnes and mounting of the fire, the fierce rage of the lyon, the violence and furie of the libarde; which exposition is nat to be dispraised, sens it discordeth nat from reason. But one opinion there is whiche I wyll reherce, more for the mery fantasie that therin is contained, than for any faithe or credite that is to be giuen therto.

Ouer Syracusis (a great and auncient citie in Sicile) there raigned a cruel tirant called Hiero, whiche by horrible tyrannies and oppressions brought him selfe in to the indignation and hatered of all his people, whiche he perceiuing, lest by mutuall communication they shulde conspire agayne hym any rebellion, he prohibited all men under terrible menacis, that no man or woman shulde speke unto a nother, but in stede of wordes, they shulde use in their necessarye affaires, countenances, tokens, and mouinges with their feete. handes, and eien, whiche for necessite firste used,

at the laste grewe to a perfecte and delectable daunsinge. And Hiero, nat withstanding his folisshe curiositie, at the laste was slayne of his people moste miserably. But all though this historie were true, yet was nat daunsing at this time first begon, for Orpheus and Museus, the most auncient of poetes, and also Homere, whiche were longe afore Hiero, do make mention of daunsinge. And in Delus, whiche was the moste auncient temple of Apollo, no solemnitie was done without daunsinge.

Also in Inde, where the people honoureth the sonne, they assemble to gether, and whan the sonne first appereth, ioyned all in a daunse they salute him, supposinge that for as moche as he moueth without sensible noyse, it pleseth him best to be like wise saluted, that is to say with a pleasant motion and silence. The interpretours of Plato do thinks that the wonderfull and incomprehensible ordre of the celestial bodies, I meane sterres and planettes, and their motions harmonicall, gaue to them that intentity, and by the deepe serche of raison beholde their coursis, in the sondrye diuersities of nombre and tyme, a fourme of imitation of a semblable motion, whiche they called daunsinge or saltation; wherfore the more nere they approched to that temperance and subtile modulation of the saide superiour bodies, the more perfecte and commendable is their daunsinge, whiche is moste like to the trouthe of any opinion that I haue hitherto founden.

Other fables there be whiche I omitte for this present time. And nowe I will expresse in what estimation daunsing was had in the auncient time. And also sondry fourmes of daunsinge, nat all, but suche as had in them a semblance of vertue or kunnyng.

Whan the arke of god (wherin was put the tables of the commaundementes, the yerde wherwith Moisis deided the redde see, and dyd the miracles in the presence of Pharao, kynge of Egypte, also a parte of manna, wherwith the children of Israel were fedde fourtie yeres in deserte), was recouered of the Philisties, and broughts unto the cite of Gaba, the holy kynge Daid, wearing on him a linen surplesse, daunsed before the saide arke, folowing him a great nombre of instrumentes of musike. Wherat his wife Micol,

the daughter of kyng Saule, disdaind and scorned him, wherwith (as holy scripture saith) all mighty god was moche displeased. And Daud, not cessinge, daunsed ioyously through the citie, in that maner honouringe that solemne feaste, whiche amonge the iewes was one of the chiefe and principall, wherwith god was more pleased than with all the other obseruances that than were done unto hym at that tyme.

I wyll nat trouble the reders with the innumerable ceremonies of the gentiles, whiche were comprehended in daunsinges, sens they ought to be noumbred amonge superstitions. But I wyll declare howe wise men and valiant capitaines imbraced daunsinge for a soueraigne and profitable exercise.

Licurgus, that gaue first lawes to the Lacedemones (a people in Grece), ordayned that the children there shulde be taught as diligently to daunse in armure, as to fight. And that in time of warres, they shulde meue them in bataile againe their enemies in fourme and maner of daunsinge.

Semblably the olde inhabitantes of Ethiopia, at the ioyninge of their batailes, and whan the trumpettes; and other instrumentes soune, they daunse; and in stede of a queuer, they haue their dartes set about their heddes, like to rayes or bemes of the sonne, wherwith they beleue that they put their enemies in feare. Also it was nat lefull for any of them to cast any darte at his enemy but daunsing. And nat only this rude people estemed so moche daunsing, but also the moste noble of the grekes, whiche for their excellencie in prowesse and wisdomes were called halfe goddes. As Achilles, and his sonne Pirrus, and diuers other. Wherfore Homere, amonge the highe benefites that god gyueth to man, he reciteth daunsinge. For he saithe in the firste boke of Iliados:

'God graunteth to some man prowesse martiall,
To a nother daunsinge, with songe armonicall.'

Suppose ye that the Romanes, whiche in grautie of maners passed the Grekes, had nat great pleasure in daunsinge? Did nat Romulus, the firste kinge of Romanes, and builder of the citie of Rome, ordaine certaine prestes and ministers to the god Mars (whome he aduanted to be his father)? Which

prests, for as moche as certaine times they daunsed about the citie with tergates, that they imagined to falle from heuen, were called in latine Salii, which in to englisshe may be translated daunsers, who continued so longe time in reuerence amonge the Romanes, that unto the tyme that they were christned, the noble men and princes children there, usinge moche diligence and sute, couayted to be of the college of the saide daunsers.

More suer the emperours that were moste, noble, delited in daunsyng, perceyuing therin to be a perfecte measure, whiche maye be called modulation, wherin some daunsers of olde tyme so wonderfully excelled, that they wolde plainly expresse in daunsyng, without any wordes or dittie, histories, uith the hole circumstance of affaires in them contayned, wherof I shall reherce two maruailouse experiences. At Rome, in the tyme of Nero, there was a philosopher called Demetrius, whiche was of that secte, that for as moche as they abandoned all shamfistnes in their wordes and actes, they were called Cinici, in englisshe doggishe. This Demetrius, often reprouing daunsing, wolde saye that there was nothing therin of any importaunce, and that it was none other but a counterfaying with the feete and handes of the armonie that was shewed before in the rebecke, shalme, or other instrument, and that the motiones were but vaine and seperate from all understanding, and of no purpose or efficacie. Wherof herynge a famouse dauser, and one, as it semed, that was nat without good lernyng, and had in remembraunce many histories, he came to Demetrius and saide unto him, Sire, I humbly desire you refuse nat to do me that honestie with your presence, in beholding me daunce, whiche ye shall se me do without sounne of any instrument. And than if it shall seme to you worthy, dispraise, utterly banisshe and confounde my science. Wherunto Demetrius graunted. The yonge man daunsed the aduoutry of Mars and Venus, and therin expressed howe Vulcane, husbonde of Venus, therof beyng aduertised by the sonne, layde snares for his wife and Mars; also howe they were wounden and tyed in Vulcanes nette; more ouer howe all the goddes came to the spectacle; finally howe Venus, all ashamed and blusshing, ferefully desired her louer Mars to delyuer her from that perill, and the residue contayned in the fable; whiche he dyd with so subtile and crafty gesture. with such perspicuitie and

declaration of euery acte in the mater (whiche of all thing is moste difficile) with suche a grace and beautie, also with a witte so wonderfull and pleasaunt, that Demetrius, as it semed, therat reioysing and deliting, cried with a loude voice, O man, I do nat only se, but also here, what thou doest, and it semeth also to me that with thy handes thou spekest. Whiche sayinge was confirmed by all them that were at that tyme present.

The same yonge man songe and daunsed on a time before the emperour Nero, whan there was also present a straunge kynge, whiche understode none other langage but of his owne countray: yet nat with standing the man daunsed so aptely and playnely, as his custome was, that the straunge kynge, all thoughte he perceiued nat what he said, yet he understode euery dele of the mater. And whan he had taken his leue of the emperour to departe, the emperour offered to gyue to hym any thyng that he thoughte mought be to his commoditie. Ye may (sayd the kynge) bounteously rewarde me, if ye lende me the yonge man that daunsed before your maiestie. Nero wondring and requiring of him why he so importunately desired the daunser, or what commodite the daunser mought be unto him, Sir, said the king, I haue diuers confins and neighbours that be of sondry languages and maners, wherfore I haue often tymes nede of many interpretours. Wherfore if I had this man with me, and shulde haue anything to do with my neighbours, he wolde so with his facion and gesture expresse euery thinge to me, and teche them to do the same, that from hensforth I shulde nat haue nede of any interpretour, Also the auncient philosophers commended daunsing; in so moche as Socrates, the wysest of all the grekes in his time, and from whom all the sectes of philosophers, as from a fountaine, were deriuied, was nat ashamed to account daunsinge amonge the seriouse disciplines, for the commendable beautie, for the apte and proportionate meuinge, and for the craftie disposition and facionyng of the body. It is to be considered that in the saide auncient tyme there were diuers maners of daunsing, whiche varied in the names, lyke wyse as they dyd in tunes of the instrument, as semblably we haue at this daye. But those names, some were generall, some were speciall; the generall names were gyuen of the uniuersall fourme of daunsinge, wherby was represented the qualities or conditions of sondry

astates; as the maiestie of princes was shewed in that daunce whiche was named Eumelia, and belonged to tragedies; dissolute motions and wanton countenaunces in that whiche was called Cordax, and pertained to comedies, wherin men of base hauiour only daused. Also the fourme of bataile and fightyng in armure was expressed in those daunsis which were called Enopliae. Also there was a kynde of daunsinge called Hormus, of all the other moste lyke to that whiche is at this time used; wherin daused yonge men and maidens, the man expressinge in his motion and countenance fortitude and magnanimitie apt for the warres, the maiden moderation and shamefastnes, which represented a pleasant connexion of fortitude and temperance. In stede of these we haue nowe base daunsis, bargettes, pauions, turgions, and roundes. And as for the speciall names, they were taken as they be nowe, either of the names of the firste inuentors, or of the measure and nombre that they do containe, or of the firste wordes of the dittie, whiche the songe comprehendeth wherof the daunce was made. In euery of the said daunsis, there was a concinnitie of meuing the foote and body, expressing some pleasaunt or profitable affectes or motions of the mynde. Here a man may beholde what artifice and crafte there was in thauncient tyme in daunsinge, whiche at this day no man can imagine or coniecte. But if men wolde nowe applie the firste parte of their youthe, that is to say from seuen yeres to twentie, effectuelly in the sciences liberall, and knowlege of histories, they shulde reuiue the auncient fourme as well of daunsing, as of other exercises, wherof they mought take nat only pleasure, but also profite and commoditie.

IT is diligently to be noted that the associatinge of man and woman in daunsing, they bothe obseruinge one nombre and tyme in their meuynges, was nat begonne without a speciall consideration, as well for the necessarye conjunction of those two persones, as for the intimation of sondry vertues, whiche be by them represented. And for as moche as by the association of a man and a woman in daunsinge may be signified matrimonie, I coulde in declarynge the dignitie and commoditie of that sacrament make intiere volumes, if it were nat so comunely knowen to all men, that almoste euery frere lymitour carieth it writen in his bosome. Wherefore, lest in repetyng a thinge so frequent and commune my boke shulde be as fastidious or fulsome to the reders as suche

marchaunt preachers be nowe to their customers, I wyll reuerently take my leue of diuines. And for my parte I wyll endeouour my selfe to assemble, out of the bokes of auncient poets and philosophers, mater as well apte to my purpose as also newe or at the lest waies infrequent, or seldome herde of them that haue nat radde very many autours in greke and latine.

But nowe to my purpose. In euery daunse, of a moste auncient custome, there daunseth to gether a man and a woman, holding eche other, by the hande or the arme, whiche betokeneth concorde. Nowe it behouethe the dauners and also the beholders of them to knowe all qualities incident to a man, and also, all qualities to a woman lyke wyse appertaynyng.

A man in his naturall perfection is fiers, hardy, stronge in opinion, couaitous of glorie, desirous of knowlege, appetiting by generation to brynge forthe his semblable. The good nature of a woman is to be milde, timerouse, tractable, benigne, of sure remembrance, and shamfast. Diuers other qualities of eche of them mought be founde, out, but these be moste apparaunt, and for this time sufficient.

Wherfore, whan we beholde a man and a woman daunsinge to gether, let us suppose there to be a concorde of all the saide dualities, beinge ioyned to gether, as I haue set them in ordre. And the meuing of the man wolde be more vehement, of the woman more delicate, and with lasse aduauncing of the body, signifienge the courage and strenthe that oughte to be in a man, and the pleasant sobrenesse that shulde be in a woman. And in this wise fiersenesse ioyned with mildenesse maketh Seueritie; audacitie with timerositie maketh Magnanimitie; wilfull opinion and tractabilitie (which is to be shortly persuaded and meued) makethe Constance a vertue; Couaitise of Glorie adourned with benignitie causeth honour; desire of knowlege with sure remembrance procureth Sapienee; Shamfastnes ioyned to appetite of generation maketh Contenance, whiche is a meane betwene Chastilie and inordinate luste. These qualities, in this wise beinge knitte to gether, and signified in the personages of man and woman daunsinge, do expresse or sette out the figure of very nobilitie; whiche in the higher astate it is contained, the more.

excellent is the vertue in estimation.

XXII. Howe daunsing may be an introduction unto the firste morall vertue, called prudence.

As I haue all redye affirmed, the principall cause of this my litle enterprise is to declare an induction or meane, howe children of gentill nature or disposition may be trayned in to the way of vertue with a pleasant facilitie. And for as moche as it is very expedient that there be mixte with studie some honest and moderate disporte, or at the lest way recreation, to recomforte and quicken the vitall spirites, leste they longe trauailyng, or beinge moche occupied in contemplation or remembrance of thinges graue and seriousse, moughte happen to be fatigate, or perchance oppressed. And therfore Tulli, who uneth founde euer any tyme vacaunt from studie, permitteth in his firste boke of offices that men maye use play and disporte, yet nat withstandinge in suche wyse as they do use slepe and other maner of quiete, whan they haue sufficiently disposed ernest maters and of waighty importaunce.

Nowe by cause there is no passe tyme to be compared to that, wherin may be founden both recreation and meditation of vertue, I haue amonge all honest passe times, wherin is exercise of the body, noted daunsinge to be of an excellent utilitie, comprehendinge in it wonderfull figures, or, as the grekes do calle them, Ideae, of vertues and noble qualities, and specially of the commodiouse vertue called prudence, whom Tulli defineth to be the knowlege of thinges whiche oughte to be desired and folowed, and also of them whiche ought to be fledde from or exchewed. And it is named of Aristotel the mother of vertues; of other philosophers it is called the capitayne or maistres of vertues; of some the house wyfe, for as moche as by her diligence she doth inuestigate and prepare places apt and conuenient, where other vertues shall execute their powers or offices. Wherfore, as Salomon saithe, like as in water be shewed the visages of them that beholde it, so unto men that be prudent the secretes of mennes hartes be openly discouered. This vertue beinge so commodiouse to man, and, as it were, the porche of the noble palaiace of mannes reason, wherby all other vertues shall

entre, it semeth to me right expedient, that as sone as oportunitie may be founden, a childe or yonge man be therto induced. And by cause that the studie of vertue is tediousse for the more parte to them that do florisshe in yonge yeres, I haue deuised howe in the fourme of daunsinge, nowe late used in this realme amonge gentilmen, the hole description of this vertue prudence maybe founden out and well perceyued, as well by the dausers as by them whiche standinge by, wyll be diligent beholders and markers, hauyng first myne instruction suerly grauen in the table of their remembrance. Wherefore all they that haue their courage stered towarde very honour or perfecte nobilitie, let them approche to this passe tyme, and either them selves prepare them to daunse, or els at the leste way beholde with watching eien other that can daunce truely, keypyng iuste measure and tyme. But to the understanding of this instruction, they must marke well the sondry motions and measures, which in true fourme of daunsing is to be specially obserued.

The first meuing in euery daunse is called honour, whiche is a reuerent inclination or curtaisie, with a longe deliberation or pause, and is but one motion, comprehendinge the tyme of thre other motions, or setting forth of the foote. By that may be signified that at the begynning of all our actes, we shulde do due honour to god, whiche is the roote of prudence; whiche honour is compacte of these thre thinges, feare, loue, and reuerence. And that in the begynnyng of al thinges we shulde aduysedly, with some tracte of tyme, beholde and foresee the successe of our entrepryse.

By the seconde motion, whiche is two in nombre, may be signified celeritie and slownesse: whiche two, all be it they seme to discorde in their effectes and naturall propreties: and therefore they may be well resembled to the braule in daunsyng (for in our englyshe tonge we say men do braule, whan betwene them is altercation in wordis), yet of them two springeth an excellent vertue where unto we lacke a name in englyshe.

Wherefore I am constrained to usurpe a latine worde, callyng it Maturitie: whiche worde, though it be strange and darke, yet by declaring the vertue in a few mo wordes, the name ones brought in custome, shall be facile to understande as other

wordes late comen out of Italy and Fraunce, and made denyzens amonge us.

Maturitie is a mean betwene two extremities, wherin nothyng lacketh or excedeth, and is in such astate that it may neyther encrease nor minyssh without losinge the denomination of Maturitie. The grekes in a prouerbe do expresse it proprely in two wordes, whiche I can none other wyse interprete in englysh, but spede the slowly.

Also of this worde Maturitie, sprange a noble and precieuse sentence, recyted by Salust in the battayle agayn Cataline, whiche is in this maner or lyke, Consulte before thou enterprise any thinge, and after thou hast taken counsayle, it is expedient to do it maturely.

Maturum in latyn maye be enterpretid ripe or redy, as fruite whan it is ripe, it is at the very poynte to be gathered and eaten. And euery other thyng, whan it is redye, it is at the instante after to be occupied. Therefore that worde maturitie, is translated to the actis of man, that whan they be done with suche moderation, that nothing in the doinge may be sene superfluous or indigent, we may saye, that they be maturely doone: reseruyng the wordes rype and redy to frute and other thinges separte from affaires, as we haue nowe in usage. And this do I nowe remembre for the necessary . augmentation of our langage.

In the excellent and most noble emperour Octauias Augustus, in whom reigned all nobilitie, nothinge is more commended than that he had frequently in his mouthe this worde Matura, do maturerly. As he shulde haue saide, do neyther to moche ne to litle, to soone ne to late, to swyftely nor slowly, but in due tyme and measure.

Nowe I trust I haue sufficiently expounde the vertue called Maturitie, whiche is the meane or mediocritie betwene slouthe and celeritie, comunely called spedinesse; and so haue I declared what utilitie may be taken of a braule in daunsinge.

XXIII. The thyerde and fourth braunches of

Prudence.

THE thyrde motion, called singles is of two unities separte in pasinge forward; by whom may be signified prouidence and industry; whiche after euerye thyng maturely achieved, as is before writen, maketh the firste pase forward in daunsynge. But it shall be expedient to expounde what is the thing called Prouidence, for as moche as it is nat knowen to euery man.

Prouidence is, wherby a man nat onely foreseeeth commoditie and incommoditye, prosperitie and aduersitie, but also consulteth, and therewith endeuoureth as well to repell anoyauce, as to attaine and gette profite and aduauntage. And the difference betwene it and consideration is that consideration only consisteth in pondering and examinyng thynges conceiued in the mynde, Prouidence in helpynge them with counsayle and acte. Wherfore to consyderation pertayneth excogitation and auysement, to prouidence prouisyon and execution. For lyke as the good husbnde, whan he hath sowen his grounde, setteth up cloughtes or thredes, whiche some call shailes, some blenchars, or other like shewes, to feare away byrden, whiche he foreseeeth redye to deuoure and hurte his corne. Also perceyuyng the improfytable weedes apperyng, whiche wyll anoy his corne or her bes, forth with he wedeth them clene out of his grounde, and wyll nat suffre them to growe or encrease. Semblably it is the parte of a wyse man to forsee and prouide, that either in suche thynges as he hath acquired by his studie or diligence, or in suche affaires as he hath in hande, he be nat indomaged or empeched by his aduersaries.

In lyke maner a gouernour of a publike weale ought to prouide as well by menaces, as by sharpe and terrible punisshementes, that persones iuell and improfitable do nat corrupte and deuoure his good subiectes. Finally there is in prouidence suche an admiration and maiestie, that nat onely it is attributed to kinges and rulers, but also to god, creatour of the worlde.

Industrie hath nat ben so longe tyme used in the englisse tonge as Prouidence; wherfore it is the more straunge, and

requireth the more plaine exposition. It is a qualitie procedyng of witte and experience, by the whiche a man perccyueth quickly, inuenteth fresshly, and counsayleth spedily. Wherefore they that be called Industrious, do moste craftily and depely understande in all affaires what is expedient, and by what meanes and wayes they maye sonest exploite them. And those thinges in whome other men trauallye, a person industrious lightly and with facilitie spedeth, and fyndeth newe wayes and meanes to bring to effecte that he desireth. Amonge diuers other remembred in histories, such one amonge the grekes was Alcibiades, who being in childehode moste amiable of all other, and of moste subtile witte, was instructed by Socrates. The saide Alcibiades, by the sharpnesse of his witte, the doctrine of Socrates, and by his owne experience in sondrie affaires in the commune weale of the Athenienses, became so industrious, that were it good or iuell that he enterprised, no thinge almoste eskaped that he acheued nat, were the thing neuer so difficile (or as who saythe) impenitrable, and that many sondrie thinges, as well for his countray, as also agayne it, after that he, for his inordinate pride and lechery, was out of Athenes exiled.

Amonge the romanes, Caius Julius Cesar, whiche firste toke upon him the perpetuall rule and gouernaunce of the empire, is a noble example of industrie, for in his incompamable warres and busynesse incredible (if the autoritie and faithe of the writers were nat of longe tyme approued) he dyd nat onely excogitate moste excellent policies and deuises to vainquisshe or subdue his enemies, but also prosecuted them with suche celeritie and effecte, that diuers and many tymes he was in the campe of his enemies, or at the gates of their townes or fortresses, whan they supposed that he and his hoste had ben two dayes iournay from thens, leauing to them no tyme or layser to consulte or prepare agayne him sufficient resistance. And ouer that, this qualitie industrie so reigned in him, that he him selfe wolde ministre to his secretaries at one tyme and instante, the contentes of thre sondrie epistles or lettres. Also it is a thing wonderfull to remembre that he, beyng a prince of the moste auncient and noble house of the romanes, and from the tyme that he came to mans astate almoste contynuelly in warres, also of glorie insatiabile, of courage inuincible, coulde in affaires of suche importaunce

and difficultie, or (whiche is moche more to be meruayled at nowe) wolde so exactly write the historie of his owne actes and testes, that for the natiue and inimitable eloquence in expressing the counsailes, deuises, conuentions, progressions, enterprises, exploitures, fourmes, and facions of imbatailynge, he semeth to put all other writers of like mater to silence.

Here is the perfecte paterne of Industrie, whiche I trust shal suffice to make the propre signification therof to be understande of the reders. And consequently to incende them to approche to the true practising therof.

So is the sengles declared in these two qualities, Prouidence and Industrie; which, seriously noted and often remembred of the dausers and beholders, shall acquire to them no litle frute and commoditie, if there be in their myndes any good and laudable mater for vertue to warke in.

XXIV. Of the fifthe branche, called circumspection, shewed in reprimise.

COMUNELY nexte after sengles in daunsing is a reprimise, whiche is one mouing only, puttyng backe the ryght fete to his felowe. And that may be well called circumspection, whiche signifieth as moche as beholdyng on euery parte, what is well and sufficient, what lackethe, howe and from whens it may be prouided. Also what hath caused profite or damage in the tyme passed, what is the astate of the tyme present, what aduantage or perile maye succede or is imminent. And by cause in it is contained a deliberation, in hauing regarde to that that foloweth, and is also of affinitie with prouidence and industrie, I make hym in the fourme of a reprimise.

In this motion a man may, as it were on a mountaine or place of espial, beholde on euery syde farre of, measuring and estemyng euery thing, and other pursue it, if it be commendable, or abandone it or escheue it, if it be noyfull. This qualite (lyke as prouidence and industrie be) is a branche of Prudence, whiche some calle the princesse of vertues; and it is nat onely expedient, but also nedefull to

euery astate and degree of men, that do contynue in the lyfe called actife.

In the Iliados of Homere, the noble duke Nestor, a man of maruaylous eloquence and longe experience, as he that lyued thre mennes lyues, as he there auaunteth in the counsayle that he gaue to Agamemnon, to reconcile to him Achilles, the moste stronge of all the grekes, he persuadyd Agamemnon specially to be circumspect; declaringe howe that the priuate contention betwene them shulde replenisse the hooste of the grekes with moche dolour, wherat kynge Priamus and his children shulde laughe, and the resydue of the Troyanes in their myndes shulde rejoyce and take courage.

Amonge the Romanes Quintus Fabius for this qualitie is soueraignely extolled amonge historiens; and for that cause he is often tymes called of them Fabius undator, that is to saye the tariar or delayer, for in the warres bytwene the romanes and Anniball, he knowynge all costes of the countray, continuelly kept him and his hoste on mountaynes and high places, within a small distaunce of Hanniballes armie; so that neither he wolde abandon his enemies nor yet ioyne with them batayle. By whiche wonderfull policie he caused Anniball so to trauayle, that some tyme for lacke of vitayle and for werynesse, great multitudes of his hoste perished. Also he oftentimes awayted them in daungerous places, unredy, and than he skirmished with them, as longe as he was sure to haue of them aduauntage; and after he repayred to the hyghe places adioyning, usying his accustomed maner to beholde the passage of Anniball. And by this meanes this moste circumspecte capitaine Fabius wonderfully infeblyd the powar of the said Anniball: whiche is no lasse esteemed in praise, than the subduing of Cartage by the valiaunt Scipio. For if Fabius had nat so fatigate Anniball and his hoste, he had shortly subuerted the cite of Rome, and than coule nat Scipio haue ben able to attayne that entreprise.

What more clere mirrour or spectacle can we desire of circumspection, than kyng Henry the seuenth, of most noble memorie, father unto our mooste dradde soueraigne lorde, whose worthy renome, like the sonne in the middes of his sphere, shyneth and euer shall shyne in mennes remembrance? What incomparable circumspection was in

hym alway founden, that nat withstandyng his longe absence out of this realme, the disturbance of the same by sondry seditions amonge the nobilitie, Ciuile warres and batayles, wherin infinite people were slayne, besyde skirmisshis and slaughters in the priuate contentions and factions of diuers gentilmen, the lawes layde in water (as is the prouerbe), affection and auarice subduinge iustice and equitie; yet by his moste excellent witte, he in fewe yeres, nat onely broughte this realme in good ordre and under due obedience, reuiued the lawes, auanced justice, refurnisshed his dominions, and repayred his manours; but also with suche circumspection traited with other princes and realmes, of leages, of aliaunce, and amities, that during the more parte of his reigne, he was litle or nothyng inquieted with outwarde hostilitie or martiall businesse. And yet all other princes either feared hym or had hym in a fatherly reuerence. Whiche praise, with the honour thereunto due, as inheritaunce descendeth by righte unto his most noble sonne, our moste dere soueraigne lorde that nowe presently raigneth. For, as Tulli saithe, the best inheritance that the fathers leue to their children, excellynge all other patrimonie, is the glorie or praise of vertue and noble actis. And of suche faire inheritance his highnesse may compare with any prince that euer raigned: whiche he dayly augmenteth, adding therto other sondry vertues, whiche I forbear nowe to reherce, to the intent I wyll exclude all suspition of flaterye, sens I myselfe in this warke do speciallye reprove it. But that whiche is presently knowen, and is in experience, nedeth no monument. And unto so excellent a prince there shall nat lacke here after condigne writers to registre his actes, with mooste eloquent stile in perpetuell remembrance.

XXV. Of the sixte, seventh, and eighte braunches of prudence.

A DOUBLE in daunsinge is compacte of the nombre of thre, wherby may be noted these thre braunches of prudence; election, experience, and modestie. By them the saide vertue of prudence is made complete, and is in her perfection. Election is of an excellent powar and autoritie, and hath suche a maiestie, that she will nat be approched unto of euery man. For some there be to whom she denieth her presence, as children, naturall fooles, men beinge frantike, or subdued

with affects, also they that be subiectes to flaterers and proude men. In these persones reason lacketh libertie, whiche shuld prepare their entrie unto election. This Election, whiche is a parte, and as it were a membre, of prudence, is best described by oportunitie, whiche is the principall parte of counsaile, and is compacte of these thinges folowyng.

The importaunce of the thinge consulted. The facultie and power of hym that consulteth. The tyme whan, The fourme howe. The substance wherwith to do it. The dispositions and usages of the countrayes. For whom and agayne whom it oughte to be done. All these thinges prepensed and gathered to gether seriously, and, after a due examination, euery of them iustely pondred in the balance of reason, immediately cometh the autoritie of Election, who taketh on her to appoynt what is to be effectuelly folowed or pursued, reiectyng the residue. And than ought experience to be at hande, to whom is committed the actual execution. For without her, Election is frustrate, and all inuention of man is but a fantasia. And therefore who aduisedly beholdeth the astate of mannes life, shall well perceiue that all that euer was spoken or writen, was to be by experience executed: and to that intent was speche specially gyuen to man, wherin he is moste discrepant from brute beaustis, in declaring what is good, what viciouse, what is profitable, what improfitable, by them whiche by clerenesse of witte do excelle in knowlege, to these that be of a more inferior capacitie. And what utilitie shulde be acquired by suche declaration, if it shulde nat be experienced with diligence?

The philosopher Socrates had nat bene named of Appollo the wyseste man of all Gracia, if he had nat daylye practised the vertues, whiche he in his lessons commended. Julius Caesar, the firste emperour, all thoughe there were in hym moche hydde lernynge; in so moche as he firste founde the ordre of our kalandre, with the Cikle and bisexte, called the lepe yere; yet is he nat so moche honoured for his lernynge as he is for his diligence, wherwith he exploited or brought to conclusion those counsailes, whiche as well by his excellent lerning and wisdom, as by the aduise of other experte counsailours were before traited, and (as I mought saye) ventilate.

Who wyll nat repute it a thinge vayne and scornefull, and

more lyke to a may game, than a mater seriouse or commendable, to beholde a personage, whiche in speche or wrytyng expresseth nothing but vertuous maners, sage and discrete counsailes, and holy aduertisementes, to be resolued in to all vices, folowyng in his actis no thinge that he hym selfe in his wordes approuethe and teacheth to other?

Who shall any thyng esteeme their wysedome, whiche with great studies finde out remedies and prouisions necessary for thinges disordred or abused; and where they themselves may execute it, they leue it untouched; wherby their deuises, with the sounne that pronounced them, be vanisshed and come to nothing? Semblably it is to be thought in all other doctrine. Wherefore, as it semed, it was nat without consideration affirmed by Tulli, that the knowlege and contemplation of Natures operations were lame and in a maner imperfecte, if there followed none actuall experience. Of this shall be more spoken in the later ende of this warke.

Here with wolde be conioyned, or rather mixte with it, the vertue called Modestie, whiche by Tulli is defined to be the knowlege of oportunitie of thinges to be done or spoken, in appoyntyng and setting them in tyme or place to them conuenient and propre. Wherefore it semeth to be moche like to that whiche men comunely call discretion. Al be it discretio in latine signifieth Separation, wherin it is more like to Election; but as it is comunely used, it is nat only like to Modestie, but it is the selfe Modestie. For he that forbereth to speake, all though he can do it bothe wisely and eloquently, by cause neither in the time nor in the herers he findethe oportunitie, so that no frute may succede of his speche, he therefore is vulgarely called a discrete persone. Semblably they name him discrete, that punissheth an offendour lasse than his merites do require, hauyng regarde to the waikenes of his persone, or to the aptnesse of his amendement. So do they in the vertue called Liberalitie, where in gyuyng, is had consideration as well of the condition and necessite of the persone that recciuethe, as of the benefite that comethe of the gyfte receyued. In euery of these thinges and their semblable is Modestie; whiche worde nat beinge knowen in the englisse tonge, ne of al them which under stode latin, except they had radde good autours, they improprely named this vertue discretion. And nowe some men do as moche abuse

the worde modestie, as the other dyd discretion. For if a man haue a sadde countenance at al times, and yet not beinge meued with wrathe, but pacient, and of moche gentillesse, they whiche wold be sene to be lerned, wil say that the man is of a great modestie; where they shulde rather saye that he were of a great mansuetude; which terme, beinge semblably before this time unknowen in our tonge, may be by the sufferance of wise men nowe receiued by custome, wherby the terme shall be made familiare. That lyke as the Romanes translated the wisdomes of Grecia in to their citie, we may, if we liste, bringe the lernynges and wisdomes of them both in to this realme of Englande, by the translation of their warkes; sens lyke entreprise hath ben taken by frenche men, Italians, and Germanes, to our no litle reproche for our negligence and slouth. And thus I conclude the last parte of daunsinge, whiche diligently beholden shall appiere to be as well a necessary studie as a noble and vertuose pastyme, used and continued in suche forme as I hiderto haue declared.

XXVI. Of other exercises, whiche if they be moderately used, be to euery astate of man expedient.

I HAUE showed howe huntynge and daunsing may be in the nombre of commendable exercises, and passe tymes, nat repugnant to vertue. And undoubted it were moche better to be occupied in honest recreation than to do nothyng. For it is saide of a noble autour, In doinge nothinge men lerne to do iuel; and Ouidius the poete saith

If thou flee idleness Cupide bath no myghte;
His bowe lyeth broken, his fire hath no lyghte.

It is nat onely called idlenes, wherin the body or minde cesseth from labour, but specially idlenes is an omission of al honest exercise. The other may be better called a vacacion from seriouse businesse, whiche was some tyme embraced of wise men and vertuous, It is writen to the praise of Xerxes kynge of Persia, that in tyme vacaunt from the affaires of his realme, he with his owne handes hadde planted innumerable trees, whiche longe or he died brought fourth abundance of frute; and for the craftie and dilectable ordre in the setting of

them, it was to al men beholdyng the princes industrie,
exceding maruailous.

But who abhorreth nat the historie of Serdanapalus, kynge of the same realme? whiche hauynge in detestation all princely affaires, and leuyng all company of men, enclosed hym selfe in chambers with a great multitude of concubynes. And for that he wolde seme to be some time occupied, or els that wanton pleasures and quietnesse became to hym tedious, he was founde by one of his lordes in a womans atyre, spinning in a distafe amonge persones defamed; whiche knowen abrode, was to the people so odious, that finally by them he was burned, with all the place wherto he fledde for his refuge. And I suppose there is nat a more playne figure of idlenesse than playng at dise. For besides that, that therin is no maner of exercise of the body or mynde, they whiche do playe therat must seme to haue no portion of witte or kunnyng, if they will be called faire plaiars, or in some company auoide the stabbe of a dagger, if they be taken with any crafty conueiaunce. And by cause alwaye wisdom is therin suspected, there is seldome any playng at dise, but therat is vehement chidyng and braulyng, horrible othes, cruell, and some tyme mortall, men acis. I omitte strokes, whiche nowe and than do happen often tymes betwene bretherne and most dere frendes, if fortune bryng alwaye to one man iuell chaunces, whiche maketh the playe of the other suspected. O why shulde that be called a playe, whiche is compacte of malice and robry? Undoubtedly they that write of the firste inuentions of thinges, haue good cause to suppose Lucifer, prince of deuilles, to be the first inuentour of dise playng, and helle the place where it was founden, although some do write that it was first inuented by Attalus. For what better allectiue coulde Lucifer devise to allure or bringe men pleasauntly in to damnable seruitude, than to purpose to them in fourme of a playe, his principall tresory; wherin the more parte of synne is contained, and all goodnesse and vertue confounded? The firste occasion to playe is tediousnes of vertuou occupation. Immediately succedeth couaiting of an other mans goodes, whiche they calle playng; therto. is annexed auarice and strait kepyng, whiche they call wyng; sone after cometh sweryng in rentyng the membres of god, whiche they name noblenesse, (for they wyll say he that swereth depe, swereth like a lorde); than folowethe furye or rage, whiche they calle

courage; amonge them cometh inordinate watche, whiche they name paynfulnesse; he bringethe in glotonie, and that is good fellowshipe; and after cometh slepe superfluous, called amonge them naturall reste; and he some tyme bringeth in lechery, whiche is nowe named daliance. The name of this Tresorie is verily idlenesse, the dore wherof is lefte wyde open to dise plaiers; but if they happe to bringe in their company, lerninge, vertuose busines, liberalitie, pacience, charitie, temperance, good diete, or shamefastnes, they muste leue them without the gates. For Euill custome. which is the porter, will nat suffre them to entre.

Alas what pitie is it that any christen man shulde by wanton company be trayned, I will no more saye in to this Tresorie, but in to this lothesome dungeon where he shal lye fetored in giues of ignorance, and bounden with the stronge chayne of obstinacie, harde to be losed but by grace? The most noble emperour Octavius Augustus, who hath amonge writers in diuers of his actes an honorable remembraunce, only for playing at dise and that but seldome, sustaineth note of reproche. The lacedemones sent an ambassade to the citie of Corinthe, to haue with them aliaunce; but whan the ambassadours founde the princes and counsailours playeng at dyse, they departed without employtinge their message, sayeng that they wolde nat maculate the honour of their people with suche a reproche, to be sayde that they had made aliaunce with disars.

Also to Demetrius the kynge of Parthians sent golden dise in the rebuke of his litenesse.

Euerything is to be estemed after his value. But who hering a man, whom he knoweth nat, to be called a disar, anone supposeth him nat to be of light credence, dissolute, vayne, and remisse? Who almoste trusteth his brother, whom he knoweth a dise player? Ye among themselves they laugh, whan they perceyue or here any doctrine or vertuose worde procede from any of their companyons, thynking that it becommeth nat his persone, moche more whan he dothe any thing with deuotion or wisdom. Howe many gentilmen, howe many marchauntes, haue in this damnable passe tyme consumed their substaunce, as well by their owne labours as by their parentes, with great studie and painfull trauaille in a

longe tyme acquired, and fynished their lyfes in dette and penurie? Howe many goodly and bolde yemen hath it brought unto thefte, wherby they haue presented the course of nature, and dyed by the ordre of lawes miserably? These be the frutes and reuenues of that diuyls she marchandise, besyde, the fynall rewarde, whiche is more terrible; the reporte wherof I leaue to diuines, suche as fere nat to showe their lerninges, or fille nat their mouthes so full with swete meates, or benefices that their tonges be nat let to speake trouthe; for that is their duetie and office, excepte I with many other be moche disceyued.

Playing at cardes and tables is some what more tollerable, only for is moche as therin wytte is more used, and lasse truste is in fortune, all be hit therin is neither laudable study nor exercise. But yet men delitinge in vertue mought with cardes and tables deuyse games, where in moughte be moche solace, and also study commodiouse; as deuising a bataile, or contention betwene vertue and vice, or other like pleasaunt and honest inuention.

The chesse, of all games wherin is no bodily exercise, is mooste to be commended; for therin is right subtile engine, wherby the wytte is made more sharpe and remembrance quickened. And it is the more commendable and also commodiouse if the players haue radde the moralization of the chesse, and whan they playe do thinke upon hit; whiche bokes be in englisse. But they be very scarce, by cause fewe men do seeke in plaies for vertue or wisdom.

XXVII. That shotyng in a longe bowe is Principall of all other exercises.

TULLI saithe in his firste boke of Officis, we be nat to that intent brought uppe by Nature, that we shuld seme to be made to playe and disporte, but rather to grauitie, and studies of more estimation. Wherfore it is writen of Alexander, emperour of Rome, for his grauitie called Seuerus, that in his chyldehode, and before he was taught the letters of greke or latine, he neuer exercised any other play or game, but only one, where in was a similitude of iustice, and therefore it was called in latine, Ad Iudices, whiche is in englisse to the

iuges. But the forme therof is nat expressed by the sayde autor, nor none other that I haue yet radde; wherfore I wyll repaire againe to the residue of honest exercise.

And for as moche as Galene, in his seconde boke of the preseruacion of helth, declareth to be in them these qualities or diuersities, that is to say, that some be done with extendinge of myght, and as hit were violently, and that is called valiaunt exercise; some with swyfte or hasty motion, other with strength and celerite, and that maye be called vehement. The particular kyndes of euery of them he describeth, whiche were to longe here to be rehersed.

But in as moche as he also saithe, that he that is of good astate in his body, ought to knowe the power and effecte of euery exercise, but he nedethe nat to practise any other but that whiche is moderate and meane betwene euery extremite; I wil now brefely declare in what exercise nowe in custome amonge us, maye be mooste founde of that mediocritie, and maye be augmented or mynysshed at the pleasure of hym that dothe exercise, without therby appairinge any part of dilectation or commodite therof.

And in myn oppinion none may be compared with shootinge in the longe bowe, and that for so ndry utilities that come therof, wherin it incomparably excelleth all other exercise. For in drawyng of a bowe, easie and congruent to his strength, he that shoteth dothe moderately exercise his armes, and the ouer parte of his body; and if his bowe be bygger, he must adde to more strength; wherin is no lasse valiaunt exercise than in any other wherof Galene writeth.

In shootyng at buttes, or brode arowe markes, is a mediocritie of exercise of the lower partes of the body and legges, by goinge a litle distaunce a mesurable pase.

At rouers or prickes, it is at his pleasure that shoteth, howe faste or softly he listeth to go. And yet is the praise of the shooter neither more ne lasse, for as farre or nighe the marke is his arowe, whan he goethe softly, as whan he runneth. Tenese, seldome used, and for a little space, is a good exercise for yonge men, but it is more violent than shooting, by

reason that two men do play. Wherefore neither of them is at his owne libertie to measure the exercise. For if the one stryke the balle harde, the other that intendeth to receyue him, is than constrained to use semblable violence, if he wyll retourne the balle from whens it came to him. If it trille fast on the grounde, and he entendeth to stoppe, or if it rebounde a great distaunce from hym, and he wolde eftesones retourne it, he can nat than kepe any measure in swiftnesse of mocion.

Some men wolde say, that in mediocritie, whiche I haue so moche praised in shootyng, why shulde nat boulyng, claisse, pynnes, and koytyng be as moche commended? Verily as for two the laste, be to be utterly abiected of al noble men, in like wise foote balle, wherin is nothinge but beastly furie and exstreme violence; wherof procedeth hurte, and consequently rancour and malice do remaine with them that be wounded; wherfore it is to be put in perpetuall silence. In clashe is employed to litle strength; in boulyng often times to moche; wherby the sinewes be to moche strayned, and the vaines to moche chafed. Wherof often tymes is sene to ensue ache, or the decreas of strength or agilitie in the armes: where, in shotyng, if the shooter use the strength of his bowe within his owne tiller, he shal neuer be therwith grieved or made more feble.

Also in shootyng is a double utilitie, wherin it excelleth all other exercises and games incomparably. The one is that it is, and alway hath ben, the moste excellent artillerie for warres, wherby this realme of Englande hath bene nat only best defended from outwarde hostilitie, but also in other regions a fewe englisse archers haue ben seene to preuayle agayne. people innumerable, also wonne inpreignable cities and stronge holdes, and kepte them in the myddes of the strength of their enemies. This is the feate, wherby englisse men haue ben moste dradde and had in estimation with outwarde princes, as well enemies as alies. And the commoditie therof hath bene approued as ferre as Hierusalem; as it shall appiere in the liues of Richarde the firste, and Edwarde the firste, kynges of englande, who made seuerall iournayes to recouer that holy citie of Hierusalem in to the possession of christen men, and achieued them honorablye, the rather by the powar of this feate of shootyng.

The premisses considered, O what cause of reproche shall the decaye of archers be to us nowe liuyng? Ye what irrecuperable damage either to us or them in whose time nede of semblable defence shall happen? Whiche decaye, though we all redy perceiue, feare, and lament, and for the restauryng therof cesse nat to make ordinances, good lawes, and statutes, yet who effectually puttethe his hande to continual execution of the same lawes and prouisions? or beholdyng them dayly broken, wynketh nat at the offendours? O mercifull god, howe longe shall we be mockers of our selves? Howe longe shall we skorne at our one calamitie? whiche, bothe with the eien of our mynde, and also our bodily eien, we se dayly imminent, by neglectyng our publike weale, and contemnyng the due execution of lawes and ordinaunces. But I shall herof more speake in an other place; and retourne nowe to the seconde utilitie founde in shotyng in the longe bowe, whiche is killyng of deere, wilde foule, and other game, wherin is bothe profite and pleasure aboue any other artillery.

And verily I suppose that before crosse bowes and hand gunnes were brought into this realme, by the sleighte of our enemies, to thentent to destroye the noble defence of archery, continuell use of shotyng in the longe bowe made the feate so perfecte and exacte amonge englisse men, that they than as surely and soone killed suche game, whiche they listed to haue, as they now can do with the crosse bowe or gunne, and more expeditely, and with lasse labour they dyd it. For beinge therin industrious, they kylled their game further from them (if they shott a great strength) than they can with a crossebowe, excepte it be of suche waighte, that the arme shall repente the bearyng therof twentie yeres after. More ouer in the longe bowe may be shotte mo arowes, and in lasse time, ne by the breakyng therof ensueth so moche harme as by the breakyng of the crossebowe. Besides that all tymes in bendyng, the crossebowe is in perile of breakyng.

But this suffiseth for the declaration of shootyng, wherby it is sufficiently proued that it incomparably excelleth all other exercise, passetyme, or solace. And hereat I conclude to write of exercise, whiche appertaineth as well to princis and noble men, as to all other by their example, whiche determine to passe furth their liues in vertue and honestie. And hereafter,

with the assistance of god, unto whom I rendre this myn
account (for the talent I haue of hym receiued), I purpose to
write of the principall and (as I mought say) the particuler
studie and affaires of him, that by the prouidence of god, is
called to the mooste difficulte cure of a publike weale.

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The Boke named The Governour: Book II.

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Sir Thomas Elyot

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The Boke named The Governour

Devised by Sir Thomas Elyot, Knight

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The Second Booke

**I. What thynges he that is elected or appointed to be a
gouvernour of a publike weale ought to premeditate.**



IN the boke precedinge I haue (as I truste) sufficiently declared as wel what is to be called a very and righte publike weale, as also that there shulde be therof one prince and soueraigne aboue all other gouernours. And I haue also expressed my conceipte and opinion touching nat only the studies, but also the exercises concernynge the necessary education of noble men and other, called to the gouernance of a publike weale, in suche fourme as, by the noble example of their liues and the frute therof coming, the publike weale, that shal happen to be under their gouernance, shall nat faile to be accounted happy, and the autoritie on them to be employed well and fortunately. Nowe will I traicte of the preparation of such personages, whan they firste receyue any great dignitie, charge, or gouernance of the weale publike.

Firste, suche persones beinge nowe adulte, that is to saye, passed theyr childehode as well in maners as in yeres, if for their vertues and lernynge they happe to be called to receyue any dignitie, they shulde firste amoue all company from them; and in a secrete oratorie of priuie chambre, by them selfe assemble all the powers of their wittes to remembre these VII articles, whiche I haue nat of myn owne heed deuised, but excerpted or gathered as well out of holy scripture as out of the warkes of other excellent writars of famouse memorie, as they shall sone perceiue whiche haue radde and perused good autours in greke and latine.

First, and aboue all thing, let them consider that from god only procedeth all honour, and that neither noble progenie, succession, nor election be of such force, that by them any astate or dignitie maye be so established that god beinge stered to vengeaunce shall not shortly resume it, and, perchance translate it where it shall like hym. And for as moche as examples greatly do profit in the stede of experience, here shall it be necessary, to remembre the historie of Saule, whom god hym selfe elected to be the firste kynge of Israhel; that where god commaunded hym by the mouth of Samuel the prophet, that for as moche as the people called Amalech had resisted the children of Israhel, whan they first departed from Egypt, he shuld therfore distroy al the countray, and slee men, women, and children, all beastis and catell, and that he shulde nothingsaue or kepe therof. But Saul after that he had vainquished Amalech, and taken Agag, kynge therof, prisoner, he hauing on hym compassion saued his life only. Also he preserued the best oxen, catel, and Vestures, and all other thing that was fairest and of most estimation, and wolde nat consume it accordyng as god had commaunded him, saying to Samuel that the people kept it to the intent that they wolde make there with to all mightie god a solemne sacrifice. But Samuel, reprouing him, said, Better is obedience than sacrifice, with other wordes

that do folowe in the historie. Finally, for that offence onely, al mightie god abiected Saul, that he shulde no more reigne ouer Israhel, and caused Samuel furthewith to enoynte Dauid kynge, the yongest sonne of a poure man of Bethleem, named Isai, whiche was keypyng his father's shepe. Sens for ones neglecting the comman dement of god, and that neither natural pitie, nor the intent to do sacrifice with that whiche was saued, mought excuse transgression of goddes commandement nor mitigate his grieuous displeasure. Howe vigilant ought a christen man beinge in autoritie howe vigilant (I say), industrious and diligentought he to be in the administration of a publike weale? Dreding alway the wordes that be spoken by eternall sapience to them that be governours of public weales; All powar and vertue is gyuen given of the Lord that of al other is highest, who shal examine your deeds, and enserch your thoughtes. For whan ye were the ministers of his realme ye iuged nat uprightly, nor observed the lawe of iustice, nor ye walked nat according to his pleasure. He shall shortly and terribly appiere unto you. For moste harde and greuous iugement shall be on them that haue rule ouer other. To the povre man mercy is graunted, but the great men shall suffre great tourmentes. He that is lorde of all excepteth no persone, ne he shall feare the gretnes of any man; for he made as wel the great as the smal, and careth for euey of them equally. The stronger or of more mighte is the persone, the stronger payne is to hym imminent. Therefore to you governours be these my words, that ye may lerne wisdom and fal nat.

This notable sentence is nat only to be imprinted in the hartes of governours, but also to be often tymes reuolued and called to remembrance.

They shall nat thynke howe moche honour they receiue, but howe moche care and burdene. Ne they shall nat moche esteme their reuenues and treasure, considerynge that it is no buten or praie, but a laboriouse office and trauaile.

Let them thynke the greater dominion they haue that therby they sustayne the more care and studie. And that therefore they muste haue the lasse solace and passetyme, and to sensuall pleasures lasse opportunitie.

Also whan they beholde their garmentes and other ornamentes, riche and preciose they shall thynke what reproche were to them surmounte that which be ther mennes warkes, and nat theirs, and to be vainquished of a poure subiecte in sondry vertues, wherof they them selves be the artificers.

They that regarde them of whom they haue gouernaunce no more than shall appertaine to their owne priuate commodities, they no better esteme them

than other men doth their horsis and mules, to whom they employe no lasse labour and diligence, not to the benefite of the sely bestis, but to their owne necessities and singuler aduantage. The most sure foundation of noble renome is a man to be of such vertues and qualities as he desireth to be openly published. For it is a fainte praise that is gotten with feare or by flaterars gyuen. And the fame is but fume whiche is supported with silence prouoked by menacis.

They shal also consider that by their pre-eminence they sitte, as it were on a pillar on the toppe of a mountaine, where all the people do beholde them, nat only in their open affaires, but also in their secrete pasetimes, priuie daliaunce, or other improfitable or wanton conditions: whiche soone be discovered by the conuersation of their most familiare seruauntes, whiche do alway imbrace that studie wherin their maister delitethe: accordynge to the sayings of Jesus Sirach, As the Juge of the people is, so be his ministers; and such as be the gouernours of the citie, suche be the people. Whiche sentence is confirmed by sondry histories: for Nero, Caligula, Domiciane, Lucius Commodus, Varius Heliogabalus, monstrous emperours, norished about them ribauldes and other voluptuose artificers. Maximianus, Dioclesian, Maxencius, and other persecutours of christen men, lacked not inuentours of cruel and terrible tourmentes. Cuntrary wise reigninge the noble Augustus, Nerua, Traiane, Hadriane, the two Antonines, and the wonderfull emperour Alexander, for his grautie called Seuerus, the imperiall palaiace was alway replenished with eloquent oratours delectable poetes wise philosophers, moste cunnynge and experte lawyars, prudent and valiaunt capitaines. Mo semblable, examples shall hereof be founden by them which purposely do rede histories, whom of all other I moste desire to be princes and gouernours.

These articles wel and substancially grauen in a noble mannes memorie, it shall also be necessary to cause them to be delectably written and sette in a table within his bedde chamber, addyng to the versis of Claudian, the noble poet, whiche he wrate to Theodosius and Honorius, emperours of Rome. The versis I haue translated out of latine in to englisshe, nat without great studie and difficultie, nat obseruyng the ordre as they stande, but the sentence belongynge to my purpose.

Though that thy powar stretcheth bothe ferre and large,
Through Inde the riche, sette at the worlde's ende,
And Mede with Arabi be bothe under thy charge,
And also Seres that silke to us dothe sende,
If feare the trouble, and small thinges the offends,
Corrupte desire thine harte bath ones embraced,

Thou arte in bondage, thyne honour is defaced.

Thou shalte be demed than worthy for to raigne,
Whan of thy selfe thou wynnest the maistry.
Euil custome bringeth vertue in disdaine,
Licence superfluous persuadeth moche foly;
In to moche pleasure set nat fehctie,
If luste or anger do th mynde assaile,
Subdue occasion, and thou shalte sone preuaile.

What thou mayst do delite nat for to knowe,
But rather what thinge wyll become the best
Embrace thou vertue and kepe thy courage lowe,
And thinke that alway measure is a feste.
Loue well thy people, care also for the leste,
And whan thou studiest for thy commoditie
Make them all partners of thy felicitie.

Be nat moche meued with singular appetite,
Except it profite unto thy subiectes all;
At thyne example the people wyll delite,
Be it vice or vertue, with the they rise or fall.
No lawes auaile, men tourne as doth a ball
For where the ruler in liuyng is nat stable,
Bothe lawe and counsaile is tourned in to a fable.

These versis of Claudiane, full of excellent wisdomes, as I haue saide, wolde be in a table, in suche a place as a gouernour ones in a daye maye beholde them specially as they be expressed in latine by the said poete unto whose eloquence no translation in englisse may be equialent. But yet were it better to can them by harte; ye, and if they were made in the fourme of a ditie to be songen to an instrument, O what a sweete songe wolde it be in the eres of wise men? For a meane musician mought therof make a righte pleasant harmonie, where almoste euery note shulde expresse a counsaile vertuous or necessary.

Ye haue nowe harde what premeditations be expedient before that a man take on him the gouernaunce of a publike weale. These notable premeditations and remembrances shulde be in his mynde, whiche is in autoritie, often tymes renewed. Than shall he procede further in furnisshyng his persone with honourable maners and qualities, wherof very nobilitie is compacte; wherby all other shall be induced to honour hym, loue hym, and

feare hym, whiche thinges chiefly do cause perfecte obedience.

Now of these maners will I write in suche ordre as in my conceipt they be (as it were) naturally disposed and sette in a noble man, and soonest in hym noted or espied.

II. The exposition of maiestie

IN a gouernour or man hauynge in the publyke weale some greatte authoritie, the fountaine of all excellent maners is Majestie; which is the holle proporcion and figure of noble astate, and is proprely a beautie or comelynesse in his countenance, langagem and gesture apt to his dignite, and accomodate to rime, place, and company; which, like as the sonne doth his beames, so doth it caste on the beholders and herers a pleasaunt and terrible reuerence. In so moche as the wordes or countenances of a noble man shulde be in the stede of a firme and stable lawe to his inferiours. Yet is nat Maiestie alwaye in haulte or fierce countenaunce, nor in speche outragious or arrogant, but in honourable and sobre demeanure, deliberate and graue pronounciation, wordes clene and facile, voide of rudenesse and dishonestie, without vayne or inordinat ianglynge, with suche an excellent temperance, that he, amonge and infinite nombre of other persones, by his maiestie may be espied for a gouernour. Wherof we haue a noble example in Homere of Ulisses, that whan his shippe and men were perished in the see, and he uneth escaped, and was caste on lande upon a coste where the inhabitantes were called Pheacas, he beinge all naked, sauynge a mantell sente to hym by the kynges doughter, without other apparaile or seruant, represented suche a wonderfull maiestie in his countenance and speche, that the kyng of the countray, named Alcinous, in that extreme calamitie, wisshed that Ulisses wold take his doughter Nausicaa to wyfe, with a greatte parte of his treasure. And declaryng the honour that he bare towarde him, he made for his sake diuers noble esbatements, and passetimes. The people also wondringe at his maiestie, honoured hym with sondrye presentes; and at their propre charges and expenses conuaied him in to his owne realme of Ithaca in a shippe of wonderfull beautie, well ordinauced and manned for his defence and saulfe conducte. The wordes of Alcinous, wherby he declareth the maiestie that he noted to be in Ulisses, I haue put in englisse, nat so well as I founde them in greke, but as well as my witte and tonge can expresse it.

Alcinous to Ulisses.

When I the consider, Ulisses, I perceiue
Thou doest nat dissemble to me in thy speche
As other have done, which craftely can deceiue,
Untrue reportyng where they list to preche
Of thinges never done; such falsehod they do teche.
But in they wordes thjere is a right good grace,
And that thy mynde is good, it sheweth in they face.

The estimation of majestie in countenance shall be declared by two examples now ensuing.

To Scipio, beinge in his manour place, caled Linterium, came divers great theuves and pirates, only to the intent to se his persone of whose wonderfull prowesse and sondry victories they harde the renome. But he nat knowynge but that they had come to endamage hym, armed hym selfe and suche seruauntes as he than had with hym, and disposed them aboute the imbatilmentds of his house to make defence; whiche the capitaynes of the theues perceiuyng, they despeched the multitude from them, and lainge a parte their harneise and waipons, they called to Scipio with a loude voice, sainge that they came nat as enemies, but wondringe at his vertue and prowesse desired only to se hym, whiche if he vouched saufe, they wolde accounte for an heuenly benefite. That beinge showed to Scipio by his seruauntes, he caused the gates to be sette wyde open, and the theues to be suffered to entre, who kyssynge the gates and postes with moche reuerence, as they had bene of a temple or other place dedicate, they humbly approached to Scipio, who visaged them in suche fourme that they, as subdued with a reuerent drede in beholding his majestie, at the last ioyfully kyssyng his hande often tymes, whiche he benignely offered to them, made humble reuerence, and so departed, layinge in the porche semblable offrynges as they gaue to their goddes, and furthe with retourned to their owne habitations reioysinge incredibly that they had sene and touched a prince so noble and valiaunt.

It is no litle thyng to meruaile at, the maiestie showed in extreme fortune and misery.

The noble Romane Marius, whan he had bene vii times Consul, beinge vainquished by Scilla, after that he had longe hidde him selfe in marises and desarte places, he was finally constrayned by famine to repaire to a towne called Minturne, where he trusted to haue bene soucoured. But the inhabitantes, dredyng the crueltie of Scilla, toke Marius and put him in to a dungeon. And after sente to slee hym their commune hangeman, which was borne in Cimbria, a countray some time destroyed by Marius. The

hangeman beholding the honourable porte and maiestie that remayned in Marius, nat withstandynge that he was out of honorable appaile, and was in garmentes torne and filthie, he thought that in his visage appiered the terrible bataile wherein Marius vainquished his countray men he therfore all tremblyng, as constrayned by feare, dyd lette falle out of his hande the swerde wherewith he shulde haue slayne Marius, and leuyng hym untouched, fledde out of the place. The cause of his feare reported to the people, they meued with reuerence, afterwarde studied and deuised howe they moughte delyuer Marius from the malice of Scilla.

In Augustus, emperour of Rome, was a natiue maiestie. For, as Suetonius writeth, from his eien proceded rayes or beames, whiche perced the eien of the beholders. The same emperour spake seldome openly, but out of a comentarie, that is to say, that he had before prouided and writen, to the intente that he wolde speke no more ne lasse than he had purposed.

More ouer towarde the acquiring of maiestie, thre thinges be required to be in the oration of a man hauyng autoritie; that it be compendious, sententious, and delectable, hauyng also respecte to the tyme whan, the place where, and the persones to whom it is spoken. For the wordes perchance apte for a bankette or tyme of solace, be nat commendable in tyme of consultation or seruice of god. That langage that in the chambre is tollerable, in place of iugement or great assembly, is nothing commendable.

III. Of appaile belongynge to a noble man, beinge a gouernour or great counsaillour.

APPARAILE may be wel a parte of maiestie. For as ther hath bene euer a discrepance in vesture of youthe and age, men and women, and our lorde god ordayned the appaile of preestis distincte from seculars, as it appiereth in holy scripture, also the gentiles had of auncient time sondry appaile to sondry astates, as to the senate, and dignities called magistrates. And what enormitie shulde it nowe be thought, and a thinge to laughe at, to se a iuge or sergeant at the lawe in a shorte cote, garded and pounced after the galyarde facion, or an apprentise of the lawe or pleder come to the barre with a millaine bonet or frenche hatte on his heed, sette full of plumes, poudred with spangles. So is there appaile comely to euery astate and degree, and that whiche excedeth or lackethe, procureth reproche, in a noble man specially. For appaile simple or scante reprouethe hym of auarice. If it be alway exceding precious, and often tymes chaunged, as well in to charge as straunge and newe facions, it causeth him to be noted dissolute of maners.

The most noble emperours of Rome, Augustus, Traiane, Hadriane, Antonine, Seuerus, and Alexander, whiche were of all other incomparable in honorable luyng, used a discrete moderation in their appaile, all though they were greatte emperours and gentiles. Howe moche more ought than christen men, whose denomination is founded on humilitie, and they that be nat of the astate of princes, to shewe a moderation and constance in vesture, that they diminisse no parte, of their maiestie, either with newe fangleness or with ouer sumptuous essences? And yet may this last be suiffered wher ther is a great assembly of straungers, for than some tyme it is expedient that a nobleman in his appaile do aduaunte hym selfe to be both riche and honourable. But in this as well as in other partes of maiestie tyme is to be highly considered.

Semblable deckyng oughte to be in the house of a noble man or man of honour. I meane concernyng ornamentes of halle and chambres, in Arise, painted tables, and images containyng histories, wherin is represented some monument of vertue, moste cunnyngly wroughte, with the circumstance of the mater briefly declared; wherby other men in beholdyng may be instructed, or at the lest wayes, to vertue persuaded. In like wise his plate and vessaile wolde be ingraued with histories, fables, or quicke and wise sentences, comprehending. good doctrine or counsailes; wherby one of these commodities may happen, either that they which do eate or drinke, hauyng those wisdomes euer in sighte, shall happen with the meate to receiue some of them, or by purposyng them at the table, may sussitate some disputation or reasonyng; wherby some parte of tyme shall be saued, whiche els by superflouse eatyng and drinkyng wolde be idely consumed.

IV. What very nobilitie is, and wherof it toke firste that denomination.

NOWE it is to be feared that where maiestie approacheth to excesse, and the mynde is obsessed with inordinate glorie, lest pride, of al vices most horrible, shuld sodainely entre and take prisoner the harte of a gentelman called to autoritie. Wherfore in as moche as that pestilence corruptethe all sences, and makethe them incurable by any persuasion or doctrine, therefore suche persones from their adolescencie (which is the age nexte to the state of man) oughte to be persuaded and taughte the true knowlege of very nobilitie in fourme folowing or like.

Fyrst, that in the begynnyng, whan priuate possessions and dignitie were gyuen by the consent of the people, who than had all thinge in commune, and equalitie in degree and condition, undoubtedly they gaue the one and

the other to him at whose vertue they meruailed, and by whose labour and industrie they received a commune benefite, as of a commune father that with equall affection loued them. And that promptitude or redinesse in employinge that benefite was than named in englisshe gentillesse, as it was in latine benignitas, and in other tonges after a semblable signification, and the persones were called gentilmen, more for the remembrance of their vertue and benefite, than for discrepance of astates. Also it fortuneth by the prouidence of god that of those good men were ingendred good children, who beinge brought up in vertue, and perceiuinge the cause of the aduancement of their progenitours, endeouored them selves by imitation of vertue, to be equall to them in honour and autoritie; by good emulation they retained stille the fauour and reuerence of people. And for the goodnesse that proceded of suche generation the state of them was called in greke Eugenia, whiche signifieth the good kinde or lignage, but in a more briefe maner it was after called nobilitie, and the persones noble, whiche signifieth excellent, and in the analogie or signification it is more ample than gentill, for it containeth as well all that whiche is in gentillesse, as also the honour or dignitie therefore received, whiche, be so annexed the one to the other that they can nat be separte

It wold be more ouer declared that where vertue ioyned with great possessions or dignitie hath longe continued in the bloode or house of a gentilman, as it were an inheritaunce, there nobilitie is mooste shewed, and these noble men be most to be honored for as moche as continuaunce in all thinge that is good hath euer preeminence in praise and comparison. But yet shall it be necessary to aduertise those persones, that do thinke that nobilitie may in no wyse be but onely where men can auunte them of auncient lignage, an auncient robe, or great possessions, at this daye very noble men do suppose to be moche errour and folye. Wherof there is a familiare example, whiche we beare euer with us, for the bloode in our bodies beinge in youthe warme, pure, and lustie, it is the occasion of beautie, whiche is euery where commended and loued; but if in age it be putrified, it leseth his praise. And the goutes, carbuncles, kankers, lepries, and other lyke sores and sickenneses, whiche do procede of bloode corrupted, be to all men detestable.

And this persuasion to any gentilman, in whom is apte disposition to very nobilitie, wyll be sufficient to withdrawe hym from suche vice, wherby he maye empayre his owne estimation, and the good renoume of his auncestours.

If he haue an auncient robe left by his auncetor, let him consider that if the first owner were of more vertue than he is that succedeth, the robe beinge

worne, it minissheth his praise to them whiche knewe or haue herde of the vertue of him that firste owed it. If he that weareth it be viciouse, it more detecteth howe moche he is unworthy to weare it, the remembraunce of his noble auncetour makynge men to abhorre the reproche gyuen by an iuell successour. If the firsts owner were nat vertuose, hit condemneeth him that weareth it of moche folishenesse, to glorie in a thinge of so base estimation, whiche, lacking beautie or glosse, can be none ornament to hym that weareth it, nor honorable remembrance to hym that first owed it.

But nowe to confirme by true histories, that accordynge as I late affirmed, nobilitie, is nat onely in dignitie, auncient lign age, nor great reuenues, landes, or possessions. Lete yonge gentilmen haue en times tolde to them, and (as it is vulgarely spoken) layde in their lappes, how Numa Pompilius was taken from husbandry, whiche he exercised, and was made kynge of Romanes by election of the people. What caused it suppose you but his wisdom and vertue ? whiche in hym was very nobilitie, and that nobilitie broughte hym to dignitie. And if that were nat nobilitie, the Romanes were meruailously abused, that after the dethe of Romulus their kynge, they hauynge amonge them a hundred senatours, whom Romulus did sette in autoritie, and also the blode roiall, and olde gentilmen of the Sabynes, who, by the procurement of the wiues of the Romanes, beinge their doughters, inhabited the citie of Rome, they wolde nat of some of them electe a kynge, rather than aduaunce a ploughman and stranger to that autoritie.

Quintius hauynge but xxx acres of lande, and beinge ploughman therof, the Senate and people of Rome sent a messenger to shewe him that they had chosen him to be dictator, whiche was at that time the highest dignitie amonge the Romanes, and for thre monethes had autoritie roiall. Quintius herynge the message, lette his ploughe stande, and wente in to the citie and prepared his hoste againe the Samnites, and vainquished them valiauntly. And that done, he surrendred his office, and beinge discharged of the dignitie, he repaired agayne to his ploughe, and applied it diligently.

I wolde demaunde nowe, if nobilitie were only in the dignitie, or in his prowesse, whiche he shewed agayne his enemies? If it were only in his dignitie, it therwith cessed, and he was (as I mought say) eftsones unnoble; and than was his prowesse unrewarded, whiche was the chiefe and originall cause of that dignitie: whiche were incongruent and without reason. If it were in his prowesse, prowesse consistynge of valiant courage and martiall policie, if they styll remaine in the persone, he may neuer be without nobilitie, whiche is the commendation, and as it were, the surname of vertue.

The two Romanes called bothe Decii, were of the base astate of the people,

and nat of the great blode of the Romanes, yet for the preseruacion of their countray they auowed to die, as it were in a satisfaction for all their countray. And so with valiant hartes they perced the hoste of their enemies, and valiauntly fightynge, they died there honorably, and by their example gaue suche audacitie and courage to the residue of the Romanes, that they employed so their strengthe agayne their enemies, that with litle more losse they obtayned victorie. Ought nat these two Romanes, whiche by their deth gaue occasion of victorie, be called noble? I suppose no man that knoweth what reason is will denie it.

More ouer, we haue in this realme coynes which be called nobles; as longe as they be seene to be golde, they be so called. But if they be counterfaicted, and ujade in brasse, coper, or other vile metal, who for the print only calleth them nobles? Wherby it appereth that the estimation is in the metall, and nat in the printe or figure. And in a horse or good grehounde we prayse that we se in them, and nat the beautie or goodnesse of their progenie. Whiche proueth that in estemyng of money and catell we be ladde by wysedome, and in approuynge of man, to whom beastis and money do serue, we be only induced by custome.

Thus I conclude that nobilitie is nat after the vulgare opinion of men, but is only the prayse and surname of vertue whiche the lenger it continueth in a name or lignage, the more is nobilitie extolled and meruailed at.

V. Of affabilitie and the utilitie therof in euery astate.

To that whiche I before named gentillesse, be incident thre speciall qualities, affabilitie, placabilitie, and mercy of whom I will nowe seperately declare the propre significacions.

Affability is of a wonderfull efficacie or power in procurynge loue. And it is in sondry wise, but mooste proprely, where a man is facile or easie to be spoken unto. It is also where a man speakethe courtaisely, with a swete speche or countenance, wherwith the herers (as it were with a delicate odour) be refreshed, and alured to loue hym in whom is this most delectable qualitie. As contrary wise, men vehemently hate them that haue a proude and haulte countenance, be they neuer so highe in astate or degree. Howe often haue I herde people say, whan men in great autoritie haue passed by without makynge gentill countenance to those whiche haue done to them reuerence: This man weneth witha loke to subdue all the worlde; nay, nay, mennes hartes be free, and wyll loue whom they lyst. And therto all the other do consente in a murmure, as it were bees. Lorde god how they

be sore blinded which do wene that haulte countenance is a comelynesse of nobilitie; where undoubted nothing is therto a more greater blemishe. As they haue well proued whiche by fortunes mutabilitie haue chaunged their astate, whan they perceiue that the remembrance of their pride withdraweth all pitie, all men reioysing at the chaunge of their fortune.

Dionise, the proude kynge of Sicile, after that for his intollerable pride he was driuen by his people out of his realme, the remembrance of his haulte and stately countenance was to al men so odiousse, that he coulde be in no countray well enterta ined. In so moche as if he had nat ben releued by lernyllg, teachyng a gramer schole in Italy, he for lacke of frendes, had bene constrayned to begge for his lyuyng.

Semblably, Perses, kyng of Macedonia, and one of the rychest kynges that euer was in Grece, for his execrable pride, was at the last abandoned of all his alies and confederates, by reason wherof he was vainquysshed and taken prysoner by Paulus Emilius, one of the consules of Rome; and nat onely he hym selfe bounden and ledde as a captife, in the triumphe of the sayde Paulus, but also the remembrance of his pride was so odiousse to people, that his owne sonne, destitute of frendes, was by nede constrayned to worke in a smythes forge, nat fynding any man that of his harde fortune had any compassion.

The pride of Tarquine, the last kyng of Romanes, was more occasion of his exile than the rauysshyng of Lucrecia by his sonne Aruncius, for the malice that the people by his pride had longe gathered, finding valiaunt capitaynes, Brutus, Colatinus Lucretius, and other nobles of the citie, at the last braste out and takyng occasion of the rauisshement, all though the kyng were therto not partie, they utterly expulsed hym for euer out of the citie. These be the frutes of pride, and that men do cal stately countenance.

Whan a noble man passeth by, shewing to men a gentil and familiare visage, it is a worlde to beholde howe people takethe comforte, howe the blode in their visage quickeneth, howe their flesshe stireth, and harts lepeth for gladnesse. Than they all speke as it were in an harmonie, the one saithe, Who beholding this mans moste gentill countenaunce, wyll nat with all his harte loue hym? Another saith, He is no man, but an aungell; se howe he reioyseth all men that beholde him. Finallye, all do graunt that he is worthye all honour that may be givien or wished him.

But now to resorte to that whiche moste proprely (as I haue said) is affabilitie, which is facile or easy to be spoken unto.

Marcus Antoninus, emperour of Rome (as Lampridius wryteth) enserched, who were moost homely and playne men within the cite, and secretely sent for them in to his chaumbre, where he diligently enquired of them what the people coniected of his lyuing, commaundyng them upon payne of his hygh indignation to tell hym trouthe, and hyde nothyng from hym. And upon their reporte, if he herde any thing worthy neuer so litle dispreise, he forthwith amended hit. And also by suche meanes he corrected them that were about his persone, fyndyng them negligent, dissemblars, and flateras. The noble Traiane, whan his nobles and counsailours noted him to familiar, and curtaise, and therefore dyd blame hym, he answered, that he wolde be a like emperour to other men, as if he were a subiect he wolde wysshe to haue ourselfe.

O what damage ensued to princes and their realmes where libertie of speche hath ben restrayned? What auayled fortune incomparable to the great kynge Alexander, his wonderfull puissance and hardynes, or his singular doctrine in philosophy, taught hym by Aristotle, in deliueyringe hym from the deth in his yonge and flourisshing age? Where, if he had retained the same affabilitie that was in hym in the begynnyng of his conquest, and had nat put to silence his counsailors whiche before used to speake to hym frankly, he mought haue escaped all violent dethe, and by similitude, have enioyed the hol monarchie of al the worlde. For after that he waxed to be terrible in maners, and prohibited his frendes and discrete seruantes to use their accustomed libertie in speche, he felle in to a hatefull grudge amonge his owne people.

But I had almost forgotten Julius Cesar, who, beinge nat able to sustaine the burden of fortune, and enuienge his owne felicitie, abandoned his naturall disposition, and as it were, beinge dronke with ouer moche welth, sought newe wayes howe to be aduanced aboue the astate of mortall princes. Wherefore litle and litle he withdrewe from men his accustomed gentillesse, becomyng more sturdy in langage, and straunge in countenance, than euer before had ben his usage. And to declare more plainely his entent, he made an edict or decre, that no man shulde prease to come to hym uncalled, and that they shuld haue good awaite, that they spake not in suche familiar facion to hym as they before had ben accustomed; wherby he so dyd alienate from hym the hartis of his most wise and assured adherentis, that, from that tyme forward, his life was to them tedious, and abhorring him as a monstre or commune enemye, they beinge knitte in a confederacy slewe hym sitting in the Senate; of whiche conspiraci was chiefe capitaine, Marcus Brutus, whome of all other he beste loued, for his great wisdom and prowesse. And it is of some writers suspected that he was begoten of Cesar, for as moche as Cesar in his youth loued Seruilia, the mother of

Brutus, and, as men supposed, used her more familiarly than honestie required. Thus Cesar, by omittinge his olde affabilitie, dyd incende his next frendes and companions to sle hym.

But nowe take hede what damage insued to hym by his decre, wherin he commanded that no man shuld be so hardy to approche or speke to hym. One whiche knewe of the conspiracie agayne hym, and by al lykelyhode did participate therin, beinge meued either with loue or pitie, or other wise his conscience remording agayne the destruction of so noble a prince, consideringe that by Cesars decre he was prohibited to haue to hym any familiar accesse, so that he might nat plainly detect the conspiraci; he, therto vehemently meued, wrate in a byll all the forme therof, with the meanes howe it myght be espied, and sens he mought fynde none other oportunitie, he delyuered the byll to Cesar the same day that his dethe was prepared, as he wente towarde the place where the Senate was holden. But he beinge radicate in pride, and neglecting to loke on that hil, not esteminge the persone that deliuered it, whiche perchance was but of a mean hauiour, continued his way to the Senate, where he incontinently was slaine by the said Brutus, and many mo of the Senate for that purpose appoynted.

Who beholdinge the cause of the dethe of this moste noble Cesar, unto whom in eloquence, doctrine, martiall prowesse, and gentillesse, no prince may be comparid, and the acceleration or haste to his confusion, causid by his owne edict or decre, will nat commende affabilite and extolle libertie of speche? Wherby onely loue is in the hartis of people perfectly kendled, all feare excluded, and consequently realmes, dominions and all other autorites consolidate and perpetuelly stablissed. The sufferance of noble men to be spoken unto is not onely to them an incomparable suretie, but also a confounder of repentance, enemye to prudence, wherof is ingendred this worde, Had I wist, whiche hath ben euer of all wise men reproued.

On a tyme king Philip, fader to the great Alexander, sittinge in iugement, and hauing before him a matter agayne one of his souldiours, being ouercommen with watche fel on a slombre, and sodaynly being awaked, immediatly wolde haue giuen a sentence agayne the poure soldiour. But he, with a great voice and outcrie, said, King Philip I appele. To whom wylt thou appele? said the kynge. To the (said the souldiour) whan thou arte throughly awaked. With whiche answer the kynge suspended his sentence, and more diligently examinyng the mater, founde the souldiour had wronge; whiche beinge sufficiently discussed, he gaue iugement for him, whom before he wolde haue Condemned.

Semblably hapned by a poure woman, agayne whom the same kynge had gyuen iugement; but she as desperate, with a loude voice, cried, I appele, I appele. To whom appelist thou? said the kyng. I appele, saide she, from the, nowe beinge dronke, to kynge Philip the sobre. At which words, though they were indiscrete and foolishe, yet he, nat beinge moued to displeasure, but gatherynge to hym his wittes, examyned the mater more seriously; wherby, he findyng the poure woman to sustaine wronges, he reuersed his iugement, and accordyng to truthe and iustice gaue, to her that she demaunded. Wherin he is of noble autours commended, and put for an honorable example of affabilitie.

The noble emperour Antonine, called the philosopher, was of suche affabilitie, as Herodiane writeth, that to euery man that came to him he gentilly deliuered his hande; and wold nat permitte that his garde shuld prohibite any man to approche hym.

The excellent emperour Augustus on a time, in the presence of many men, plaied on cymbales, or a nother like instrument. A poure man, standyng with other and beholdyng the emperour, saide with a loude voice to his felowe, Seest thou nat howe this voluptuose lechour tempereth al the worlde with his finger? Whiche wordes the emperour so wisely noted, without wrathe or displeasure, that euer after, duryng his lyfe, he refrayned his handes from semblable lightnesse.

The good Antonine, emperour of Rome, cominyng to supper to a meane gentelman, behelde in the house certaine pillers of a delicate stone, called porbheri, asked of the good man, where he had boughte those pillers. Who made to the emperour this answeare, Sir, whan ye come in to any other mannes house than your owne, ever be you dome and defe. Whiche liberall taunte that moste gentill emperour toke in so good parte that he often tymes reherced that sentence to other for a wyse and discrete counsaile.

By these examples appereth nowe evidently what good comethe of affabilitie, or sufferance of speche, what mooste pernicious daunger alway ensueth to them, that either do refuse counsaile, or prohibite libertie of speche; sens that in libertie (as it hath bene pruned) is moste perfecte suertie, according as it is remembred by Plutarche of Theopompus, kyng of Lacedemone, who beinge demaunded, howe a realme moughte be best and mooste surely kepte; If (saide he) the prince giue to his frendes libertie to speake to hym thinges that be iuste, and neglecteth nat the wronges that his subiecte sustaineth.

VI. Howe noble a vertue placabilitie is.

PLACABILITIE is no litle part of Benignitie, and it is proprely where a man is by any occasion meued to be angry, and, nat withstandyng, either by his owne reason ingenerate, or by counsaile persuaded, he omitteth to be reuenged, and often times receiueth the transgressour ones reconciled in to more fauour; whiche undoubtedly is a vertue wonderfull excellent. For, as Tulli saithe, no thinge is more to be meruailed at, or that more becometh a man noble and honorable, than mercy and placability. The value therof is beste knowen by the contrarye, whiche is ire, called vulgarely wrathe, a vice moste ugly and farrest from humanitie. For who, beholdyng a man in estimation of nobilitie and wisdom by furie chaunged in to an horrible figure, his face infraced with rancour, his mouthe foule and imposed, his eien wyde staryng and sparklyng like fire, nat speakyng, but as a wylde bulle, roryng and brayieng out wordes despitefull and venomous; forgetyng his astate or condition, forgeting lernyng, ye forgetyng all reason, wyll nat haue suche a passion in extreme detestation? Shal he nat wisshe to be in suche a man placabilitie? Wherby only he shulde be eftsones restored to the fourme of a man, wherof he is by wrathe despoyled, as it is wondersly well described by Ouide in his crafte of loue.

Man, to thy visage it is conuenient
 Beastly fury shortely to asuage.
 For peace is beautifull to man only sent,
 Wrath to the beastis cruell and sauage.
 For in man the face swelleth whan wrathe is in rage,
 The blode becometh wanne, the eien firye bright,
 Like Gorgon the monstre appieryng in the nyght.

This Gorgon, that Ouide speaketh of, is supposed of poetes to be a fury or infernall monstre, whose heris were all in the figure of adders, signifieng the abundance of mischiefe that is contained in wrathe.

Wherwith the great kynge Alexander beinge (as I mought say) obsessed, dyd put to vengeable deth his dere frende Clitus, his moste prudent counsailour Calisthenes, his moste valiant capitayne Philotas, with his father Parmenio, and diuers other. Wherof he so sore after repented, that oppressed with heuiness he had slayne hym selfe, had he nat bene lette by his seruauntes. Wberfore his furye and inordinate wrathe is a foule and greuouse blemysse to his glorie, whiche, without that vice, had incomparably excelled all other princis.

Who abhorreth or hateth nat the violence or rage that was in Scilla and Marius, noble Romanes, and in their tyme in highest authoritie within the citie, hauyng the gouernance of the more parte of the worlde?

Scilla, for the malignitie that he hadde towarde Marius, caused the heedes of a thousande and seuen hundred of the chiefe citezins of Rome to be striken of, and brought to hym fresshe bledyng and quicke, and theron fedde his mooste cruell eien, which to eate his mouth naturally abhorred. Marius with no lasse rancour inflamed, beside a terrible slaughter that he made of noble men leanyng to Scilla, he also caused Caius Cesar (who had bene bothe Consul and Censor, two of the moste honorable dignities in the citie of Rome) to be violently drawen to the sepulture of one Varius, a simple and seditious; persone, and there to be dishonestly slayne. With like bestial fury he caused the hed of Marcus Antonius, one of the moste eloquent oratours of all the Romanes, to be broughte unto hym as he sate at dyner, and there toke the heed all blody betwene his handes, and with a malicious countenance reproched hym of his eloquence, wherwith he had nat only defended many an innocent, but also the hole publike weale had ben by his wyse consultations singularly profited.

O what calamitie hapned to the mooste noble citie of Rome by the implacabilitie or wrath insaciabie of these two capitaines, or (as I moughte rather saye) deuils? The nobles betwene them exhaust, the chialry almost consumed, the lawes oppressed, and lacking but litle that the publike weale had nat ben extincte, and the citie utterly desolate.

The indiscrete hastinesse of the emperour Claudius caused hym to be noted for foolisse. For meued with wrathe he caused diuers to be slayne, for whom after he demaunded, and wolde sende for to souper. Nat withstandyng that he was right well lerned, and in diuers great affaires appered to be wyse. This discommodities do happen by implacable wrathe, wherof there be examples innumerable.

Contrary wise the valiant kynge Pirrhys, herynge that two men at a feste, and in a great assembly and audience had openly spoken wordes to his reproche, he, meued with displeasure, sente for the persones, and whan they were come, he demaunded where they spake of him any suche wordes. Wherunto one of them answered. If (saide he) the wyne had nat the sooner failed us, all that which was tolde to your highnesse, in comparison of that whiche shulde haue bene spoken, had ben but trifles. The wise prince, with that playne confession was mitigate, and his wrathe conuerted to laughyng.

Julius Cesar, after his victorie agayne the great Pompei, who had married his daughter, sittinge in open iugement, one Sergius Galba, one of the nobles of Rome a frende unto Pompei, saide unto hym, I was bounden for thy sonne in lawe, Pompei, in a great some, whan he was consul the thirde time, wherfore I am now sued, what shall I do? shall I my selfe pay it? By which wordes he moughte seme to reproche Cesar of the sellyng of Pompeis goodes, in defraudyng his creditours. But Cesar, than hauyng a gentill harte and a pacient, was meued with no displeasure towarde Galba, but caused Pompeis detts to be discharged.

We lacke nat of this vertue domesticall examples, I meane of our owne kynges of Englande; but moste specially one, whiche, in myne opinion, is to be compared with any that euer was written of in any region or countray.

The moste renommed prince, kyng Henry the fifte, late kyng of Englande, duryng the life of his father was noted to be fierce and of wanton courage. It hapned that one of his seruantes whom he well fauored, for felony by hym committed, was arrayned at the, kynges benche; wherof he being aduertised, and incensed by light persones aboute hym, in furious rage came hastily to the barre, where his seruant stode as a prisoner, and commaunded hym to be ungyued and sette at libertie, where at all men were abashed, reserued the chiefe iustice, who, humbly exhorted the prince to be contented that his seruaunt mought be ordred accordyng to the auncient lawes of this realme, or if he wolde haue hym saued from the rigour of the lawes, that he shuld optaine, if he moughte, of the kyng, his father, his gracious pardone; wherby no lawe or iustice shulde be derogate. With whiche answeere the prince nothyng appeased, but rather more inflamed, endeuored hym selfe to take away his seruaunt. The iuge consideringe the perilous example and inconuenience that moughte therby ensue, with a valiant spirite and courage commaunded the prince upon his alegeance to leue the prisoner and departe his waye. With whiche commandment the prince, being set all in a fury, all chafed, and in a terrible maner, came up to the place of iugement - men thinkyng that he wolde haue slayne the iuge, or haue done to hym some damage; but the iuge sittinge styll, without mouyng, declaryng the maiestie of the kynges place of iugement, and with an assured and bolde countenance, hadde to the prince these words folowyng: Sir, remembre your selfe; I kepe here the place of the king, your soueraigne lorde and father, to whom ye owe double obedience, wherfore, eftsones in his name, I charge you desiste of your wilfulnes and unlauffull entreprise, and from hensforth gyue good example to those whiche hereafter shall be your propre subiectes. And nowe for your contempt and disobedience, go you to the prisone of the kynges benche, where unto I committe you; and remayne ye there prisoner untill the pleasure of the kyng, your father, be further knowen. With whiche

wordes beinge abashed, and also wondrynge at the meraiious grauitie of that worshipful justice, the noble prince, layinge his waipon aparte, doinge reuerence, departed and wente to the kynges benche as he was commaunded. Whereat his seruants disdainyng, came and shewed to the kyng all the hole affairs. Wherat he a whiles studienge, after as a man all rauished with gladness, holdyng his eien and handes towarde heuen, abrayded, sayinge with a loude voice, mercifull god, howe moche am I, aboue all other men, bounde to your infinite goodnes; specially for that ye have gyuen me a iuge, who feareth nat to minstre iustice, and also a sonne who can suffre semblably and obey iustice?

Nowe here a man may beholde thre persones worthy excellent memorie. Firste, a iuge, who beinge a subiecte, feared nat to execute iustice on the eldest sonne his of his soueraigne lorde, and by the ordre of nature his successour. Also a prince and sonne and heire of the kyng, in the middes of his furye, more considered his iuell example, and the iuges constance in iustice, than his owne astate or wylfull appetite. Thirdly, a noble kyng and wyse father, who contrary to the custome of parentes, rejoyced to se his sonne and the heire of his crowne, to be for his disobedience by his subiecte corrected.

Wherfore I conclude that nothing is more honorable, or to be desired in a prince or noble man, than placabilitie. As contrary wyse, nothing is so detestable, or to be feared in suche one, as wrathe and cruell malignitie.

VII. That a gouernour ought to be mercifull and the diuersitie of mercye and vayne pitie.

MERCYE is and hath ben euer of suche estimation with mankynde, that nat onely reason persuadeth, but also experience proueth, that in whome mercye lacketh and is nat founden, in hym all other vertues be drowned and lose their iuste commendation.

The vice called crueltie, whiche is contrary to mercye, is by good reason most odyous of all other vices, in as moche as, lyke a poyson or continual pestilence, it destroyeth the generation of man. Also the vertues beyng in a cruell persone be nat only obfuscate or hyd, but also lyke wyse as norysshynge meates and drynkes in a sycke body do lose their bountie and augmente the malady, semblably diuers vertues in a persone malicious do minstre occasion and assistance to crueltie.

But nowe to speke of the inestimable price and value of mercy. Let

gouernours, whiche knowe that they haue resceyued theyr powar from aboue, reuolue in their myndes in what peryll they them selves be in dayly if in god were nat habundaunce of mercy, but that as sone as they offende him greuously, he shulde immediatly strike them with his moste terrible darte of vengeance. All be it uneth any houre passeth that men deserue nat some punysshement.

The mooste noble emperours, whiche for their merites resceyued of the gentyles diuynne honours, vainquissed the greate hartes of their mortall enemyes, in shewynge mercye aboue mennes expectacion. Julius Cesar, whiche in policie, eloquence, celeritie, and prowesse, excelled all other capitaynes, in mercye onely he surmounted hym selfe: that is to say, contrary to his owne affectes and determinate purposes, he nat onely spared, but also resceyued into tendre familyaritie his sworne enemyes. Wherefore, if the disdayne of his owne blode and alyaunce had nat traytourously slayne him, he had reigned longe and prosperously.

But ammonge many other examples of mercy, wherof the histories of Rome do abounde, there is one remembred by Seneca, whiche may be in the stede of a great nombre.

It was reported to the noble emperour Octavius Augustus, that Lucius Cinna, which was susters sonne to the great Pompei, had imagined his dethe. Also that Cinna was appointed to execute his feate whyles the emperour was doinge his sacrifice. This reporte was made by one of the conspiratours, and therwith diuers other thinges agreed: the old hostile betwene the houses of Pompei and Cesar, the wilde and sedicious witte of Cinna, with the place and tyme, where and whan the emperour should be disfurnished of seruauntes. No wonder though the emperours mynde were inquiete, beinge in so perilous a conflicte, consideryng oni the one parte, that if he shulde put to dethe Cinna, whiche came of one of the moste noble and auncient houses of Rome, he shulde euer lyue in daunger, onlas he shulde destroye all that noble familie, and cause the memorie of them to he utterly exterminate; whiche mought nat be brought to passe without effusion of the bloode of persones innumerable, and also perile of the subuercion of the empire late pacified. On the other parte, he considered the imminent daunger that his persone was in, wherefore nature stered hym to prouide for his suretie, wherto he thought than to be none other remedy but the deth of his aduersarie. To hym beinge thus perplexed came his wife Liuia, the empresse, who said unto him, Pleaseth it you, sir, to here a womans aduise. Do you as phisitians be wonte to do, where their accustomed remedies preue nat, they do assaye the contrarye. By seueritie ye haue hitherto nothing profited, proue therefore nowe what mercy may

aduaile you. Forgiue Cinna; he is taken, with the maynure and may nat nowe indomage you, profite he may moche to the increase of your renome and perpetuell glorie. The emperour reioysed to hym selfe that Cinna had founde suche an aduocatrice and gyuyng her thanks he caused his counsailours, whiche he had sente for, to be countermaunded, and calling to hym Cinna only, he commaunded the chambre to be auoyded, and an other chaire to be sette for Cinna; and that done he saide in this maner to hym: I desire of the this one thyng, that whiles I speke, thou wylt nat let or disturbe me, or in the middes of my wordes make any exclamation. What tyme, Cinna, I founde the in the hoste of myne enemyes, all thoughe thou were nat by any occasion made myneemie, but by succession from thine auncetours borne myneemie, I nat only saued the, but also gaue unto the all thyne inheritaunce; and at this day thou arte so prosperous and riche, that they whiche had with me victorie, do enuie the that were vainquished. Thou askiddist of me a spirituall promocion, and forthwith I gaue it the bifore many other, whose parentes had serued me in warres. And for that I haue done so moche for the, thou nowe hast purposed to slee me. At that worde whan Cinna cryed out, sayenge that suche madnes was farre from his mynde, Cinna, (said the 'emprour) thou kepist nat promise; it was couenaunted that thou shuldest nat interrupt me. I saye thou prearest to kyll me. And thereto the Emperour named his companions, the place, tyme, and ordre of all the conspiracie, and also to whom the sworde was committed. And whan he perceyued hym astonied, holdyng than his peace, nat for by cause that he so promised, but that his conscience him meued; For what intent dyddest thou thus? (said Augustus) Because thou woldest be emperour? In good faithe the publike weale is in an euyll astate, if nothing letteth the to raygne, but I onely; thou canste nat maintayne or defende thine owne house. It is nat longe sence that thou in a priuate iugement were ouer comen of a poore man but late infraunchised; therefore thou mayste nothinge do lightlyer than plede agayne the emperour. Say nowe, do I alone let the of thy purpose? Supposest thou that Paule, Fabius Maximum, the Cosses, and Seruliis, auncient houses of Rome, and suche a sorte of noble men (nat they which haue vayne and glorious names, but suche as for their merites be adorned with their propre images) will suffre the? Finally, said the emperour, (after that he had talked with hyin by the space of two houres), I gyue to the thy lyfe, Cinna, the seconde time fyrst beinge myneemie, nowe a traytour and murdrer of thy soueraygne lorde, whom thou oughtest to loue as thy father. Nowe from this day let amytye betwene us two begynne; and let us bothe contende whether I with a better harte haue gyuen to the thy lyfe, or that thou canste more gentilly recompence my kyndnes. Sone after Augustus gaue to Cinna the dignitie of Consull undesired, blamyng him that he darste nat aske it; wherby he had him moste assured and loyall. And Cinna afterwarde dienge, gaue to the emperour all

his goodes and possessions. And neuer after was Augustus in daunger of any treason. O what sufficient prayse may be gyuen to this moste noble and prudent emperour, that in a chambre alone, without men, ordenaunce, or waipon, and perchaunce without harnes, within the space of ii houres, with wordes well couched, tempered with maiestie, nat onely vainquissed and subdued one mortall enemye, whiche by a malignitie, engendred of a domesticall hatred, had determined to slee him, but by the same feate excluded out of the hole cite of Rome all displeasure and rancour towarde hym, so that there was nat lefte any occasion wherof mought procede any lytell suspicion of treason, whiche other wyse coulde nat haue hapned without slaughter of people innumerable.

Also the emperesse Liuia may nat of righte be forgotten, whiche ministred to her lorde that noble counsayle in suche a perplexitie; wherby he saued bothe him selfe and his people. Suppose ye that all the Senatours of Rome and counsaylours of the emperour, which were lytell fewer than a thousande, coulde haue better aduised hym? This historie therfore is no lasse to be remembred of women than of princes, takynge therby comforte to persuade swetely their husbandes to mercy and pacience; to whiche counsayle onely they shulde be admitted and haue free libertie. But I shal forbere to speke more of Liuia nowe, for as moche as I purpose to make a boke onely for ladyes; where in her laude shall be more amplie expressed. But to resorte nowe to mercy.

Suerly nothinge more entierly and fastly ioyneth the hartes of subiectes to their prince or soueraygne than mercy and gentilnes. For Seneca saith, a temperate drede represseth hygh and sturdy myndes; feare frequent and sharpe, set forth with extremitie stereth men to presumption and hardines, and constrayneth them to experiment all thinges. He that hastily punissheth ofte tymes son repenteth. And who that ouer moche correcteth, obserueth none equitie. And if ye aske me what mercye is, it is a temperaunce of the mynde of hym that hath of hym that hath powar to be auenged and it is called in latine Clementia, and is alway joyned with reason. For he that for euery litle occasion is meued with compasion, and beholdynge a man punished condignely for his offence lamenteth or waillethe, is called piteous, whiche is a sicknesse of the mynde, where with at this daye the more parte of men be diseased. And yet is the sicknesse moche wars by addying to one worde, callying it vaine pitie.

Some man perchaunce wyll demaunde of me what is vaine pitie? To that I wyll answere in a description of dailye experience. Beholde what an infinite nombre of englisshe men and women at this present time wander in all places throughout this realme, as bestis brute and sauage, abandonyng all

occupation, seruice, and honestie. Howe many semely personagis, by outrage in riotte, gamynge, and excesse of apparaile, be induced to thefte and robry, and some tyme to murdre, to the inquietation of good men, and finally to their owne destruction?

Nowe consider semblably what noble statutes, ordinances, and actis of counsaile from time to time haue bene excogitate, and by graue studie and mature consultation enacted and decreed, as wel for the due punisshement of the saide idle persones and vacabundes, as also for the suppression of unlauffull games and reducinge apparaile to conuenient moderation and temperance. Howe many proclamations therof haue ben diuulgate and nat obeyed? Howe many commissions directed and nat executed? (Marke well here, that disobedient subiectes and negligent gouernours do frustrate good lawes) A man herynge that his neighbour is slayne or robbed, furthe with hateth the offendour and abhorreth his enormitie, thinkynge hym worthy to be punisshed accordyng to the lawes; yet whan he beholdeth the transgressour, a semely personage, also to be his seruant, acquaintance, or a gentilman borne, (I omitte nowe to speke of any other corruption), he furthe with chaungeth his opinion, and preferreth the offendours condition or personage before the example of iustice, condempnyng a good and necessary lawe, for to excuse an offence pernicious and damnable; ye and this is nat only done by the vulgare or commune people, but moche rather by them whiche haue autoritie to them committed concernyng the effectuell execution of lawes. They beholde at their eie the continuell encrease of vacabundes in to infinite nombres, the obstinate resistence of them that dailye do transgresse the lawes made againe games and apparaile, which be the streight pathes to robry and semblable mischiefe; yet if any one commissioner, meued with zeale to his countray, accordyng to his duetie do execute duely and frequently the lawe or good ordinaunce, wherein is any sharpe punisshement, some of his companyons therat reboyleth, infamyng hym to be a man without charitie, callyng hym secretely a pike thanke, or ambitious of glorie, and by suche maner of obloquie they seeke meanes to bringe hym in to the haterede of people. And this may well be called vayne pitie; wherin is contayned neither iustice nor yet commendable charitie, but rather therby ensueth negligence, contempte, dissobedience, and finally all mischiefe and incurable misery.

If this sicknesse had reigned amonge the old Romanes, suppose ye that the astate of their publike weale had sixe hundred yeres encreased, and two hundred yeres continued in one excellent astate and wonderfull maiestie? Or thinke ye that the same Romanes mought so haue ordred many great countrayes, with fewer ministers of iustice than be nowe in one shire of Englande? But of that mater, and also of rigour and equalite of

punishment, I wyll traicte more amply in a place more propise for that purpose.

And here I conclude to write any more at this tyme of mercy.

VIII. The thre principall partes of humanitie

The nature and condition of man, wherin he is lasse than god almightie, and excellenge nat withstanding all other creatures in erthe, is called humanitie whiche is a generall name to those vertues in whome semeth to be a mutuall concorde and loue in the nature of man. And all thoughte there be many of the said vertues, yet be there thre principall by whome humanitie is chiefly compact; beneuolence, beneficence, and liberalitie, which maketh up the said principall vertue called benignitie or gentilnes.

Beneuolence, if it do extende to a hole contraye or, citie, it is proprely called charitie, and some tyme zele; and if it concerne one persone, than is it called beneuolence. And if it be very feruent and to one singuler persone, than may it be named loue or amitie. Of that vertuous disposition procedeth an acte, wherby some thinge is employed whiche is profitable and good to him that receyueth it. And that vertue, if it be in operation, or (as I mought saye) endeuour, it is called than beneficence, and the dede (vulgarly named a good tourne) may be called a benefite. If it be in money or other thing that hath substaunce it is than called liberalitie, whiche is nat alway a vertue as beneficence is for in well doing (whiche is the right interpretation of beneficence) can be no vice included. But liberalitie, thoughte it procede of a free and gentill harte, wyllinge to do some thinge thankefull, yet may it transgresse the bondes of vertue, eyther in excessiue rewardes, or expences, or els emploie treasour, promotion, or other substaunce on persones unworthy, or on thynges inconuenient, and of small importaunce. All be it some thinke suche maner of erogation nat to be worthy the name of liberalitie. For Aristotle defineth a liberal man to be he whiche doth erogate accordinge to the rate of his substance and as oportunitie hapneth. He saieth also in the same place, that liberalitie is nat in the multitude or quantite of that whiche is gyuen, but in the habite or facion of the gyuer, for he gyueth accordinge to his habilitie. Neyther Tulli approueth it to be liberalitie, wherin is any mixture of auarice or rapyne; for it is nat properly liberalitie to exacte iniustly, or by violence or craft to take goodes from particuler persones, and distribute them in a multitude; or to take from many iniustly, and enriche therwith one persone or fewe. For as the same autour saieth, the last precept concerning benefites or rewardes is, to take good hede that he contende nat agayne equitie, ne that he upholde none iniurie.

Nowe will I procede seriously and in a due forme to speke more particularly of these thre vertues. Nat withstandinge there is suche affinite bitwene beneficence and liberalitie, beinge always a vertue, that they tende to one conclusion or purpose, that is to saye, with a free and glad wyll to gyue to a nother that thinge which he before lacked.

IX. Of what excellence beneuolence is.

WHAN I remembre what incomparable goodnes hath euer proceded of this vertue beneuolence, mercifull god, what swete flauour fele I persing my spirites, wherof bothe my soule and body to my thinkinge do conceyue suche recreacion, that it semeth me to be in a paradise, or other semblable place of incomparable delites and pleasures. Firste I beholde the dignitie of that vertue, consideringe that god is therby chiefly knowen and honoured both of aungell and man. As contrarie wise the deuill is hated and reprobud bothe of god and man for his malice, whiche vice is contrarious and repugnaunt to beneuolence. Wherefore without beneuolence may be no god. For god is all goodnes, all charite, all loue, whiche holy be comprehended in the saide worde beneuolence.

Nowe let us see where any other vertue may be equall in dignitie with this vertue beneuolence, or if any vertue remayneth, where this is excluded. For what commeth of prudence where lacketh beneuolence, but disceite, rauine, auarice and tyranny? What of fortitude, but bestely crueltie, oppression, and effusion of bloode? What iustice may there be without beneuolence? Sens the first or chiefe porcion of iustice (as Tulli saieth) is to indamage no man, onelas thou be wrongfully vexed. And what is the cause hereof but equall and entier loue; whiche beinge remoued, or cissing, who endeuoreth nat him selfe to take from a nother al thyng that he coueteth, or for euery thinge that discontenteth him wolde nat forthwith be auenged? Wherby he confoundeth the vertue called temperance, whiche is the moderatrice as well of all motions of the minde, called affectes, as of all actis procedyng of man. Here it sufficiently appereth (as I suppose) of what estimation beneuolence is.

Nowe wyll I, accordyng to myne accustomed maner, endeuore me to recreate the spirites of the diligent reder with some delectable histories, wherin is any noble remembrance of this vertue beneuolence, that the worthinesse therof maye appiere in a more playne declaration; for in euery discipline example is the beste instructour.

But firste I will aduertise the reder, that I will nowe write of that

beneuolence onely whiche is moste universal wherin is equalitie without singuler affection or acceptaunce of personagis. And here it is to be noted, that if a gouernour of a publike weale, iuge, or any other ministre of iustice, do gyue sentence agayne one that hath transgresse

d the lawes, or punissheth hym according to the qualities of his trespas, Beneuolence therby is nat any thing perished; for the condemnation or punisshement is either to reduce hym that erreth in to the trayne of vertue, or to preserue a multitude from damage, by puttyng men in feare that be prone to offende, dreding the sharpe correction that they beholde a nother to suffre. And that maner of seueritie is touched by the prophet Daid, in the fourthe psalme, sayinge in this wise; Be you angry and loke that you sinne nat. And Tulli saith in his first boke of Officis, It is to be wished, that they, whiche in the publike weale haue any autoritie, may be like to the lawes, whiche in correctyng be ladde only by equitie and nat by wrathe or displeasure. And in that maner, whan Chore, Dathan, and Abiron moued a sedition agayne Moyses, he praied god that the erth mought open and swalowe them, consideryng that the furye of the people mouohte nat be by any other meanes asswaged, ne they kepte in due rule or obedience.

Helias the holy prophete of god dyd his owne handes put to deth the prestes of the Idol Baal, yet cessed he nat with fastyng, praying, longe and tedious pilgrimages to pacifie the displeasure that god toke againe the people of Israhel. But to retourne to beneuolence.

Moyes beinge highly entretayned with Pharao kyng of Aegipte, and so moche in his fauour by the meanes of the kynges suster, that, (as Josephus saithe), he beinge made capitaine of a huge armye, was sente by Pharao agayne the Ethiopians or Moores, where he made suche exploiture, that he nat only atchieued his entreprise, but also had giuen unto him, for his prowesse, the kyngs daughter of Ethiopia to be his wife, with great abundaunce of riches. And also for his endeuour, prowesse, and wisdom, was moche esteemed by Pharao and the nobles of Egipte; so that he moughte haue liued there continually in moche honour and welth, if he wolde haue preferred his singuler aduaile before the uniuersall weale of his owne kynred or familie. But he inflamed with feruent beneuolence or zeale towarde them, to redeme them out of their miserable bondage, chase rather to be in the daungerous indignation of Pharao, to committe his persone to the changeable myndes of a multitude, and they most unstable, to passe great and long iournaies throughe desertes replenished with wylde beastis and venimous serpentis, to suffre exstreme hunger and thirste, lackyng often tymes nat onely vitaille but also fresshe water to drinke, than to be in the palice of Pharao where he shulde haue bene satisfied with honour,

richesse and ease, and all other thinges pleasaunt. Who that redeth the boke of Exodi shall finde the charitie of this man wonderfull. For whan almightie god, being greuously meued with the children of Israhel for their ingratitude, for as moche as they often tymes murmured agayne hym, and uneth moughte be kepte by Moyses from idolatrie, he said to Moyses that he wold destroye them utterly, and make hym ruler of a moche greater and better people. But Moyses brenning in a meruailous charite towards them said unto god, This people, good lorde, haue mooste greuouslye sinned, yet either forgyue them this trespas, or, if ye do nat, strike me clene out of the booke that ye wrate. And diuers other tymes he importunately cried to god for the saulfe garde of them, nat withstanding that many tymes they concluded to haue slayne hym, if he had nat ben by his wisdom, and specially by the powar of god, preserued.

But perauenture some, which seke for starting holes to mainteine their vices, will objecte, sayinge that Moyses was a holy prophete and a persone electe by predestination to deliuer the children of Israhell out of captiuitie, which he coulde nat haue done, if he had nat bene of suche pacience and charitie. Therefore let us se what examples of semblable beneuolence we can finde amonge the gentiles, in whom was no vertue inspired, but that only which natural reason induced.

Whan a furious and wylfull yonge man in a sedicion had striken out one of the eies of kyng Licurgus, wherfore the people wolde haue slaine the transgressour, he wolde nat suffre them, but hauyng him home to his house, he by suche wise meanes corrected the yonge man, that he at the laste broughte hym to good maners and wisdom. Also the same Licurge, to the entent that theeffecte of his beneuolence towarde the commune weale of his countray mought persist and continue, and that his excellent lawes beinge stablissed shulde neuer be alterate, he dyd let swere al his people, that they shulde chaunge no part of his lawes, untill he were retourned, faynyng to them that he wolde go to Delphos, where Apollo was chiefly honoured, to consulte with that god what semed to hym to be added to or minisshed of those lawes, whiche also he fayned. to haue receiued of the said Apollo.

But finally he went in to the Isle of Crete, where he continued and died, commaundyng at his deth that his bones shulde be cast in to the see, lest if they were brought to Lacedemonia, his countray, the people shuld thinke them selfe of their othe and promise discharged.

Semblable loue Codrus, the last kynge of Athenes, had to his countray. For where the people called Dores (whom some thinke to be nowe Sicilians) wolde aduenge their olde grudges agayne the Atheniensis, they demaunded

of some of their goddes, what successe shulde happen if they made any warres. Unto whom answere was made, that if they slewe nat the kynge of Atheniensis they shulde than haue the victorie. Whan they came to the felde, straite commaundement was gyuen amonge them that, aboue all thinge, they shulde haue good awaite of the kynge of Athenes, whiche at that time was Codrus. But he before knowyng the answere made to the Dores, and what commandement was giuen to the army, dyd put of his princely habite or robes, and in apparaile all ragged and rent, carienge on his necke a bundell of twigges, entred in to the hoste of his enemies, and was slayne in the prese by a souldiour, whom he wounded with a hooke purposely. But whan it was perceiued and knowen to be the corps of kyng Codrus, the Dores all dismayed departed from the felde without proferynge bataile. And in this wise the Atheniensis, by the vertue of their most beneuolent kynge, who for the saulfgarde of his countray willingly died, were clerely deliuered from bataile. O noble Codrus, howe worthy had you ben (if god had bene pleased) to haue aboden the reparation of mankynde, that, in the habite and religion of a christen prince, ye mought haue showed your wonderfull beneuolence and courage, for the saulfe garde of christen men, and to the noble example of other princes.

Curtius, a noble knyghte of the Romanes, had no lasse loue to his countray than Codrus. For sone after the begynnyng of the citie there hapned to be a great erth queue, and after there remayned a great dell or pitte without botome, whiche to beholde was horrible and lothsome, and out of it proceded suche a dampe or ayre, that corrupted all the citie with pestilence. Wherefore whan they had counsailed with suche idols as they than worshipped, answere was made that the erth shuld nat close untill there were throwen in to it the moste precious thinge in the citie; whiche answere receiued, there was throwen in riche ieuels of golde and precious stone; but all auailed nat.

At the laste, Curtius, beinge a yonge and goodly gentilman, consideryng that no riches throwen in profited, he finallye coniected that the life of man was aboue all thinges moste precious; to thentent the residue of the people mought be saued by his only dethe, he armed hym selfe at all pointes, and sittinge on a courser, with his swerde in his hande redy drawen, with a valiaunt and fierce courage enforced his horse to lepe in to the dell or pitte, and forthwith it ioyned to gether and closed, leuynae onely a signe where the pitte was; which longe after was called Curtius lake.

I passe ouer the two Decius, Marcus Regulus, and many other princes and noble men that for the weale, of their contraye died willingly. And nowe wyll I speke of suche as in any other fourme haue declared their

beneuolence.

Xenophon, condisciple of Plato, wrate the life of Cyrus kyng of Persia most elegantly, wherin he expresseth the figure of an excellent gouernour or capitayne. He sheweth there that Craesus, the riche king of Lidia, whom Cyrus had taken prisoner, subdued his countray, and possessed his treasure, saide on a tyme to Cyrus, whan he behelde his liberalitie, that suche largenesse as he used shulde bringe hym in pouertie, where, if he lysted, he mought accumulate up treasure incomparable. Than Cyrus demaunded of Croesus, What treasure suppose ye shulde I nowe haue, if duryng the tyme of my raigne I wolde haue gadred and kept money as ye exhorte me to do? Than Cresus named a great some. Well, said Cyrus, sende ye some man, whom ye best truste, with Histaspa my seruauant; and thou, Histaspa, go about to my frendes and shewe them that I lacke golde towarde a certayne businesse, wherfore I will they shal sende me as moche as they can, and that they put it in writinge and sende it sealed by the seruant of Cresus. In the same wise Cirus wrate in a letter, and also that they shulde receiue Histaspa as his counsailour and frende, and sent it by hym. Histaspa, after that he had done the message of Cyrus and was retourned with the seruant of Cresus, who brought letters from Cyrus frendes, he saide to Cyrus, O sir, from hensforthe loke that ye take me for a man of great substaunce. For I am highly rewarded with many great gyftes for bringing your letters. Than Cyrus, at the houre appointed, ladde with hym kynge Cresus in to his campe, sayinge to hym, Now beholde here is our treasure, accounte, if ye can, how moche money is redy for me, if I haue nede of any to occupy. Whan Cresus behelde and rekened the innumerable treasure, whiche in sondry partes were laide aboute the paulion of Cirus, he founde moche more than he said to Cirus that he shuld haue in his tresure, if he him selfe had gadred and kept it. And whan all appiered sufficiently, Cirus than said, Howe thinke you, Cresus, haue I nat tresure? And ye counsailed me that I shulde gadre and kepe money, by occasion wherof I shuld be enuied and hated of my people, and more ouer put my trust to seruantes hyred to haue rule therof. But I do all other wise; for, in making my frendes riche, I take them al for my tresure, and haue them more sure and trusty kepers bothe of me and my substance, than I shuld do those whom I must trust only for their waxis.

Lorde god, what a notable historie is this, and worthy to be grauen in tables of golde; considerynge the vertue and power of beneuolence therin expressed. For the beneuolente mynde of a gouernour nat onely byndeth the hartes of the people unto hym with the chayne of loue, more stronger than any materiall bondes, but also gardeth more saulfely his persone than any toure or garison.

The eloquent Tulli, saithe in his officis, A liberall harte is cause of beneuolence, al though perchance that powar some tyme lackethe. Contrary wise he saith, They that desire to be feared, nedes must they drede them, of whom they be feared.

Also Plini the yonger saith, He that is nat enuironed with charite, in vaine is he garded with terrour; sens armure with armure is stered. Whiche is ratified by the mooste graue philosopher Seneke, in his boke of mercye that he wrate to Nero, where he saith, He is moche deceiued that thinketh a man to be suer, where nothyng from hym can be saulfe. For with mutuall assuraunce suertie is optained.

Antoninus Pius, emperour of Rome, so moche tendred the beneuolence of his people, that whan a greatte nombre had conspired treason againe him, the Senate being therwith greuouesly meued, endeuoured them to punissh the said conspiratours; but the emperour caused the examination to cesse, sayinge, that it shulde nat nede to seeke to busily for them that intended suche mischiefe, leste, if they founde many, he shulde knowe that many him hated. Also whan the people (for as moch as on a time they lacked corne in their graynardes) wolde haue slaine him with stones, rather than he wolde haue the sedicious persones to be punisshed, he in his owne persone declared to them the occasion of the scarsitie, wherwith they beinge pacified euery man helde him contented.

I had almost forgotten a notable and worthy remembraunce of kynge Philip, father to great kynge Alexander. It was on a tyme to him reported that one of his capitaines had menacing wordes towards him, wherby it semed he intended some damage towarde his persone. Wherefore his counsaile aduised hym to haue good awayte of the saide capitaine, and that he were put under warde; to whom the kynge answered, If any parte of my body were sicke or els sore, whether shuld I therefore cutte it from the residue, and cast it from me, or els endeuour my selfe that it moughte be healed? And than he called for the saide capitaine, and so entretayned hym with familiaritie and bounteous rewardes, that euer after he had hym more assured and loyall than euer he was.

Agesilaus kynge of Lacedemonia, to hym that demaunded howe a kyng mought most suerly goueme his realme without souldiours or a garde to his persone, answered, If he reigned ouer his people, as a father doth ouer his children.

The citie of Athenes (from whens issued al excellent doctrine and wisdom)

during the time that it was gouerned by those persons unto whom the people mought haue a familiare accesse, and boldly expound their greies and damages, prospered merualously, and during a longe season raigned in honour and weale.

Afterwarde the Lacedemons, by the mutabilite of fortune, vanquished them in bataile and committed the citie of Athenes to the kepyng of xxx of their owne capitaines, which were for their pride and auarice called tyrantes. But nowe se how litle suerte is in great nombre or strength, wher lacketh beneuolence. These xxx tyrantes were continually enuironed with sondry garisons of armed men, which was a terrible visage to people that before liued under the obedience of their lawes only. Finally the Atheniensis, by fere being put from their accustomed accesse to their gouernours to require iustice, and there with being fatigate as men oppressed with continual iniurie, toke to them a desperate corage, and in conclusion expelled out of the citie all the said tyrantes, and reduced it unto his pristinate gouernance.

What misery was in the life of Dionyse the tyrant of Cicile? Who knowing that his people desired his distruction, for his rauine and crueltie, wold nat be of any man shauen, but first caused his owne doughters to clippe his berde, and afterwarde he also mistrusted them, and than he him selfe with a brenning cole seared the heres of his berde, and yet finally was he destroyed.

In like wretchednesse was one Alexander, prince of a citie called Pherea, for he, hauing an excellent faire wyfe, nat only excluded all men from her company, but also, as often as he wold lie with her, certaine persones shulde go before him with torchis, and he folowing with his swerde redy drawn wolde therwith enserche the bedde, couers, and all other places of his chambre, leste any man shulde be there hidde, to thentent to sle him. And that nat withstanding by the procurement of his said wife (who at the last, fatigate with his most folisshe ialousy, conuerted her loue in to haterede) he was slaine by his owne subiects. Nowe dothe it appere that this reuerende virtue beneuolence is of all men, most specially of gouernors and men of honour, incomparably before other to be embraced.

Kyng Philip, whan he herd that his sonne Alexander used a meruailous liberalite amonge the people, he sent to him a lettre, wherin he wrate in this wise: Alexander, what peruerse opinion hath put the in suche hope, that thou thinkest to make them loyall unto the, whom thou with money corruptest, consideryng that the receiuour therof is therby appaired, beinge trained by thy prodigalitie to loke and gape alway for a semblable custome? And therefore the treasure of a gentle countenance, swete answeres, ayde in

aduersitie, nat with money onely but also with studie and diligent endeuour, can neuer be wasted, ne the loue of good people, therby acquired, can be from their hartes in any wise seperate. And here I make an ende to speke any more at this tyme of beneuolence.

X. Of beneficence and liberalitie.

ALL thoughe philosophers in the description of vertues haue deuised to set them as it were in degrees, hauing respecte to the qualitie and condition of the persone whiche is with them adourned; as applyinge Magnificence to the substaunce and astate of princes, and to priuate persones Beneficence and Liberalitie yet be nat these in any parte defalcate of their condigne praises. For if vertue be an election annexed unto our nature, and consisteth in a meane, which is determined by reason, and that meane is the verye myddes of two thynges viciouse, the one in surplusage, the other in lacke, than nedes must beneficence and liberalitie be capitall vertues. And magnificence procedeth from them, approching to the extreme partes; and may be tourned in to vice if he lacke the bridle of reason. But beneficence can by no menes be vicious and retaine still his name. Semblably liberalitie (as Aristotle saith) is a measure, as well in giuing as in takyng of money and goodes. And he is only liberall, whiche distributeth accordyng to his substance, and where it is expedient. Therefore he ought to consider to whom he shulde gyue, howe moche, and whan. For liberalitie takethe his name of the substance of the persone from whom it procedeth; for it resteth nat in the quantite or qualitie of thinges that be gyuen, but in the naturall disposition of the gyuer.

The great Alexander on a tyme, after that he had vainquished Darius in bataile, one of his souldiours broughte unto hym the hede of an enemye that he had slayne, whiche the kynge thankfully and with sweete countenance receiued, and takyng a cuppe of golde filled with good wine, saide unto the souldiour, In olde tyme a cuppe of golde was the rewarde of suche vertue as thou hast nowe shewed, whiche semblably thou shalte receiue. But whan the souldiour for shamefastnes refused the cup, Alexander added unto it these wordes; The custome was to gyue the cuppe emptie, but Alexander giueth it to the full of wyne with good handsell. Where with he expressed his liberall harte, and as moche comforted the souldiour as if he had gyuen to hym a great citie.

More ouer he that is liberall neglecteth nat his substance or goodes, ne gyueth it to all men, but useth it so as he may continually helpe therwith other, and gyueth whan, and where, and on whom it ought to be employed.

Therefore it maye be saide that he usethe euery thyng best that exerciseth the vertue whiche is to the thinge most appropred. For riches is of the nombre of thinges that may be either good or iuell, whiche is in the arbitrement of the gyuer. And for that cause liberalitie and beneficence be of suche affinitie, that the one may neuer from the other be separate. For the employment of money is nat liberalitie if it be nat for a good end or purpose.

The noble emperours Antonine and Alexander Seuerus gaue of the reuenues of the empire innumerable substaunce, to the reedifieng of cities and commune houses decayed for age, or by erthe queues subuerted, wherin they practised liberalitie and also beneficence.

But Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, Heliogabalus and other semblable monsters, whiche exhausted and consumed infinite treasures in bordell houses, and places where abominacions were used, also in enriching slaues, concubines and baudes, were nat therefore named liberall, but suffreth therefore parpetuall reproche of writars, beinge called deuourers and wasters of treasure.

Wherfore in as moche as liberalite holy resteth in the geuyng of money, it somtyme coloureth a vice. But beneficence is neuer taken but in the better parte, and (as Tulli saieth) is taken out of vertue, where liberalite commeth out of the cofer. Also where a man distributeth his substaunce to many parsones, the lasse liberalitie shall he use to other; so with bounteousnes bountie is minished. Onely they that be called beneficiall, and do use the vertue of beneficence, whiche consisteth in counsaylinge and helpinge other with any assistance in tyme of nede, shall alway finde coadiutours and supportours of their gentyll courage. And doughtlas that maner of gentilnesse that consisteth in labour, studie, and diligence, is more commendable, and extendeth further, and also may more profite parsones, than that whiche resteth in rewardes and expences. But to retourne to liberalitie.

What greater foly may be, than that thinge that a man most gladly dothe, to endeuour him with all studie that it may no lenger be done? Wherfore Tulli calleth them prodigall, that in inordinate feastes and bankettes, vayne playes, and huntines, do spende al their substaunce, and in those thinges wherof they shall leaue but a shorte or no remembrance. Wherfore to resorte to the counsaile of Aristotle before expressed. Natwithstandinge that liberalitie, in a noble man specially, is commended, all though it somewhat do excede the termes of measure; yet if it be well and duely employed, it acquireth parpetuall honour to the giuer, and moche frute and singuler commoditie therby encreaseth. For where honeste and virtuous parsonages be aduanced, and well rewarded, it sterith the courages of men, whiche haue any sparke of vertue, to encrease therein, with all their force and

endeuour. Wherefore nexte to the helpinge and reneuinge of a communitie, the great part of liberalitie is to be employed on men of vertue and good qualities. Wherein is required to be a good election and iugement, that, for hope of rewarde or fauour, under the cloke of vertue be nat hidde the moste mortall poisons of flaterie.

XI. The true discretion of amitie or frendship

I HAUE all redy treated of beneuolence and beneficence generally. But for als moche as frendship, called in latine Amicitia, comprehendeth bothe those vertues more specially and in an higher degree, and is nowe so infrequent or straunge amonge mortall men, by the tyrannie of couetise and ambition, whiche haue longe reigned, and yet do, that amitie may nowe unethe be knowen or founden throughout the worlde, by them that seeke for her as diligently, as a mayden wolde seeke for a small siluer pinne in a great chamber strawed with white russes, I will therfore borowe so moche of the gentle redar thoughe he be nigh wery of this longe mater, barrayne of eloquence and pleasaunt sentence, and declare some what by the way of very and true frendship. Whiche perchaunce may be an allectife to good men to seeke for their semblable, on whom they may practise amitie. For as Tulli saieth, Nothinge is more to be loued or to be ioyned to gether, than similitude of good maners or vertues; where in be the same or semblable studies, the same willes or desires, in them it hapneth that one in an other as moche deliteth as in him selfe.

But nowe let us enserche what frendship or amitie is. Aristotle saieth that frendship is a vertue, or ioyneth with vertue; whiche is affirmed by Tulli, sayenge, that frendship can nat be without vertue, ne but in good men onely. Who be good men, he after declareth to be those parsones, whiche so do beare them selves and in such wyse do lyue, that their faithe, suertie, equalitie and liberalitie be sufficiently proued. Ne that there is in them any couetise, wilfulnes, or foole hardinesse, and that in them is great stabilitie or constauce; them suppose I (as they be taken) to be called good men, whiche do folowe (as moche as men may) nature, the chiefe capitayne or guide of mannes lyfe. Moreouer the same Tulli defineth frendship in this maner, sayenge, That it is n one other thinge, but a perfecte consent of all thinges appertayninge as well to god as to man, with beneuolence and charitie; and that he knoweth nothinge giuen of god (except sapience) to man more commodius. Which definition is excellent and very true. For in god, and all thinge that commeth of god, nothing is of more greater estimation than loue, called in latin anor, whereof Amicitia commeth, named in englisse frendshippe or amitie; the whiche taken a way from the lyfe of man, no house shall abide standinge, no felde shall be in culture.

And that is lightly perceiued, if a man do remember what commeth, of dissention and discorde. Finally he semeth to take the sonne from the worlde, that taketh frendshippe from mannes life.

Sens frendshippe can nat be but in good men, ne may nat be without vertue, we may be assured that therof none iuell may procede, or therewith any iuell thinge may participate. Wherefore in as moche as it may be but in a fewe parsones (good men being in a small nomber), and also it is rare and seldome (as all vertues be comunely), I will declare after the opinion of Philosophers, and partly by commune experience, who, amonge good men be of nature moste apte to frendshippe.

Betwene all men that be good can nat all way be amitie, but it also requireth that they be of semblable or moche like maners. For gravitie and affabilitie be euery of them laudable qualities, so be seueritie and placabilitie, also magnificence and liberalitie be noble vertues, and yet frugalitie, whiche is a sobrenesse or moderation in liuinge is, and that for good cause, of al wise men extolled. Yet where these vertues and qualities be seperately in sondry parsones assembled, may well be perfecte concorde, but frendshippe is there seldome or neuer; for that, whiche the one for a vertue embraceth, the other contemneth, or at the leste neglecteth. Wherefore it semeth that wherein the one deliteth, it is to the other repugnaunt unto his nature; and where is any repugnaunce, may be none amitie, sens frendshippe is an entier consent of willes and desires. Therefore it is seldome sene that frendship is betwene these parsones, a man sturdie, of oppinion inflexible, and of soure countenance and speche, with him that is tractable, and with reason persuaded, and of swete countenance and entretaynement. Also betwene him whiche is eleuate in autoritie and a mother of a very base astate or degree. Ye and if they be bothe in an equall dignitier if they be desirous to klynbe, as they do ascende, so frendship for the more parte decayeth. For as Tulli saieth in his firste boke of offices, what thing so euer it be, in the whiche many can nat excell or haue therein superioritie, therein often tymes is suche a contencion, that it is a thinge of all other moste difficile to kepe amonge them good or vertuous company; that is as moche to say as to retayne amonge them frendship and amitie. And it is often tymes sene that diuers, which before they came in autoritie, were of good and vertuous condicions, beinge in their prosperitie were utterly chaunged, and dispisinge their olde frendes set all their studie and pleasure on their newe acquaintaunce. Wherein men shall perceiue to be a wonderfull blindnes, or (as I mought say) a madnesse, if they note diligently all that I shall here after write of frendshippe. But nowe to resorte to speke of them in whom frendship is most frequent, and they also therto be moste aptly disposed. Undoughtedly it be specially they whiche be wyse and of nature inclined to

beneficence, liberalitie, and constance. For by wysedome is marked and substancially decerned the wordes, actes, and demeanure of all men betwene whom hapneth to be any entrecourse or familiaritie, whereby is ingendrede fauour or disposition of loue. Beneficence, that is to say, mutuall puttinge to their studie and helpe in necessary affaires, induceth loue. They that be liberall do with holde or hyde nothinge from them whom they loue, wherby loue encreaseth. And in them that be constante is neuer mistrust or suspition, nor any surmise or iuell reporte can withdrawe them from their affection, and hereby frendship is made perpetuall and stable. But if similitude of studie or lerninge be ioyned unto the said vertues, frendship moche rather hapneth, and the mutuall enteruwe and conuersation is moche more pleasaunt, specially if the studies haue in them any delectable affection or motion. For where they be to serious or full of contention, frendship is oftentimes assaulted, whereby it is often in parile. Where the studie is elegant and the mater illecebrous, that is to say, swete to the redar, the course wherof is rather gentill persuasion and quicke reasoninges than ouer subtill argumentes or litigious controuersies, there also it hapneth that the studentes do delite one in a nother and be without enuie or malicious contention.

Nowe let us trie out what is that frendshippe that we suppose to be in good men. Verely it is a blessed and ostable connexion of sondrie willes, makinge of two parsones one in hauinge and suffringe And therefore a frende is proprely named of Philosophers the other I. For that in them is but one mynde and one possession and that, which more is, a man more reioiceth at his frendes good fortune than at his owne.

Horestes and Pilades, beinge wonderfull like in all features, were taken to gider and presented unto a tyrant who deedly hated Horestes, but whan he behelde them bothe, and wolde haue slayne Horestes onely, he coulde nat decerne the one from the other. And also Pilades, to deliuer his frende, affirmed that he was Orestes; on the other parte Orestes, to saue Pilades, denied and said that he was Orestes (as the trouthe was). Thus a longe tyme they to gither contendinge, the one to die for the other, at the laste so relented the terse and cruell harte of the tyrant, that wo ndringe at their meruailous frendship he suffred them frely to departe, without doinge to them any damage.

Pitheas and Damon, two Pythagoriens, that is to say, studentes of Pythagoras lerninge, beinge ioyned to gither in a parfaite frendship, for that one of them was accused to haue conspired agayne Dionyse, king of Sicile, they were bothe taken and brought to the kinge, who immediatly gaue sentence, that he that was accused shulde be put to dethe. But he desired the

kince that, er he died, he mought retourne home to set his householde in ordre and to distribute his goodes; whereat the kinge laughinge demaunded of him skornefully what pledge he wolde leaue hym to come agayne. At the whiche wordes his companyon stepte furthe and saide, that he wolde remayne there as a pledge for his frende, that in case he came nat againe at the daye to hym appointed, that he wyllingly wolde lose his hede; whiche condicion the tyraunt receyued. The yonge man that shuld haue died, was suered to departe home to his house, where he set all thinge in ordre and disposed his goodes wisely. The day appointed for his retourne was comen, the tyme moche passed; wherfore the kynge called for him that was pledge, who came furthe merely without semblaunte of drede, offeringe to abide the sentence of the tyraunt, and without orudginge to die for the sauinge the life of his frende. But as the officer of iustyce had closed his eien with a kerchiefe, and had drawen his swerde to haue striken of his hedde, his felowe came runninge and cryenge that the daye of his appointment was nat yet past; wherfore he desired the minister of iustice to lose his felowe, and to prepare to do execution on hym that had giuen the occasion. Whereat the tyraunt being ill abassed, commaunded bothe to be brought in his presence, and whan he had enough wondred at their noble hartes and their constance in very frendship, he offeringe to them great rewardes desired them to receyue hym into their company; and so, doinge them moche honour, dyd set them at liberte. Undoughtedly that frendship whiche dothe depende either on profite or els in pleasure, if the habilitie of the parsoner whiche mought be profitable, do fayle or diminisse, or the disposition of the parsoner, whiche shulde be pleasaunt, do chaunge or appayre, the feruentnesse of loue cesseth, and than is there no frendship.

XII. The wonderfull history of Titus and Gisipusf, and whereby is fully declared the figure of perfect amitie.

BUT nowe in the middes of my labour as it were to pause and take brethe, and also to recreate the reders, which, fatigate with longe preceptes, desire varietie of mater, or some newe pleasaunt fable or historie, I will reherce a right goodly example of frendship. Whiche example, studiously radde, shall ministre to the redars singuler pleasure and also incredible comferte to practise amitie.

There was in the citie of Rome a noble senatour named Fuluius, who sent his sone called Titus, beinge a childe, to the citie of Athenes in Greece (whiche was the fountaine of al maner of doctrine), there to lerne good letters, and caused him to be hosted with a worshipfull man of that citie called Chremes. This Chremes hapned to haue also a sone named Gisippus,

who nat onely was equall to the said yonge Titus in yeres, but also in stature, proporcion of body, fauour, and colour of visage, countenance and speche. The two children were so like, that without moche difficultie it coulde nat be discerned of their propre parentes, whiche was Clitus from Gysippus, or Gysippus from Titus. These two yonge gentilmen, as they sented to be one in fourme and personage, so, shortely after acquaintaunce, the same nature wrought in their hartes suche a mutuall affection, that their willes and appetites daily more and more so confederated them selves, that it semed none other, whan their names were declared, but that they hadde onely chaunged their places, issuinge (as I mought saye) out of the one body, and entringe in to the other. They to gether and at one tyme went to their lerninge and studie, at one tyme to their meales and refaction; they delited bothe in one doctrine, and profited equally therein; finally they to gether so increased in doctrine, that within a fewe yeres, fewe within Athenes mought be compared unto them. At the laste died Chremes, whiche was nat only to his sone, but also to Titus, cause of moche sorowe and heuinesse. Gysippus, by the goodes of his father, was knowen to be a man of great substaunce, wherfore there were ofred to hym great and riche mariages. And he than beinge of ripe yeres and of an habile and goodly parsonage, his frendes, kynne, and alies exhorted hym busely to take a wyfe, to the intent he mought increase his lygnage and progenie. But the yonge man, hauinge his hart all redy wedded to his frende Titus, and his mynde fixed to the studie of Philosophie, fearinge that mariage shulde be the occasion to seuer hym bothe from thone and thother, refused of longe tyme to be parswaded; untill at the last, partly by the importunate callynge on of his kynnesmen, partly by the consent and aduise of his dere frende Titus, therto by other desired, he assented to mary suche one as shulde lyke hym. What shall nede many wordes? His frendes founde a yonge gentilwoman, whiche in equalitie of yeres, vertuous condicions, nobilitie of blode, beautie, and sufficient richesse, they thought was for suche a yonge man apte and conuenient. And whan they and her frendes upon the couenautes of mariage were throughly accorded, they counsailed Gysippus to repayre unto the mayden, and to beholde howe her parsonage contented hym. And he so doinge founde her in euery fourme and condicion accordinge to his expectation and appetite; wherat he moche reioysed and became of her amoureuse, in so moche as many and often tymes he leauinge Titus at his studie secretly repayred unto her. Nat withstandinge the feruent loue that he had to his frende Titus, at the last surmounted shamefastnes. Wherfore he disclosed to him his secrete iournayes, and what delectacion he toke in beholdinge the excellent beautie of her whom he purposed to marry, and howe, with her good maners and swete entretaynement, she had constrained hym to be her louer. And on a tyme he, hauynge with hym his frende Titus, went to his lady, of whom he was resceyued moste ioyously.

But Titus forthwith, as he behelde so heuently a personage adourned with beautie inexplicable, in whose visage was moste amiable countenance, mixte with maydenly shamefastnesse, and the rare and sobre wordes, and well couched, whiche issued out of her pratie mouthe, Titus was therat abashed, and had the harte through perced with the fiery darte of blinde Cupide. Of the whiche wounde the anguisshe was so excedinge and vehement, that neither the study of Philosophie, neyther the remembraunce of his dere frende Gysippus, who so moche loued and trusted hym, coude any thinge withdrawe hym from that unkynde appetite, but that of force he must loue inordinately that lady, whom his said frende had determined to mary. All be it with incredible paynes he kepte his thoughtes secrete, untill that he and Gysippus were retourned unto their lodgynges. Than the miserable Titus, withdrawynge hym as it were to his studie, all tormented and oppressed with loue, threwe hym selfe on a bedde, and there rebukynge his owne moste despitefull unkyndnesse, whiche, by the sodayne sight of a mayden, he had conspired agayne his moste dere frende Gysippus, agayne all humanitie and reason, he cursed his fate or constellation, and wissed that he had neuer comen to Athenes. And there with he sent out from the botome of his harte depe and colde sighes, in suche plentie that it lacked but litle that his harte ne was riuen in peces. In dolour and anguisshe tossed he hym selfe by a certayne space, but to no man wolde he discover it. But at the last the payne became so intollerable, that, wolde he or no, he was inforced to kepe his bedde, beinge, for lacke of slepe and other naturall sustenaunce, brought in suche feblenesse, that his legges mought nat sustayne his body. Gysippus missyng his dere frende Titus was moche abashed, and heringe that he laye sicke in his bedde had forthwith his harte perced with heuinesse, and with all spede came to hym where he laye. And beholding the rosiall colour, which was wont to be in his visage, tourned in to salowe, the residue pale, his ruddy lippes wanne, and his eyen ledy and holowe, Gysippus mought uneth kepe hym selfe from wepynoe; but, to thentent he wolde nat discomfort his frende Titus, he dissimuled his heuynesse, and with a comfortable countenance demaunded of Titus what was the cause of his disease, blamyng him of unkyndenesse that he so longe had sustayned it without geuing him knowlege, that he mought for him haue prouided some remedie, if any mought haue ben goten, though it were with the dispendinge of all his substaunce. With whiche wordes the mortall sighes renewed in Titus, and the salte teares brast out of his eien in suche habundaunce, as it had ben a lande flode runnyng downe of a mountayne after a storme. That beholdinge Gysippus, and beinge also resolued in to teares, moste hartely desired hym and (as I mought saye) conjured him that for the feruent and entier loue that had ben, and yet was, betwene them, he wolde no lenger hyde from him his grieffe, and that there was nothing to him so dere or precious (all though it were his owne life)

that mought restore Titus to helthe, but that he shulde gladly and without grutchinge employe it. With whiche wordes, obtestations, and teares of Gysippus, Titus constrayned, all blusshinge and ashamed, holdinge downe his hedde, brought furthe with great difficultie his wordes in this wyse. My dere and moste louynge frende, withdrawe your frendely offers, cease of your courtaisie, refrayne your teares and regrettinges, take rather your knyfe and slee me here where I lye, or otherwise take vengeaunce on me, moste miserable and false traytour unto you, and of all other moste worthy to suffre moste shamefull dethe. For where as god of nature, lyke as he hath given to us similitude in all the partes of our body, so had he conioyned our willes, studies, and appetites to gether in one, so that betwene two men was neuer lyke concorde and loue, as I suppose. And nowe nat withstandinge, onely with the loke of a woman, those bondes of loue be dissolued, reason oppressed, frendship is excluded; there auailleth no wisdom, no doctrine, no fidelitie or truste; ye, your truste is the cause that I haue conspired agayne you this treason. Alas, Gysippus, what enuious spirite meued you to bringe me with you to her whom ye haue chosen to be your wyfe, where I receyued this poison? I saye, Gysippus, where was than your wisdom, that ye remembred nat the fragilitie of our commune nature? What neded you to call me for a wisse of your priuate delites? Why wolde ye haue me see that, whiche you youre selfe coulde nat beholde without rauisshinge of mynde and carnall appetite? Alas, why forgate ye that our myndes and appetites were euer one? And that also what so ye lyked was euer to me in lyke degree pleasaunt? What will ye more? Gysippus, I saye your trust is the cause that I am intrapped; the rayes or beames issuinge from the eyen of her whom ye haue chosen, with the remembraunce of her incomparable vertues, hath thrilled throughout the middes of my hart, and in suche wise brenneth it, that aboue all thinges I desire to be out of this wretched and moste unkinde lyfe, whiche is nat worthy the company of so noble and louynge a frende as ye be. And therewith Titus concluded his confession with so profounde and bitter a sigh, receyued with teares, that it semed that al his body shulde be dissolued and relented in to salt dropes.

But Gysippus, as he were there with nothyng astonyed or discontented, with an assured countenaunce and mery regarde, imbrasinge Titus and kissynge him, answered in this wyse. Why, Titus, is this your onely sicknesse and griefs that ye so uncurtesely haue so longe counceiled, and with moche more unkyndnesse kept it from me than ye haue conceyued it? I knowlege my foly, wherwith ye haue with good right imbrayded me, that, in showing to you her whom I loued, I remembred nat the commune astate of our nature, ne the agreableness, or (as I mought saye) the unitie of our two appetites, suerly that defaulte can be by no reason excused. Wherefore it is onely I that haue offended. For who may by right proue that ye haue

trespased, that by the ineuitable stroke of Cupides darte are thus bitterly wounded? Thinke ye me suche a fole or ignorant persone that I knowe nat the powar of Venus, where she listeth to shewe her importable violence? Haue nat ye well resisted agayne suche a goddessse, that for my sake ye haue striuen with her all moste to the dethe? What more loyaltie or trouthe can I require of you? Am I of that vertue that I may resiste agayne celestiall influence preordinate by prouidence diuine? If I so thought, what were my wittes? Where were my studie so longe tyme spent in noble Philosophie? I confesse to you, Titus, I loue that mayden as moche as any wise man mought possible, and toke in her companye more delite and pleasure than of all the treasure and landes that my father lefte to me, whiche ye knowe was right abundaunt. But nowe I perceyue that the affection of loue towarde her surmounteth in you aboue measure, what, shal I thinke it of a wanton lust or sodayne appetite in you, whome I haue euer knowen of graue and sadde disposition, inclyned alway to honest doctrine, fleinge all vayne daliaunce and dishonest passetye? Shall I imagine to be in you any malice or fraude, sens from the tendre tyme of our childhode I haue alway founden in you, my swete frende Titus, suche a conformitie with all my maners, appetites, and desires, that neuer was sene betwene us any maner of contention? Nay god forbede that in the frendshippe of Gysippus and Titus shulde happen any suspition, or that any fantasie shulde perce my hedde, whereby that honorable loue betwene us shulde be the mountenance of a cromme perished. Nay, nay, Titus, it is (as I haue said) the onely prouidence of god. She was by hym from the beginnyng prepared to be your lady and wife. For suche feruent loue entreth nat in to the harte of a wise man and vertuous, but by a diuine disposition; whereat if I shulde be discontented or grudge, I shulde nat onely be iniuste to you, withholdinge that from you whiche is undoughtedly youres, but also obstinate and repugnaunt agayne the determination of god; whiche shall neuer be founden in Gysippus. Therefore, gentill frende Titus, dismay you nat at the chaunce of loue, but receyue it ioyously with me, that am with you nothinge discontented, but meruailous gladde, sens it is my happe to finde for you suche a lady, with whome ye shall lyue in felicitie, and receyue frute to the honour and comfort of all your linage. Here I renounce to you clerely all my title and interest that I nowe haue or mought haue in that faire mayden. Call to you your pristinate courage, wasshe clene your visage and eyen thus biwept, and abandone all heuinesse. The day appointed for our mariage approacheth; let us consult howe without difficultie ye may holy attayne your desires. Take hede, this is myne aduise; ye knowe well that we two be so like, that, beinge a parte and in one apparayle, fewe men do knowe us. Also ye do remembre that the custome is, that, notwithstandinge any ceremony done at the, tyme of the spousayles, the mariage notwithstandinge is nat confirmed, untill at night that the husbände putteth a ryng on the finger of his wyfe, and

unloseth her girdell. Therefore I my selfe will be present with my frendes and perfourme all the partes of a bride. And ye shall abyde in a place secrete, where I shall appoint you, untill it be nyght. And than shall ye quickly conuaye your selfe in to the maidens chambre, and for the similitude of our parsonages and of our apparaile, ye shall nat be espied of the women, whiche haue with none of us any acquaintaunce, and shortely gette you to bedde, and put your owne rynge on the maydens fynger, and undo her gyrdell of virginite, and do all other things that shall be to your pleasure. Be nowe of good chere, Titus, and comfort your selfe with good refactions and solace, that this wan and pale colour, and your chekes meigre and leane, be nat the cause of your discoveringe. I knowe well that, ye hauinge your purpose, I shall be in obloqui and derision of all men, and so hated of all my kynrede, that they shall seke occasion to expulse me out of this citie, thinkyng me to be a notable reproche to al my familie. But let god therin warke. I force nat what payne that I abyde, so that ye, my frende Titus, may be saulfe, and pleasauntly enjoy your desires, to the increasinge of your felicitie.

With these wordes Titus began to meue, as it were, out of a dreame, and dougtinge whither he harde Gysippus speke, or els sawe but a vision, laye styll as a man abassbed. But whan he behelde the teares trickelinge downe by the face of Gysippus, he than recomforted hym, and thankinge him for his incomparable kyndnesse, refused the benefite that he offred, sayenge that it were better that a hundred suche unkynde wretches, as he was, shulde perisse, than so noble a man as was Gysippus shulde sustayne reproche or damage. But Gysippus eftsones comforted Titus, and therewith sware and protested, that with free and glad will he wolde that this thinge shulde be in fourme aforesaide accomplisshed, and therewith inbraced and swetely kyssed Titus. Who perceyuinge the mater suer and nat fayned, as a man nat sicke but onely a waked out of his slepe, he set hym selfe up in his bedde, the quicke bloode somewhat resorted unto his visage, and, after a little good meates and drinckes taken, he was shortly and in a fewe daies restored in to his olde facion and figure. To make the tale shorte. The day of maryage was comen. Gysippus accompanied with his alyes and frendes came to the house of the damosel, where they were honorably and ioyously fested. And betwene him and the mayden was a swete entretaynement, which to beholde all that were present toke moche pleasure and comfort, praysinge the beautie, goodlynesse, vertue, and curtesie whiche in those couples were excellent aboue all other that they hadde euer sene. What shall I saye more? The couenauntes were radde and sealed, the dowar appointed, and al other bargaynes, concluded, and the frendes of either parte toke their leaue and departed, the bride with a fewe women (as was the custome) brought in to her chambre. Than (as it was before agreed) Titus conueyed him selfe after

Gysippus returned to his house, or parchaunce to the chambre appoynted for Titus, nothyng sorowfull, all though that he hartely loued the mayden, but with a glad harte and countenance, that he had so recouered his frende from dethe, and so well brought hym to the effecte of his desire. Nowe is Titus in bedde with the mayden, nat knowen of her, nor of any other, but for Gysippus. And first he swetely demaunded her, if that she loued hym, and dayned to take hym for her husbände, forsaking all other, which she all blusshing with an eye halfe laughinge halfe mourninge (as in poynte to departe from her maydenhede, but supposinge it to be Gysippus that asked her) affirmed. And than he eftsones asketh her, if she in ratifieng that promise wolde receyue his rynge, whiche he hadde there all redy, wherto she consentynge putteth the rynge on her fynger and unloseth her gyrdell. What thing els he dyd, they two onely knewe it. Of one thing I am suer, that night was to Titus more comfortable than euer was the lengest daye of the yere, ye, and I suppose a hole yere of dayes. The morowe is comen. And Gysippus, thinking it to be expedient that the trouthe shulde be discovered, assembled all the nobilitie of the citie at his owne house, where also by appointment was Titus, who amonge them had the wardes that do folowe.

My frendes Atheniensis, there is at this tyme shewed amonge you an example all moste incredible of the diuine powar of honorable loue, to the perpetuall renoume and commendation of this noble citie of Athenes, wherof ye ought to take excellent comfort, and therefore gyue due thanks to god, if there remayne amonge you any token of the auncient wisdomes of your moste noble progenitours. For what more prayse may be gyuen to people, than beneuolence, faithfulnessse, and constaunce? Without whome all contrayes and cities be brought unto desolation and ruyne, lyke as by them they become prosperous and in moste hyghe felicitie. What shall I longe tary you in coniectynge myne intent and meaninge? Ye all knowe from whens I came unto this citie, that of aduenture I founde in the house of Chremes his sone Gysippus, of myne owne age, and in euery thinge so lyke to me, that neyther his father nor any other man coulde discarne of us the one from the other, but by our owne insignement or showings, in so moche as there were put about our neckes lacies of sondry colours to declare our personages. What mutuall agreement and loue haue ben alwaye betwene us, duryng the eight yeres that we haue ben to gether, ye all be witnesses, that haue ben beholders and wonderars of our moste swete conuersation and consent of appetites, wherein was neuer any discorde or variaunce. And as for my parte, after the decease of my father, nat withstandinge that there was discended and hapned unto me great possessions, fayre houses, with abundaunce of riches; also I beinge called home by the desirous and importunate letters of myne alyes and frendes, whyche be of the moste noble of all the senatours, offred the aduauncement to the highest dignities

in the publike weale; I will nat remembre the lamentations of my moste naturall mother, expressed in her tender letters, all be sprent and blotted with abundaunce of teares, wherein she accuseth me of unkyndenesse for my longe taryenge, and specially nowe in her mooste discomforts; but all this coulde nat remoue me the breade of my nayle from my dere frende Gysippus. And but by force coulde nat I, nor yet may be drawn from his swete company, but if he therto will consent. I chosynge rather to lyue with hym as his companyon and felowe, ye, and as his seruauant, rather than to be Consull of Rome. Thus my kyndenesse hathe he well acqwyted, or (as I mought saye) redoubled, deliuryng me from the dethe, ye, from the moste cruell and paynefull dethe of all other. I perceyue ye wonder here at, noble Atheniensis, and no meruayle; for what persone shulde be so hardie to attempte any suche thyng agayne me, beinge a Romaine, and of the noble bloode of the Romanes? Or who shulde be thought so malicious to slee me, who, (as all ye be my Juges) neuer trespassed agayne any persone within this citie? Nay, nay, my frendes, I haue none of you all therein suspected. I perceyue ye desyre and harken to knowe what he was that presumed to do so cruell and areat an enterprise. It was loue, noble Atheniensis, the same loue whyche (as youre poetes do remembre) dydde wounde the more parte of all the goddes that ye do honoure, that constrayned Juppiter to transfourme hym selfe in a swanne, a bulle, and diuers other lykenesses; the same loue that caused Hercules, the vainquisshe and distroyer of Monstres and Geautes, to spyne on a rocke, sittynge amonge maydens in a womans apparayle; the same loue that caused to assemble all the noble princes of Asia and Greece in the felde of Troy; the same loue, I saye, agayne whose assaultes may be founde no defence or resistance, hath sodainely and unaware striken me unto the harte with suche vehemence and myght, that I had in shorte space died with moste feruent tourmentes, hadde nat the incomparable frendship of Gysippus holpen me. I se you wolde fayne knowe who she is that I loued. I will no lenger delaye you, noble Atheniensis. It is Sophronia, the lady whom Gysippus had chosen to haue to his wife, and whome he moste intierly loued. But whan his moste gentill harte percuyed that my loue was in a moche higher degree than his towarde that lady, and that it proceded neither of wantonnesse, neither of longe conuersation, nor of any other corrupte desire or fantasie, but in an instant, by one onely loke, and with suche feruence that immediatly I was I so cruciate, that I desired, and, in all that I mought, prouoked deth to take me, he by his wisdom soone perceyued (as I dought nat but that ye do) that it was the very prouision of god, that she shuld be my wife, and nat his. Wherto he geuyng place, and more estemyng true frendship than the loue of a woman, where unto he was induced by his frendes, and nat by violence of Cupide constrained, as I am, hath willyngly graunted to me the interest that he had in the damosell; and it is I, Titus, that haue verely wedded her, I

haue put the ryng on her fynger, I haue undone the girdell of shamefastnes. What wil ye more? I haue lyen with her, and confirmed the matrimonye, and made her a wife.

At these wordes all they that were present began to murmure, and to cast a disdaynous and greuous loke upon Gysippus. Than spake agayne Titus. Leauē your grudgynges and menasinge countenaunce towarde Gysippus; he hathe done to you all honour and no dede of reproche. I tell you, he hathe accomplished all the partes of a frende; that loue which was moste certayne that he continued; he knewe that he mought fynde in Greece a nother mayden as fayre and as ryche as this that he had chosen, and one perchaunce that he mought loue better. But suche a frende as I was (hauynge respecte to our similitude, the longe approued concorde, also myne astate and condition) he was suer to fynde neuer none. Also the damosell suffreth no dispergement in her bloode, or hynderaunce in her mariage, but is moche rather aduaunced (no dispreyse to my dere frende Gysippus). Also consider, noble Atheniensis, that I toke her nat my father liuyng, whan ye mought haue suspected that as well her ryches as her beautie shulde haue thereto alloured me, but soone after my fathers decease, whanne I ferre exceded her in possessions and substaunce, whan the moste noble men of Rome and of Italy desired myne alyauce. Ye haue therefore all cause to reioyse and thanke Gysippus, and nat to be angrye, and also to extolle his wonderfull kyndenesse towarde me, whereby he hathe wonne me and all my bloode suche frendes to you and your citie, that ye may be assured to be by us defended agayne all the worlde. Whiche beinge considered, Gysippus hathe well deserued a statue or ymage of golde to be set on a piller in the myddes of youre citie, for an, honorable monument in the remembraunce of our incomparable frendship, and of the good that thereby may come to your citie. But if this persuasion can nat satisfie you, but that ye wyll imagyne any thinge to the damage of my dere frende Gysippus after my departinge, I make myne auowe unto god, creatoure of all thyng, that as I shall haue knowelege therof, I shall forthwith resort hither with the inuincible power of the Romanes, and reuenge hym in suche kise agayne his enemyes, that all Greece shall speke of it to their perpetuall dishonour, shame, and reproche. And therwith Titus and Gysippus rose; but the other, for feare of Titus, dissembled their malice, makyngē semblaunt as they had ben with all thinge contented.

Soone after Titus beinge sent for by the autorite of the senate and people of Rome, prepared to departe out of Athenes, and wolde fayne haue had Gysippus to haue gone with him, offringe to deuide with him all his substaunce and fortune. But Gysippus, consideryngē howe necessary his counsaile shulde be to the citie of Athenes, wolde nat departe out of his

countraye, nat withs"tandinge that aboue all ertly thinges he moste desired the company of Titus. Whiche abode also for the sayd consideration Titus approued. Titus with his lady is departed towardses the citie of Rome, where at their commynge they were of the mother of Titus, his kynsemen, and of all the senate and people ioyously receyued. And there lyued Titus with his lady in ioye inexplicable, and had by her many fayre children, and for his wisdom and lernynge was so highly esteemed that there was no dignitie or honorable office within the citie that he had nat with moche fauour and praise achieved and occupied.

But nowe let us resorte to Gysippus, who immediately upon the departinge of Titus was so maligned at, as well by his owne kynsemen as by the frendes of the lady, that he to their semyng shamefully abandoned, leauinge her to Titus, that they spared nat daily to vexe hym with all kindes of reproche that they coulde deuise or imagine. And firste they excluded him out of their counsayle, and prohibited from him all honest company. And yet nat beinge therewith satisfied, finally they adiuged him unworthy to enioye any possessions or goodes left to him by his parentes, whome he (as they supposed), by his indiscrete friendship had so distayned. Wherefore they dispoyled hym of all thinges, and almoste naked expelled him out of the citie. Thus is Gysippus, late welthy and one of the moste noble men of Athenes, for his kynde harte banished his owne countraye for euer, and as a man dismayed wandringe hither and thither, fyndeth no man that wolde socour him. At the laste, remembring in what pleasure his frende Titus lyued with his lady, for whome he suffred these damages, concluded that he wolde go to Rome and declare his infortune to his said frende Titus. What shall nede a longe tale? In conclusion, with moche payne, colde, hunger, and thurste, he is comen to the citie of Rome, and diligently enquiryng for the house of Titus, at the laste he came to hit, but beholdinge it so beauteous, large, and princely, he was a shamed to approche nigh to it, beinge in so simple astate and unkladde; but standeth by, that in case that Titus came forthe out of his house he mought than present hym selfe to hym. He beinge in this thought, Titus holdynge his lady by the hande issued out from his doore, and takynge their horses to solace them selfe, behelde Gysippus; but beholdynge his vile apparayle regarded hym nat, but passed furthe on their waye. Wherwith Gysippus was so wounded to the harte, thinkyng that Titus had condemned his fortune, that oppressed with mortail heynes he fell in a sowne, but beinge recooered by some that stode by, thinkyng him to be sicke, he forthwith departed, entendinge nat to abide any lenger, but as a wilde beste to wandre abrode in the worlde. But for werynesse he was constrayned to entre into an olde berne, without the citie, where he castinge him self on the bare grounde, with wepinge and dolorous cryenge bewayled his fortune. But moste of all accusinge the ingratitude, of

Titus, for whome he suffred all that misery, the remembraunce wherof was so intolierable that he determined no lenger to lyue in that anguisshe and dolour. And therwith drewe his knyfe, purposinge to haue slayne him selfe. But euer wisdom (whiche he by the studie of Philosophie had attained) withdrewe hym from that desperate acte. And in this contention betwene wise dome and wille, fatigate with longe iournayes and watche, or as god wolde haue it, he fell in to a deade sleepe. His knyfe (wherewith he wolde haue slayne hym selfe) fallynge downe by hym. In the meane tyme a commune and notable rufian or thefe, whiche had robbed and slayne a man, was entred in to the barne where Gysippus laye, to the intent to sojourne there all that nyght. And seinge Gysippus bewept, and his visage replenished with sorowe, and also the naked knyfe by hym, perceyued well that he was a man desperate, and supprised with heuinesse of harte was wery of his lyfe. Whiche the said rufian takinge for a good occasion to escape, toke the knife of Gysippus, and puttinge it in the wounde of him that was slayne, put it all bloody in the hande of Gysippus, beinge fast a slepe, and so departed. Sonne after the dedde man beinge founde, the offycers made diligent serche for the murderar. At the laste they entring in to the barne, and fynding Gysippus on slepe, with a bloody knife in his hande, they a waked him; wherwith he entred agayne in to his olde sorowes, complayninge his euill fortune. But whan the officers layde unto hym the dethe of the man, and the hauynge of the bloody knife, he thereat reioysed, thankinge god that suche occasion was hapned, wherby he shulde suffre deth by the lawes and escape the violence of his owne handes. Wherefore he denied nothing that was laide to his charge, desiringe the officers to make haste that he mought be shortly out of his lyfe. Whereat they meruayled. Anone reporte came to the senate that a man was slayne, and that a straunger and a Greeke borne was founden in suche fourme as is before mencioned. They forthwith commaunded hym to be brought unto their presence, sittynge there at that tyme Titus, beinge than Consull or in other lyke dignitie. The miserable Gysippus was brought to the barre with billes and staues lyke a felon, of whome it was demaunded, if he slewe the man that was founden dedde. He nothyng denied, but in moste sorowful maner cursed his fortune, namynge him selfe of all other most miserable. At the last one demaundyng him of what countray he was, he confessed to be an Atheniense, and therwith he cast his sorowfull eyen upon Titus with moche indignation and braste out in to sighes and teares abundantly. That beholdynge Titus, and espienge by a litle signe in his visage, whiche he knewe, that it was his dere frende Gysippus, and anone consideryng that he was brought into dispayre by some misadventure, he anone rose out of his place where he sate, and fallinge on his knees before the iuges, sayde that he had slayne the man for olde malice that he bare toward him, and that Gysippus beinge a straunger was giltyles, and that all men mought perceyue

that the other was a desperate person; wherefore to abbreviate his sorowes he confessed the acte, whereof he was innocent, to the intent that he wolde finyssh his sorowes with dethe. Wherefore Titus desired the iuges to gyue sentence on hym accordinge to his merites. But Gysippus perceyuinge his frende Titus (contrary to his expectation) to offre him selfe to the dethe, for his saulfe garde, more importunately cried to the senate to procede in their iugement on him that was the very offender. Titus denyed it, and affirmed with reasons and argumentes that he was the murderer and nat Gysippus. Thus they of longe tyme with abundaunce of teares contended whiche of them shulde die for the other. Wherat all the senate and people were wonderly abashed, nat knowinge what it ment. There hapned to be in the prease at that tyme he whiche in dede was the murdrer, who perceyuinge the meruaylous contention of these two persones, whiche were bothe innocent, and that it proceded of an incomparable frendshippe, was vehemently prouoked to discouer the trouthe. Wherefore he brake through the prease, and comminge before the senate he spake in this wyse. Noble fathers, I am suche a persone whom ye knowe haue ben a commune baratour and thefe by a longe space of yeres. Ye knowe also that Titus is of a noble blode, and is a proned to be alway a man of excellent vertue and wisdom, and neuer was malicious. This other straunger semeth to be a man full of simplicitie, and, that more is, desperate for some greuouse sorowe that he hathe taken, as it is to you eident. I say to you, fathers, they bothe be innocent. I am that persone that slewe hym that is founden dedde by the barne, and robbed him of his money. And whan I founde in the barne this straunger lyenge on slepe, hauinge by hym a naked knife, I, the better to hyde myne offence, dyd put the knife in to the wounde of the dedde man, and so all blody laide it agayne by this straunger. This was my mischeuous deuise to escape your iugement. Where unto nowe I remitte me holy, rather than this noble man Titus and this innocent straunger shulde unworthely die.

Here at all the Senate and people toke comfort, and the noyse of reioysing, hartes filled all the court. And whan it was further examined, Gysippus was discovered. The frendship betwene him and Titus was through out the citie publisshed, extolled, and magnified. Wherefore the Senate consulted of this mater, and finally, at the instaunce of Titus and the people, discharged the felon. Titus recognised his negligence in forgettinge Gysippus, and Titus beinge aduertised of the exilee of Gysippus, and the dispitfull crueltie of his kynrede he was therewith wonderfull wraethe, and hauinge Gysippus home to his house (where he was with incredible ioye receiued of the lady, whome sometyme he shulde haue wedded) he was honorably apparaild, and there Titus offred to hym to use all his goodes and possessions at his owne pleasure and appetite. But Gysippus desiryng to be agayne in his propre countray, Titus by the consent of the Senate and people assembled a

great armye and went with Gysippus unto Athenes. Where, he hauinge deliuered to him all those whiche were causers of banisshinge and dispoilinge of his frende Gysippus, he dyd on them sharpe execution, and restorynge to Gysippus his landes and substaunce stablysshed hym in perpetuall quietenes, and so retourned to Rome.

This example in the affectes of frendshippe expresseth (if I be nat deceyued) the description of frendship engendred by the similitude of age and personage, augmented by the conformitie of maners and studies, and confirmed by the longe continuauce, of company.

[Seneca saieth that very frendship is induced neither with hope ne with rewarde. But it is to be desired for the estimation of it selfe, which estimation is honestie, and what thinge is more honest than to be kynde, lyke as nothings is so dishoneste as to be unkynde? Perchaunce some wyll saye that frendshyppe is nat knowen but by receyuinge of benefites. Here what Seneca sayeth. Like as of all other vertues, semblably of frendship, the estimation is referred to the mynde of a man. For if a frende persist in his office and duetie, what so euer lacketh in benefite, the blame is in fortune. Like as a man may be a good synginge man, though the noyse of the standers aboute letteth him to be harde. Also he may be eloquent, though he be let to speke, and a stronge man, though his handes be bounden. Also there may happen to falle no parte of connyng, though there be a lette, so that it is nat expressed. So kyndenesse may be in wille, all though there lacketh powar to declare it.

Perchaunce some will demaunde this question, If frendship may be in wille without exterior signes, wherby shall it be perceyued or knowen? That I shall nowe declare.

Howe do we knowe the vertues of Socrates, Plato, Tulli, Agesilaus, Titus, Traiane, the two Antoninese and other like emperours and noble capitaynes and counsaylours? But onely by the fame of their nobilitie; and for those vertues we loue them, all though they were straungers, ne we hope to receyue any benefite by them. Moche more if we be naturally inclined to fauour one of our owne contraye, of whome the assured fame is, and also we our selfe haue conuenient experience that in him is suche vertue wherin we delite, who also, for some semblable oppinion that he hathe in us, useth us with some speciall familiaritie, on suche one shall we employe all maner of beneficence.

It wolde be remembred that frendshippe is betwene good men onely, and is

ingendred of an oppinion of vertue. Than may we reason in this fourme: A good man is so named, because that al that he willeth or dothe is onely good; in good can be none euill, therefore no thyng that a good man willeth or dothe can be euill. Lykewise vertue is the affection of a good man whiche neither willeth nor dothe any thinge that is euill And vice is contrary unto vertue, for in the oppinion of vertue is neither euill nor vice. And very amitie is vertue. Wherefore nothinge euill or vicious may happen in frendship. Therefore in the firste election of frendes resteth all the importaunce; wherfore it wolde nat be without a longe deliberation and profe, and, as Aristotle sayeth, in as longe tyme as by them bothe beinge to gether conuersaunt a hole bussell of salte mought be eten. For often tymes with fortune (as I late sayd) is chaunged, or at the lest minished, the feruentnesse of that affection; according as the swete Poete Ouide affirmeth, sayenge in this sentence:

Whiles fortune the faouereth frendes thou hast plentie,
The tyme beinge troublous thou arte all alone;
Thou seest coluers haunte houses made white and deintie,
To the ruynous towre all moste cometh none.
Of emotes innumerable, uneth thou fyndest one
In empty barnes, and where fayleth substaunce
Hapneth no frende in whome is assuraunce.

But if any hapneth in euery fortune to be constant in frendship he is to be made of aboue all thinge that may come unto man and aboue any other that be of bloode or kynrede (as Tulli sayeth) for from kynrede may be taken beneuolence, from frendship it can neuer be seuered. Wherefore beneuolence taken from kynrede yet the name of kinseman remayneth. Take it from frendship and the name of frendship is utterly perished.

But sens this liberte of speche is nowe usurped by flaterars, where they perceyue that assentation and praises be abhorred, I am therefore nat well assured hove nowe a dayes a man shal knowe or discerne suche admonicion from flattery, but by one only meanes, that is to say, to remembre that frendship may nat be but betwene good men. Than consider, if he that dothe admonisse the be hym selfe voluptuous, ambitious, couetous, arrogant, or dissolute, refuse nat his admonicion, but, by the example of the emperour Antonine, thankfully take it, and amende suche default as thou perceyuest doth gyue occasion of obloqui, in suche maner as the reporter also by thyne example may be corrected. But for that admonicion onely, accompt him nat immediatly to be thy frende, untill thou haue of hym a longe and suer experience, for undoughtedly it is wonderfull difficile to fynde a man very ambitious or coueytous to be assured in frendship. For where fyndest thou

hym (saieth Tulli, that will nat preferre honoures, great offices, rule, autorite, and riches before frendship? Therefore (sayeth he) it is very harde to fynde frendship in them that be occupied in acquirynge honour or about the affaires of the publike weale. Whiche sayenge is proued true by dayly experience. For disdayne and contempt be companions with ambition, lyke as enuye and haterede be also her folowers.

XIII. The diuision of Ingratitude and the dispraise therof

THE moste damnable vice and moste agayne iustice, in myne oppinion, is ingratitude, commenly called unkyndnesse. All be it, it is in diuers fourmes and of sondry importaunce, as it is discribed by Seneca. in this fourme. He is vnkynde whiche denieth to haue receyued any benefite that in dede he hathe receyued. He is unkynde that dissimuleth, he is; unkynde that recompenseth nat. But. he is moste unkynde that forgeteth. For the other, if they rendre nat agayne kyndnesse, yet they owe it, and there remayneth some steppes or tokens of desertes inclosed in an euill conscience, and at the last by some occasion may happe to retourne to yelde agayne thanks whan either shame therto prouoketh them, or sodayne desire of thinge that is honest, which is wont to be for a time in stomakes though they be corrupted, if a lyght occasion do moue them. But he that forgetteth. kyndnesse may neuer be kinde, sens all the benefite is quite fallen from hym. And where lacketh remembraunce there is no hope of any recompence. In this vice men be moche wares than beestes. For diuers of them will remembre a benefite longe after that they haue receyued it. The courser, fierce and couragious, will gladly suffre his keper, that dresseth and fedeth him, to vaunt hym easely, and stereth nat, but whan he listeth to prouoke him; where if any other shulde ryde him, though he were a kinge, he will sterve and plunge and endeuour hym selfe to threwe hym.

Suche kyndnesse haue ben founden in dogges that they haue nat onely dyed in defendinge their maisters, but also some, after that their maisters haue died or ben slayne, haue abstayned from meate, and for famine haue died by their maisters.

Plini remembreth of a dogge, whiche in Epiro (a contray in Greece) so assaulted the murdrer of his maister in a great assembly of people, that, with barkynge and bitynge hym, he compelled him at the laste to confesse his offence. The dogge also of one Jayson, his maister beinge slayne, wolde neuer eate meate but died for hunger. Many semblable tokens of kindnesse Plini reherceth, but principally one of his owne tyme worthie to be here remembred.

Whan execution shulde be done on one Titus Habinius and his seruauntes, one of them had a dogge whiche mought neuer be driuen from the prison, nor neuer wolde departe from his maisters body, and, whan it was taken from the place of execution, the dogge houled moste lamentably, beinge compased with a great nombre of people; of whome whan one of them had caste meate to the dogge, he brought and laide it to the mouthe of his maister. And whan the corps was throwen in to the ryuer of Tiber the dogge swamme after it, and, as longe as he mought, he inforced hym selfe to bere and sustayne it, the people scatering abrode to beholde the faithfulnessse of the beste.

Also the Lyon, which of all other bestis is accounted moste fierce and cruell, hath ben founden to haue in remembraunce benefite shewed unto him. As Gellius remembreth out of the historie of Appion howe a lyon, out of whose fete a yonge man had ones taken a stubbe and clenched the wounde, wherby he waxed hole, after knewe the same man beinge cast to him to be deuoured, and wolde nat hurte him, but lickynge the legges and handes of the man, whiche laye dismayde lokinge for dethe, toke acquaintaunce of him, and euer after folowed him, beinge ladde in a small lyam wherat wondred all they that behelde it. Whiche historie is wonderfull pleasaunt, but for the lengthe therof I am constrayned nowe to abrege it.

Howe moche be they repugnaunt, and, (as I mought saye) enemies bothe to nature and reason that suche one whome they haue longe knowen to be to them beneuolent, and ioyned to them in a syncere and assured frendship, approued by infallible tokens, ratified also with sondry kyndes of beneficence, they will contemne or neglecte, beinge aduaunced by any good fortune. I require nat suche excellent frendship as was betwene Pitheas and Damon, betwene Horestes and Pilades, or betwene Gysippus and Titus, of whome I haue before written (for I firmly beleue they shall neuer happen in payres or couples). Nor I seke nat for suche as will alway prefore the honour or profite of their frende before their owne, ne (whiche is the leste parte of frendshippe) for suche one as desirously will participate with his frende all his good fortune or substaunce. But where at this day may be founden suche frendship betwene two, but that where fortune is more beneuolent to the one than to the other, the frendship waxeth tedious, and he that is aduaunced desireth to be matched with one hauinge semblable fortune. And if any damage hapneth to his olde frende, he pitieth him, but he so roweth nat, and though he seme to be sorowfull, yet he helpeth nat, and though he wolde be sene to helpe him, yet trauaileth he nat and though he wolde be sene to trauaile, yet he suffreth nat. For (let us laye a parte assistence with money, whiche is a very small portion of frendshippe,) who will so moche esteme frendship, that therefore wyll entre into the

displeasure, nat of his prince, but of them whome he supposeth may minyssh his estimation towards his prince, ye and that moche lasse is, will displease his newe acquaintance, equall with him in autorite or fortune, for the defence, helpe, or aduancement of his auncient and well approued frende? O the moste miserable astate at this present tyme of mankynde, that, for the thinge whiche is moste prope unto them, the example therof muste be founden amongs the sauage and fierce bestes.

[But alas suche peruerse constellation nowe reigneth ouer men, that where some be aptely and naturally disposed to amitie and fyndeth one, in similitude of studie and maners, equall to his expectation, and therefore kendelet a feruent loue towarde that persone, puttinge all his ioye and delite in the praise and auancement of him that he loueth, it hapneth that he whiche is loued, beinge promoted in honour, either of purpose neglecteth his frende, therby suppressynge libertie of speche or familiar resorte; or els esteming his mynde with his fortune onely, and nat with the suertie of frendship, hideth from him the secretes of his harte, and either trusteth no man, or els him whome prosperous fortune hath late brought in acquaintance. Wherby do ensue two great inconueniences; one is, that he which so entierly loued, perceyuinge his loue to be vaynely employed, withdraweth by litle and litle the fire whiche serueth to no use, and so amitie, the greattest treasure that may be, finally perissheth. The other inconuenience is, that he whiche neglecteth suche a frende, either consumeth him selfe with sollicitude, if he be secrete, or in sondry affaires for lacke of counsaile is after with repentaunce attached, or disclosinge his mynde to his newe acquaintance is soner betrayed than well counseled. Wise men knowe this to be true, and yet will they unethe be content to be thus warned.

XIV. The election of frendes and the diuersite of flaterers.

A NOBLE man aboue al thinges aught to be very circumspecte in the election of suche men as shulde continually attends upon his persone at tymes vacant from busye affayres, whome he may use as his familiars, and saufely commute to them his secretes. For as Plutarche saieth, what so euer he be that loueth, he doteth and is blynde in that thinge whiche he dothe loue, except by lerninge he can accustome him selfe to ensue and sette more price by those thinges that be honest and vertuous, than by them that he seeth in experience and be familiarly used. And suerly as the wormes do brede moste gladly in softe wode and swete, so the moste gentill and noble wittes, inclined to honoure, replenished with moste honest and curtaise maners, do sonest admitte flaterars, and be by them abused. And it is no

meruayle. For lyke as the wylde corne, beinge in shap and greatnesse lyke to the good, if they be mangled, with great difficultie will be tried out, but either in a narowe holed seeue they will stille abide with the good corne, or els, where the holes be large, they will issue out with the other; so flattery from frendship is hardely seuered, for as moche as in euery motion and affecte of the minde they be mutually mengled to gether.

Of this peruerse and cursed people be sondry kyndes, some whiche appauntly do flatter, praysinge and extollinge euery thinge that is done by their superior, and berynge hym on hande that in hym it is of euery man commended, whiche of trouthe is of all men abhorred and hated. To the affirmaunce therof they adde to othes, adiurations, and horrible curses, offringe them selves to eternall paynes except their reporte be true. And if they perceyue any parte of their tale mistrusted, than they sette furthe sodaynly an heuie and sorowfull countenaunce, as if they were abiecte and brought in to extreme desperation. Other there be, whiche in a more honest terme may be called Assentatours or folowers, which do awayte diligently what is the fourme of the speche and gesture of their maister, and also other his maners, and facion of garmentes, and to the imitation and resemblaunce therof they applie their studie, that for the similitude of maners they may the rather be accepted in to the more familiar acquaintaunce. Lyke to the seruautes of Dionyse, kynge of Sicile, whiche all though they were inclined to all unhappynes and mischiefe, after the comynge of Plato they perceyuinge that for his doctrine and wisdom the kynge had him in high estimation, they than counterfeited the countenaunce and habite of the Philosopher, thereby encreasinge the kynges fauour towardses them, who than was hooly giuen to studie of Philosophie. But after that Dionyse by their incitation had expelled Plato out of Sicile, they abandoned their habite and seueritie, and eftsones retourned to their mischeuous and voluptuous liuyng.

The great Alexander bare his hedde some parte on the one side more than the other, whiche diuers of his seruautes dyd counterfaite. Semblably dyd the scholers of Plato, the moste noble Philosopher, whiche for as moche as their maister had a brode breste and highe sholders, and for that cause was named Plato, whiche signifieth brode or large, they stuffed their garmentes and made on their sholders great bolsters, to seme to be of like fourme as he was; wherby he shulde conceyue some fauour towardses them for the demonstration of loue that they pretented in the ostentation of his persone. Whiche kynde of flaterye I suppose Plato coulde right well laughe at. But these maner of flateres may be well founde out and perceyued by a good witte, whiche somtyme by him selfe diligently considereth his owne qualities and naturall appetite. For the company or communication of a

persone familiar, whiche is alway pleasaunt and without sharpnes, inclinyng to inordinate fauour and affection, is alway to be suspected. Also there is in that frende small commoditie whiche foloweth a man lyke his shadowe, meuinge onely whan he meueth, and abidinge where he list to tary. These be the mortall eneyes of noble wittes and specially in youthe, whan comunely they be more inclined to glorie than grauitie. Wherefore that liberalitie, whiche is on suche flaterers employed, is nat onely perished but also spilled and deuoured. Wherefore in myne oppinion it were a right necessarye lawe that shulde be made to put suche persones openly to tortures, to the fearefull example of other: sens in all princes lawes (as Plutarche sayeth) nat onely he that hathe slayne the kynges son and heire, but also he that counterfaiteth his seale, or adulterateth his coyne with more base metall, shall be iuged to die as a traytour. In reason hove moche more payne (if there were any greater payne than deth) were he worthy to suffre, that with false adulation dothe corrupt and adulterate the gentill and vertuous nature of a noble man, whiche is nat onely his image, but the very man hym selfe. For without vertue man is but in the nombre of bestis. And also by peruerse instruction and flattery suche one sleeth bothe the soule and good renoume of his maister. By whose example and negligence perissheth also an infinite nombre of persones, whiche damage to a realme neither with treasure ne with powar can be redoubed.

But harde it is all way to exchewe these flaterers, whiche, lyke to crowes, do pyke out mennes eyes or they be dedde. And it is to noble men moste difficile, whome all men couayte to please and to displease them it is accounted no wysedome, perchaunce leste t here shulde ensue thereby more parayle than profite.

Also Carneades the Philosopher was wont to saye that the sonnes of noble men lerned nothing well but onely to ryde. For whiles they lerned lettres their maisters flatered them, praysinge euery werde that they spake; in wrastlynge their teachers and companions also flatered them, submitting them selfes and fallinge downe to their fete; but the horse or courser nat understandyng who rydeth him, ne whether he be a gentyll man or yoman, a ryche man or a poore, if he sitte nat suerly and can skill of ridyng, the horse casteth him quickly. This is the sayenge of Carneades.

There be other of this sorte, whiche more couertly lay their snares to take the, hartes of princes and noble men. And as he which entendeth to take the fierse and mighty lyon pytcheth his haye or nette in the woode, amonge great trees and thornes, where as is the moste haunte of the lyon, that beinge blynded with the thickenes of the couerte, or he be ware, he may sodainly tumble into the nette; where the hunter, seelyng bothe his eyen and

bindynge his legges strongly to gether, finally daunteth his fiercenesse and maketh him obedient to his ensignes and tokens. Semblably there be some that by dissimulation can ostent or shewe a highe grauitie, mixte with a sturdy entretaynement and facion, exilinge them selves from all pleasure and recreation, frowninge and grutchinge at euery thinge wherin is any myrthe or solace, all though it be honeste; tauntinge and rebuking immoderately them with whome they be nat contented; naminge them selves therefore playne men, all though they do the semblable and often tymes wars in their owne houses. And by a simplicite and rudenes of spekyng, with longe deliberation used in the same, they pretende the high knowlege of counsayle to be in them onely. And in this wise pytchinge their nette of adulation they intrap the noble and vertuous harte, which onely beholdeth their fayned seueritie and counterfayte wisdom, and the rather by cause this maner of flattery is mooste unlyke to that whiche is comunely used. Aristotell in his politykes exorteth gouernours to haue their frendes for a great nombre of eyen, earis, handes, and legges; considering that no one man may see or here all thinge that many men may see and here, ne can be in all places, or do as many thinges well, at one tyme, as many persons may do. And often tymes a beholder or loker on espieth a defaulte that the doer forgetteth or skippeth ouer. Whiche caused the emperour Antonine to enquire of many what other men spake of him; correctinge thereby his defautes, whiche he perceyued to be iustly reprobud.

[O what an incomparable wisdom was in this noble prince that prouided suche punysshment, which was equal to the importaunce of the trespas, and terrible to all other semblably enclyned to flaterye and vayne promises; where els he was to all men of good, and specially men of great lernynge, excellent bounteous.]

This I truste shall suffyce for the expressinge of that incomparable treasure called amitie, in the declaration wherof I haue aboden the longer, to the intent to persuade the reders to enserche therefore vigilauntly, and beinge so happy to finde it, accordynge to the said description, to embrace and honour it, abhorrynge aboue all thynges ingratitude whiche pestylence hath longe tyme raygned amonge us, augmented by detraction, a corrupt and lothely sicknesse, wherof I wyll trayte in the laste parte of this warke, that men of good nature espienge it nede nat (if they liste) be therwith deceyued.

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Glossary.



The Boke named The Governour: Book III.

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Sir Thomas Elyot

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The Boke named The Governour

Devised by Sir Thomas Elyot, Knight

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The Thirde Booke.

I. Of the noble and moste excellent Vertue named Justyce.



HE moste excellent and incomparable vertue called iustice is so necessary and expedient for the gouernour of a publike weale, that without it none other vertue may be commendable, ne witte or any maner of doctrine profitable. Tulli saith, that at the beginninge whan the multitude of people were oppressed by them that abounded in possessions and substaunce, they espienge some one whiche excelled in vertue and strength, to hym they repayred who ministringe equitie, whan he had defended the poore men from iniurie, finally he retayned to gether and gouerned the greater persones with the lasse, in an equall and indifferent ordre. Wherefore they called that man a king, whiche is as moche to saye as a ruler. And as Aristotell sayeth, iustice is nat onely a portion or spice of vertue, but it is intierly the same vertue. And therof onely (sayeth Tulli) men be called good men, as who saieth that without iustyce all other qualities and vertues can nat make a man good.

The auncient Ciuilians do saye iustyce is a wille perpetuall and constaunt, whiche gyueth to euery man his right. In that it is named constaunt, it importeth fortitude; in discernynge what is ryght or wronge, prudence is required, and to proporcion the sentence or iugement in an equalitie, it belongeth to temperaunce. All these to gether conglutinate and effectually executed maketh a perfecte definicion of iustyce.

Justice all though it be but one entier vertue, yet is it described in two kyndes or spices. The one is named iustyce distributiue, which is in distribution of honour, money, benefite, or other thinge semblable; the other called commutatiue or by exchaunge, and of Aristotell it is named in Greeke Diorthotice, whiche is in englysshe correctiue. And that parte of iustyce is contayned in intermedlynge, and somtyme is voluntary, somtyme involuntary intermedlynge. Voluntary is bienge and sellynge, loue, suertie,

lettyng, and takyng, and all other thyng wherin is mutuall consent at the begynnyng; and therefore is it called voluntary. Intermedlynge involuntary somtyme is priuely done, as stelyng, auoutry, poisonyng, falsehede, disceyte, secrete murdre, false wytnes, and periurye; somtyme it is violent, as batry, open murdre and manslaughter, robry, open reproche and other lyke. Justice distributiue hathe regarde to the persone; iustyce commutative hathe no regarde to the persone, but onely considerynge the inequalitye wherby the one thyng exceedeth the other, indeuoureth to bryng them bothe to an equalitie. Nowe wyll I retourne agayne to speke firste of justice distributiue, leauinge justice commutative to an other volume, whiche I purpose shall succede this warke, god giuyng me tyme and quietnes of mynde to perfourme it.

II. The firste parte of Justice distributive

IT is nat to be doughted but that the firste and princypall parte of iustyce distributiue is, and euer was, to do to god that honour whiche is due to his diuine maiestie; whiche honour (as I before said in the firste boke, where I wrate of the motion called honour in daunsinge) consisteth in loue, feare, and reuerence. For sens all men graunte that iustyce is to gyue to euery manne his owne, moche more to rendre one good dede for a nother, mooste of all to loue god, of whome we haue all thinge, and without hym we were nothing, and beinge perysshed we were eftsones recouered, howe ought we (to whome is gyuen the very light of true fayth) to embrace this parte of iustyce more, or at the leste no lesse, than the gentilles; whiche wandring in the darkenes of ignoraunce knewe nat god as he is, but deuidyng his maiestie in to sondry portions imagined Idols of diuers fourmes and names, assigned to them particular autorites, offices and dignities. Nat withstandyng, in the honouyng of those goddes, suche as they were, they supposed all way to be the chiefe parte of iustice.

Romulus (the firste kyng of Romanes) for his fortune and benefites, whiche he ascribed to his goddes, made to the honoure of them great and noble Temples, ordaynyng to them images, sacrifices, and other ceremonyes. And more ouer (whiche is moche to be meruayled at) he also prohibited that any thing shulde be radde or spoken reprocheable or blasphemous to god. And therefore he excluded all fables made of the aduoutryes and other enormityes that the Greekes had fayned their goddes to haue commytted; inducinge his people to speke and also to coniecte nothyng of god but onely that whiche was in nature moste excellent, whiche after was also commaunded by Plato in the firste boke of his publike weale.

Numa Pompilius, whiche was the nexte kinge after Romulus, and therto electe by the Senate, all though he were a straunger borne, and dwellynge with his father in a litle towne of the Sabynes, yet he considerynge from what astate he came to that dignitie, he beine a man of excellent wisdom and lerning thought that he coulde neuer sufficiently honour his goddes for that benefite by whose prouidence he supposed that he had attained the gouernaunce of so noble a people and citie. He therefore nat onely increased within the citie Temples, alters, ceremonyes, preestes, and sondry religions, but also with a wonderfull wisdom and policie (whiche is to longe to be nowe rehersed) he brought all the people of Rome to suche a deuocion, or (as I mought saye) a supersticion, that where all way before, duryng the tyme that Romulus reigned, whiche was xxxvii yeres, they euer were continually occupied in warres and rauine, they by the space of xliiii yeres (so longe reigned Numa) gaue them selfe all as it were to an obseruaunce of religyon, abandonyng warres, and applyenge in suche wise their studie to the honouring of their goddes and increasinge their publike weale, that other people adioyninge wondringe at them, and for their deuocion hauyng the citie in reuerence, as it were a palace of god, all that season neuer attempted any warres agayne them or with any hostilitie inuaded their countray. Many mo princes and noble men of the Romanes coulde I reherce who for the victories had againe their enemyes rayed Temples and made solempne and sumptuose playas in honour of their goddes, rendringe (as it were) unto them their duetie, and all wayes accountyng it the firste parte of iustyce. And this parte of iustyce towarde god in honouringe him with conuenient ceremonyes is nat to be contemned; example we haue amonge us that be mortall. For if a man beinge made riche, and aduanced by his lorde or maister, will prouide to receyue him a faire and pleasaunt lodginge, hanged with riche Aresse or tapestrie, and with goodly plate and other thinges necessary most fresshly adourned, but, after that his maister is ones entred, he wyll neuer entertayne or countenance him but as a straunger, suppose ye that the beautie and garnisshinge of the house shall onely content him, but that he will thinke that his seruaunt brought hym thither onely for vayne glorie, and as a beholder and wonderer at the riches that he hym selfe gaue hym, whiche the other unthankfully dothe attribute to his owne fortune or policie? Moche rather is that seruaunt to be commended, whiche haueinge a litle rewarde of his maister, will in a small cotage make him hartie chere with moche humble reuerence. Yet wolde I nat be noted that I wolde seme so moche to extolle reuerence by it selfe, that churches and other ornamentes dedicate to god shulde be therefore contemned. For undoughtedly suche thinges be nat onely commendable, but also expedient for the augmentacion and continuinge of reuerence. For be it either after the opinion of Plato, that all this worlde is the temple of god, or that man is the same temple, these materiall churches where unto repaireth the

congregation of christen people, in the whiche is the corporall presence of the sonne of god and very god, aught to be lyke to the sayde temple, pure, clene, and well adourned; that is to saye, that as the heuyn visible is mooste pleasauntly garnished with planettes and sterres resplendisshinge in the moste pure firmament of asure colour, the erthe furnished with trees, herbes, and floures of diuers colours, facions, and sauours, bestis, foules, and fisshes of sondry kyndes, semblably the soule of man of his owne kinde beinge incorruptibill, nete, and clere, the sences and powars wonderfull and pleasaunt, the vertues in it contayned noble and riche, the fourme excellent and royall, as that which was made to the similitude of god. Moreouer the body of man is of all other mortall creatures in proporcion and figure moste perfecte and elegant. What peruerse or frowarde opinion were it to thinke that god, still beinge the same god that he euer was, wolde haue his maiestie nowe contempned, or be in lasse estimation? but rather more honoured for the benefites of his glorious passion, whiche may be well perceyued, who so peruseth the holy historie of the Euangelistes, where he shall finde in ordre that he desired clenness and honour. Firste in preparation of his commynge, whiche was by the wasshinge and, clensing of the body of man by baptisme in water, the soule also made clene by penaunce, the election of the moste pure and clene virgine to be his mother, and she also of the lyne of princes moste noble and vertuous. It pleased him moche that Mary humbly kneled at his fete and wasshed them with precious balme and wyped them with her heare. In his glorious transfiguration his visage shone lyke the sonne, and his garmentes were wonderfull white, and more pure (as the Euangeliste saieth) than any warkeman coulde makethem. Also at his commynge to ierusalem towarde his passion, he wolde than be receyued with great routes of people, who layinge their garmentes on the way as he rode, other castynge bowes abrode went before him in fourme of a triumphe. All this honour wolde he haue before his resurrection, whan he was in the fourme of humilitie. Than howe moche honour is due to him nowe that all power is gyuen to hym, as well in heuin as in erthe, and beinge glorifie d of his father, sitteth on his right hande, iugynge all the worlde.

In redynge the bible men shall fynde that the infinite numbere of the sturdye harted iues coulde neuer haue ben gouerned by any wisdom, if they had nat ben bridaled with ceremonyes. The superstition of the gentilles preserued often tymes as well the Greekes as the Romanes from finall distruction. But we wyll laye all those histories a parte and come to our owne experience.

For what purpose was it ordayned that christen kynges (all though they by inheritaunce succeded their progenitours kynges) shulde in an open and stately place before all their subiectes receyue their crowne and other

Regalities, but that by reason of the honorable circumstaunces than used shulde be impressed in the hartes of the beholders perpetuall reuerence, whiche (as I before sayde) is fountayne of obedience; or els mought the kynges be enoynted and receyue their charge in a place secrete, with lasse payne to them and also their ministers? Lette it be also considered that we be men and nat aungels, wherfore we knowe nothinge but by outwarde significacions. Honour, wherto reuerence pertayneth, is (as I haue said) the rewarde of vertue, whiche honour is but the estimation of people, which estimacion is nat euery where perceyued, but by some exterior signe, and that is either by laudable reporte, or excellencie in vesture, or other thinge semblable. But reporte is nat so commune a token as apparayle. For in olde tyme kynges ware crownes of golde, and knightes onely ware chaynes. Also the moste noble of the Romanes ware sondry garlandes, whereby was perceyued their merite. O creatures moste unkynde and barrayne of iustyce that will denie that thinge to their god and creatour, whiche of very duetie and right is gyuen to hym by good reason afore all princes whiche in a decree incomparable be his subiectes and vassals. By whiche oppinion they seme to despoyle hym of reuerence, which shal cause all obedience to cease, wherof will ensue utter confusion, if good christen princes meued with zeale do nat shortely prouide to extincte utterly all suche opinions.

III. The thre noble counsayles of reason, societie, and knowlege.

VERELY the knowlege of iustyce is nat so difficile or harde to be attayned unto by man as it is comunely supposed, if he wolde nat willingly abandone the excellencie of his propre nature, and folisshely applicate him selfe to the nature of creatures unreasonable, in the stede of reason embrasinge sensualitie, and for societie and beneuolence folowinge wilfulnesse and malice, and for knowlege, blynde ignoraunce and forgetfulnesse. Undoughtedly reason, societie called company, and knowlege remayninge, justice is at hande, and as she were called for, ioyneth her selfe to that company, which by her feloship is made inseperable; wherby hapneth (as I mought saye) a vertuous and moste blessed conspiracie. And in thre very shorte preceptes or aduertisementes man is persuaded to receyue and honoure iustyce. Reason bedynge him do the same thinge to an other that thou woldest haue done to the. Societie (without which mannes lyfe is unpleasaunt and full of anguisshe) sayeth, Loue thou thy neighbour as thou doest thy selfe. And that sentence or precept came from heuyn, whan societie was firste ordayned of god, and is of suche autoritie that the onely sonne of god beinge demaunded of a doctor of lawe whiche is the great commaundement in the lawe of god, answered, Thou shalte loue thy lorde god with all thy harte, and in all thy soule, and in

all thy mynde, that is the firste and great commaundement. The seconde is lyke to the same Thou shalte loue thy neyghbour as thy selfe. In these two commaundementes do depende all the lawe and prophetes. Beholde howe our sauour Christe ioyneth beneuolence with the loue of god, and nat onely maketh it the seconde precept, but also resembleth it unto the firste?

Knowlege also as a perfeyte instructrice and mastresse, in a more briefe sentence than yet hath ben spoken, declareth by what meane the sayd preceptes of reason and societie may be well understande, and therby iustice finally executed, The words be these in latine, Nosce te ipsum, whiche is in englysshe, know thy selfe. This sentence is of olde writars supposed for to be firsts spoken by Chilo or some other of the seuen auncient Greekes called in latin Sapientes, in englysshe sages or wise men. Other do accomodate it to Apollo, whom the paynimes honoured for god of wisdom. But to saye the trouthe, were it Apollo that spake it, or Chilo, or any other, suerly it proceded of god, as an excellent and wonderfull sentence. By this counsaile man is induced to understande the other two preceptes, and also wherby is accomplished nat onely the seconde parte, but also all the residue of Justyce, whiche I before haue rehersed. For a man knowinge him selfe shall knowe that which is his owne and pertayneth to him selfe. But what is more his owne than his soule? Or what thyng more appertayneth to hym thanne his body? His soule is undoughtedly and frely his owne. And none other persone may by any meane possede it or clayme it. His body so pertayneth unto him, that none other without his consent may vendicate therein any propertie. Of what valour or price his soule is, the similitude where unto it was made, the immortalitie and lyfe euerlastyng, and the powars and qualities therof, abundantly do declare. And of that same mater and substaunce that his soule is of, be all other soules that nowe are, and haue ben, and euer shall be, without singularitie or preeminence of nature. In semblable astate is his body, and of no better claye (as I mought frankly saye) is a gentelman made than a carter, and of libertie of wille as moche is gyuen of god to the poore herdeman, as to the great and mighty emperour. Than in knowinge the condicion of his soule and body, he knoweth him selfe, and consequently in the same thinge he knoweth euery other man.

If thou be a gouernour, or haste ouer other souerayntie, knowe thy selfe, that is to saye, knowe that thou arte verely a man compacte of soule and body, and in that all other men be equall unto the. Also that euery man taketh with the equall benefite of the spirite of life, nor thou haste any more of the dewe of heuyn, or the brightnes of the sonne, than any other persone.

Thy dignitie or autorite, wherin thou onely differest from other, is (as it

were) but a weighty or heuy cloke, fresshly glitteringe in the eyen of them that be poreblynde, where unto the it is paynefull, if thou weare hym in his right facion, and as it shal best become the. And from the it may be shortely taken of him that dyd put it on the, if thou use it negligently, or that thou weare it nat commely, and as it appertaineth. Therefore whiles thou wearest it, knowe thy selfe, knowe that the name of a soueraigne or ruler without actual gouernance is but a shadowe, that gouernaunce standeth nat by wordes onely, but principally by acte and example; that by example of gouernours men do rise or falle in vertue or vice. And, as it is said of Aristotell, rulers more greuously do sinne by example than by their acte. And the more they haue under their gouernaunce, the greater accounte haue they to rendre, that in their owne preceptes and ordenaunces they be nat founde negligent. Wherefore there is a noble aduertisement of the emperour Alexander, for his grautie called Seuerus. On a tyme one of his noble men exhorted hym to do a thinge contrary to a lawe or edicte, whiche he hym selfe had inacted; but he firmly denyed it. The other still persistynge sayde, that the emperour was nat bounden to obserue his owne lawes. Where unto the sayde emperour displeasauntly answering, said in this maner, God forbede that ever I shulde devise any lawes wherby my people shulde be compelled to do any thyng whiche I my selfe can nat tollerate. Wherefore ye that haue any gouernaunce, by this moste noble princis example knowe the boundes of your autorite, knowe also your office and duetie, beinge your selves men mortall amonge men, and instructours and leaders of men. And that as obedience is due unto you, so is your studie, your labour, your industrie with vertuous example due to them that be subiecte to your autoritie. Ye shall knowe all way your selfe, if for affection or motion ye do speke or do nothing unworthy the immortalitie and moste precious nature of your soule, and remembre that your body be subiecte to corruption, as all other be, and life tyme uncertayne. If ye forgette nat this commune_astate, and do also remembre that in nothinge but onely in vertue ye are better than an other inferior persone, accordynge to the sayeng of Agesilaus kyng of Lacedemones, who hering the great king of Persia praised, asked howe moche that great king was more than he in iustice. And Socrates beinge demaunded if the kyng of Persia semed to him happy, I can nat tell (said he) of what estimation he is in vertue and lerning. Consider also that auctorite, beinge well and diligently used, is but a token of superioritie, but in very dede it is a burden and losse of libertie. And what gouernour in this wise knoweth him selfe he shall also by the same rule knowe all other men, and shall nedes loue them for whome he taketh labours and forsaketh libertie.

In semblable maner the inferior persone or subiecte aught to consider, that all be it (as I haue spoken) he in the substaunce of soule and body be equall

with his superior, yet for als moche as the powars and qualities, of the soule and body, with the disposition of reason, be nat in euery man equall, therefore god ordayned a diuersitie or preeminence in degrees to be amonge men for the necessary drection and preseruacion of them in conformitie of lyuinge. Whereof nature mimstreth to us examples abundantly, as in bees, (wherof I haue before spoken in the firste boke) cranes, redde dere, wolfes, and diuers other foules and bestis, whiche herdeth or flocketh, (to longe here to be rehersed), amonge whom is a gouernour or leader, towarde whome all the other haue a vigilant eye, awaytinge his signes or tokens, and according therto preparinge them selfe moste diligently. If we thinke that this naturall instinction of creatures unreasonable is necessary and also commendable, howe farre out of reason shall we iudge them to be that wolde exterminate all superioritie, extincte all gouernaunce and lawes, and under the colours of holy scripture, whiche they do violently wraste to their purpose, do endeuour them selves to bryng the life of man in to a confusion ineuitable, and to be in moche wars astate than the afore named beestes? Sens without gouernaunce and lawes the persones moste stronge in body shulde by violence constrainge them that be of lasse strength and weaker to labour as bondemen or slaues for their sustinaunce and other necessaries, the stronge men beinge without labour or care. Than were all our equalitie dashed, and finally as bestes sauage the one shall desire to slee a nother. I omitte continuall manslaughters, rauisshementes, aduoutries and enormities horrible to reherce, whiche (gouernaunce lackynge) muste nedes of necessitie ensue, except these euangelicall persones coulde perswade god or compelle him to chaunge men in to aungels, makinge them all of one disposition and confirminge them all in one fourme of charitie. And as concerninge all men in a generaltie, this sentence, knowe thy selfe, whiche of all other is moste compendious, beinge made but of thre wordes, euery worde beinge but one sillable, induceth men sufficiently to the knowlege of iustyce.

IV. Of fraude and disceyte, whiche be agayne Justyce.

TULLI saieth that the fundation of perpetuall praise and renoume is iustyce, without the whiche no thyng may be commendable. Whiche sentence is verified by experience. For be a man neuer so valiaunt, so wise, so liberall or plentuous, so familiare or curtaise, if he be sene to exercise iniustyce or wronge it is often remembred. But the other vertues be seldome rekened without an exception, whiche is in this maner. As in praysinge a manne for some good qualitie, where he lacketh iustyce, men will comunely saye, he is an honorable man, a bounteous man, a wise man, a valiaunt man, sauynge that he is an oppressour, an extorcioner, or is deceytfull or of his promyse unsure. But if he be iuste with the other vertues, than is it sayde he is good

and worshipfull, or he is a good man and an honorable, good and gentill, or good and hardy, so that iustyce onely bereth the name of good, and lyke a capitayne or leader precedeth all vertues in euery commendation. But where as the said Tulli saieth, that iniurie, which is contrary to iustice, is done by two meanes, that is to say, either by violence or by fraude, fraude semeth to be proprely of the foxe, violence or force of the lyon, the one and the other be farre from the nature of man, but fraude is worthy moste to be hated. That maner of iniurie, whiche is done with fraude and disceyte, is at this present tyme so communely practised, that if it be but a litle, it is called policie, and if it be moche and with a visage of grauitie, it is than named and accounted for wisdom. And of those wise men speketh Tulli, saieng of al iniustice none is more capitall than of those persones that, whan they disceyue a man moste, they do it as they wolde seme to be good men. And Plato sayeth that it is extreme iniustice he to seme rightwise which in dede is uniuste. Of those two maner of fraudes wil I seuerally speke. But firste will I declare the mooste mischeuous importaunce of this kynde of iniurie in a generalte. Like as the phisicians calle those diseases moste perilous agayne whome is founden no preseruatiue and ones entred be seldome or neuer recouered. Semblably those injuries be most, to be feared agayne the whiche can be made no resistence, and beinge taken, with great difficultie or neuer they can be redressed. Iniurie apparaunt and with powar inforced eyther may be with lyke powar resisted, or with wisdomeschued, or with entreatie refrained. But where it is by craftie engynne imagined, subtilly prepared, couertly dissembled, and disceytefully practysed, suerly no man may by strength withstande it, or by wisdomeschape it, or by any other maner or meane resiste or avoyde it. Wherefore of all injuries that which is done by fraude is moste horrible and detestable, nat in the opinion of man, onely, but also in the sight and iugement of god. For unto hym nothing may be acceptable wherin lacketh verite, called communely trouthe, he him selfe being all verite, and all thinge contayninge untruthe is to him contrarious and aduerse. And the deuill is called a lyer, and the father of leasinges. Wherefore all thinge, which in visage or apparaunce pretendeth to be any other than verely it is, may be named a leasinge; the execution wherof is fraude, which is in effects but untrouthe, enemye to trouthe, and consequently enemye to god. For fraude is (as experience teacheth us) an euill disceyte, craftely imagined and deuised, whiche, under a colour of trouthe and simplicitie, indomageth him that nothing mistrusteth. And because it is euill it can by no meanes be lefull wherefore it is repugnaunt unto iustice.

The Neapolitanes and Nolanes (people in Italye) contended to gether for the limities and boundes of their landes and feldes. And for the discussinge of that controuersie either of them sent their ambassadours to the senate and

people of Rome (in whome at that tyme was thought to be the moste excellent knowlege and execution of iustice), desiringe of them an indifferent Arbitour and suche as was substanciallye lerned in the lawes Ciuile, to determine the variaunce that was betwene the two cities compromittinge them selves in the name of all their contray to abyde and perfourme all suche sentence and awarde as shulde be by hym giuen. The senate appointed for that purpose one named Quintus Fabius Labeo, whome they accounted to be a man of great wisdom and lerninge. Fabius after that he was come to the place whiche was in controuersie, he separatinge the one people from the other, communed with them bothe a parte, exhortinge the one and the other that they wolde nat do or desire any thinge with a couetise mynde, but in treadinge out of their boundes rather go shorte thereof than ouer. They doynge accordinge to his exhortacion there was lefte betwene bothe companyes a great quantitie of grounde, whiche at this day we calle batable. That perceyuinge Fabius, he assigned to euery of them the boundes that they them selves had appointed. And all that lande, whiche was lefte in the middes, he adiudged it to the senate and people of Rome. That maner of dealinge (saieth Tulli) is to disceiue and nat to gyue iugement. And verely euery good man will thinke that this lacke of iustice in Fabius, beinge a noble man and well lerned, was a great reproche to his honour.

It was a notable rebuke unto the Israhelites that whan they besieged the Gabaonites (a people of Chanani) they in conclusion receyued them in to a perpetuall leage. But after that the Gabaonites had yelded them, the Jewes perceyuinge that they were restrayned by their othe to slee them or cruelly entreate them, they made of the Gabaonites, beinge their confederates, their skullions and drudges; wherwith all mighty god was no thinge contented. For the leage or truce wherein frendship and libertie was intended (whiche caused the Gabaonites to be yolden) was nat duely obserued, whiche was clerely agayne iustice.

Trewely in euery couenaunt, bargayne, or promise aught to be a simplicitie, that is to saye, one playne understandinge or meaning betwene the parties. And that simplicitie is properly iustice. And where any man of a couaytous or malicious minde will digresse purposely from that simplicitie, takinge aduantage of a sentence or worde, whiche mought be ambiguous or doubtfull or in some thinge either superfluous or lackinge in the bargaine or promise, where he certainly knoweth the trouthe to be otherwise, this in myne opinion is damnable fraude, beinge as playne agayne justice as if it were enforced by violence. Finally all disceyte and dissimulation, in the opinion of them whiche exactly honoure iustyce, is nerre to dispraise than commendation, all though that therof mought ensue some thinge that were

good. For in vertue may be nothing fucate or counterfayte. But therein is onely the image of veritie, called simplicitie. Wherefore Tulli beinge of the opinion of Antipater the Philosopher saieth, To counsell any thyng whiche thou knowest, to the intent that for thyne owne profite thou woldest that another who shall take any damage or benefite therby shulde nat knowe it, is nat the acte of a persone playne or simple, or of a man honest, iuste, or good; but rather of a persone crafty, ungentill, subtile, deceytfull, malicious, and witie. And after he saieth, That reason requireth that nothing be done by treason, nothing by dissimulation, nothing by disceite. Which he excellently (as he dothe all thinge) afterwarde in a brieve conclusion proueth, sayenge, Nature is the fountayne wherof the lawe springeth, and it is accordinge to nature no man to do that wherby he shulde take (as it were) a praye of a nother mannes ignoraunce. Of this matter Tulli writeth many prope examples and quicke solutions.

But nowe here I make an ende to wrytte any more at this tyme of fraude, whiche by no meanes may be ioyned to the vertue named iustyce.

V. That iustyce aught to be betwene enemyes.

SUCHE is the excellencie of this vertue iustice, that the practise therof hathe nat onely optayned digne commendation of such persones as hetwene whome hathe ben mortall hostilitie, but also it hath extincte often tymes the same hostilitie. And fierce hartes of mutuall enemyes hathe ben therby rather subdued than by armure or strength of people. As it shall appere by examples ensuyng.

Whan the valyaunt kynge Pyrrus warred moste asprely againe the Romanes, one Timochares, whose sonne was yoman for the mouthe with the kynge, promysed to Fabricius, thanne beinge consull, to sle kynge Pyrrus, whiche thinge beinge to the senate reported, they by their ambassade warned the kynge to be ware of suche maner of trayson, sayenge that the Romanes maintayned their warres with armes and nat with poyson. And yet nat withstandyng they discovered nat the name of Timochares, so that they embraced equitie as well in that they slewe nat their enemye by treason, as also that they betraied nat him whiche purposed them kyndnes. In so moche was iustice of olde tyme esteemed, that without it none acte was allowed were it neuer so noble or profitable.

What tyme that Xerxes, kynge of Persia, with his army, was expulsed out of Greece, all the nauye of Lacedemonia laye at rode in an hauen called Gytheum, within the dominion of the Atheniensis. Themistocles, one of the

princes of Athenes, a moche noble capitayne, said unto the people that he had aduised him selfe of an excellent counsayle, where unto if fortune inclyned, nothinge mought more augment the powar of the Atheniensis, but that it aught nat to be diuulgate or publisshed: he therefore desired to haue one appointed unto him, unto whome he mought secretely discouer the enterprise. Where upon there was assigned unto him one Aristides, who for his vertue was surnamed rightwise. Themistocles declared to him that his purpose was to put fire in the nauie of the Lacedemones, whiche laye at Gytheum, to the intent that it beinge brenned, the dominion and hole powar ouer the see shulde be onely in the Atheniensis. This deuise herde and perceyued, Aristides commynge before the people sayde that the counsayle of Themistocles was very profitable, but the enterprise was dishonest and agayne iustice. The people heringe that the acte was nat honest or iuste, all cryed with one voyce, nor yet expedient. And forthwith they commaunded Themistocles to cesse his enterprise. Wherby this noble people declared that in euery acte speciall regarde and, aboue all thinge, consideration aught to be had of iustyce and honestie.

VI. Of faythe or fidelitie, called in latyne FIDES whiche is the foundation of iustyce.

THAT whiche in latyne is called Fides, is a parte of iustice and may diuersely be interpreted, and yet finally it tendeth to one purpose in effects. Some tyme it may be called faythe, some tyme credence, other whyles truste. Also in a frenche terme it is named loyaltie. And to the imitation of latyne it is often called fidelitie. All whiche wordes, if they be intierly and (as I mought saye) exactly understanden, shall appere to a studious reder to signifie one vertue or qualitie, all though they seme to have some diuersitie. As beleuyng the preceptes and promyse of god it is called faythe. In contractes betwene man and man it is comunely called credence. Betwene persones of equall astate or condition it is named truste. Fro the subiecte or seruaunt to his souerayne or maister it is proprely named fidelitie and in a frenche terme loyaltie.

Wherefore to hym that shall eyther speke or wryte, the place is diligently to be obserued where the propre signification of the worde may be beste expressed.

Consyderynge (as Plato sayethe) that the name of euery thyng is none other but the vertue or effecte of the same thinge conceyued firste in the mynde, and than by the voyce expressed and finally in letters signified.

But nowe to speke in what estimacion this vertue was of olde tyme amonge gentiles, whiche nowe (alas, to the lamentable reproche and perpetuall infamie of this present tyme), is so neglected throughout christendome that neither regarde of religion or honour, solemne othes, or terrible cursis can cause hit to be obserued. And that I am moche ashamed to write, but that I muste nedes nowe remembre it. Neyther seales of armes, signe manuels, subscription, nor other specialties, ye, uneth a multitude of wytnesses, be nowe sufficient to the obseruyng of promises. O what publike weale shulde we hope to haue there, where lacketh fidelitie, whiche as Tulli saieth is the fundation of iustyce? What meruayle is it though there be in all places contention infinite, and that good lawes be tourned in to Sophemes and insolubles, sens euery where fidelitie is constrayned to come in triall, and credence (as I mought saye) is becomen a vagabunde?

To Josue, which succeded Moyses in the gouernaunce and leadinge of the Jewes, almighty god gaue in commaundement to sle as many as he shulde happen to take of the people called Cananees. There hapned to be nyghe to Jerusalem a contraye called Gabaon, and in dede the people therof were Cananees, who, herynge of the precept gyuen to Josue, as men (as it semed) of great wisdome, they sent an ambassade to Josue which approched their contray, sayenge that they were ferre distaunt from the Cananees, and desired to be in perpetuall leage with him and his people: and to dissemble the length of their iournay, as their contray had been ferre thens, they had on them olde worne garmentes and torne shone. Josue supposinge all to be true that they spake, concluded peace with them and confirmed the leage. And with a solemne othe ratified bothe the one and the other. Afterwarde it was discovered that they were Cananees, whiche if Josue had knowen before the leage made, he had nat spared any of them. But whan he reuolued in his mynde the solemne othe that he had made, and the honour which consisted in his promyse, he presumed that faythe beinge obserued unperished shulde please all mighty god aboue all thinges. Which was than proued. For it appereth nat that god euer dyd so moche as in any wise imbraied him for brekyng of his commaundement. By this example it appereth in what estimacion and reuerence leages and trues made by princes aught to be had; to the breache where of none excuse is sufficient. But lette us leaue princes affayres to their counsailours. And I will nowe wryte of the partes of fidelitie whiche be more frequent and accustomed to be spoken of. And first of loyaltie and truste: and laste of credence, whiche principally resteth in promise. In the moste renonmed warres betwene the Romaynes and Anniball (duke of Charthaginensis), a noble citie in Spayne called Saguntum, whiche was in amitie and leage with the Romaynes, was by the said Anniball strongely besieged in so moche as they were restrayned from vitayle and ail other sustenance. Of the whiche necessitie by their priuie

messages they assertheyned the Romanes. But they beinge busyed about the preparations for the defence of Italye and also of the citie agayne the intollerable powar of Anniball, hauinge also late two of their moste valiaunt capitaynes, Publius Scipio and Lucius Scipio, with a great hooste of Romaynes slayne by Anniball in Spayne, deferred to sende any spedy socours to the Saguntynes. But notwithstanding that Anniball desired to haue with them amitie, offringe them peace with their citie, and goodes at lybertie, consideringe that they were brought in to extreme necessitie, lackynge vitayle, and dispayringe to haue socours from the Romaynes, all the inhabitauntes confortynge and exhortynge eche other to die, rather than to violate the leage and amitie that they of longe tyme had contynued with the Romaynes, by one hole assent, after that they hadde made sondry great pyles of wode and of other mater to brenne, they layde in it all their goodes and substaunce, and laste of all, conuayenge them selves in to the saide pyles or bonefires with their wyfes and children, sette all on fire, and there were brenned or Annyballe coulde entree the citie.

Semblable loyaltie was in the inhabitauntes of Petilia the same tyme; who, beinge lyke wyse besieged by Anniball, sent for socoures to Rome. But for the great losse that a little erste the Romaynes had sustayned at the batayle of Cannas they coulde in no wise delyuer them; wherfore they discharged them of their promise, and licensed them to do that thinge which mought be moste for their saufegarde. By whiche answer they semed to be discharged, and lefully mought haue entred in to the fauour of Anniball. Yet notwithstandinge, this noble people, preseruinge loyalte before life, puttynge out of their citie their women and all that were of yeres unhabill for the warres, that they mought more frankely sustayne famyne, they obstinately defended their walles, that in the defence they all perysshed. So that whan Anniball was entred, he founde that he toke nat the citie, but rather the sepulchre of the loyall citie Petilia.

O noble fidelitie, whiche is so moche the more to be wondred at, that it was nat onely in one or a fewe persones, but in thousandes of men, and they nat beinge of the blode or aliaunce of the Romanes, but straungers, dwellynge in ferre contrayes from them, beinge onely of gentill nature and vertuous courage, inclined to loue honour, and to be constant in their assuraunce.

Nowe will I wryte from hensforthe of particuler persones whiche haue showed examples of loyaltie, which I praye god may so cleue to the myndes of the reders, that they may be all way redy to put the semblable in experience.

Howe moche aught all they, in whome is any portion of gentill courage,

endeuoure them selves to be all wayes trustye and loyall to their souerayne, who putteth them in truste, or hathe ben to them beneficiall, as well reason exhorteth, as also sondrye examples of noble personages, whiche, as compendiously as I can, I will nowe bringe to the reders remembraunce.

What tyme that Saull for his greuous offences was abandoned of all mighty god, who of a very poore mannes sonne did auaunce him to the kyngedome of Israell, and that Dauid, beinge his seruaunt and as poore a mannes son as he, was elected by god to reigne in Israell, and was enointed kynge by the prophet Samuell, Saule beinge therfore in a rage, hauinge indignacion at Dauid, pursued hym with a great hooste to haue slayne hym, who (as longe as he mought) fledde and forbare Saule, as his soueraygne lorde. On a tyme Dauid was so inclosed by the armie of Saule, that he mought by no wayes escape, but was fayne to hyde hym and his men in a great caue whiche was wyde and depe in the erthe. Duryng the tyme that he was in the caue, Saull nat knowinge therof entred into the caue, to the intent to do his naturall easement; whiche the people of Dauid perceyuinge, exhorted him to sle Saule, hauynge suche oportunitie; sayenge that god hadde brought his enemye in to his handes, and that Saull beinge slayne, the warre were al at an ende, consideryng that the people loued better Dauid than Saule. But Dauid refusinge their counsaile, saide that he wolde nat laye violent handes on his soueraygne lorde, beinge a kynge enoynted of god: but softly he approached to Saule, and dyd cut of a peace of the nether parte of his mantell. And after that Saull was departed out of the caue towarde his campe Dauid called after hym sayenge, Whome pursuest thou, noble prince? (with other wordes rehersed in the bible in the firste boke of kinges), and than shewed to hym the parte of his mantell. Wherat Saull beinge abashed, recognised his unkyndnesse, callyng Dauid his dere sonne and trusty frende, recommendynge to hym his children and progenie, sens by the wyll of god he was elected to succede hym in the kyngdome of Israell. And so departed Saule fron Dauid. Yet nat withstandinge, afterwarde he pursued hym in Gaddy. And in a night, whan Saull and his armye were at reste, and that Dauid by an espiall knewe that they were all faste on slepe, he toke with him a certayne of the moste assured and valiaunt personages of his hoste, and in most secrete wise came to the paulion of king Saul, where he founde hym suerly slepynae, hauinge by him his speare and a cuppe with water. Wherefore one of the company of Dauid sayde that he with the speare of Saule, wolde stryke hym through and slee hym. Nay, sayd Dauid, our lorde forbede that I suffre my soueraiane lord to be slayne, for he is enointed of god. And therwith he toke the speare with the cuppe of water, and whan he was a good distaunce from the hoste of Saule, he cried with a loude voyce to Abner, which was than marshall of the armye of Saul. Who answered and sayde, What arte thou

that thus disseasest the kyng, which is nowe at his reste? To whome Daid said, Abner, thou and thy company are worthy dethe, that haue so negligently watched youre prince; where is his speare and the cuppe of water that stode at his beddes hede? suerly ye be but dede men whan he shall knowe it. And there with he shewed the speare and cuppe with water. Whiche Saulle perceyuinge and hearynge the voyce of Daid, cried unto him saienge, Is nat this the voice of my dere sonne Daid? I uncurtaisely do pursue him, and he nat withstandinge doth to me good for euill. With other wordes, whiche to abbreviate the mater I do passe ouer. This noble historie and other semblable, eyther wrought in Aresse, or connyngly painted, will moche better be seme the houses of noble men than the Concubines and voluptuous pleasures of the same Daid and Salamon his sonne, whiche be more frequently expressed in the hangynges of houses and counterpointes, than the vertue and holynesse of the one, or the wise experimentes of the other. But nowe will I passe ouer to histories whiche be more straunge, and therefore I suppose more pleasaunt to the reder.

Xerxes beinge kynge of Persia, the great citie of Babilon rebelled agayne him, which was of suche strength that the kynge was nat of powar to subdue it ; that perceyuinge a gentilman, one of the counsaile of kynge Xerxes, named Zopirus, a man of notable wisdom, unwittyng to any persone, dyd cut of his owne eares and nose, and preuely departed towarde Babilon, and beyng knowne by them of the citie, was demaunded who hadde so disfygured hym. Unto whome he answered with appaunt tokens of heuinesse, that for as moche as he hadde giuen to Xerxes counsaile, and aduise to be reconsiled unto their citie, he beinge meued with ire and displeasure towarde hym, in moste cruell wise caused him to be so shamefully mutulate. Addyng there unto reprochefull wordes agayne Xerxes. The Babilonians beholdyng his miserable astate, and the tokens whiche (as it semed to them) approued his wordes to be true, moche petied hym. And as well for the great wisdom that they knewe to be in hym, as for the occasion whiche they supposed shulde incense hym to be shortely auenged, they made hym their chiefe capitayne, and committed hooly to hym the gouernaunce and defence of their citie. Which hapned in euery thinge accordinge to his expectacion. Where upon he shortely gaue notyce to the kynge of all his affaires and exploitures. And finally so endeouored hym selfe by his wisdom, that he accorded the kynge and the citie, without any losse or damage to eyther of them. Wherefore on a tyme the sayde kynge Xerxes cutting an odly great pomegranate, and beholdyng it faire and full of kernels, sayd in the presence of all his counsaile, that he had leuer haue suche one frende as Zopirus was, than as many Babilons as there were kernels in the pomegranate. And also that he rather wolde that Zopirus were restored agayne to his nose and his eares, than to haue a

hundred suche cities as Babilon was; whiche by the reporte of writers was incomparably the grettest and fayrest cite of all the worlde.

The Parthiens, in a ciuile discorde amonge them selves, draue Arthabanus their kyng out of his realme, and elected amonge them one Cinnamus to be their kynge. Iazate, king of Adiabenes, unto whome Arthabanus was fledde sent an ambassade unto the Parthiens, exhortynge them to receyue agayne Arthabanus; but they made aunswere that sens departynge of Arthabanus, they had by a hoole assent chosen Cinnamus, unto whome they hadde done their fealtie, and were sworne his subiectes, whiche othe they mought nat lafully breake. Thereof hearynge Cinnamus, who at that tyme was kinge ouer them, be wrate unto Arthabanus and Iasate, that they shulde come, and that he wolde render the realme of Parthia unto Arthabanus. And whan they were come, Cinnamus mette with them, adourned in the robes of a kynge, and as he approched Arthabanus, alightings downe of his horse, he sayde in this wyse, Sir, whanne the people had expelled you out of your realme, and wolde haue translated it unto a nother, at their instaunce and desyre I toke it; but whan I perceyued their rancour aswaged, and that with good wille they wolde haue you agayne, which are their naturall soueraigne lorde, and that nothyng letted, but onely that they wolde nothyng do contrary to my pleasure, with good wille, and for no drede, or other occasion, as ye may perceyue, do here rendre youre realme eftsones unto you. And therewith takinge the diademe of from his owne hedde, dyd sette it immediately upon the hedde of Arthabanus.

The fidelitie of Ferdinando (kyng of Aragone) is nat to be forgotten, whome his brother Henry, kyng of Castill, decessyng, made gouernour of his sone, being an infant. This Fernando, with suche iustice ruled and ordred the realme, that in a parlement holden at Castille, it was trayted by the hole consent of the nobles and people, that the name or title of the kyngdome of Spayne shulde be giuen unto him. Which honour he fayninge to receyue thankfully, dyd put upon hym a large and wyde robe, wherin he secretly bare the yonge prince his neuewe, and so came in to the place, where for the sayde purpose the nobles and people were assembled, demaundyng of euery man his sentence, who with one voyce gaue unto hym the kyngdome of Spayne. With that he toke out of his robe the little baby his neuewe, and setting him on his shulder, sayde all a loude unto them, Lo ye Castilians, beholde here is your kynge. And than he, confirmyng the hartes of the people towarde his neuewe, finally delyuered to hym his realme in peace, and in all thinges abundaunt. This is the fidelite that appertayneth to a noble and gentill harte.

In what hated and perpetuall reproche aught they to be that, corrupted

with pestilenciall auarice or ambiscion, betraieih their maisters, or any other that trusteth them? O what monstros persones haue we radde and herde of, whiche for the inordinate and deuelisshe appetite to raigne, haue mooste tyrannously slayne the children, nat onely of their soueraiane lordes, but also of their owne naturall bretherne, committed unto their gouernaunce? Of whome purposely I leaue at this tyme to wryte, to the intent that the moste cursed remembraunce of them shall nat consume the tyme that the well disposed reder mought occupie in examples of vertue. This one thinge I wolde were remembred, that by the iuste prouidence of god, disloyalte or treason seldome escapeth great vengeance, all be it that it be pretended for a necessary purpose. Example we haue of Brutus and Cassius, two noble Romaines, and men of excellent vertues, whiche, pretendinge an honorable zeale to the libertie and commune weale of their citie, slewe Julius Cesar (who trusted them moste of all other) for that he usurped to haue the perpetuall dominion of the empire, supposinge thereby to haue brought the senate and people to their pristinate libertie. But it dyd nat so succede to their purpose. But by the dethe of so noble a prince hapned confusion and ciuile batayles. And bothe Brutus and Cassius, after longe warres vanquished by Octauian, neuewe and hiere unto Cesar, at the last falling in to extreme desperation, slewe them selves. A worthy and conuenient vengeance for the murder of so noble and valyaunt a prince. Many other lyke examples do remayne as well in writynge as in late remembraunce, whiche I passe ouer for this tyme.

VII. Of promise and couenant.

CONCERNYNGE that parte of fidelitie which concerneth the keypyng of promise or couenauntes experience declareth howe litle it is nowe had in regarde; to the notable rebuke of all us whiche do professe Christes religion. Considerynge t hat the Turkes and Sarazens haue us therfore in contempt and derision, they hauinge fidelite of promise aboue all thinge in reuerence. [In so moche as in their contractes they seldome use any bonde or othe. But, as I haue herde reported of men borne in those partes, after the mutuall consent of the parties, the bargaynour, or he that dothe promise, toucheth the grounde with his hande, and after layeth it on his hedde, as it were that he vouched all the worlde to bere wytnesse But by this litle cere monye he is so bounden, that if he be founden to breke touche willyngly, he is without any redemption condempned unto the pale, that is, to haue a longe stake thrust in at the secrete partes of his body, whereon he shall abide dyen e by a longe space. For feare of the which moste terrible execution, seldome any man under the Turkes dominion breketh his promise. But what hope is there to haue fidelitie well kept amonge us in promises and bargaynes, whan for the breache therof is prouided no punisshment, nor yet notorious rebuke;

sauinge if it be tried by accion, suche praty damages as the iury shall assese, whiche perchaunce dayly practiseth semblable lightnes of purpose. I omitte to speke nowe of attaintes in the lawe, reseruinge that mater to a place more conuenient] But no meruayle that a bare promise holdeth nat, where an othe upon the Euangelistes, solempnely and openly taken, is but litle esteemed. Lorde god, howe frequent and familiar a thinge with euery astate and degre through out Christendome is this reuerent othe on the Gospelles of Christe. Howe it hath ben hitherto kepte, it is so well knowen and had in dayly experience, that I shall nat nede to make of the neglectinge therof any more declaration. Onely I will shewe howe the Gentiles, lackynge true religion, had solempne othes in great honour, and howe terrible a thinge it was amonge them to breke their othes or avowes. In so moche as they supposed that there was no powar, victorie, or profite which mought be equall to the vertue of an othe.

Amonge the Egyptians, they which were perjured had their heddes stryken of, as well for that they violated the honour due unto god, as also that thereby faythe and truste amonge people mought be decayed. The Scithes sware onely by the chayre or throne of their kynge, whiche othe if they brake, they therefore suffred dethe.

The auncient Romaynes (as Tulli writeth) sware in this maner. He that shulde swere helde in his hande a stone, and sayde in this wyse, The citie with the goodes therof beinge saulfe, so Jupiter cast me out of it, if I deceyue wittingly, as I caste from me this stone. And this othe was so straytely obserued, that it is nat remembred that euer any man brake it.

Plutarche writeth that at the firste Temple that Numa Pompilius, the seconde kynge of Romaynes made in the citie of Rome, was the temple of faythe. And also he declared that the greatest othe that mought be was faythe. Whiche nowe a dayes is uneth taken for any othe, but moste comunely is used in mockage, or in suche thinges as men forse nat, though they be nat beleued. In dayly communication the mater sauoureth nat, except it be as it were seasoned with horrible othes. As by the holy blode of Christe, his woundes whiche for our redemption he paynefully suffred, his glorious harte, as it were numbles chopped in peaces. Children (whiche abhorreth me to remembre) do playe with the armes and bones of Christe, as they were chery stones. The soule of god, which is incomprehensible, and nat to be named of any creature without a wonderfull reuerence and drede, is nat onely the othe of great gentilmen, but also so undiscretely abused, that they make it (as I mought saye) their gonnas, wherwith they thunder out thretenynges and terrible menacis, whan they be in their fury, though it be at the damnable playe of dyse. The masse, in

whiche honorable ceremony is lefte unto us the memoriall of Christes glorious passion, with his corporall presence in fourme of breade, the inuocation of the thre diuine persones in one deitie, with all the hole company of blessed spirites and soules elect is made by custome so simple an othe that it is nowe all moste neglected, and litle regarded of the nobilitie, and is onely used amonge husbände men and artificers, onelas some taylour or barbour, as welt in his othes as in the excesse of his apparayle, will counterfaite and be lyke a gentilman. In iudiciall causes, be they of neuer so light importaunce, they that be no parties but straungers, I meane witnesses and iurates, Which shall procede in the triall, do make no lasse othe, but openly do renounce the helpe of god and his sayntes and the benefite of his passion, if they say nat true as ferre furthe as they knowe. Howe euill that is obserued where the one partie in degree ferre exceedeth the other, or where hope of rewarde or affection taketh place, no man is ignoraunt, sens it is euery yere more commune than haruist. Alas! what hope shall we haue of any publike weale where such a pestilence reigneth? Dothe nat Salamon saye, A man moche sweringe shall be filled with iniquitie, and the plage shall nat departe from his house? O mercifull god, howe many men be in this realme which be horrible swerers and commune iurates periured? Than howe moche iniquitie is there, and howe many plagés are to be feared, where as be so many houses of swerers? Suerly I am in more drede of the terrible vengeaunce of god, than in hope of amendement of the publike weale. And so in myne opinion aught al other to be, whiche beleue that god knoweth all thyng that is done here in erth, and as he him selfe is all goodness, so loueth he al thing that is good, which is vertue; and hateth the contrarie, which is vice. Also all thing that pleaseth him, he preserueth; and that thing that he hateth, he at the last destroyeth. But what vertue may be without verite called trouthe, the declaration whereof is faithe or fidelitie? For as Tulli saieth, faith is a constauce and trouthe of things spoken or couenaunted. And in another place he saieth, nothing kepeth so to gether a publike weale as doth faith. Than foloweth it well, than without faith a publike weale may nat continue, and Aristotle saieth, that by the same craft or meanes that a publike weale is first constituted, by the same craft or meanes is it preserued. Than sens faithe is the fundation of iustyce, whiche is the chiefe constitutour and maker of a publike weale, and by the afore mencioned autoritie, faithe is conseruatour of the same, I may therefore conclude that faithe is bothe the originall and (as it were) principall constitutour and conseruatour of the publike weale.

[Nowe, lyke as it is more facile to repayre than to newe edifie, and also to amende than to make all agayne; so more soner is a publike weale reformed, than of newe constitute, and by the same thyng that it is constitute and conserued, by the same thyng shall it be reformed and preserued. Where I

saye conserued I meane kepte and mayntayned; where I saye preserued, I intende corroborate and defended againe anoiaunces. The thinge that I spake of is faithe, which I by the autoritie of Tulli, do name the fundation of iustyce. For thereat nat onely dependeth all contractes, conuencions, commutations, entercoursis, mutuall intelligence, amitie, and beneuolence, which be contayned in the worde whiche of Tulli is called the societie or felowship of mankinde; but also by due obseruinge of faithe malefactours be espied, injuries be tried out and discussed, the propretie of thinges is adiuged. Wherefore to a gouernour of a publike weale, nothyng more appertayneth, than he hym selfe to have faythe in reuerence, and mooste scrupulously to obserue it. And where he fyndeth it to be contemned or neglected, and specially with addynge to periurye, moste sharpely, ye moste rigorously and aboue all other offences punisse it, without acceptaunce or fauour of any persone; remembre this sentence, Of faythe commeth loyaltie, and where that lacketh there is no suertie.]

It is also no litle reproche unto a man whiche estemeth honestie, to be lyte in makynge promise; or whan he hath promised, to breke or neglecte it. Wherefore no thyng ought to be promised whiche shulde be in any wise contrary to iustyce. On a tyme one remembred kyng Agesilaus of his promise. By god, sayde he, that is trouthe if it stande with iustyce; if nat, I than spake, but I promised nat.

But nowe at this present tyme we may make the exclamation that Seneca dothe, sayenge, O the foule and dishonest confession of the fraude and mischief of mankynde; nowe a dayes seales be more set by than soules. Alas! what reproche is it to christen men, and reioysinge to Turkes and Sarazens, that nothing is so exactly obserued amonge them as fait he, consistynge in laufut promise and couenaunt. And amonge christen men it is so neglected, that hit is more often tymes broken than kept. And nat onely sealyng (whiche Seneca disdayned that it shulde be more sette by thanne soules) is uneth sufficient, but also it is nowe come into suche a generall contempt that all the lerned men in the lawes of this realme, whiche be also men of great wisdom, can nat with all their study deuise so sufficient an instrument, to hynde a man to his promyse or couenaunt, but that there shall be some thinge therein espied to bryng it in argument if it be denied. And in case that bothe the parties be equall in estimation or credence, or els he that denyeth superiour to the other, and no witnesses deposeth on knowlege of the thinge in demaunde, the promise or couenaunt is utterly frustrate. Which is one of the princypall decayes of the publike weale, as I shall traite therof more largely here after. And here at this tyme I leaue to speke any more of the partes of that moste royall and necessary vertue called iustyce.

VIII. Of the noble vertue fortitude, and of the two extreme vices, Audacitie and Timerositie.

IT is to be noted that to hym that is a gouernoure of a publike weale belongeth a double gouernaunce, that is to saye, an interior or inwarde gouernaunce, and an exterior or outwarde gouernaunce. The firste is of his affectes and passions, which do inhabite within his soule, and be subiectes to reason. The seconde is of his children, his seruantes, and other subiectes to his autoritie. To the one and the other is required the vertue morall called fortitude, whiche as moche as it is a vertue is a Mediocritie or meane betwene two, extremities, the one in surplusage, the other in lacke. The surplusage is called Audacitie the lacke Timerositie or feare. I name that Audacitie whiche is an excessife and inordinate truste to escape all daungers, and causeth a man to do suche actes as are nat to be ieoparded. Timerositie is as well whan a man feareth suche thinges as be nat to be feared, as also whan he feareth thinges to be feared more than nedeth. For some thynges there be whiche be necessary and good to be feared, and nat to feare them it is but rebuke. Infamie and reproche be of all honest men to be dradde. And nat to feare thynges that be terrible, agayne whiche no powar or witte of man can resiste, is foole hardynesse, and worthy no praise, as erthe quakes, rages of great and sodayne flodes, whiche do bere downe before them mountaynes and great townes, also the horrible fury of sodayne fire, deuourynge all thing that it apprehendeth. Yet a man that is valiaunt, called in latyne Fortis, shall nat in suche terrible aduentures be resolued into waylinges or desperation. But where force constrayneth him to abide, and neither powar or wisdomed assayed may suffice to escape, but, will he or no, he must nedes perysshe, there dothe he patiently sustayne dethe, whiche is the ende of all euilles, And lyke as an excellent Phisitoun cureth moste daungerous diseases and dedely woundes, so dothe a man that is valiaunt auauce himselfe as inuincible in thinges that do seme moste terrible, nat unaduisedly, and as it were in a bastely rage, but of a gentill courage, and with premeditation, either by victorie or by dethe, wynnyng honour and perpetuall memory, the iuste rewarde of their vertue. Of this maner of valiaunce was Horatius Cocles, an auncient Romaine, of whose example I haue all redy written in the firste boke, where I commended the feate of swymming. Pirrus, whome Anniball estemed to be the seconde of the moste valiaunt capitaines, assaulting a stronge fortresse in Sicile, called Erice, he firste of all other scaled the walles, where he behaued him so valiauntly, that suche as resisted, some he slewe, and other by his maiestie and fierce countenance he dyd put to discomforte. And finally, before any of his armye, entred the walles, and there alone sustayned the hole bronte of his enemyes, untill his people whiche were without, at the laste myssinge

him, stared partely with shame that they had so loste hym, partely with his couragious example, toke good harte, and inforced them selves in suche wise that they clymed the walles and came to the socour of Pirrhus, and by his prowesse so wanne the garyson. What valiaunt harte was in the romayne, Mutius Sceuola, that whan Porcena, kynge of Ethruscanes, had by great powar constrayned the romaynes to kepe them within their citie, Sceuola takinge on him the habite of a begger, with a sworde hydde preuely under his garment, went to the enemyes campe, where he beinge taken for a beggar, was nothinge mistrusted. And whan he had espied the kinges pauillyon he drewe hym thither, where he founde dyuers noble men sittinge. But for as moche as he certaynly knewe nat whiche of them was the kynge, he at the laste perceyuinge one to be in more ryche apparayle thanne any of the other, and supposinge hym to be Porcena, he, or any man espyed hym, stepte to the sayde lorde, and with his sworde gaue hym suche a stroke that he immediatly dyed. But Sceuola beyng taken, for as moche as he mought nat escape suche a multitude, he boldly confessed that his hande erred, and that his intent was to haue slayne kynge Porcena. Wherewith the kynge (as reason was) all chaufed, commaunded a great fire forthwith to be made, wherein Sceuola shulde haue ben brenned, but he nothinge abashed, said to the kynae, Thynke nat, Porcena, that by my dethe onely thou maiste escape the handes of the Romaynes, for there be in the citie CCC yonge men, suche as I am, that be prepared to slee the by one meanes or other, and to thaccommplysshement therof be also determined to suffre all tourmentes, wherof thou shalt haue of me an experience in thy syght. And incontiently he went to the fire, whiche was made for to brenne him, and with a glad countenance dyd put his hande in to the flame, and there helde it of a longe tyme without chaungynge of any countenance, untill his said hande was brenned unto ashes. In lyke wise he wolde haue put his other hande in to the fire, if he had nat ben withdrawen by Porcena, who, wondryng at the valiaunt courage of Sceuola, licenced hym to retourne unto the citie. But whan he considered that by the wordes of Sceuola so great a nombre of younge men of semblable prowesse were confederate to his distruction, so that, or all they coulde be apprehended, his lyfe shulde be all waye in ieopardye, he, dispairynge of winnyng the citie of Rome, raised his siege and departed.

IX. In what actes Fortitude is, and of the consyderations therto belongynge.

BUT all though I haue nowe rehersed sondry examples to the commendation of Fortitude concernynge actes marciall, yet by the waye I wolde haue it remembred that the praise is proprely to be referred unto the vertue, that is to saye, to enterprise thynges dredefull, either for the publike

weale or for wyning of perpetuall honour, or els for exchuyng reproche or dishonoure. Where unto be annexed these considerations, what importaunce the enterpryse is, and wherfore it is done, with the tyme and oportunitie whan it aught to be don. For (as Tulli saieth) to entre in batayle and to fight unadvisedly, it is a thing wylde and a maner of beestes, but thou shalt fight valiauntly whan tyme requireth, and also necessitie. And alway dethe is to be preferred before seruitude or any dishonestie. And therefore the actes of Anniball agayne the Saguntynes, whiche neuer dyd him displeasure, is nat accounted for any prowesse. Neyther Catalyne, which, for his singulier commoditie and a fewe other, attempted detestable warres agayne his owne contraye, entending to haue brenned the noble citie of Rome, and to haue destroyed all the good men, is nat numbred amonge valyaunt men, all though he faught manly and with great courage untill he was slayne. What auayled the boldenesse of Varro and Flaminius, noble capitaynes of Romaynes, whiche despisyng the prowesse and crafte of Anniball, and contemnyng the sobre counsaile of Fabius, hauing onely truste in their owne hardinesse, loste two noble armyes, wherby the powar of the Romaynes was nighe utterly perysshed? Wherfore eftsones I saye that a valiaunt man is he that dothe tollerate or suffre that whiche is nedefull, and in suche wise as is nedefull, and for that whiche is nedefull, and also whan it is nedefull. And he that lacketh any of this may be called hardy, but nat valiaunt. More ouer, all thoughe they whiche be hardy or persones desperate haue a similitude, and seme to be valiaunt, yet be they nat valiaunt, no more than kinges in May games and enterludes be kinges. For they that be hardy, or they come to the perylle, they seme to be fierce and aigre, and in beginnyng their enterpryse wonderfull hasty; but whan they feele the thing more harde and greuous than they estemed, their courage decayeth more and more, and as men abashed and unprepared, their hartes utterly do fayle, and in conclusion they appere more faynte than they that be cowardes. Also in desperation can nat be fortitude, for that beinge a morall vertue, is euer voluntary. Desperation is a thinge as it were constrayned, ne hath any maner of consideration; where fortitude expendeth euery thinge and acte diligently, and dothe also moderate it with reason. Here nowe appereth (as I suppose) that neyther they whiche employe their force without iuste cause or necessitie, ne they whiche without forecast, or (as I mought saye) circumspection, will take in hand an harde enterpryse, ne they whiche hedlonge will fall in to daungers, from whens there is no hope to escape, nor yet men desperate, whiche do dye willingly without any motion of honour or zeale towarde the publike weale be in the nombre of valyaunt persones; but of a refuse company, and rather to be rekned with bestes sauage, than amonge men whiche do participate with reason. For as Curtius sayeth, it appertayneth to men that be valyaunt, rather to despise dethe thanne to hate lyfe.

A man is called in latyne Vir, whereof, sayeth Tulli, vertue is named. And the moste propre vertue longynge to a man is fortitude, whereof be two excellent properties, that is to saye, the contempt of dethe and of grieffe. But what very fortitude is he more plainly doth declare afterwarde in a more larger circumscription, sayenge thinges humane aught to be litle esteemed, dethe nat regarded, laboures and griefes to be thought tollerable. Whan this is ratified by iugement and a constant oppinion, than that is a valiaunt and stable fortitude. But there unto I wolde shulde be added, whiche oppinion and iugement procedeth of a reason, and nat repugnaunt to Justyce. And than it shal accorde with this sayenge of Aristotelle, A valiaunt man sustaineth and dothe that whiche belongeth to fortitude for ca use of honestie. And a litle before he saieth, A man that is valiaunt as well suffereth as dothe that whiche agreeth with his worship, and as reason commaundeth. So no violence or sturdye mynde lackynge reason and honestie is any parte of fortitude. Unto this noble vertue be attendaunt, or as it were continuall adherentes, dyuers vertues, whiche do ensue, and be of ryght great estimation.

X. Of paynefulnesse the firste companionof of Fortitude.

IN them which be either gouernours or capitaynes or in other offyce where unto appertaineth great cure, or despechyng of sondry great affayres, Paynefulnesse, named in latyne Tollerantia, is wonderfull commendable. For thereby thynges be in suche wise employed that utilitie procedeth therof, and seldome repentaunce. For as moche as thereof commeth an excellent frute called. oportunitie, which is euer ripe, and neuer in other astate. For lacke of this vertue moche wisdom and many a valyaunt enterprise haue perysshed and tourned to none effecte, for thynges sharpely inuented, prudently discussed, and valyauntly enterprised, if they be nat diligently folowed, and without cessynge applied and pursued, as it were in a moment all thinge is subuerted. And the paynes before taken, with the tyme therin spent, is utterly frustrate. The paynefulnesse of Quintus Fabius, beinge dictator or principall capitayne of the Romaynes, in leadyng his armye by mountaynes and other herde passaoes, so disapointed Anniball of the hope of victorye, wherin he so moche gloried, that at the last he trayned and drewe Anniball and his hoste in to a felde inclosed about with mountaines and deep ryuers, where Fabius had so enuyroned him by the fortifyenge of two mountaynes with his people, that they were in ieoperdye eyther to be famysshed (their vitayle soone after faylinge them) or els in fleinge to be slayne by the Romaynes, had nat the craftye and polityke witte of Anniball delyuered them; whiche, for the notable inuention, I wyll borowe so moche tyme of the reder to renewe the remembraunce therof in our Englysshe

tunge. Anniball, perceyuinge the daunger that he and his armye were in, he commaunded in the depe of the nyght, whan nothyng was sterynge, to be brought before him about two thousande great oxen and bulles, whiche a litle before his men had taken in foraginge, and causinge fagottes made of drye styckes to be fastened unto their hornes, and set on fyre, the bestes troubled with the flame of fire, ranne as they were woode up towarde the mountaynes, where as laye the hoste of the Romaynes, Anniball, with his hoole armye folowyng in araye. The romaynes which kept the mountaynes, beinge sore aferde of this newe and terrible sight, forsake their places, and Fabius, dredyng the deceytfull witte of Anniball kept the armye within his trenche, and so Anniball with his hoste escaped without damage. But Fabius, beinge painefull in pursuinge Anniball from place to place, a waytinge to haue hym at aduauntage, at the laste dyd so fatigate him and his hoste, that therby in conclusion his powar minished, and also the strength of the Carthaginensis, of whome he was generall capitayne. In so moche as they were at the laste constrained to countermaunde him by sondrie messangers, willyng him to abandone the warres in Italye, and to retourne to the defence of his owne citie. Whiche by the opinion of moste excellent writars, shulde neuer haue hapned if Fabius wolde haue lefte any parte of his purpose, eyther for the tediousnesse of the payne and trauayle, or for the intollerable rebukes giuen unto hym by Minutius, who imbrayded hym with cowardyse. Amonge the vertues whiche abounded in Julius Cesar, none was accounted more excellent than that in his counsayles, affaires, and exploytures, he omitted no tyme ne forsake any payne; wherfore moste sonest of any man he achieued and brought to good passe all thyng that he entreprised. Suppose ye that the same Anniball, of whome we late spake, coulde haue wonne from the Romaynes all Spayne, and haue perced the mountaynes called Alpes, makyng a way for his armye where before was neuer any maner of passage, and also haue goten all Italye unto Rome gates, if he had not ben a man paynefull and of labour incomparable?

Julius Cesar, after that he had the intier gouernaunce and dominion of the empyre of Rome, he therefore neuer omitted labour and diligence, as well in commune causes as private, concernyng the defence and assistence of innocentes. Also he laborously and studiously discussed controuersies, whiche all most dayly he herde in his owne persone.

Traiane and bothe 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 citie, were euer so continually occupied that uneth they founde any litle tyme to haue any recreation or solace.

Alexander also, emperour, for his incomparable grautie called Seuerus,

beinge but of the age of xviii yeres whan he firste was made emperour, was inclined to so incredible labours, that where he founde the noble citie of Rome, than mastresse of the worlde, throughly corrupted with moste abhominable vices, by the moste shameful example and liuing of that detestable monstre, Varius Heliogabalus, next emperour before him, a great parte of the Senate and nobilitie beinge resolued in to semblable vices, the chiuallrye dispersed, martiall prowesse abandoned, and well nyghe the maiestic emperiall dissolued and brought in contempt, this noble yonge prince Alexander, inflamed with the zeale of the pristinate honour of the Romaynes, layenge a parte utterly all pleasures and quietnesse, holy gaue his witte and body to studye and trauayles intollerable, and chesinge out of all partes of the worlds men of grettest wisdomed and experience, consultings with them, neuer ceased untill he had reduced as well the Romaynes as all other cities and prouinces unto them subjecte, to their pristinate moderation and temperaunce. Many other examples coude I reherce to the commendation of paynefulnessse. But these shall suffice at this present tyme to proue that a gouernour must nedes be painefull in his owne persone, if he desire to haue those thinges prosper that be commytted to his gouernaunce.

XI. Of the noble and fayre vertue named Pacience.

PACIENCE is a noble vertue, appertayninge as well to in warde gouernaunce as to exterior gouernaunce, and is the vainquisshour of injuries, the suer defence agayne all affectes and passions of the soule, retayninge all wayes glad semblaunt in aduersitie and doloure.

Saynt Ambrose saieth in his boke of offices, Better is he that contemneth iniurie, than he that sorroweth. For he that contemneth it as he nothyng felte, he passeth nat on it: but he that is sorowfull, he is therewith tourmented as though he felt it.

Whiche was well proued by Zeno Eleates, a noble Philosopher, who beinge a man of excellent wisdomed and eloquence, came to a citie called Agrigentum, wher raygned Phalaris, the mooste cruell Tyraunt of all the worlde, who kept and used his owne people in mooste miserable seruitude. Zeno firste thought by his wisdomed and eloquence to haue so persuaded the Tyraunt to temperaunce that he shulde haue abandoned his cruell and auaricious appetite. But custome of vice more preuayled in him than profitable counsayle. Wherefore Zeno, hauynge pitie at the wretched astate of the people, excited dyuers noble men to deliuer the citie of that seruile condition. This counsayle was nat so secretly gyuen but that notice therof

came to the Tyraunt, who, causinge all the people to be assembled in the market place, caused Zeno there to be cruciate with sondrye turmentes, all wayes demaundyng of hym who dyd participate with hym of his said counsaile. But for no paynes wolde he confesse any persone, but induced the Tyraunt to haue in mistrust his nexte frendes and familiar seruantes, and reprouynge the people for their cowardise and drede, he at the laste so inflamed them unto libertie, that sodaynely, with a great violence, they fell on the Tyraunt and pressed him with stones. The olde Zeno in all his exquisite turmentes neuer made any lamentable crye or desire to be relieued. But for this fourme of Pacience, this onely example suffiseth at this tyme, sens there be so frequent examples of martyrs, whiche for true religion sustayned pacyently not onely equall tourmentes with Zeno, but also ferre excedynge. But nowe wyll I wrytte of that Pacience that pertaineth unto interior gouernaunce, wherby the naturall passions of man be subdued, and the malyce of fortune sustayned. For they whiche be in autoritie and be occupied about great affaires, their lyues be nat onely replenished with labours and greuous displeasures, but also they be subiectes to sondrye chaunces.

The meane to optayne pacyence is by two thinges principally. A directe and upryght conscience, and true and constant opinion in the estimation of goodnes. Whiche seldome commeth onely of nature, excepte it be wonderfull excellent; but by the diligent studye of very philosophie (nat that whiche is sophisticate, and consisteth in sophismes) nature is therto prepared and holpen. This Opinion is of suche powar that ones cleuyng faste to the mynde, it draweth a man as it were by violence to good or euill. Therefore, Tulli saieth, Lyke as whan the bloode is corrupted, and eyther fleame or Colere, blacke or redde, is superhabundaunt, than in the body be ingendred sores and diseases, so the vexation of euill opinions and their repugnauncie despoileth the mynde of all helthe, and troubleth it with griefes. Contrarye wyse afterwarde Tulli describeth good Opinion, and calleth it the beaultie of the soule, sayenge in this wyse, As of bodelye membres there is an apte figure, with a maner pleasauntnesse of colour, and that is called beaultie; so in the soule the equalitie and constaunce of opinions and iugementes ensuyng vertue, with a stable and stedfaste purpose, or contaynyng the selfe same effecte that is in vertue, is named beaultie. Whiche sentences depely inuestigate and well perceyued by them that be about princes and gouernours, they may consider howe ware and circumspecte they aught to be in the indusinge them to opinions. [Whereof they be sufficiently admonished by the moste excellent diuine Erasmus Roterodamus, in his boke of the Institution of a Christen prince, whiche in myne opinion can nat be so moche praysed as it is worthy. Therefore I will leaue nowe to write any more of Opinion, sauynge that I wolde that it

shulde be all waye remembred, that opinion in iuginge thinges as they verely be armeth a man unto pacience.]

XII. Of Pacience in sustayninge wronges and rebukes.

UNTO hym that is valyaunt of courage, it is a great payne and difficultie to sustayne Iniurie, and nat to be forthwith reuenged. And yet often tymes is accounted more valyauntnesse in the sufferance than in hasty reuengynge. As it was in Antoninus the emperoure, called the philosopher, agayne whome rebelled one Cassius, and usurped the emperiall maiestie in Syria and the Este partes. Yet at the laste, beinge slaine by the capitaynes of Antonine next adioyninge, he therof unwetyng was therewith more greued. And therefore takyng to hym the chyldren of Cassius, entreated them honorably, wherby he acquired euer after the incomparable and moste assured loue of his subiectes. As moche dishonour and hatered his sonne Commodus wanne by his irnpacience, wherein he so exceded, that for as moche as he founde nat his bayne hette to his pleasure, he caused the keper therof to be throwen in to the hote brennyng furnace. What thyng might be more odible than that moste deuelysshe impacience? Julius Cesar, whan Catullus the Poete wrate agayne hym contumelyouse or reprocheable versis, he nat onely forgaue him, but to make hym his frende, caused hym often tymes to soupe with hym. The noble emperour Augustus, whanne it was shawed hym that many men in the citie had of hym unfittinge wordes, he thought it a sufficient answere that in a free citie men muste haue their tunges nedes at libertie. Nor neuer was with any persone that spake euill of hym in worde or countenance warse discontented. Some men will nat praise this maner of Pacience, but account hit for folysshenes, but if they beholde on the other side what incommoditie commeth of impacience, howe a man is therewith abstracte from reason and tourned in to a monstrous figure, and do conferre all that with the stable countenance and pleasaunt regarde of him that is pacient, and with the commoditie that dothe ensue thereof they shall affirme that that simplicitie is an excellent wisdom.

More ouer the best waye to be aduenged is so to contemne Iniurie and rebuke, and lyue with suche honestie, that the doer shall at the laste be therof a shamed, or at the leste, lese the frute of his malyce, that is to say, shall nat reioyce and haue glorie of thy hyndraunce or damage.

XIII. Of Pacience deserued in repulse, or hynderaunce of promocion.

To a man hauynge a gentyll courage, lyke wise as nothinge is so pleasaunt

or equally reioyceth him as rewarde or preferment sodaynely giuen or aboue his merite, so nothings may be to him more displeasaunt or paynefull than to be neglected in his payne takynge, and the rewarde and honour that he loketh to haue, and for his merites is worthy to haue, to be gyuen to one of lasse vertue, and perchaunce of no vertue or laudable qualitie. Plato in his Epistall to Dion, kynge of Scicile, It is (sayeth he) good right that they which be good men, and do the semblable, optayne honour whiche they be worthy to haue.

Undowghtedly in a prince or noble man may be nothings more excellent, ye not hing more necessarye, than to aduaunce men after the estimation of their goodnes; and that for two speciall commodities that do come thereof.

Fyrste, that therby they prouoke many men to apprehende vertue. Also to them whiche be good and all redy aduaunced do gyue suche courage, that they endeuour them selves with all their powar to increase that opinion of goodnes, wherby they were brought to that aduaancement whiche nedes muste be to honoure and benefite of those by whome they were promoted. Contrary wise, where men from their infancie haue ensued vertue, worne the florissynge tyme of youthe with paynefull studie, abandonyng all lustes and all other thinge whiche in that tyme is pleasaunt, trustynge therby to profite their publike weale, to optayne therby honour, whan either their vertue and trauayle is litle regarded, or the preferment which they loke for, is giuen to an other nat equall in merite, it nat onely perceth his harte with moche anguisshe, and oppresseth hym with discomfort, but also mortifieth the courages of many other whiche be aptly disposed to studie and vertue, and hoped therby to haue the propre rewarde therof, whiche is commendation and honour, which beinge giuen to men lackyng vertue and wisdom, shall be occasion for them to do euill (as Democritus sayeth), for who doughteth but that autoritie in a good man dothe publisse his vertue whiche before laye hydde? In an euill man it ministreth boldnesse and lycence to do euill, whiche by drede was before couered. Surely this Repulse or (as they vulgarly speke puttyng backe from promotion, is no little payne or discomfort, but it may be withstande, or at the lest remedied, with pacience, whiche may be in this wise induced.

Fyrste, consideryng that the worlde was neuer so constant that at all tymes before good men were iustely rewarded, and none but they onely promoted. Cato, called Uticensis, at whose wisdom all the worlde wondred, and whose grautie, as well the Senate and, people of Rome, as other kynges and princis, reuerense, lokynge to be one of the Consules, was openly reiecte. Wherwith his frendes and kynnesmen toke no litle discomfort. But Cato hym selfe so litte regarded that repulse, that where all wayes he went very homely, he the nexte day folowinge, decked and trymmed hym selfe more

fresshely than he was wont, and whanne he had shewed hym selfe so to the people, at after none he walked with one of his frendes in the markette place, bare legged and in sengle apparayle, as he was accustomed.

Scipio, called Nasica, who by the hole senate was iuged the best man in the citie, and of an auntyent house, was lyke wise putte backe for beinge Consull. Lelius lyke wise, whiche was openly called the wiseman, was semblably refused. And diuers other, of whome histories do make mencion, were abiecte, whan they had well deserued honours, and their inferiors in merites promoted. Also a mannes conscience shall well comfort him whan he hathe so lyued that, where he is knowen, men do iuge him worthy preferment. And than may he saye to them whiche meruayle why he is nat aduanced, as Cato sayde to a persone that tolde to hym that men wondred why amonge so many noble mennes images as were sette up in the citie, Cato's image was nat espied. By god, sayde Cato, I had leuer that men wondred why I haue none image sette up, than why men shulde set up myne image. So if men meruayle why a man is nat aduanced, knowinge hym a good man, thanne iuge they hym to be worthy promotion, whiche iugement procedeth of fauour, and than though he lacke promocion, yet hathe he perfecte glorie, whiche euery noble hart desireth.

For Tulli sayeth, The perfecte and moste principall glorie consisteth in those thre thynges. If the multitude loue us; if they putte confydence in us; if also as it were meruaylinge at us, they think us worlhy to haue honour giuen unto us. With this glorie and clenness of conscience, shall a wise man content hym, and be induced to Pacience, and nat be greued with his fortune, but to folowe Democritus in lawghinge at the blinde iugementes of men in bestowinge promotions. I omitte at this tyme to write any more of this vertue Pacience, sens to the institution of a gouernour this semeth to be sufficient, to the residue he shall be better persuaded by the warkes of Plutarche, Seneca, and Pontane, where they write of Pacience, whiche warkes he may here after rede at his leasour.

XIV. Of Magnanimitie, whiche may be named valyaun courage.

MAGNANIMITIE is a vertue moche commendable, and also expedient to be in a gouernour, and is, as I haue sayd, a companyon of fortitude. And may be in this wise defined, that it is an excellencie of mynde con- XIV. Magnanimity cernynge thynges of great importaunce or estimation, doynge all thyng that is vertuous for the achieuyng of honour. But nowe I remembre me, this worde Magnanimitie beinge yet straunge, aslate

borrowed out of the latyne, shall nat content all men, and specially them whome nothing contenteth out of their accustomed Mumpsimus, I will aduerture to put for Magnanimitie a worde more familiar, call it good courage, whiche, hauynge respecte to the sayd definition, shall nat seme moche inconuenient.

But nowe concernyng a more large description of the sayd vertue. Aristotle saieth, That man semeth to be of noble courage that is worthy, and also iugeth hym selfe worthy to have thinges that be great. He saieth also afterwarde, Noble courage is an ornament of vertues, for it maketh them the more ample, and without them she her selfe may nat be. But I wltl for a litle tyme leaue this noble Philosopher Aristotelle, and reuerently interprete a place in the offices of Tulli, where he moste eloquently and playnely setteth out this vertue, sayenge, All way a valiaunt and noble courage is discerned by two thinges specially, wherof one is in despisinge thynges outwarde, whan a man is persuaded neylher to meruayle at any thyng, neyther to wysshe or desire any thinge but that which is honest. More ouer, that a man shulde nat bowe for any fortune or trouble of mynde. Another thinge is that whan thou arte of that mynde or courage, as I before sayde, than that thou practise those thynges nat onely which be great and moste profitable, but also them that be very difficile, and full of labour and perylle, as well concernyng mannes lyfe as many other thynges there un to pertaynyng. And afterwarde the same Tulli sayeth, To esteme litle those thinges whiche unto the more parte of men semeth excellent, and also with reason firme and stable to contemne them, it is signe of a noble and valyaunt courage. Also to tollerate those thinges whiche do seme bitter or greuous (wherof there be many in the lyfe of man and in fortune) in suche wise as thou departe nat from the astate of nature, neyther from the worship pertayninge unto a wise man, betokeneth a good courage, and also moche constance. By this it semeth that Magnanimitie or good courage is, as it were, the garment of Vertue, wherwith she is set out (as I mought saye) to the uttermoste. I neane nat that therby vertue is amended or made more beauteous, whiche of her selfe is perfecte, but lyke wise as a lady of excellent beaultie, thoughe that she be all wayes fayre, yet a ryche and fresshe garment declareth her astate, and causeth her the more to be loked on, and thereby her naturall beaultie to be the better perceyued. Semblably dothe Magnanimitie, ioyned with any vertu sette it wonderfully furthe to be beholden, and (as I mought saye) meruayled at, as it shall appere abundauntely in the examples ensuinge.

Agesilaus, king of Lacedemonia, in the begynninge of his youthe, perceyuinge that all Greece was in great feare for the fame that was sprad of the commynge of the Persians with an infinite armye, he with a noble courage profred nat onely to defende his owne contray, but also with a small

hoste to passe the sees in to Asia, and frome thens either to brynge victorie of the Persianes, or els a sure and honorable peace. With whose courage the Lacedemones, highly recomforted, delyuered unto hym x thousande souldiours. With the whiche hoste he went in to Asia, and there vainquished the Persianes, and retourned ioyfully in to his contray with his people all saulfe, to his perpetuall renonme, and also the honour and suertie of all Greece.

Antigonus, kynge of Macedonia, beinge on the see, one of his capitaines aduised him to departe, sayenge that the nauye of his enemye was moche gretter in numbere than his, where unto with a noble courage he answered, And for howe many shippes accounte you oure persone? Wherewith his people toke suche comforte that they boldelye dyd set furth and vainquished their enemyes. Suche noble courage was in great kynge Alexander, that in hys warres agayne Darius, he was sene of all hys people fightynge in the prease of his enemyes bare heded.

I wyll nat be so uncurtaise to leaue unremembred in this place the notable Magnanimitie of a kynge of Englande, whiche I hapned to rede late in an olde cronycle.

Edgare, who in the tyme that the Saxons had this realme in subiECTION, hadde subdued all the other kynges Saxons, and made them his tributaries. On a tyme he hadde them all with hym at dyner, and after it was shewed hym that Rynande, kynge of Scottes, hadde sayde that he woundred howe it shulde happen that he and other kynges, that were tall and great personaaes, wolde suffre them selves to be subdued by so litle a body as Edgare was. Edgare dissembled and answered nothynge, but faynyng to go on huntynge, he toke with him the Scottishe kynge in his company, and purposely withdrewe hym from them that were with hym and causynge by a secrete seruaunt two swerdes to be conuayed in to a place in the forest by hym appointed, as soone as he came thither he toke the one sworde, and delyuered the other to Rinande, byddinge hym to proue his strength, and to assaye whither his dedes wolde ratifie his wordes. Wherat the Scottishe kynge beinge abashed, beholdynge the noble courage of Edgare, with an horrible feare confessed his errour, desiryng pardon, whiche he with moste humble submission at the laste optayned. That noble kynge Edgare declaryng by his Magnanimitie that by his vertue, and nat by chaunce, he was elected to reigne ouer so noble a region.

Plato, for his diuine wisdom and eloquence named the god of Philosophers, was sent for by Dionise, kynge of Sicile, to the intent, as it semed, that he wolde be of him instructed concernynge the polityke

gouernaunce of his realme. But whan he had ben with him a certaine space, and wolde nat flatter with the kynge and upholde his tyrannye, the kinge became wery of him, in so moche that if it had nat ben at the requeste of Architas, prince of Tarent, he wolde haue put hym to dethe. Wherefore, partely at the desire of that prince, partely for feare of the Atheniensis, he licenced Plato to departe without damage, but at his departynge he sayde unto him, as it were in despite, O howe euill wilt thou speke of me, Plato, whan thou comest amonge thy companyons: and scolers. Than Plato with a noble courage, answered, God defende there shulde be in my scole somoche vacaunt tyme from the studie of wisdomme, that there mought be any place lefte ones to remembre the.

Nowe will I make an ende of this vertue, and procede further to write of some vices whiche communely do folowe Magnanimitie, and with great difficultie may be exchued.

XV. Of Obstinacie, a familiar vice follovinge Magnanimitie.

THE prince of Oratours, Marcus Tullius, in his firste boke of Offices, sayeth that in height and greatnesse of courage is moste soneste ingendred obstinacie, and inordinate desire of soueraignete.

Obstinacie is an affection immoueable, fixed to wille, abandonyng reason, whiche is ingendred of Pryde, that is to saye, whan a man estemeth so moche hym selfe aboue any other, that he reputeth his owne witte onely to be in perfection, and contemneth all other counsaile. Undoubtedly this is an horrible and perylouse vice, and very familiar with them whiche be of moste noble courages. By it many a valyaunt capitayne and noble prince haue nat onely fallen them selves, but also brought all their contrayes in daungeour and often tymes to subuercion and ruyne.

The wise kinge Salomon sayeth, Amonge proude men be all way contentions, and they that do all thinges with counsaile, be gouerned by wisdomme.

I nede nat to reherce examples out of olde writars what damage haue ensued of obstinacie, consideryng that euery historye is full therof, and we styll haue it in dayly experience. But of one thinge am I suer, where obstinacie ruleth, and reason lacketh place, there counnelle auaieth nat, and where counsell hath nat auctoritie and franchises, there may no thing be perfecter. Solomon sayeth, where as be many counsayles, there the people is in suertie. Nowe wyll I declare the resydue of Tullies sentence, concernynge

inordynate desire of soueraignete, whiche is preprelye callyd Ambition.

XVI. Of an other vyce folowing Magnanimitie, called Ambition.

IT was nat without a high and prudente consideration, that certayne lawes were made by the Romaynes, whiche were named the lawes of Ambition, whereby men were restrayned in the citie to optayn offices and dignities in the Publyke wele, either by gyuyng rewardes, or by other synystre labour or meanes. And they, which by that lawe were condemned, were put to deathe without any fauour.

Verily it was a noble lawe, and for all places necessary, consyderynge what inconuenience hapneth by this vaine and superfluous appetite. Wyttnesses amonge the Romayns Sylla, Marius, Carbo, Cinna, Pompei, and Cesar, by whose ambicion mo Romains were slayne, than in acquryng the empyre of al the world. Sylla condemned, and caused to be slayne, foure score thousande Romayns, beside many mo that were slayne in the battayles betwene him and the bothe Marius.

Also Pompei, and Julius Cesar, the one suffryng no piere, the other no superior, by their ambycion caused to be slaine betwene them people innumerable, and subuerted the best and mooste noble publyke weale of the worlde, and fynaliy hauynge lyttell tyme of reioysinge theyr unlesfull desire, Pompeie, shamefully fleinge, had his heed striken of, by the commaundement of Ptolomee, king of Egipt, unto whome as unto his frende he fledde for succour. Cesar, the vainquyssher, was murdred in the Senate with daggers, by them, whome he mooste specially fauoured.

I could occupie a great volume with histories of them whiche, coueytyng to mount into excellent dignities, dyd therby bringe in to extreme perylles bothe them selues and their countreys. For as Tacitus saith, wanderfull elegantly, with them whyche desire soueraynetie, there is no meane place betwene the toppe and the stepe downe. To the whiche vordes Tulli agreinge, sayeth that hygh authorities shulde nat moche be desired, or rather nat to be taken at some tyme, and often tymes to be left and forsaken.

So dyd Sylla, whome I late spake of, and Diocletian, Emperour of Rome, who after that he had gouerned the empyre xxv yeres honorably (if he had nat ben polluted with the bloode of innumerable Christen men) he willingly abandoned the crowne and dignitie emperiall, and lved nyne yeres on his priuate possessions. And on a tyme he beinge desired of Herculus and

Galerius, unto whome he had resigned the empyre, to take eftsones on him the gouernaunce, abhorrynge it as a pestilence, aunswered in this wise, I wolde ye dyd see the herbes that I haue with myne owne handes sowen and sette at Salona, suerly ye wolde nat than in this wise aduise me.

Also Octauius Augustus, whiche in felicitie passed all emperours, deuised often tymes with his frendes to haue resigned his autoritie. And if at that tyme the Senate had ben as well fournisshed with noble and wise personages as it was before the Ciuile warres betwene Cesar and Pompei, it is to be thought that he wolde surely haue restored the publike weale to his pristinate glorie.

But nowe let us see what is the cause why that Ambition is so pernicious to a publike weale, and in myne oppinion it is for two causes principally.

Fyrste, for as moche as they whiche be of that courage and appetite, whan they be in autoritie, they suppose all thyng to be lefull that lyketh them, and also by reason of their preeminence they wolde so be separate from other that no man shulde countrolle them or warne them of their enormyties, and finally, they wolde do what they list without contradiction. Wherof do ensue diuers injuries and subuertion of iustyce.

And that this whiche I haue nowe sayd is true, Tulli affirmeth, sayenge, Verely it is a great difficultie, where thou woldest be aboue all men, to obserue equitie, whiche is the thinge moste appropred to iustice. And shortly after he sayeth, The more higher of courage that a man is, and desirous of glorie, the soner is he meued to do thinges agayne ryght. Seynge that it was so in the tyme of Tulli, whan all moste euery man that was in auctoritie had excellent lernynce, (the Romanes bringynge up their children in study of morall philosophie), what shall we than suppose in our tyme, whan fewe men in autorite do care for lernynce? Why shulde we thynke to be more iustice nowe used in autoritie than was in the tyme of Tulli? Is there nat nowe priuate affection, particular favour, displeasure, and haterede, as was at that tyme? I wolde that the redars hereof be iuges examinyng these my wordes with daily experience.

The seconde cause that condemneth ambicion is couatyse of treasure, therwith to maintaine their ostentacion and vayne glorie, which ambitious persones do calle their honour. Wherby they be procured to finde iniust meanes by their autoritie to prouide for suche substaunce, wherwith they may be nat onely satisfied (they beinge insaciabable) but according to their owne appetite fully suffised. Wherfore the Philosophers, called Stoici used

this sentence. Great indigence or lacke cometh nat of pouertie, but of great plentie, for he that hathe moche shal ne de moche. But certes, suche persones ambitious may well consider that the men, magnificence and pompe which they couaite is nat so moche wondred at, as auarice and collection of money is uniuersally hated. Wherefore Darius, king of Persia, and father to Xerxes, whan he had commaunded a subsidie to be leuyed of his subiectes, he demaunded the chiefe men of the contrayes, whether they founde them selfe greued, they aunswerynge that they were in a metely good case, he commaunded the one halfe to be eftsones restored, lest he of any auarice shulde be suspected. By the which act he stablissed his dignite and made it more perfecte. More ouer Tulli saieth, To take any thing from an other man, and one man to encrease his commoditie with an other mannes detryment, is more repugnaunt to nature, than dethe, than pouertie, payne, or other thyng that mought happen either to the body or other goodes worldly. And this for nowe suffiseth to speke of ambition.

XVII. The true definicinn of Abstinence and Continence.

ABSTINENCE and continencie be also companions of fortitude, and be noble and excellent vertues, and I can nat tell whither there be any to be preferred before them, specially in men hauynge autoritie, they beinge the brydles of two capitall vices, that is to saye, Auarice and Lecherie; whiche vices, beinge refrayned by a noble that liueth at libertie and without controlement, procureth unto hym, beside the fauour of god, immortall glorie. And that citie or realme wherof the gouernours with these vices be litle or nothyng acquainted, do abide longe in prosperitie. For, as Valerius Maximus sayeth, where so euer this feruent pestylence of mankynde hath entry, Iniury reigneth, reproche or infamie is spradde, and deuoueth the name of nobilitie.

The propreties of these two vertues be in this maner. Abstinence is wherby a man refrayneth from any thinge, which he may lefully take, for a better purpose. Continence is a vertue whiche kepeth the pleasaunt appetite of man under the yoke of reason. Aristotelle in his Ethikes, making them bothe but one, describeth them under the name of continence, sayenge, He that is continent, for as moche as he knoweth that couaitous desires be euill, he dothe abandone them, reason persuadynge hym. For this tyme I take Abstinence for the wilfull abandoninge of money, possessions, or other thinge semblable; Continence the onely forberynge the unlefull company of women.

Martius Coreolanus, a noble yonge man, which lineally descended from

Ancus, somtyme king of Romaynes, whan he had done many valiaunt actes and achieved sondry enterprises, he was according to his merites, commended in the armye by Posthumius, than being consulle. And by their uniuersall assent he was rewarded with all suche honours as than appertained to a good warriour. Also with one hundrede acres of arable lande, the election of ten prisoners, ten horsis apparailed for the warres, one hundred of oxen, and as moche siluer as he mought beare. But of al this wolde he take no thing, but one onely prisoner which was of his acquaintaunce, and one courser, whiche all wayes after he used in batayle.

Marcus Curius, the very rule and paterne of Fortitude; and moderate luying, whan the people called Samnites, whiche had warres with the Romanes, founde him sittynge in his house by the fire upon a homely fourme, eatynge his meate in a disshe of tree, they brynginge to hym a great some of golde by the consent of the people, and wondryng at his pouertie, with courtaise langage desyred him to take that they had brought him, he thereat smilinge, said thus unto them: Ye ministers of a vaine and superfluous message, shewe you to the Samnites that Curius had leuer haue dominion ouer them that be riche than he him selfe to haue richesse. And as for this golde whiche ye accounte precious, take it agayne with you, and remembre that ye can neither vainquisshe me in bataile nor corrupt me with money.

Quintus Tubero, surnamed Catelius, what tyme he was consulle, the people in Greece called &Aelig;toli sent to him by their ambassadours a great quantitie of siluer vessell curiously wrought and grauen. But whan they came to him they founde on his table vessell onely of erthe. And whan he sawe them he exhorted them that they shulde nat suppose that his continence, as if it were pouertie, shulde be with their presentes relieued. And with that sayenge, commaunded them to departe.

To Epaminondas, the Thebane, being in his tyme as well in vertue as prowesse, the moste noble man of all Greece, Arthaxerses, king of Persia, to make him his frende, sent one of his seruantes to Thebes with a great quantitie of treasure to gyue to Epaminondas. Whiche seruant, knowynge his maners, darst nat offre it unto him whan he came, but speking to a yonge man which was familiar with Epaminondas, gaue unto him a great rewarde to meue Epaminondas to receiue the kings present. Who uneth hering the firsts wordes of the yonge man, commaunded the kinges seruant to be brcught unto him, unto whome he had these wordes. Frende, shewe to the kynge that he nedeth nat to offre me money, for if he haue any thinge to do with the Thebanes for a good purpose, he may haue their assistence without any rewarde; if the purpose be nought, he can nat with all the treasure of the worlds hope to optayne it. Whiche wordes were spoken with such a

grauitie that the sayd seruaunt, beinge a ferde, desired Epaminondas that he mought be saulfly conuaied out of the citie. Whiche he graunted with good will, lest if the money were taken a way he mought of the receyuinge therof haue ben suspected. More ouer, he caused the Thebane, which was his frende and companion to restore to the messenger the money that he had receyued.

Semblable Abstinence was there in Phocion, a noble counsaylour of Athenes, unto whome the ambassadours of the great kynge Alexander brought from their maister a hundred Talentes of golde, whiche were of englysshe money xii thousande pounce. But before that he herde them speke any thyng, he demaunded of them why to him onely the kynge sent so bounteous a rewarde. And they aunswered for as moche as king Alexander iuged him onely to be a good man and a iuste. Than suffre ye me, sayd Phocion, to be and to seme the same man that your kynge do iuge me, and cary your goode agayne to him. The same Phocion, the ambassadour of Antipater (who succeded the great king Alexander in Macedonia) offred to gyue a great some of money, whiche Phocion despisinge, sayde in this wise, Sens Antipater is nat gretter than Alexander nor his cause better, I do nothings perceyue why I shulde take any thinge of him. And whan the Oratour wolde haue hadde Phocions sonne to haue taken the money, Phocion answered, If his sonne wolde be lyke unto hvm he shulde haue no nede neither of that money nor of none other. If he wolde be unlike unto him and of dissolute maners, neyther Antipaters giftes nor none others, were they neuer so great, shulde be sufficient.

By these examples it dothe appere howe good men dyd all way flee from rewardes, all though they mought haue ben lefully taken, which in them was neyther folisshenes nor yet rusticitie, but of a prudent consideracion. For as moche as bothe by wisdom and experience they knewe that he, whiche taketh a rewarde before any thinge done, is no lenger at libertie, but of a free man is made bonde, in as moche as he hath taken earnest for his true endeuour. Also by the takynge he is become an euill man, though before he were good, for if he receyued it for an euill purpose, he is thanne a wretche, and detestable. If the matter were good, than is he nat rightwise in sellynge a good deede, whiche he aught to do thankfully and without rewarde. And I dought nat who so euer is contented with his present astate, and supposeth felicitie to be in a meane, and all excesse to be perillous, will alowe these sentences and thinke them worthy to be had in remembraunce, specially of them that be governours. For that realme or citie where men in autorite haue their handes open for money, and their houses for presentes, is euer in the waye to be subuerted. Wherefore Caius Pontius, prince of Samnites, was wont to saye, I wolde god (sayd he) that fortune had reserued me unto the

tyme, and that I had ben borne whan the Romaynes shulde begynne to take gyftes; I shulde than nat suffre them any lenger to rule. Paulus Emilius, whanne he hadde vainquissed kynge Perses, and subdued all Macedonia, he brought into the commune treasury of Rome an infinite treasure, that the substaunce of that one prince discharged all the Romaynes to paye euer after any tax or subsidie. And yet of all that goodes Emilius brought no thinge in to his owne house, but onely perpetuall renomme.

Scipio, whan he hadde gotten and destroyed the great cite of Charthage, he was nat therfore the rycher one halfepeny. By this it appereth that honour resteth nat in richesse, all though some perchaunce wyll saye that their reuenues be small, and that they muste take suche rewardes as be lefull, onely to maintayne their honour, but lette them take hede to the sayenge of Tulli, Nothyng is more to be abhorred thanne Auarice, specially in princis and them whiche do gouerne publike weales.

XVIII. The examples of Continance gyuen by noble men.

Nowe wyll I speke of Continance, whiche is specially in refrayninge or forbering the acte of carnall pleasure, where unto a man is feruently meued, or is at libertie to haue it. Whiche undoughtedly is a thinge nat onely difficile, but also wonderfull in a man noble or of great auctoritie, but in suche one as it hapneth to be, nedes muste be reputed moche vertue, and wisdom, and to be supposed that his mynde is inuincible, considerynge that nothyng so sharpely assaileth a mannes mynde as dothe carnall affection, called (by the folowars therof) loue. Wherfore Plato sayeth, that the soule of man, which by loue is possessed, dieth in his owne body, and lyueth in an other.

The great kynge Alexander, after his firste victorie agayne kynge Darius, hauinge all wayes in his hoste the wife of the same Darius, whiche incomparably excelled all other women in beaultie; after that he had ones sene her. he neuer after wolde haue her come in his presence. All be it that he caused her astate still to be maintayned, and with as moche honour as euer it was, sayenge to them whiche, wondrynge at the ladyes beaultie, meruailed why Alexander dyd nat desire to haue with her company, he answered that it shulde be to hym a reproche to be any wise subdued by the wife of him whom he had vainquissed.

Antiochus, the noble king of Asia, beinge in the cite of Ephesum, behelde a virgine beinge a Mynchen in the temple of Diana to be of excellent beaultie, where he perceiuing him selfe to be rauissed in the loue of the mayden, he

hastely and immediatly departed out of the citie, lest loue shulde constrayne him to violate a virgine; wisely considerynge that it was best to abstayne from doinge batayle with that enemye whiche unethe moughte be vainquished but with flight onely.

The valyaunt Pompei, whanne he had vainquished the kynge Mithridates, and had taken diuers of his concubines, which in beautie excelled, he wolde haue no carnall knowlege with any of them; but whan he knewe that they were of noble lignage, he sent them undefiled to their parentes and kynnesfolke.

Semblably dyd Scipio whan he wanne Carthage. For amonge diuers women whiche were there taken, one moste fairest of other was brought unto hym to do with her his pleasure. But after that she had discouered to him that she was affiaunced to a gentill man, called Indibilis, he caused him to be sent for, and whan he behelde the lamentation and signes of loue betwene them, he nat onely delyuered her to Indibilis, with her raunsome, whiche her frendes hadde payde for her redemption, but also added therto an honorable porcion of his owne treasour. By the whiche continence and liberalitie he wanne the hertes of Indibilis and all his blode, wherby he the soner obtained and wanne all the contraye. Of this vertue be examples innumerable, as well of gentiles as of christen men. But these for this tyme shall suffise, sauynge that for the straungenesse of it, I will reherce a notable historie whiche is remembred by the moste excellent doctour, saynt Hierome.

Valerian, beinge emperour of Rome, and persecutyng the churche, in Egipt a christen man was presented unto him, whome he beholdynge to be yonge and lusty, thinkynge therfore to remoue him from the faythe, rather by veneriall motions, thanne by sharpenesse of tourmentes, caused hym to be layde in a bedde within a fayre gardayne, hauynge about him all flowres of swete odour and moste defectable sauours and perfumes. And than caused a fayre tender yonge woman to be layde by him all naked, who ceased nat swetely and louingly to embrace and kysse him, showinge to him all pleasaunt deuises, to the intent to prouoke him to do fornication. Ther lacked litle that the yonge man was nat vainquished, and that the flesshe yelded nat to the seruice of Venus: that perceyuinge the yonge man, whiche was armed with grace, and seinge none other refuge, he with his teethe dyd gnawe of his owne tunge, wherin he suffred such incredible payne, that therwith the furious brennyng of voluptuous appetite was utterly extinct. In this notable acte, I wote nat which is to be moste commended, either his inuincible courage in resisting so moche agayne nature, or his wisdom in subduynge the lasse payne with the more, and bytinge of that wherby he mought be constraigned to blaspheme god or renounce his religion. Suer I

am that he therefore receyued immortall lyfe and perpetuall glorie. And this I suppose suffiseth to persuade men of good nature to embrace Continence. I meane nat to lyue euer chaste, but to honour matrimony, and to have good awayte, that they lette nat the sparkes of concupiscence growe in great flames, wherewith the wyttes shall be dried up, and all noble vertues shall be deuoured.

XIX. Of Constance or Stabilitie.

IN buyldinge of a fortresse or other honorable mantion, it aught to be well considered that the cement, wherewith the stones be layde, be firme, and well bindynge. For if it be brokle, and will mouldre a way with euery showre of raine, the buyldynge may nat contynewe, but the stones beinge nat surely couched and mortred, falleth a way one after an other, and finally the hole house is defaced, and falleth in ruyne. Semblably, that man which in childehode is brought up in sondry vertues, if other by nature, or els by custome, he be nat induced to be all way constant and stable, so that he meue nat for any affection, grieffe, or displeasure, all his vertues will shortely decaye, and, in the estimation of men, be but as a shadowe, and be soone forgotten.

[Also if a paynter hadde wrought in a table some peace of portrayture wonderfull elegant and pleasaunt to beholde, as well for the good proportion and figure, as for the fresshe and delectable colours, but for as moche as in temperynge his colours, he lacked good size, wherwith they shulde haue ben bounden, and made to endure after that the image hathe ben a litle while pleasaunt to the beholders, the colours beyng nat suerly wrought, either by moystnesse of wether relenteth or fadeth, or by some stroke or falle scaleth of, or mouldreth a waye, by reason wherof the image is utterly deformed, and the industrie of the warke man beinge neuer so excellent is perished, and accounted but for a vanitie.]

So he that hath all the giftes of nature and fortune, and also in his childehode is adourned with doctrine and vertue, whiche he hathe acquired with moche trauayle, watche, and studye, if he adde nat to constance whan he cometh to the tyme of experience, whiche experience is as it were the warke of the crates man, but meued with any priuate affection, or feare of aduersitie or exterior damage, will omitte any parte of his lernynge or vertue, the estimation of his persone immediatly ceaseth amonge perfecte warkemen, that is to saye, wise men, and finally nothyng beinge in him certayne or stable, what thinge in hym may be commended? And in one thyng me semeth that Constance hathe equall prayse with iustyce, that is to

saye, that he that is him selfe iniuste, loueth that persone that dealeth iustely with him, and contrary wise hateth that persone that dealeth iniustely, or dothe him wronge. In like wise, he whiche is inconstant, extolleth him whome he fyndeth constant, and desireth to haue him his frende; on the other parte, whome he proueth in constant and wauerynge, he is angry with him, and accounteth him a beeste, and unworthy the company of men, and awayteth diligently to trust hym with nothinge. We note in children inconstance, and likewise in women. the one for sklendernesse of witte, the other as a naturall sicknesse. Therefore men use, in rebukynge a man of inconstance, to calle hym a childisse or womanly persone. All be it some women nowe a dayes be founden more constant than men, and specially in loue towarde their husbandes; or els mought there happen to be some wronge inheritours.

Constance is as propre unto a man as is reason, and is of suche estimation, that according as it was spoken of a wise man, it were better to haue a constant enemye thanne an inconstant frende. Wherof I my selfe haue had sufficient experience. But nowe to declare some experience of constance, wherby the reders may be the more therto prouoked, I will reherce some examples therof out of olde histories, as I shall happen to remembre them.

After that Sylla hadde vainquished Marius, and destroyed the parte of his aduersaries, he with a great numbere of persones all armed, enuironed the senate, intendynge to compell them by violence to condemne Marius for a traytour; whiche request none darste agayne saye, Sceuola onely excepte, who beinge therof demaunded, wolde gyue no sentence. But whan Sylla dyd cast therefore on him a cruell countenaunce, he with a constant visage and noble courage, said to him, Sylla, all though thou facist and threttist me with thy multitude of souldiours, with whome thou hast thus besieged this court, ye and all though thou doest menace me with dethe neuer so moche, yet shalt thou neuer brynge it to passe that for shedyng a little olde blode, I shall iuge Marius a traytour, by whome this citie and all Italy haue ben preserued.

The constance that great kynge Alexander had in trustynge his frende agayne false reporte, saued his lyfe, whereof all men despaired. For after that noble batayle wherin he had vainquished Darius, and taken his treasure, as he passed through Cilicia, beyng sore chaufed with feruent heate and the lengthe of his iournay, as he came by the ryuer called Cydnus, beholding it clere and pleasaunt, and thinkynge to a swage therin the heates that he suffred, he went there into naked and dranke therof. But immediatly, by the excedinge colde which was in that water, his sinewes shranks, and his iointes became unweldy, and as they were dede, and all his

hoste being discomforted, he was conuayed to a citie thereby, called Tarsum. Where upon the Phisicians assembled and deuisinge for the best remedy, they all were determined to gyue hym one medicine, and that it shulde be ministred by one Philippe, chiefe phisicion with Alexander. In the meane tyme, Parmenio, one of the grettest capitaynes about Alexander, aduertised hym by his letters that he shulde beware of the trayson of the sayde Philyppe, sayenge that he was corrupted with a great some of money by Darius. Wherwith he beinge nothing esbaied helde in his handes the letter, and receyuinge the medicyne that Philyppe gaue hym, he at one tyme deliured the letter open to Philyppe, and dranke also the medicine, declaringe therby the constance that was in his frendship. Whiche truste nat onely caused nature the better to warke with the medicine, but also bounde so the harte of the Phisicion towarde him, that he euer after studyed more diligently for the helpe and preseruacion of the noble prince that dyd so moche trust hym.

The constance of Cato Uticensis was all waye immoueable, in so moche as at sondry tymes, whanne he in the Senate egrely defended the publike weale with vehement and longe orations, agayne the attemptates of ambitious persones, he was by them rebuked and committed to prisone. But he therfore nat cessynge, but goinge towarde prisone, detected to the people, as he went, the unlesfull purposes and enterprises of them by whome he was punisshed with the peryle that was imminent to the publike weale. Whiche he dyd with suche courage and eloquence that as well the Senate as the people drewe so about him, that his aduersaries were fayne for feare to discharge him. Who can suffidently commende this noble man Cato, whan he redeth in the warkes of Plutarche of his excellent courage and vertue? Howe moche worthyar had he bene to haue hadde Homere, the trumpe of his fame immortall, than Achilles, who for a lyte wenche contended with Agaemnon onely, where Cato, for the conseruacion of the weale publike contended, and also resisted agayne Julius Ceasar and the greatte Pompey, and nat onely agayne theyr menaces, but also agayne theyr desyres and offres of aliaunce? Where of I wolde gladly haue made a remembrance in this warke if the volume there by shulde nat to moche haue increased, and becomen unhandsome.

Undoughtedly, constauce is an honourable vertue, as inconstance is reprochefull and odious. Wherfore, that man whiche is mutable for euerye occasyon, muste nedes often repente hym, and in moche repentance is nat only moche foly, but also great detriment, whiche euery wyse man wyll eschue if he can. Wherfore to gouernours nothing is more propre than to be in theyr lyuyng stable and constant.

XX. The true signification of Temperaunce a norall vertue.

THIS blessed companie of vertues in this wyse assembled, foloweth Temperaunce, as a sad and discrete matrons and reuerent gouernesse, awaitinge diligently that in any wyse voluptie or concupiscence haue no preeminence in the soule of man. Aristotle defineth this vertue to be a mediocrite in the pleasures of the body, specially in taste and touching. Therefore he that is temperate fleeth pleasures voluptuous, and with the absence of them is nat discontented, and from the presence of them he wllingly abstayneth.

But in myne oppinion Plotinus, the wonderfull philosopher, maketh an excellent definition of temperaunce, sayenge, that the proprietie or office therof is to couaite nothyng whiche maye be repented, also nat to excede the boundes of medyocrite, and to kepe desyre under the yocke of reason. He that practiseth this vertue is called a temperate man, and he that doeth contrarye there to is named intemperate. Betwene whome and a persone incontynent Aristotelle maketh this diuersytye; that he is intemperate, whyche by his owne election is ladde, supposynge that the pleasure that is presente, or (as I mought saye) in ure shulde all waye be folowed. But the persone incontinent supposeth nat so, and yet he nat withstandinge dothe folowe it. The same autour also maketh a diuersitie betwene hym that is temperate and him that is continent; sayeng, that the continent man is suche one that no thinge will do for bodely pleasure whiche shall stande agayne reason. The same is he which is temperate, sauynge that the other hathe corrupte desyres, whiche this man lacketh. Also the temperate man deliteth in nothyng contrarye to reason. But he that is continent deliteth, yet will he nat be ladde agayne reason. Finally, to declare it in fewe wordes, we may well calle hym a temperate man that desireth the thyng whiche he aught to desire, and as he aught to desyre, and whanne he aught to desyre. Nat withstandinge there be diuers other vertues whiche do seme to be as it were companyons with temperaunce. Of whome (for the exchuyng of tediousenes) I wyll speke nowe onely of two, moderation and sobrenesse, whiche no man (I suppose) doughteth to be of suche efficacie, that without them no man may attayne unto wisdom, and by them wisdom is sonest espied.

XXI. Of Moderation a spice of temperance

MODERATION is the limites and boundes whiche honestie hath appoynted in spekyng and doynge; lyke as in rennyng passynge the gole is accounted but rasshenesse, so rennyng halfe waye is reproned for slownesse. In like

wise wordes and actes be the paces, wherin the witte of man maketh his course, and moderation is in stede of the gole, whiche if he passe ouer, he is noted either of presumption or of foole hardinesse; if he come short of the purpose, he is contemned as dulle, and unapte to affaires of great importaunce. This vertue shall best be perceiued by rehersinge of examples shewed by noble men, whiche is in effecte but dayly experience.

Fabius Maximus, beinge fyue tymes Consul, perceyuinge his father, his graundefather, and great graundefather, and diuers other his auncestours to haue had often tymes that most honorable dignitie, whan his sonne, by the uniuersall consent of the people, shulde be also made consul, he earnestly intreated the people to spare his sonne, and to gyue to the house of Fabius as hit were a vacation tyme from that honoure, nat for that he hadde anye mystrust in his sonnes vertue and honesty, but that his moderation was suche that he wolde nat that excellent dignitie shulde alway continue in one familie. Scipio Affricanus the elder, whan the senate and people had purposed that accordinge to his merites he shuld haue certaine statues or images set in al courtes and places of assembly, also they wold haue set his image in triumphant appaile within the capitole, and haue granted to him to haue ben consul and Dictator during his lyfe; he, nat withstandyng, wolde nat suffre that anye of them shulde be decreed, either by the acte of the senate, or by the peoples suffrage. Where in he shewed hym selfe to be as valiant in refusing of honoures, as he was in the actes where in he had them well deserued. There is also moderation in tolleration of fortune of euerye sorte, whiche of Tulli is called equabilite, whiche is, whan there semeth to be alwaye one visage and countenance neuer changed nor for prosperitie nor for aduersite.

Metellus, called Numidicus, in a common sedicion beyng banished from Rome, and abyding in Asia, as he hapned to sit with noble men of that countray in beholding a great play, ther were letters deliuered him, wherby he was asserted that by the hole consent of the senate and people his retourne into his countray was graunted; he (nat withstanding that he was of that tidinges exceding ioifull) remeued nat untyll the playes were ended, nor any man sitting by hym mought perceiue in his countenance any token of gladnes.

The great kynge Antiochus, whiche longe tyme hadde in his dominion all Asia, whiche is accounted to be the thirde part of the worlde, whan at the laste beinge vainquished by Lucius Scipio, he had lost the more parte of his empire, and was assigned but to a smal porcion, he used his fortune so moderately that he gaue great thankes to the Romanes, that beinge delyuered of so greatte burdon and charge, he more easely mought gouerne

a litle dominion. Alexander, emperour of Rome, so in this vertue excelled, that beinge electe and made emperour at xvi yerres of his age, whan the senate and people for his vertue, wherin he passed al other, wolde haue hym called the great Alexander and father of the countray, whiche of all names was hygheste, he with a wonderfull grauite refused it, sayeng, that it behoued that those names were optayned by merites and ripenesse of yerres. The same prince also wolde nat suffre his empresse to use in her apparayle any richer stones than other ladyes; and if any were gyuen her, he either caused them to be solde or els gaue them unto Temples, affirmyng that the example of pompe and inordinate expensis shulde nat procede of the Emperours wyfe. And whan, for the honoure that he dyd to the Senate and lawes, his wife and his mother rebuked him, sayenge that he shulde bring the emperyall maiestie into to lowe an astate, he aunswered that it shulde be the surer and continue the longer.

There is also a Moderation to be used agayne wrathe or appetite of vengeance. Hadriane, the emperour, while he was but a priuate person, bare towarde a capitayne greuous displeasure, who afterwarde herynge that he was made emperour, was in great feare lest Hadriane wolde be aduenged. But whan he came to themperours presence, he nothing dyd or said to hym, but only these wordes, Thou haste well escaped. By the whiche wordes he well declared his moderation, and also that who so euer puttethe on the habite of a common persone or gouernour, it shall nat beseme him to reuenge priuate displesures.

Architas, whan he had bene a longe space out of his countray and at his retourne founde his possessions and goodes distroyed and wasted, he sayd to his baylife, I wold surely punissh the if I shuld nat be angry.

Moche lyke dyd Plato, for whan his seruaunt had offended hym greuously, he desired Speusippus, his frende, to punissh him, leeste (sayde he) if I beate hym, I shulde happe to be angry. Wherin Plato deserued more praise than Architas, in as moche as he obserued his pacience, and yet dyd nat suffre the offence of his seruaunt to be unpunished. For most often tymes the omittynge of correction redoubleth a trespase.

Semblable moderation and wisdom, Aulus Gellius remembreth to be in Plutarche, the philosopher, whiche was mayster to Traiane the emperour.

It hapned that the bondeman of Plutarch had committed some greuous offence, wherfore his mayster wylled that he shulde be sharply punished. Wherfore commaunding hym to be striped naked, caused an other of his

seruauntes in his presence to beate hym. But the slaue who, as it semed, was lerned, while he was in beatyng, cried out on Plutarche, and in maner of reproche sayd unto hym, Howe agreeth this with thy doctrine that preachest so moche of pacience, and in all thy lessons repro[u]est wrathe, and nowe contrary to thyn owne teachyng, thou arte all inflamed with wrathe, and clene from the pacience which thou so moche praysest? Unto whom Plutarche, without any chaunge of countenance aunswered in this fourme, 'Thou embraiest me causeles with wrath and impacience, but I praye the what perceyuest thou in me that I am angry or out of pacience? I suppose (except I be moche deceiued) thou seest me nat stare with myn eyen, or my mouthe imposed, or the colour of my face chaunged, or any other deformitie in my persone or gesture, or that my wordes be swyfte, or my voyce louder than modestie requyreth, or that I am unstable in my gesture or motion, whiche be the sygnes and eident tokens of wrathe and impacience. Wherefore said he to the correctour, sens he can nat proue that I am yet angry, in the meane tyme whyle he and I do dispute of this matter, and untill he utterly do cese of his presumption and obstinacie, loke that thou styl beate him. Verily, in myn oppinion Plutarch herein declared his excellent wysedome and grautie, as well in his example of pacience as also in subduyng the stubbourne courage of an obstinate seruaunt. Whiche historie shall be expedient for governours to haue in remembrance, that whan according to the lawes they do punyssh offendours, they them selves be nat chaufed or meued with wrath, but (as Tulli sayeth) be lyke to the lawes, whiche be prouokedde to punyssh nat by wrathe or displeasure, but onely by equitie. And immediatly the same autour gyueth an olier noble precept concerning moderation in punysshement, sayenge, that in correctyng, wrath is principally to be forboden, for he that punissheth. Whyle he is angry, shall neuer kepe that meane whiche is betwene to moche and to lyttell.

XXII. Of Sobrietie in Diete

VERELY I nothyng doute but that the more parte of the redars of this warke wyll take in good parte al that is before written, consideringe the benefite, and also the ornament that those vertues of whom I haue spoken, of good reason and congruence, must be to them in whom they shall be planted and do contynue. But I knowe well that this chapitre whiche nowe ensueth shall uneth be thankfully receyued of a fewe redars, ne shall be accounted worthy to be radde of any honourable person, considering that the matter therin contayned is so repugnaunt and aduerse to that pernicious custome, wherin of longe tyme men hath estemed to be the more part of honour; in so moche as I very well knowe that some shall accounte great presumption in this myne attemptate in writyng agayne that whiche haue

bene so longe used. But for as moche as I haue taken up on me to write of a publike weale, which taketh his begynnyng at the example of them that be gouernours, I wyll nat lette for the dispraysse gyuen by them whiche be abused. But with all study and diligence I wyl descriue the auncient temperaunce and moderation in diete, called sobrietie, or, in a more general terme, frugalite, the acte wherof is at this day as infrequent or out of use amonge all sortes of men, as the termes be straunge unto them whiche haue nat bene well instructed in latin.

The noble emperour Augustus, who in all the residue of his lyfe was for his moderation and temperance excellently commended, suffred no litle reproche, for as moche as he in a secrete souper or banquet, hauynge with hym sixe noble men, his frendes, and sixe noble women, and naming hym selfe at that tyme Apollo, and the other men and women the names of other goddes and goddesses, fared sumptuously and delicately, the citie of Rome at that tyme beinge vexed with skarcitie of grayne. He therefore was rente with curses and rebukes of the people, in so moche as he was openly called Apollo the turmentour, sayenge also that he with his goddes had deuoured their corne. With whiche libertie of speche, beinge more persuaded than discontented, fro than forthe he used such a frugalitie or moderation of diete, that he was contented to be serued at one meale with thre dysshes, or sixe at the mooste, whiche also were of a moderate price, and yet therin he used suche sobrenes that either he hym selfe wolde nat sitte untyl they which dynd with him had eaten a good space, or elles if he sate whan they dyd, he wolde aryse a great space or any of them had left eating. And for what purpose suppose ye dyd this emperour in this wyse, in whom was neuer spotte of auarice or vyle courage. Certes for two causes, fyrst knowing the inconueniences that alway do happen by ingurgitations and excessife fedinges. Also that lyke as to hym was commytted the soueraigne gouernance of al the worlde, so wolde he be to all men the generall example of lyuinge. Nowe what damages do happen amonge menne by immoderate eatinge and drynkyng we be euery day taught by experience; but to brynge them (as it were) to mennes eyen, I wyll set them out euidently.

Firste, of sacietie or fulnesse be ingendred paynfull diseases and sickenneses, as squynces, Distillations called rewmes or poses, hemorroydes, great bledynges, crampes, duskenesse of sight, the tisque, and the suche, with many other that come nat nowe to my remembraunce. Of to moche drynkyng procedeth dropsies, wherwith the body, and often tymes the visage is swollen and defaced, bestly fury, wherwith the myndes be perished, and of all other moste odious, swyne dronkynnesse, wherewith bothe the body and soule is deformed, and the figure of man is as it were by inchauntement transfourmed in to an ugly and lothesome ymage. Wherfore

the Lacedemones somtyme purposely caused their rusticall seruauntes to be made very dronke, and so to be brought in at their commune dyners, to the intent that yonge men beholdynge the deformitie and hastye fury of them that were dronkardes, shulde lyue the more sobrelly, and shulde eschue dronkynnesse as a thynge foule and abhominable. Also Pittacus, (one of the seuen sages of Greece) dyd constitute for a lawe that they whiche beyng dronke dyd offende, shulde sustaine double punisshement, thar men shuld the more dilygently forbere to be dronke.

It is right euident to euery wise man, who at any tyme hathe haunted affayres wherunto was required contemplation or seriouse study, that to a man hauing due concoction and digestion as is expedient, shall in the mornynge, fastynge, or with a litle refaction, nat onely haue his inuencion quicker. his iugement perfecter, his tonge redier, but also his reason fressher, his eare more attentife, his remembraunce more sure, and generally all his powars and wittes more effectuell and in better astate, than after that he hath eaten abundauntly. Which I suppose is the cause why the auncient courtes of recorde in this realme haue euer benne used to be kept onely before none. And surely the consideration is wonderfull excellent, and to be (as I mought saye) supersticiously obserued; the reasons why be so apparaunt that they nede nat here to be rehersed.

Pythagoras was neuer sene to eate any fysshe or flesshe, but only herbes and frutes. Semblably dyd many other who exactly folowed his doctrine. Wherefore it was supposed that they the rather excelled all other in findynge out the secretes and hydde knowleges of nature, whiche to other were impenetrable.

Plato (or rather Socrates, Plato indictynge) in his seconde boke of the publyke weale, wylleth that the people of his citye, whiche he wolde constitute, shulde be norysshed with barley brede and cakes of whete, and that the residue of their diete shulde be salte, olyues, chese, and likes, and more ouer wortes that the feldes do bryng furthe, for their potage. But he addeth to, as it were to make the dyner more delicate, figges, benes, myrtill beryes, and beeche mast, whiche they shulde roste on the coles, and drynke to it water moderately.

So (sayeth he) they lyuinge restfully and in helthe unto extreme age, shall leaue the same maner of lyuinge unto their successours. I knowe well some redars, for this diete appointed by Socrates, will skorne him, accountynge hym for a foole, who nat onely by the answeare of Apollo, but also by the consent of all excellent writars that folowed hym, and the uniuersall renomme of all people, was approued to be the wisest man of all Grecia.

Certes I haue knowen men of worshippe in this realme, whiche duryng their yongth haue dronken for the more parte water. [Of whome some yet lyueth in great auctorytie, whose excellencie as well in sharpnesse of wytte as in exquisite lernynge, is all redy knowen throughe all Christendome.]

But here men shall nat note me that I wryte this as who sayeth that noble men in this realme shulde lyue after Socrates diete, wherin hauinge respecte to this tyme and region, they mought perchaunce fynde occasion to reprove me. Surely lyke as the excesse of fare is to be iustly reprovod, so in a noble man moche pinchynge and nygardshyppe of meate and drinke is to be discommended.

I can nat commende Aelius Pertinax, who beinge emperour of Rome, wolde haue his gestes serued with a plante of lettuse deuyded in two partes, and except some thyng were sent hym, he wolde appoynte nyne pounce weyght of flesshe unto thre messes, and if any dysse hapned to be brought to hym, he caused it to be sette up untyll the next daye. I am a shamed to remembre that he wolde sende to his frendes two morselles of meate, a pece of a podynge, or the carkaisse of a capon. This was but miserye and wretched nygardshippe in a man of suche honour.

In lyke maner who will nat haue in extreme detestation the insatiable gloteny of Vitellius, Fabius Gurges, Apicius, and dyuers other, to whiche carmorantes, neither lande, water, ne ayre, mought be sufficient.

Neither the curiositie and wanton appetite of Heliogabalus, emperour of Rome, is of any wise man alowed. Who beinge at Rome or ferre from the see, wolde eate onely see fysshe, and whan he sojourned nighe to the see, he wolde touche no fysshe but whiche was taken out of the ryuer of Tybre or other places of equall or of more distaunce. Also he wolde haue disshes of meate made of Camelles heeles, the combes of cockes newly cutte, the tunges of pecockes and nyghtyngales, partriches egges, and other thinges harde for to come by, wherto be no englysshe names founden (as I suppose) apte to the true signification.

More ouer all thoughe I dispraysed nygarshippe and vicious scarcitie, in these nombre of disshes whiche I haue commended, yet I desyre nat to haue therin meates for any occasion to moche sumptuous. For in one or two disshes may be employed as moche money as in twentie, perchaunce as good or better in eatynge. Wherof there remayneth a noble example of Cleopatra, doughter of Ptolomee, late kinge of Egypt (whome Cesar in his lyfe helde for his Concubine) the same lady Antoni (with whome Octauiane

deuided the empire) loued also peramours, abandonyng his wyfe, which was suster to Octavian. And the warres betwene him and Octavian ceasinge by a litle space, he (duryng that tyme) lyued in moste prodigall riotte, and thinkyng all thinge in the see, the lande, and the ayre to be made for satisfieng his gloteny, he deuoured all flesshe and fysshe that mought be anywhere founden, Cleopatra disdayninge to be vainquissed in any excesse by a Romane, layde a wager with Antony that she her selfe wolde receyue in to her body at one souper the value of fyftie thousande poundes, whiche to Antony was thought in a maner to be impossible. The wager was put in to the handes of Numatius Plancus, a noble Romane. The next day Cleopatra prepared for Antony a ryght sumptuous souper, but wherat Antony nothing meruailed, knowinge the value therof by his accustomed fare, than the quene smylyng called for a goblet, wher into she clyd poure a quantitie of very tarte vinegre, and takyng a perle which hynge at one of her eares, she quickly dyd let it fall in to the vinegre, wherein beyng shortly dissolved (as it is the nature of the perle) she immediately dranke it, and all thought she had vainquissed Antony accordyng to her wager, the perle without any doubt beynge of the value of L. M. Ii, yet hadde she lykewyse drunken an other perle of lyke value, whiche was hangyng at her other eare, had nat Numatius Plancus, as an indifferent iudge, furthewith gyuen iugement that Antony was all redy vainquissed.

I haue rehersed this historie wrytten by Macrobius and also Plini, to the intent that the vanitie in sumptuous festinge shulde be the better expressed.

Androcides (a man of excellent wisdom) wrate unto the great kynge Alexander an epistell, desyryng hym to refrayne his intemperance, wherin he sayd, Noble prince, whan thou wylte drynke wyne, remember thanne that thou drynkest the bioode of the erthe. Synifyng therby (as I suppose) the myght and powar of wyne, and also warnyng Alexander of the thirste or appetyte of bloode whyche wolde ensue by his intemperate drynkyng. For Plini (that writeth this historie) sayth immediately, that if Alexander hadde obeyed the preceptes of Androcides, he hadde neuer slayne his frendes in his dronkennes. For undoughtedly it maye be sayde with good right that there is nothing to the strength of mans body more profitable than wyne, ne to voluptuose appetites more pernicious, if measure lacketh. Also it is very truly and properly written of Propertius the poete, in this sentence folowyng or like:

By wyne beaultie fadeth, and age is defaced,
Wyne maketh forgotten that late was embraced.

Moreouer Salomon, in his boke named Ecclesiastes, calleth that countraye

happy whereof the gouernours do eate in theyr tyme. And what shall we suppose is theyr tyme but onely that which nature and the uniuersall consente of all people hathe ordayned? And of what space is that tyme? But only that which suffiseth to the abundaunt sustentation and nat oppression of nature, ne letteth any parte of their necessary affaires about the publike weale.

[This me semeth may be one exposition of Salomons sentence. And here will I nowe make an ende to wryte any more at this tyme of moderate diete, which I haue nat done of any presumption, but all onely to exhorte gentyll men to preserue and augment their wittes by this exhortation to temperaunce, or suche lyke by them selves or some other better deuysed.]

XXIII. Of Sapience, and the definition therof.

ALL be it that some men whiche haue hiderto radde this boke will suppose that those vertues whereof I haue treated be sufficient to make a gouernour vertuous and excellent, nethelas for as moche as the effecte of myne enterprise in this warke is to expresse, as farre furthe as god shall instructe my poore witte, what thinges do belonge to the makinge of a perfeyte publike weale, whiche well nigh may no more be without an excellent gouernour thanne the uniuersall course of nature may stande or be permanent without one chiefe disposer and meuer, which is ouer all supereminent in powar, understanding, and goodnes. Wherfore because in gouernaunce be included disposition and ordre, whiche can nat be without soueraigne knowlege, procedyng of wisdomedome, in a more elegant worde called Sapience, therfore I will nowe declare as moch as my litle witte doth comprehend of that parte of Sapience that of necessitie must be in euery gouernour of a iuste or perfeyte publike weale.

The noble philosopher and moste excellent oratour, Tullius Cicero, in the i boke of his Tusculane questions saieth in this wise, Sapience is the science of things diuine and humaine, which considereth the cause of euery thing, by reason wherof that which is diuine she foloweth, that whiche is humane she estemith ferre under the goodnes of vertue. This definition agreeth wel with the gifte of sapience that god gaue to Salomon, king of Israell, who asked onely wisdomedome to gouerne therwith his realme. But god, which is the fountayne of sapience, graciously ponderinge the yonge princes petition which proceded of an apt inclination to vertue, with his owne moste bounteous liberalitie, whiche he purposed to employe on him for the entiere loue that he had to his father; he therfore included in him plentie of all wisdomedome and connyng in thinges as well naturall as supernaturall, as it

appereth by the warkes of the same kynge Salomon, wherin be well nyghe as many wysedomes as there be sentences. And in myne oppinion one thyng is specially to be noted. Kynge Daud, father to Salomon, was a man of a rare and meruaylous strength, in so moche as he hym selfe reporteth in the booke of kinges that he, beinge a chylde and caryeng to his bretherne their dyner, where they kept their cattell, slewe firste a great beare, and after a lyon, whiche fierce and hungrye, assaulted him, all though he were unarmed and whether he had any weapon or no, it is uncertaine, sens he maketh therof no mencion. Also of what prowes he was in armes and howe valiaunt and good a capitayne in batayle hit maye sufficiently appere to them that wyll rede his noble actes and achieuaunces in the bokes before remembred. Wherein no good catholyke man wyll any thyng doute, though they be meruaylous, yet nat withstandyng, all his strength and puysaunce was nat of suche effecte that in the longe tyrne of his raygne, whiche was by the space of xl yeres, he coulde haue any tyme vacant from warres. But alway had either continuall bataile with the Philisties, or els was molested with his owne children and suche as aught to haue ben his frendes. Contrary wise, his son Salomon, of whome there is no notable mention made that he shewed any commendable feate concerning martiall prowesse, sauynge the furniture of his garrysones with innumerable men of warre, horses and chariotes; whiche proueth nat hym to be valiaunt and stronge, but onely prudent; he after a lyttell bikeryrige with the Philisties in the begynnyng of his raygne, afterwarde duryng the tyme that he raygned, contynued in peace without any notable bataile or molestation of any persone. Wherefore he is named in scripture Rex pacificus, whiche is in englyssbe the peasible kinge. And onely by sapience so gouerned his realme, that though it were but a lytle realme in quantite, it excelled incomparably all other in honour and ryches; in so moche as syluer was at that tyme in the citie of Hierusalem as stones in the strete. Wherefore it is to be noted that sapyence in the gouernaunce of a publike weale is of more efficacie than strength and puysaunce. The auctoritie of sapience is well declared by Solomon in his prouerbes. By me (sayth sapience) kynges do raigne, and makers of lawes discern things that be iuste. By me prynces do gouerne, and men hauynge powar and auctorytie do determyne iustyce. I loue all them that loue me, and who that watcheth to haue me shall fynde me. With me is bothe ryches and honour, stately possessyons, and iustyce. Better is the frute that commeth of me than golde and stones that be precyouse. The same kynge sayth in his boke called Ecclesiastice: A kynge without sapyence shall lose his people, and cities shall be inhabited by the wytte of them that be prudent. Whiche sentence was veriefied by the sonne and successour of the same kynge Salomon, called Roboaz, to whome the sayde boke was written. Who neglectinge the wise and vertuous doctrine of his father, contempned the sage counsaile of auncient men and imbraced the lyte persuasions of

yonge men and flaterers; wherby he loste his honour and brought his realme in perpetuall deuision. The empire of Rome (whose begynnyng, prosperitie, and desolation semeth to be a mirrour and example to all other realmes and countryes) declareth to them that exactly beholdeth it, of what force and value sapience is to be esteemed, beyng begunne with shepeherdes fleyng the wrathe and displeasure of their maysters.

Romulus duryng the tyme of his raygne, (whiche was xxxvii yeres), he nothyng dyd enterprise without the authorytie and consent of the fathers, whome he him selfe chose to be Senatours. And finally, as longe as the senate contynued or increased in the cite of Rome, and retayned their auctoritie, whiche they receyued of Romulus, and was increased by Tullus Hostilius, the thyrde kyng, they wonderfully prospered, and also augmented theyr empyre ouer the more parte of the worlde. But soone after the emperour Constantine had abandoned the cite and translated the Senate from thens to Constantinople, and that, finally, the name and auctoritie of the Senate was by litle and litle exhauste by the negligence and foly of ignoraunt emperours, nat onely that moste noble cite, hedde and princesse of the worlde, and fountayne of all vertue and honour, felle in to moste lamentable ruyne; but also the majestie of the empyre, decayed utterly, so that uneth a litle shadows therof nowe remayneth; whiche who so beholdeth and conferreth it with Rome whan it flourished, accordinge as it is lefte in remembraunce by noble writars, he shall uneth kepe teares out of his eyes, beholdyng it nowe as a rotten shepecote, in comparison of that cite noble and triumphant. O poure and miserable cite! what sondry tourmentes, excisions, subuertions, depopulations, and, other euill aduentures hath hapned unto the, sens thou were birefte of that noble courte of Sapience. Whose autoritie, if it had alwaye contynued, beyng also confirmed in the fayeth and true religion of Christe, god beyng with the pleased, thou couldest neuer haue bene thus desolate unto the fynall consummation and ende of the worlde. [Nowe haue I briefly and generally declared the utilitie of Sapience, and the mischiefe that hapneth by the defaulte or lacke thereof. The particuler effectes we wyll declare hereafter more specially.]

I dought nat but it is well knowen to euery Catholyke man that hath the liberall use of reason, that all maner of understandyng and knowlege, whereof procedeth perfecte operation, do take their origynall of that hyghe sapience whiche is the operatrice of all thynges. And therefore Salomon, or Philo, or who so made the boke called sapientia, made his prayer to god in this wise: Gyue to me, good lorde, sapience that sytteth by thy throne. And in the later ende of the prayer he sayeth: Sende her from the sete of thy holyne sse that she may be with me, and labour with me, and that I may knowe what may be accepted with the.

Orpheus (one of the eldeste poetes of Grece) affirmeth in his hymmes that the Musis were gotten betwene Jupiter and memorie. Whiche sayenge beinge well understande and exactly tried, it shall appere manifestly with the sayenge of the wyse man, contayned in the sayd prayer late rehersed.

Eustathius (the expositour of Homere) sayeth that Musa is the knowlege of the soule, and is a thyng diuine as the soule is. But, fynally, as by olde autours a man may aggregate a definition, that whiche is called in greke and latyne Musa, is that parte of the soule that induceth and moueth a man to serche for knowlege, in the whiche motion is a secreete and inexplicable delectation. All be it bicause knowlege is in sondry wise distribute, and the nombre of nyne amonge olde autours was alwaye rehersed where they spake of a multitude, as it shall appere to them that rede Homere and Virgile, therefore there were diuised to be nyne Muses, whiche also for the resemblaunce of their disposition were fauned by the poetes to be nyne virgines, that firste inuented all lyberall sciences, but the other oppinion approacheth more nere unto the trouthe, and agreeth better unto my purpose. More ouer, Jupiter was alwaye taken of the poetes and Philosophers for the supreme god, whiche was the gyuer of lyfe and creatour of all thinges, as it appereth in all their warkes. Wherefore somtyme they calle him omnipotent, somtyme the father of goddes and of men, so that under that name they knowleged to be a very god, though they honored nat him as one only god, as they aught to haue done.

But nowe Orpheus sayenge that the Muses proceded of Jupiter and Memorie, may be in this wyse interpreted: that god almyghtie infuded Sapience into the Memorye of man, (for to the acquirynge of science belongeth understandynge and memorie), whiche, as a Treasury, hath powar to retayne, and also to erogate and distribute, whan oportunitie hapneth. And for the excellencie of this thyng some noted to be in mannes soule a diuine substaunce. As Pythagoras, or some of his scholers writynge his sentence, sayeth in this wyse spekyng to man:

Nowe in thy selfe haue thou good confidence,
Sens mortall men be of the kynde diuine,
In whose nature a reuerent excellence
Appereth clere, whiche all thinge dothe define.

whiche sentence of Pythagoras is nat reiecte eyther of Plato, whyche approched nexte unto the catholike writars, or of diuines whiche interprete holy scripture; takynge the soule for the ymage and similytude of god.

More ouer Plato, (in his boke called Timeus), affirmeth that there is sette in the soule of man commyng into the worlde certayne spices, or as it were sedes of thynges and rules of Artes or sciences. Wherefore Socrates (in the boke of Science) resembleth hym selfe to a mydwyfe, sayenge that in teachinge yonge men, he dyd put in to them no science, but rather brought furthe that which all redy was in them, like as the mydwife brought nat in the childe, but, beinge conceyued, dyd helpe to bringe it furthe. And like as in houndes is a powar or disposition to hunte, in horses and grehoundes an aptitude to renne swiftly, so in the soules of men is ingenerate a lerne of science, whiche with the mixture of a terrestriall substaunce is obfuscate or made darke; but where there is perfeyte mayster prepared in tyme, than the brightnes of the science appereth polite and clere. Like as the powar and aptitude of the bestes before rehersed appereth nat to the uttermoste, excepte it be by exercise prouoked, and that slouthe and dulnesse beyng plucked from them by industrie, they be induced unto the continuall acte whiche, as Plato affirmeth, is proued also in the mayster and the disciple. Semblably the foresayde Socrates in Platons boke of Sapience sayeth to one Theages: Neuer man lerned of me any thinge, all thoughe by my company he became the wiser. I onely exhortynge and the good spirite inspyringe. Whiche wonderfull sentence, as me semeth, may well accorde with our catholyke fayeth, and be recevued in to the commentaries of the mooste perfecte diuines. For as well that sentence, as all other before rehersed, do comprobate with holy scripture that god is the fountayne of Sapience, lyke as he is the soueraygne begynnyng of all generation.

Also it was wonderfully well expressed of whom Sapience was engendred by a poete, named Affranus, whose verses were sette ouer the porch of the Temple where the Senate of Rome mooste commonly assembled. Whiche verses were in this maner:

Usus me genuit, mater peperit memoria
Sophiam me Graii vocant, vos Sapientiam.

Whiche in englysshe maye be in this wyse translated:

Memorye hyght my mother, my father experience.
Grekes calle me Sophi, but ye name me Sapience.

By use or experience in these versis expressed the poete intended as well those actes whiche we our selfe dayly do practyse, as also them whiche beyng done by other in tyme passed, for the frute or utilitie whiche therof succeeded, were alowed, and also proued to be necessary. And the cause why

that the poete conioyneth experience and memorie together, as it were in a lefull matrimony, experience bigettyng, and memorye alwaye producyng that incomparable frute called Sapience, is for that memorie in her operation proprely succedeth experyence. For that which is presently done we perceyue, that which is to come we coniecte or diuine, but that whiche is passed onely we haue in our memorie. For as Aristotell declareth wonderfully in an example, in the principall sense of manne there is conceyued an ymage or figure of a thyng, whiche by the same sense is perceyued as longe as it is retayned intiere or hole, and, (as I mought saye), consolidate, pure, manifeste, or playne and without blemmisshe, in suche wise that in euery parte of it the mynde is stered or occupied, and by the same mynde it may be throughly perceyued and knowen, nat as an ymage in it selfe, but as representyng an other thinge; this is proprely memorie. But if the hole ymage or figure be nat retayned in the mynde, but parte therof onely remayneth, parte is put out eyther by the lengthe of tyme, or by some other mishappe or iniurie, so that it neither can bring the mynde eftsones unto it, nor it can be called agayne of the mynde, as often as by that portion whiche styll remayneth and hath aboden alwaye intiere and clene, the residue that was therto knytte and adioyned and late semed for the tyme ded or bireft from the mynde, is reuiued and (as it were) retourned home agayne, it is than had for redemed or restored, and is proprely called remembraunce.

This is the exposition of the noble Philosopher, whiche I haue writen principally to thentent to ornate our langage with usinge wordes in their propre signification. Wherof what commoditie may ensue all wise men wyll, I doubt nat, consider.

XXIV. What is the true signification of understandyng.

FOR as moche as in the begynnyng of the fyrste boke of this warke I endeouored my selfe to proue, that by the ordre of mannes creation, preeminence in degree shulde be amonge men according as they do excell in the pure influence of understandyng, whiche can nat be denyed to be the principall parte of the soule, some reder perchaunce meued with disdayne will for that one assertion immediately reiecte this warke, saieng that I am of a corrupt or folisshe oppinion; supposing that I do intende by the said wordes that no man shulde gouerne or be in authoritier but onely he whiche surmounteth all other in doctrine, whiche, in his hasty malice, he demeth that I onely do meane where I speke of understandyng.

I suppose all men do knowe that man is made of body and soule, and that

the soule in preeminence excelleth the body as moche as the maister or owner excelleth the house, or the artificer excelleth his instrumentes, or the king his subiectes. And therefore Saluste in the conspiracie of Cathaline sayeth, We use specially the rule of the soule and seruice of the body; the one we participate with goddes, the other with bestes. And Tulli saieth in Tusculane questions: Mannes soule, beinge decerpt or taken of the portion of diuinitie called Mens, may be compared with none other thinge, (if a man mought lefully speke it), but with god hym selfe. Also the noble diuine Chrisostomus sayeth that the body was made for the soule, and nat the soule for the body. Nowe it is to be further knowen that the soule is of thre partes: the one, wherin is the powar or efficacie of growinge, which is also in herbes and trees as well as in man, and that parte is called vegetatife. An other parte, wherin man doth participate with all other thynges lyuyng, whiche is called sensitife, by reason that therof the sensis do procede, whiche be distributed in to dyuers instrumentall partes of the body; as sight in to the eyen, herynge to the eares, smellyng to the nose, tastynge to the mouthe, felynge to euery parte of the body wherin is bloode, without the whiche undoughtedly maye be no felynge. The thirde parte of the soule is named the parte intellectuall or of understandynge, whiche is of all the other mooste noble, as whereby man is mooste lyke unto god, and is preferred before all other creatures. For where other beastes by theyr senses do feele what thyng do profyte them, and what dothe anoy them, only man understandeth wherof the sayd contrary dispositions do comme, and by what meanes they do either helpe or anoye; also he perceyueth the causes of the same thyng, and knoweth howe to resyste, where and whan nede dothe requyre, and with reason and crafte howe to gyue remedy, and also with labour and industry to prouyde that thing whiche is holsome or profitable. This mooste pure parte of the soule, and (as Aristotle sayeth) diuine, impassible, and incorruptible is named in latine Intellectus, whereunto I can fynde no propre englysshe but understandynge. For intelligence, whiche commeth of Intelligentia, is the perceyuynge of that whiche is fyrst conceyued by understandynge, called Intellectus. Also intelligence is nowe used for an elegant worde where there is mutuall treaties or appoyntementes, eyther by letters or message, specially concernynge warres, or like other great affaires betwene princes or noble men. Wherefore I wyll use this worde understandynge for Tntellectus, untyll some other more propre englysshe worde maye be founden and brought in custome. But to perceyue more plainly what thinge it is that I call understandynge. It is the principall parte of the soule whiche is occupied about the begynnyng or originall causes of thynges that maye falle in to mannes knowlege, and his office is, before that any thyng is attempted, to thinke, consydre, and prepenche, and, after often tossyng it up and downe in the mynde, than to exercise that powar, the propertie wherof is to espie, seke for, enserche, and

finde out; which vertue is referred to wit, which is as it were the instrument of understanding.

More ouer, after the thinges be inuented, coniected, perceyued, and by longe tyme and often considered, and that the mynde disposeth her selfe to execution or actuall operation, than the vertue, named Prudence, fyrst putteth her selfe forwardes, and than appereth her industrie and labour; for as moche as she teacheth, warneth, exhorteth, ordereth, and profiteth, like to a wise capitaine that setteth his hoste in araye. And therefore it is to be remembred that the office or duetie of understandyng precedeth the interprise of actes, and is in the begynning of thinges. I call that begynning, wherin, before any mater taken in hande, the mynde and thought is occupied, and that a man sercheth, and doughteth whether it be to be entreprised, and by what waye, and in what tyme it is to be executed. Who by this litle introduction knowyng what understandyng do signifie will nat suppose that he which therein dothe excelle is nat with honour to be aduanced? Than it foloweth nat by this argument that for as moche as he that excelleth other in understanding shulde be preferred in honour, that therefore no man shulde be preferred to honoure, but onely they that excell other in lerninge. No man hauinge naturall reason, though he neuer radde logyke, wyll iudge this to be a good argument, considering that understandyng, called in latine Intellectus and Mens, is by it selfe sufficient, and is nat of any necessite annexed to doctrine, but doctrine procedeth of understandyng. But, if doctrine be alwaye attendyng upon understandyng, as the daughter upon the mother, undoughtedly than understandyng must be the more perfecte and of a more efficacie, beinge increased by the inuentions and experiences of many other declared by doctrine, no one manne without inspiration hauyng knowlege of all thyng. I calle doctrine, discipline intellectuall, or lerning, whiche is either in writing or by reporte of thynges before knowen, whiche procedeth from one man to an other.

That whiche I haue sayde is in this wyse confirmed by Salomon, sayenge, A manne that is wise by heryng shall become wiser, and he that hath understandyng shall be a gouernoure.

Seneca sayeth we instructe our children in liberall sciences, nat bycause those sciences may gyue any vertue, but bicause they prepare the mynde and make it apte to receive vertue. whiche beinge considered, no man will denye but that they be necessary to euery man that coueteth very nobilite; whiche as I haue often tymes said is in the hauyng and use of vertue. And verely in whome doctrine hath ben so founden ioyned with vertue, there vertue had semed excellent and as I mouaht saye triumphant.

Scipio, commen of the moost noble house of the Romanes, in hygh lernynge and knowlege of the nature of thynges wonderfull studious, hauynge alwaye with hym the mooste excellent philosophers and poetes that were in his tyme, was an example and mirrour of martiall prowesse, continence, deuotion, liberalitie, and of all other vertues.

Cato, called uticensis, named the chiefe pilar of the publike weale of the Romanes, was so moche inflamed in the desire of lernynge that, (as Suetonims writeth), he coulde nat tempre him selfe in redyng greke bokes whyles the Senate was sittynge.

Howe moche it profited to the noble Augustus that untill the dethe of his uncle Julius Cesar, he diligently applyed his study in Athenes, it well appered after that the Ciuile warres were all finisshed, whan he, refourmyng the hole astate of the publike weale, stablissed the Senate, and takynge unto hym ten honorable personages, dayly in his owne persone consulted with them of maters to be reported twyse in a monethe to the Senate; in suche wyse aydyng and helpynge forthe that mooste noble courte with his incomparable study and diligence.

The emperour Titus, sonne of Vespasian, for his lernynge and vertue was named the delicate of the worlde.

Marcus Antoninus the emperour, was in euery kynde of lernynge so excellent, that he was therefore openly named the philosopher, nat in reproche, (as men do nowe a dayes in despyte call them philosophers and poetes whom they perceyue studious in sondry good disciplines), but to the augmentation of his honour. For beyng of his owne nature aptly inclined to embrace vertue, he, addyng to abundaunce of lernying, became therby a wonderfull and perfecte prince, beyng neyther by study withdrawen from affaires of the publike weale, nor by any busynes utterly pluckyd frome Philosophy and other noble doctrynes. By the whiche mutuall conjunction and iust temperaunce of those two studyes he attayned to suche a fourme in all his gouernaunce, that he was named and taken for father of the Senate, of the people, and uniuersally of all the hole empyre. Moreouer his dedes and wordes were of all men had in so hyghe estimation and reuerence, that bothe the Senate and people toke of him lawes and rules of their luyng. And in his gouernaunce and propre luyng, as well at home in his house as in his ciuile busines, he was to him selfe the onely lawe and example. And as he was aboue other highest in autoritie, so by the uniuersall oppinion of all men he was iuged to be of all other men than luyng, the best and also the wysist.

XXV. Of Experience whiche haue preceded our tyme, with a defence of histories.

EXPERIENCE whereof commeth wysedome is in two maner of wise. The one is actes committed or done by other men, wherof profite or damage succedyng, we may, (in knowynge or beholdinge it), be therby instructed to apprehende the thing which to the publike weale, or to our owne persones, may be commodious; and to exchue that thing, which either in the begynnyng or in the conclusion, appereth noisome and vicious.

The knowlege of this Experience is called Example, and is expressed by historie, whiche of Tulli is called the life of memorie. And so it agreeth well with the versis of Affranus by me late declared. And therefore to suche persones as do contemne auncient histories, reputing them amonge leasings and fantises (these be their wordes of reproche), it may be sayd, that in contemnyng histories they frustrate Experience; whiche (as the sayd Tulli sayeth) is the light of vertue, whiche they wolde be sene so moche to fauour all thoughe they do seldome embrace it. And that shall they perceyue manifestly if they will a litle while laye a parte their accustomed obstinacie, and suffre to be distilled in to their eares two or thre dropes of the sweete oyle of remembrance. Lete them reuolue in their myndes generally that there is no doctrine, be it eyther diuine or humaine, that is nat eyther all expressed in historie or at the leste mixte with historie. But to thentent that there shall be left none ignoraunce wherby they mought be detayned in their error, I will declare unto them what is that that is called an historie, and what it comprehendeth.

Firste it is to be noted that it is a greke name, and commeth of a worde or verbe in greke Historeo, whiche dothe signifie to knowe, to se, to enserche, to enquire, to here, to lerne, to tell, or expounde unto other. And than muste historie whiche commeth therof be wonderfull profitable, whiche leaueth nothinge hydde from mannes knowlege, that unto hym may be eyther pleasaunt or necessarie. For it nat onely reporteth the gestes or actes of princes or capitaynes, their counsayles and attemptates, entreprises, affaires, maners in luyng good and bad, descriptions of regions and cities, with their inhabitauntes, but also it bringeth to our knowlege the fourmes of sondry publike weales with augmentations and decays and occasion therof; more ouer preceptes, exhortations, counsayles, and good persuasions, comprehended in quicke sentences and eloquent orations. Finally so large is the compose of that whiche is named historie, that it comprehendeth all thyng that is necessary to be put in memorie. In so moche as Aristotell,

where he declareth the partes of mannes body with their description and offices, and also the sondry fourmes and dispositions of all bestes, foules, and fisshes, with their generation he nameth his boke an historie.

Semblably Theophrast, his scholer, a noble philosopher, descriuyng all herbes and trees, wherof he mought haue the true knowlege, intituleth his boke the historie of plantes. And finally Plini the elder calleth his mooste excellent and wonderfull warke, the historie of nature; in the whiche boke he nothing ommitteth that in the bosome of Nature is contayned, and may be by mannes witte comprehended, and is worthy to be had in remembraunce. Whiche autorities of these thre noble and excellent lerned men approueth the signification of Historie to agree well with the exposition of the verbe historeo, wherof it cometh.

Nowe let us se what booke of holy scripture, I meane the olde testament and the newe, may be saide to haue no parte of historie. The fiue bokes of Moises, the boke of Judges, the foure bokes of kynges, Job, Hester, Judith, Ruth, Thobias, and also the historie of Machabees (whiche from the other is separte), I suppose no man wil denie but that they be all historicall, or (as I mought say) intier histories. Also Esdras, Nemias, Ezechiel, and Daniel, all though they were prophetes, yet be their warkes compacte in fourme of narrations, whiche by oratours be called enunciatieue and only pertaineth to histories, wherin is expressed a thyng done, and persones 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 either in rebukinge the sinnes and enormities passed, or bewayling the destruction of their countray, or captiuitie of the people, and suche like calamitie or miserable astate, also in meuing or persuading the people, they do recite some circumstaunce of a narration. But nowe be we comen to the newe testament, and principally the bokes of the Euangelistes, vulgarely called the gospelles, which be one contexte of an historie, do nat they contayne the temporall lyfe of our sauour Christ, kinge of kinges and lorde of the worlde, untill his glorious assention? And what thinge lacketh therin that doth pertayne to a perfects historie? There lacketh nat in thinges ordre and disposition, in the context or narration veritie, in the sentences grauitie, utilitie in the counsailes, in the persuasions doctrine, in expositions or declarations facilitie.

The bokes of actes of apostels, what thinge is it els but a playne historie? The epistles of saint Paule, saint Peter, saynt John, saynt James, and Judas the apostles do contayne counsailes and aduertisementes in the fourme of orations, resiting diuers places as well out of the olde testament as out of the gospelles, as it were an abbreuiate, called of the grekes and latines, Epitoma.

This is well knowen to be true of them that haue hadde any leasure to rede holy scripture, who, remembre them selves by this my little induction, wyll leaue to neglecte historie, or contemne it with so generall a dispraise as they haue bene accustomed. But yet some will impugne them with a more particuler objection, sayenge that the histories of the Grekes and Romanes be nothyng but lyes and faynyng of poetes (some suche persones there be betwene whome and good autours haue euer ben perpetuall hostilitie). Firste, howe do they knowe that al the histories of grekes and Remanes be leasyngs, sens they finde nat that any scripture autentike made about that tyme that those histories were writen, do reprove or condemne them? But the most catholike and renoumed doctours of Christes religion in the corroboration of their argument and sentences, do alledge the same histories and vouche (as I mought say) to their ayde the autoritie of the writars. And yet some of those Rabines (in goddes name) whiche in comparison of the sayde noble doctours be as who sayeth petites and unethe lettered, wyll presume with their owne selye wittes to disprove that whiche both by auncientie of tyme and consent of blessed and noble doctours is allowed and by theyr warkes honoured. If they will coniecte histories to be lyes bicause they somtyme make reporte of thynges sene and actes done whiche do seme to the reders incredible, by that same raison may they nat only condemne all holy scripture, whiche contayneth thynges more wonderfull than any historien writeth, but also exclude credulitie utterly from the company of man. For howe many thynges be daily sene, whiche beinge reported unto him that neuer sawe them, shulde seme impossible? And if they wyll allege that all thynges contayned in holy scripture is approbate by the hole consent of all the clergie of Christendome at diuers generall counsailes assembled, certes the same counsailes neuer disproued or rejected the histories of grekes or Romanes; but the moste catholike and excellent lerned men of those congregations embraced theyr examples, and sowyng them in their warkes made of them to the churche of Christe a necessarie ornament.

Admytte that some histories be interlaced with leasynges; why shulde we therefore neglecte them? sens the affaires there reported no thynges concerneth us, we beyng therof no parteners, ne therby onely may receyue any damage. But if by redyng the sage counsaile of Nestor, the subtile persuasions of Ulisses, the compendious grauitie of Menelaus, the imperiall maiesty of Agamemnon, the prowesse of Achilles, and valiaunt courage of Hector, we may apprehende any thinge wherby our wittes may be amended and our personages be more apte to serue our publike weale and our prince; what forceth it us though Homere write leasynges? I suppose no man thinketh that Esope wrate gospels, yet who doughteth but that in his fables

the foxe, the hare, and the wolfe, though they neuer spake, do teache many good wysedomes? whiche beinge well consydered, men, (if they haue nat allowed to repugne agayne reason), shall confesse with Quintilian that fewe and unethe one may be founde of auncient writars whiche shall nat bringe to the redars some thinge commodious; and specially that they do write maters historicall, the lesson wherof is as it were the mirroure of mannes life, expressinge actually, and (as it were at the eye) the beautie of vertue, and the deformitie and lothelynes of vice. Wherefore Lactantius sayeth, Thou muste nedes perysshe if thou knowe nat what is to thy life profitable, that thou maiste seke for it, and what is daungerous, that thou mayste flee and exchue it. Whiche I dare affirme may come soonest to passe by redyng of histories, and retayninge them in continuell remembraunce.

XXVI. The Experience or practise necessary in the persone of a governour of a publike weale.

THE other experience whiche is in our propre persones and is of some men called practise, is of no small moment or efficacie in the acquiringe of sapience, in so moche that it semeth that no operation or affaire may be perfecte, nor no science or arte may be complete, except experience be there unto added, whereby knowlege is ratified, and (as I mought saye) consolidate.

It is written that the great kynge Alexander on a tyme beinge (as it hapned) unoccupied, came to the shoppe of Apelles, the excellent paynter, and standyng by hym whyles he paynted, the kynge reasoned with hym of lines, adumbrations, proportions, or of her like thinges pertainyng to imagery, whiche the paynter a litle whyles sufferynge, at the last said to the kynge with the countenance all smylyng, Seest thou, noble prince, howe the boye that gryndeth my colours dothe laughe the to scorne? whiche wordes the kynge toke in good parte and helde hym therwith iustly corrected, considering by his owne office in martiall affaires that he than had in hande, how great a portion of knowlege faileth, where lacketh experience. And therein governours shall nat disdayne to be resembled unto phisitions, consideryng their offices in curyng and preseruyng be moste lyke of any other. That parte of phisike called rationall, wherby is declared the faculties or powers of the body, the causis, accidentes, and tokens of sikenessis, can nat alwayes be sure without some experience in the temperature or distemperature of the regions, in the disposition of the patient in diete, concoction, quietnesse, exercise, and slepe.

And Galene, prince of phisitions, exhorteth them to knowe exactly the

accustomed diete of their patientes, whiche can nat happen without moche resorte in to their companies, seriously notyng their usage in diete. Semblably, the uniuersall state of a contray or citie may be well likened to the body of man. Wherefore the gouernours, in the stede of phisitions attending on their cure, ought to knowe the causes of the decaye of their publike weale, whiche is the helthe of their countraye or cytie, and thanne with expedition to procede to ther mooste spedy and sure remedy. But certes the very cause of decay, ne the true meane to cure it, may neuer be sufficiently knowen of gouernours, except they them selves wyll personally resorte and peruse all partes of the countrayes under their gouernaunce, and inserche diligently as well what be the customes and maners of people good and badde, as also the commodities and discommodities, howe the one may be preserued, the other suppressed, or at the leste wayes amended. Also amonge them that haue nimistration or execution of iustice, (whiche I may liken unto the membres), to taste and fele howe euery of them do practise their offices, that is to say, whether they do it febly or unprofitably, and whether it happen by negligence, discourage, corruption, or affection.

But nowe may the reder with good reason demaunde of me by what maner experience the gouernours may come to the true knowlege herof. That shall I nowe declare. Fyrst the gouernours them selves adourned with vertue, being in suche wise an example of liuing to their inferiors, and making the people iudges of them and their domesticall seruautes and adherentes, shulde sondry tymes duriinge their gouernaunce, either purposely or by way of solace, repaire in to diuers partes of their jurisdiction or prouince, and making their abode, they shall partly them selves attentifly here what is commonly or priuatly spoken concerning the astate of the contray or persones, partely they shall cause their seruautes or frendes, of whose honestie and trouth they haue good assuraunce, to resorte in disporting them selves in diuers townes and villages; and as they happen to be in company with the inhabitautes priuily and with some maner of circumstaunce, enquire what men of honour dwell nighe unto them, what is the forme of their huing, of what estimation they be in iustice, liberalitie, diligence in executing the lawes, and other semblable vertues; contrary wise whether they be oppressours, couetous men, maintenours of offendours, remisse or negligent, if they be officers; and what the examiners do here the gretter nombre of people reporte that they interly and truely denounce it to the sayde gouernour. By the whiche intimation and their owne prudent endeuour, they shall haue infallible knowlege who among the inhabitautes be men towarde the publike weale best disposed. Them shall they calle for and mooste courtaisely entretaine, and (as it were) louingly embrace, with thanks for their good will and endeuour towarde the publike weale; commending them openly for their vertue and diligence, offring to them

their assistance in their semblable doinges, and also their furtheraunce towarde the due recompence of their trauailes. On the contrary parte, when they see any of them who amonge their inferiors obserue nat iustice, and likewise officers whiche be remisme or fauourable to commune offendours and brakere of lawes, and negligent in the execution of their auctorities, to them shall they gyue condigne reprehentions, manifestyng their defautes in omitting their duties, and in giuing euil example to their companions, also boldnes to trangresse, to contemne the lawes, declaringe also that the ministring such occasion deserue nat onely a sharpe rebuke but also right greuous punishment. And if he that thus admonesteth be a soueraigne gouernour or prince, if, I saye, he shortly here upon doth ratifie his wordes by expellyng some of them whiche I nowe rehersed from their offices, or otherwyse sbarpely correctyng them, and contrarye wise aduaunce higher some good man and whom he hath proued to be diligent in the execution of iustice, undoubtedly he shall inflame the appetite and zele of good ministers, and also suscite or raise the courage of all men inclined to vertue, so that there shal neuer lacke men apte and propise to be set in auctoritie. Where the merites of men beinge hidde and unknowen to the soueraigne gouernour, and the negligent ministers or inferior gouernours hauing nat only equal thanke or rewarde but perchaunce moche more than they which be diligent, or wolde be if they moughte haue assistance, there undoubtedly is grieuouse discourage and perill of conscience; for as moche as they omitte often tymes their dusties and offices, reputyng it great foly and madnes to acquire by the executyng of iustice nat only an opinion of tyrannye amonge the people, and consequently haterede, but also malignitie amonge his equalles and superiours, with a note of ambition.

This reuolued and considered by a circumspecte gouernour, lorde god, how shortly and with litle difficultie shall he dispose the publike weale that is greued to receyue medicine, wherby it shulde be soone healed and reduced to his perfection.

XXVII. Of Detraction and the ymage therof made by the paynter Apelles.

THERE is moche conuersant amonge men in authoritie a vice very ugly and monstrouse, who under the pleasaunt habite of frendshippe and good counsaile with a breeth pestilenciall infecteth the wittes of them that nothings mistrusteth; this monstre is called in englysshe Detraction, in latine Calumnia, whose propertie I will nowe declare. If a man, beinge determined to equitie, hauynge the eyen and eares of his mynde set onely on the trouthe and the publike weale of his contray, will haue no regarde to any

requeste or desire, but procedeth directely in the adminystration of iustyce, than either he whiche by iustice is offended, or some his fautours, abettours, or adherentes, if he him selfe or any of them be in seruice or familiaritie with hym that is in auctoritie, as soone as by any occasion mention hapneth to be made of hym who hath executed iustyce exactly, furthe with they imagine some vice or defaute, be it neuer so litle, wherby they may minyssh his credence, and craftly omitting to speke any thyng of his rygour in iustyce, they wyll note and touche some thyng of his maners, wherein shall eyther seme to be lyghtnes or lacke of grauitie, or to moche sowernes, or lacke of ciuilitie, or that he is nat beneuolent to hym in auctoritie, or that he is nat sufficient to receyue any dignitie, or to despeche matters of weyghtye importaunce, or that he is superfluous in wordes or elles to scarce. Also if he lyue temperately and deliteth moche in studye, they embayde hym with nygardeshyp, or in derison do calle him a clerke or a poete, unmete for any other purpose. And this do they couertely and with a more grauitie than any other thyng that they enterprise. This euyl reporte is called detraction, who was wonderfully well expressed in fygures by the moost noble peynter Appelles, after that he was discharged of the cryme whereof he was falsely accused by Ptholomee kynge of Egipt, hauing for his amendes of the said kynge xii M pounds sterlyng and his accuser to be his bondman perpetually. The table wherin detraction was expressed was paynted in this fourme. At the ryghte hande was made syttinge a man hauing long eares, puttyng fourthe his hande to Detraction, who ferre of came towardes him; aboute this man stode two wemen, that is to say, Ignorance and Suspicion. On the other side came Detraction, a woman aboute measure wel trimmed, all chaufed and angry, hauyng her aspecte or loke like to the fire, in shewing a maner of rage or furye. In her lefte hande she helde a brenninge torche or bronde, and with her other hande she drewe by the heare of his hedde a yonge man who helde up his handes towarde beuen, callinge god and the sayntes for witsnesse. With her came a man pale and euill faouered, beholdinge the yonge man intentity, like unto one that had ben with longe sicknes consumed, whom ye mought lightly coniecte to be Enuie. Also there folowed two other wemen, that trymmed and apparailed Detraction; the one was Treason, the other Fraude. After folowed a woman in a mourninge weede, blacke and ragged, and she was called Repentaunce, who turninge her backe wepyng and sore ashamed behelde Veritie, who than approached. In this wise Apelles described detraction, by whome he him selfe was in peryll. Whiche in myn oppinion is a right necessary mater to be in tables or hangynges set in euery mans house that is in auctoritie, consideringe what damage and losse hath ensued and may hereafter ensue by this horrible pestilence, false detraction. To the auoydinge wherof, Luciane, who writeth of this picture, gyueth a notable counsaile, sayenge, that a wise man, whan he douteth of the honestie and

vertue of the persone accused, he shulde kepe close his eares and nat open them hastely to them whiche be with this sycknes infected, and put reason for a diligent porter and watche, whiche ought to examine and lette in the reportes that be good, and exclude and prohibite them that be contrary. For it is a thinge to laughe at and very unfittinge to ordeyne for thy house a keper or porter, and thine eares and mynde to leaue to all men wyde open. Wherefore whan any persone commeth to us to tell us any report or complaint, first, it shall behoue us throughly and euenly to considre the thyng, nat hauyng respecte to the eares of him that reporteth, or to his fourme of luyng or wisdom in speaking. For the more vehement the reporter is in persuading, so moche more diligent and exacte triall and examination aught to be used. Therefore truste is nat to be gyuen to an other mannes iudgement, moche lasse to the malice of an accuser. But euery man shall retayne to hym selfe the power to enserche out the trouthe, and leauynge the enuye or displeasure to the detractour, he shall ponder or way the mater indifferently, that euery thyng in suche wise beinge curiously inserched and proued, he maye at his pleasure either loue or hate him whom he hath so substancially tried. For in good fayth to gyue place to detraction at the begynnyng, it is a thinge childisse and base, and to be estemed amonge the moost great inconueniences and mischiefes. These be well nyghe the wordes of Luciane; whether the counsaile be good I remitte it to the wise redars. Of one thing am I sure, that by detraction as well many good wittes haue bene drowned, as also vertue, and paynfull study haue [bene] unrewarded, and many zelatours or faouurers of the publyke weale haue benne discouraged.

XXVIII Of Consultation and counsaile, and in what fourme they aught to be used in a publike weale.

THE griefes or diseases whiche of Aristotell be called the decayes of the publike weale beinge inuestigate, examined, and tried by the experience before expressed, than commethe the tyme and oportunitie of consultacion, wherby, as I sayd, is prouided the remedies moste necessary for the healinge of the sayd grefes or reparation of decaye. This thinge that is called Consultation is the generall denomination of the acte wherin men do deuise together and reason what is to be done. Counsaile is the sentence or aduise particulerly gyuen by euery man for that purpose assembled. Consultation hath respecte to the tyme future or to come, that is to saye, the ende or purpose thereof is adressed to some acte or affaire to be practised after the Consultation. And yet be nat all other tymes excluded, but fyrste the state of thinges present aught to be examined, the powar, assistance, and substaunce to be estemed; semblably thinges passed with moche and longe deliberati on to be reuolued and tossed in the minde, and to be conferred with them that

be present and beinge exactly wayed the one agayne the other, than to inuestigate or enquire exquisitely the fourme and reason of the affaire, and in that studye to be holly resolued so effectually, that they whiche be counsailours may beare with them out of the counsayle house, as I were on their sholders, nat onely what is to be folowed and employted, but also by what meanes or wayes hit shall be pursued, and howe the affaire may be honourable; also what is expedient and of necessitie, and howe moche is nedeful, and what space and length of time, and finally howe the enterprise beinge achieued and brought to effect may be kept and retained. For often times after exploitures hapneth occasions, either by assaultes or other encombrances of ennemies, or of to moche trust in fortunes assuraunce, or by dissobedience or presumption of some persones whome the thinge toucheth, that this last parte of Consultation is omitted, or more rather neglected; wher moche studie, trauaile, and cost haue utterly perished, nat onely to the no litle detriment of infinite persones, but also to the subuersion of most noble publike weales. More ouer it is to be diligently noted that euery counsayle is to be approued by thre thinges principally, that it be ryghtwyse, that it be good, and that it be with honestie. That whiche is rightwise is brought in by reason. For nothing is right that is nat ordred by raison. Goodnes cometh of vertue. Of vertue and reason procedeth honestie. Wherefore counsayle beinge compact of these thre, may be named a perfecte Capitayne, a trusty companyon, a playne and unfauned frende. Therefore in the commendation therof Titus Liuius saith, Many thynges be impeched by Nature whiche by counsayle be shortly achieued. And verily the powar of Counsaile is wonderfull, hauing auctoritie as wel ouer peace as martiall enterprise. And therefore with good reason Tulli affirmeth in his boke of offices, Armes without the doores be of litle importaunce, if counsaile be nat at home. And he sayth sone after: In thinges moste prosperous the counsayle of frendes must be used. Whiche is ratified by the auctour of the noble warke named Ecclesiasticus, sayeng: My sone, without counsayle see thou do nothyng, and than after thy dede thou shalte neuer repente the. The same autor giueth thre noble precepts concerning this matter, whiche of euery wise man aught to be had in continuell memorie. Of fooles take thou no counsaile, for they can loue nothinge but that pleaseth them selves. Discoouer nat thy counsayle before a straunger, for thou knowest nat what therof may happen. Unto euery man disclose nat thy harte, leest parauenture he wyl gyue to the a fayned thanke, and after reporte rebukefully of the. Fooles be, as I suppose, they whiche be more ladde with affection than reason. And whom he calleth straungers be those of whose fidelitie and wisdom he is nat assured; and in the generall name of euery man may be signified the lacke of election of counsailours, whiche wolde be with a vigilaunt serche and (as I mought saye) of all other moost scrupulouse.

XXIX. What in Consultation is to be chiefly considered.

THE ende of all doctrine and studie is good counsaile, wherunto as unto the principall poynt, which Geometricians do call the Centre, all doctrines (whiche by some autours be imagined in the four me of a cerkle) do sende their effectes like unto equall lignes, as it shall appere to them that will rede the bokes of the noble Plato, where he shall fynde that the wise Socrates, in euery inuestigacion, whiche is in fourme of a consultation, useth his persuasions and demonstrations by the certayne rules and examples of sondry sciences, prouinge therby that the conclusion (as I mought say) the perfection of them is in good counsaile, wherin vertue may be founden beyng (as it were) his propre mantion or palice, where her powar onely appereth concernynge gouernaunce, either of one persone only, and than it is called morall, or of a multitude, which for a diuersitie may be called polityke. Sens counsaile he an efficacie, and in thinges concernynge man hathe suche a preeminence, it is therefore expedient that consultation, (wherin counsaile is expressed) be very serious, substanciall and profitable. Which to bringe to effecte requireth two thinges principally to be considered. First, that in euery thing concerning a publike weale no good counsaillour passed ouer, but that his reason therein be hard to an ende. I call him a good counsaillour, whiche, (as Cesar sayth, in the coniuration of Cataline), whiles he consulteth in doubtfull matters, is voyde of all hate, frendship. displeasure, or pitie. Howe necessarye to a publike weale it shall be to haue in any wise mens oppinions declared, it is manifest to them that do remembre that in many heddes be diuers maners of wittis, some inclined to sharpenes and rigour, many to pitie and compassion, diuers to a temperaunce and meane betwene bothe extremities; some haue respecte to tranquillitie onely, other more to welth and commoditie, diuers to moche renoume and estimation in honour. There be that wyll speke all theyr mynde sodaynly and perchaunce right well; diuers require to haue respect and studie, wherin is moche more suertie, many wyll speake warely for feare of displeasure; some more bolder in vertue wyll nat spare to shewe theyr myndes playnely, diuers will assent to that reasons wherewith they suppose that he whiche is chiefe in authoritie wyll be beste pleased. These undoughtedly be the diuersities of wittes. And moreouer, where there is a great nombre of counsaylours, they all beinge herde, nedes must the counsaile be the more perfecte. For somtyme perchaunce one of them, whiche in doctrine, witte, or experience is in leste estimation, may happe to expresse some sentence more auailable to the purpose wherin they consult, than any that before came to the others remembraunces; no one man being of suche perfection that he can haue in an instant remembrance of all thing. Whiche I suppose was considered by Romulus the first king of Romaines in the firste constitution of their publike weale; for hauinge of his owne

people but three thousande foote men and thre hundrede horsemen, he chase of the eldest and wisest of them all one hundrede counsailours. But to the more assertion of diuers mennes sentences I will declare a notable experience whiche I late hapned to rede.

Belinger Baldasine, a man of greate witte, singuler lernynge, and excellent wisdom (who was one of the counsailours to Ferdinando, kyng of Arogon), whan any thing doubtfull or weyghtie mater was consulted of, where he was present, afterwarde, whan he had souped at home in his house, he wolde call before hym all his seruauntes, and merily purposing to them some fained question or fable, wherein was craftly hyd the matter whiche remayned doubtfull, wolde merely demaunde of euery man his particuler oppinion, and gyuing good eare to theyr iudgementes, he wolde conferre together euery mans sentence, and with good deliberation ponderynge their value, he at the last perceyued whiche was the truest and moste apte to his purpose; and beinge in this wyse founnyshed, translatynge iapes and thynges fauned to mater serious and true, he amonge the kynges counsailours in gyuyng good and substanciall aduise had alway preeminence.

Howe moche commoditie than suppose ye mought be taken of the sentences of many wyse and experte counsailours? And like as Calchas, as Homere writeth, knewe by diuination thynges present, thinges to come, and them that were passed, so counsailours garnished with lernyng and also experience shall thereby considre the places, tymes, and personages, examining the state of the mater than practised, and expending the powar, assistance, and substaunce, also reuoluinge longe and often tymes in their myndes thinges that be passed, and conferringe them to the matters that be than in experience, studiously do seeke out the reason and maner, howe that whiche is by them approued may be brought to effecte. And suche mennes raisons wolde be throughly herde and at length, for the wiser that a man is, in taryeng his wysedome increaseth, his reason is more lyuelye, and quicke sentence aboundeth. And to the more parte of men whan they be chaufed in raisonyng, argumentes, solutions, examples, similitudes, and experimentes do resorte, and (as it were) flowe unto their remembraunces.

XXX. The seconde consideration to be had in Consultation.

THE seconde consideration is, that the generall and uniuersall astate of the publike weale wold be preferred in consultation before any particuler commoditie, and the profite or damage whiche may happen within our owne countrayes wolde be more considered than that whiche inay happen from

other regions; which to beleue commune raison and experience leadeth us.

For who commendeth those gardiners that wyll put all their diligence in trymmyng or keypyng delicately one knotte or bedde of herbes, suffryng all the remenaunt of their gardeyne to be subuerted with a great nombre of molles, and do attende at no tyme for the takyng and destroyng of them, until the herbis, wherin they haue employed all their labours, be also tourned uppe and perished, and the molles increased in so infinite nombres that no industry or labour may suffice to consume them, wherby the labour is frustrate and all the gardeine made unprofitable and also unpleasaunt? In this similitude to the gardeyne may be resembled the publike weale, to the gardiners the gouernours and counsailours, to the knottes or beddes sondrye degrees of personages, to the molles vices and sondry enormities. Wherfore the consultation is but of a small effecte wherin the uniuersall astate of the publike weale do nat occupie the more parte of the tyme, and in that generaltie euery particuler astate be nat diligently ordered. For as Tulli sayeth they that consulte for parte of the people and neglecte the residue, they bryng in to the cite or countraye a thyng mooste perniciouse, that is to say, sedition and discorde, whereof it hapnethe that some wyll seeme to faouere the multitude, other be inclined to leene to the beste sorte, fewe do studie for all uniuersallye. Whiche hath bene the cause that nat onely Athenes, (whiche Tulli dothe name), but also the cite and empyre of Rome, with diuers other cities and realmes, haue decayed and ben finally brought in extreme desolation. Also Plato, in his booke of fortytude, sayeth in the persone of Socrates, Whan so euer a man seketh a thing for cause of an other thyng, the consultation aught toe be alway of that thyng for whose cause the other thing is sought for, and nat of that which is sought for because of the other thyng. And surely wise men do consider that damage often tymes hapneth by abusinge the due fourme of consultation: men like euyll Phisitions sekyng for medicynes or they perfectly knowe the sicknesses ; and as euyll marchauntes do utter firste the wares and commodities of straungers, whiles straungers be robbyng of their owne cofers.

Therefore these thinges that I haue rehersed concernyng consultation ought to be of all men in authoritie substancially pondered, and moost vigilauntly obserued if they intende to be to their publike weale profitable for the whiche purpose onely they be called to be gouernours. And this conclude I to write any more of consultation, whiche is the last part of morall Sapience, and the begynnyng of sapience politike.

Nowe all ye reders that desire to haue your children to be gouernours, or in

any other authoritie in the publike weale of your countrey, if ye bringe them up and instructe them in suche fourme as in this boke is declared, they shall than seme to all men worthye to be in authoritie, honour, and noblesse, and all that is under their gouernaunce shall prospere and come to perfection. And as a precious stone in a ryche ouche they shall be beholden and wondred at, and after the dethe of their body their soules for their endeuour shall be incomprehensibly rewarded of the gyuer of wisdom, to whome onely be gyuen eternall glorie. Amen.

TEKOZ TELOS

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Sir Thomas Elyot

GLOSSARY

[Thanks are due for the alphabetizing of the Glossary to Arthur B. Watson, Esq., B. A., Secretary to the Academic Registrar of the University of London.]

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A

- **abbreviate**, abbreviation, abridgment
- **abbreviate**, to make shorter, stop
- **abettours**, instigators, supporters
- **abhorreth**, makes one shudder
- **abiecte**, thrown down, depressed
- **abicted**, abjected, lit. threw away, humiliated, rejected
- **abraide at**, upbraid, object
- **abstracte**, drawn away
- **abusifly**, abusively
- **accommodate**, refer
- **accompted**, accounted
- **accorde**, bring into concord
- **achieuances**, achievements
- **achieved**, obtained
- **acquyted**, requited
- **adhorreth**, gives a shock or shudder to

- **admaruailynge**, marvelling
- **adminiculation**, prop, support
- **aduaile**, avail, profit, advantage
- **aduaunt**, make boastful
- **aduaunted**, boasted
- **adventure**, experience
- **aduertised**, warned, informed
- **adumbration**, shading
- **aduocatrice**, advocate
- **aduoutry**, auoutry, adultery
- **advertisements**, observation, precepts, instructions
- **affabilitie**, "easy to be spoken to" (Elyot)
- **affectes**, objects
- **affects**, affections
- **affirmaunce**, confirmation
- **afore**, before
- **after**, according to
- **aggregate**, congregate, gather together
- **agreue**, to show its seriousness
- **aigre**, eager
- **alay**, may = alloy, or may be the technical term allay, the letting go of the hounds in deer-hunting
- **allective**, allectyue, enticement, allurement
- **alicuiate**, alleviated
- **alloured**, allured
- **als**, as
- **ampliating**, extending
- **amytie**, amity
- **annecteth**, connect
- **Anniball**, for Hannibal
- **anone**, anon, immediately, in a short time
- **anoyeng**, injuring
- **appaireth**, impairs
- **appairing**, impairing, spoiling
- **appaysed**, appeased
- **appertayneth**, belongs
- **applicate**, apply
- **apprehendeth**, seizes
- **approbate**, approved
- **appropred**, proper, appropriate to
- **araye**, array
- **arbitrement**, decision, judgment
- **Aresse**, arras

- **arise**, for arras
- **armure**, armour
- **armure**, taking up arms, war
- **artificial form**, a form developed by the study of an art
- **artificial science**, technical knowledge which results from study of the arts concerned
- **asprely**, fiercely
- **assayed**, attempted, put forth
- **assayeth**, essays, attempts
- **assentation**, flattery
- **assention**, ascension
- **assertayned**, made certain, assured
- **astate**, estate
- **astraided**, astounded
- **aswage**, assuage
- **Atheniensis**, Athenians
- **attaintes**, in the sense of a second trial, in which the jury were summoned for giving a wrong verdict. See Mr. Croft's note on the subject
- **attemptates**, attempts
- **auaunted**, boasted
- **auctorite**, authority
- **aught**, ought
- **auncetours**, ancestors
- **auncient**, ancient, of mature age
- **auncientie**, antiquity
- **auowed**, avowed, vowed
- **autentike**, authoritative
- **autours**, authors
- **avaunced**, advanced
- **awaite**, watch, guard
- **awayteth**, watches, is on the look out
- **ayer**, air

B

- **bankette**, banquet
- **banyssed**, banished
- **baratour**, deceiver, cheat
- **batable**, debatable
- **batry**, battery
- **baudes**, bawds

- **bayne**, Fr. bain, a bath
- **bedynge**, bidding
- **beest**, beast
- **begoune**, begun
- **berne**, barn
- **bienge**, buying
- **bill**, written document
- **bereft**, bereft
- **blake**, black
- **blenchars**, apparently means white objects
- **bobbed**, hit, struck
- **bordell**, brothel
- **bore**, boar
- **bothe**, the bothe, the two
- **braste**, burst
- **brasteth**, bursteth
- **breade**, breadth
- **brenning**, burning
- **bride**, said of either the man or the woman at the time of marriage in Elyot's time
- **brokle**, easily broken, fragile
- **bucolikes**, for the Bucolics of Virgil
- **burgine**, sprout out
- **buten**, booty
- **by cause**, because

C

- **CCC**, three hundred
- **can**, in sense of "to be able," and also "to know;" can skill = " has acquired skill"
- **capital**, chief
- **capon**, fowl
- **cormorantes**, for gluttons
- **cautele**, caution
- **certayne** (chap. xiv.) seems to suggest "a certainty," or is the word a misprint for circle?
- **certayne**, a certain number
- **certes**, forsooth
- **cessynge**, ceasing
- **chafed**, heated
- **champaine**, having fields
- **chase**, chose

- **chaufed**, heated
- **chasing**, chesinge, choosing
- **circumstance**, indirectness, circumlocution (Croft)
- **Cirus**, for Cyrus
- **civilite**, polish
- **claishe**, closh, game with a ball or bowl, often prohibited in 15th and 16th century (Oxford Dictionary)
- **clarify**, make clear
- **cloughtes**, clouts
- **coarcted**, confined, restrained
- **coarted**, coarcted, constrained, compelled
- **cokneyes**. Croft gives a long note in his glossary on this word, which means "pampered pets," "minions "
- **colere**, choler
- **colours of rhetorike**, ornaments or embellishments of style
- **colver**, a dove
- **commodious**, profitable, convenient, serviceable
- **commoditie**, convenience, pleasure
- **commodity**, advantage, profit
- **compacte**, composed of
- **comprehend**, include, express
- **comprobate**, agree with
- **compromittinge**, compromising
- **concept**, conception, idea
- **concinnitie**, fitness, suitability
- **condign**, worthy, adequate
- **condisciple**, fellow-disciple
- **conduitis**, **conduits**, passages
- **conferee**, bring together
- **conglutinate**, glued together
- **congruent**, fitness
- **congruent**, suitable, fitting
- **congruite**, agreement, concordance (grammatical term. See Croft's Governour, Glossary)
- **coniecte**, gather, conjecture
- **confected**, threw together, guessed, conjectured
- **conjuratioun**, conspiracy
- **conceyved**, preserved
- **consolidate**, confirmed, established, made strong
- **constance**, constanoy
- **constraigne**, constrain

- **constrayned**, forced
- **contexte**, weaving together, composition
- **contrayes**, countries
- **conueiaunce**, trick, deceit
- **conuersant**, prevalent
- **conuersation**, intimacy, intercourse
- **copia**, Latin copia, lit. "abundance." The term copia is used for variety in rendering any phrase or expression, as in Erasmus's De Copia Verborum
- **corporal**, bodily
- **correction**, punishment
- **costes**, coasts
- **couaite**, covet
- **couch**, lay or place together
- **coueitise**, covetousness
- **couenable** convenient
- **counnyng**, cunning
- **counnynges**, knowledge, skill
- **counterfaicted**, counterfeited
- **counterfaite**, imitate
- **counterpoint**, counterpane
- **crafty**, skilful
- **cromme**, crumb
- **cruciate**, afflicted, tormented
- **cure**, care, work

D

- **daliaunce**, talk, chat
- **damosell**, damsel
- **daunsis**. For bargettes, pauions, turgions, and roundes, names of dances, see Croft's Glossary
- **deambulations**, walkings about
- **decerpt**, plucked
- **decessyng**, deceasing, dying
- **decking**, distinction of apparel
- **declaration**, exposition
- **declared**, made clear
- **decoction**, digestion
- **defalcate**, cut off, as with a scythe
- **defautes**, defaults
- **dole**, deaf
- **defende**, forbid

- **dele**, part. Cf. "a great deal"
- **delectable**, delightful
- **delectation**, delight
- **delicate**, dainty nice, fastidious
- **deliuer**, nimble, agile. Literally, to be at liberty, free
- **deliured**, delivered
- **delue**, delve, dig
- **demulced**, stroked
- **denomination**, name
- **densed**, thickened, strengthened
- **depend**, hang
- **depopulat**, depopulated
- **deprehend**, gather, understand
- **derogate**, disregarded
- **descriued**, written about
- **descrive**, describe
- **despyte**, slight, contempt
- **detractiōn**, slander
- **dificile**, difficult
- **digne**, worthy
- **digress**, step apart
- **Dionish**, for Dionysius
- **disceie**, deceit
- **disceipte**, deceit
- **disceyued**, deceived
- **discipline**, learning
- **disciplines**, kinds of learning, sciences
- **discommodities**, discommoditis, inconveniences
- **discourage**, absence of courage
- **discrepant**, different
- **disfurnished**, dispossessed of, stript of
- **dispendinge**, expending
- **disportes**, sports
- **disseasest**, makes ill at ease
- **distemperature**, inclemency, unwholesomeness
- **divulgate**, promulgated, published
- **doctrine**, teaching
- **documents**, matter of teaching
- **dolour**, grief, pain
- **domage**, damage
- **dome**, dumb
- **domisticall**, domestic, in our own country
- **dought**, doubt

- **doulce**, Lat. dulcis, sweet
- **dradde**, dreaded
- **dragges**, dregs
- **drane**, drone
- **dredefully**, with awe
- **dure**, endure, last
- **dyse**, dice

E

- **edifie**, build
- **eftsones**, again
- **egrely**, eagerly
- **eien**, eves
- **elect**, chosen
- **election**, choice
- **elevate**, elevated
- **embrace**, to take in hand (Fr. bras, English brace; so literally, "take into one's arms)
- **embraided**, upbraided
- **embrowder**, embroider
- **emote**, an ant
- **encombrances**, heaping together, trouble, worry
- **endamage**, to damage, injure
- **enforms**, inform
- **engine**, instrument, means
- **engynne**, instrument
- **enoynte**, anoint
- **enoynted**, enointed
- **ensue**, follow
- **ensueth**, followeth
- **enterpreted**, undertaken, undertook
- **entrelased**, interlaced
- **enuiranynge**, environing, surrounding
- **enuy**, ennui
- **enuyroned**, environed, surrounded
- **er**, ere, before
- **ernest**, earnest, guarantee
- **erogate**, to spend
- **erogating**, spending
- **erste**, earlier, first
- **esbaied**, abashed, amazed, appalled
- **esbatements**, amusements, diversions

- **eschue**, eschew
- **euangelicall**, in the sense of those who preach the gospel
- **exchewed**, exchued, eschewed
- **exchuyng**, eschewing
- **excogitate**, thought out
- **exploite**, perform, dispatch, accomplish
- **exploiture**, accomplishment, achievement
- **employted**, accomplished
- **employtinge**, delivering
- **expounded**, expounded
- **expulsed**, expelled
- **exquisitely**, sought out with much study and diligence
- **extincte**, make extinct, put out

F

- **fastidious**, loathsome
- **facile**, easy, ready, fluent
- **faict**, feat, act
- **falowe**, kind of deer
- **familiar**, household
- **fantises**, phantasies, fancies
- **fardelles**, pack, bundle
- **fatigate**, wearied
- **fauconer**, falconer
- **fautours**, favourers, supporters
- **feate**, fact, accomplishment
- **fecis**, grounds, dregs of liquor
- **fele**, feel
- **Ferrare**, for Ferrara
- **feyre**, farther, far
- **fiers**, fierce
- **figure**, appearance, form, condition
- **figures**, drawings, plans
- **fleame**, phlegm
- **floured**, flourished
- **foles**, fools
- **foured**, faltered
- **forbare**, forbore, avoided
- **forboden**, forbidden
- **forceth**, matters, signifies
- **forse**, reckon, care. Mr. Croft shows how this comes to

mean also "to matter, signify

- **foules**, birds
- **fraunches**, franchise, freedom
- **frere**, friar
- **fro**, from
- **fucate**, painted, coloured, pretended
- **fuller**, i.e. the one who cleanses and thickens cloth
- **fume**, smoke, vapour
- **furniture**, equipment

G

- **Gaddy**, for Engedi
- **galyarde**, gallant, gay
- **garnerde**, granary
- **gate**, got
- **geauntes**, giants
- **Gene**, for Genoa
- **gentiles**, gentiles
- **gesseron**, coat of mail
- **gestes**, deeds, exploits
- **glosses**, explanations, interpretations; orig. between the lines or in the margin of a text of an author
- **graue**, engrave
- **grauen**, engraven
- **gravitie**, seriousness
- **grefes**, greivous defects
- **grutch**, complain, murmur
- **grutchinge**, grudging

H

- **hache**, battle-axe (Cf. hatchet)
- **hakneyman**, a man who keeps hackney-horses for hire
- **handsell**, money paid on striking a bargain, earnest-money
- **harborowe**, harbour, to get at the retreat or harbour of a hunted animal (Croft)
- **hauour**, behaviour
- **haulte**, high, haughty
- **haunted**, inhabited, frequented, being familiar with,

- pursued
- **haviour**, having, property
- **haye**, lit. a fence or hedge; then, that which is enclosed, an enclosure for catching prey (Croft)
- **heare**, hair
- **heedes**, heads
- **here**, hair
- **hette**, made hot
- **heuyn**, heaven
- **hiare**, hire
- **hierarches**, ecclesiastical rulers
- **Hieroboaz**, for Jeroboam
- **Hierusalem**, Jerusalem
- **Hietro**, for Jethro
- **historiall**, for historical
- **history**, story, account
- **hit**, it
- **hobies**, hawks
- **hoeues**, hoofs
- **holle**, whole
- **holpen**, helped
- **honest**, noble
- **honestie**, nobility
- **Horestes**, for Orestes
- **humecteth**, moistens
- **hyght**, was called
- **hynge**, hung

I

- **iapes**, jests, trifling
- **ieoparded**, put in jeopardy
- **illecebrous**, alluring, attractive
- **illected**, enticed
- **imposed**, risen into bosses
- **impassible**, lit. not liable to suffering
- **impeched**, hindered
- **impechementes**, hindrances, obstacles
- **importable**, insupportable
- **impugn**, attack
- **incende**, inflame
- **incensed**, inflamed
- **incitation**, instigation

- **incomprehensibly**, beyond comprehension
- **incongrueni**, unsuitable
- **incontinent**, forthwith
- **incontinently**, immediately
- **indictynge**, saying, ordaining
- **indifferent**, impartial
- **indigent**, in defect
- **infarced**, stuffed, filled, inforced themselves, made an effort
- **inforsinge**, enforcing
- **inluded**, infused
- **ingendred**, born, implanted
- **ingenerate**, inborn
- **ingourgitious**, gluttonous, devouring, guzzling
- **inhabile**, enable
- **innocentes**, lit. not harming; i.e., those who were not enemies
- **inquietation**, loss of quiet or security
- **insignement**, notification, intimation, showing
- **insolubles**, an argument leading to an impossible conclusion
- **instinction**, inspiration, natural impulse
- **intentifly**, intensity
- **intentifly**, intently, intently
- **intimation**, information
- **irous**, irritable, angry

J

- **Josue**, Joshua
- **Jues**, Jews
- **jurates**, jurors

K

- **kendled**, kindled
- **kenned**, known
- **keruinge**, carving, sculpture
- **knotte**, the form of a flower-bed in a garden

L

- **L.M. li.**, 50,000 pounds
- **ladde**, led
- **lasse**, less
- **laudable**, praiseworthy, favourable
- **lauded**, praised
- **laiser**, leisure
- **leage**, league
- **leasings**, lie, deceit
- **leasinges**, deceit, lying
- **leasour**, leisure
- **leaue**, omit
- **lechour**, debauchee
- **leme**, gleam
- **lepries**, leprosy
- **lese**, lose
- **let**, hinder
- **let swere**, caused to swear an oath
- **lette**, hindrance
- **leude**, unlearned
- **leuigate**, lightened
- **liberdes**, lybarde, leopard
- **listed**, liked
- **lite**, light
- **litenesse**, lightness
- **longing**, belonging
- **lothelynes**, loathsomeness
- **lyam**, leash
- **lyke**, As shulde lyke hym, - i.e. as he should like it -
lit. as it should like (to) him
- **lymitour**, friar only allowed to beg within the limits of
a specified district
- **lyte**, light

M

- **Machabeis**, Maccabees
- **maculate**, stain
- **maintenners**, defenders, protectors
- **maistries**, mastery
- **maligned at**, slandered, defamed
- **maner**, manner; maner huntinge, manner of hunting
- **manifesting**, make clear
- **mansuetude**, gentleness, mildness

- **mansion**, mansion, dwelling
- **marks of the target in archery**, butts, rovers, pricks
- **mast**, the fruit of the oak, beech, etc.; acorns or nuts serving as food for animals
- **maynure**, main oeuvre; lit. the hand at work; with the maynure, caught in the deed
- **meane**, middle
- **membres**, limbs
- **menacis**, menaces
- **menes**, means
- **meyualously**, marvellously
- **messenger**, messenger
- **metely**, moderately
- **meued**, moved, roused
- **Micol**, for Michal
- **middes**, midst
- **millaine**, for Milan
- **minished**, diminished
- **mitigate**, soften, appease
- **mo**, more
- **mockage**, derision
- **moderatice**, feminine form of moderator
- **molested**, harassed
- **molles**, moles
- **more**, the more part, the greater part
- **Morisco**, Morocco
- **mortifieth**, deadens
- **mortred**, mortared
- **mote**. As in "Ward-mote." Literally moot is "a meeting." As Elyot uses the word, it seems to be "the pleading in a difficult case." Cf. a moot point " (Croft)
- **moughte**, might
- **mountenance**, the mounting up, amount
- **mumpsimus**, for sumpsimus. Croft tells the original story of an ignorant priest who for thirty years had read sumpsimus in his Missal as Munpsimus, and who refused to accept the right word. The term came therefore to signify "stubborn, invincible ignorance"
- **mutabilite**, changeableness
- **mututilate**, mutilated
- **mynchen**, a man

N

- **nat**, not
- **ne**, nor
- **nedes**, of necessity
- **nerre**, nearer
- **nete**, neat
- **neuwes**, nephews
- **none**, noon
- **norisery**, nursery
- **nother**, a nother, another
- **nourise**, nurse; Fr. nourrice
- **noyfull**, harmful
- **numbles**, certain parts of stags or swine (Croft)

O

- **obfuscate**, obscured, darkened
- **obsessed**, besieged, occupied, possessed
- **occupied**, followed, pursued
- **odible**, hateful
- **offices**, duties
- **Offices of Tulli**, Cicero's De Officiis
- **one**, own
- **onelas**, unless
- **onely**, only
- **ones**, once
- **onlas**, unless
- **optaine**, obtain
- **or**, ere, before
- **Oratius**, for Horatius
- **ordinance (of war)**, originally, arrangement in rows or ranks, provision, equipment, stores
- **orels**, or else
- **othe**, oath
- **other**, used for plural, "others"
- **ouche**, jewel. Apparently broach and ouch are equivalents (Croft).
- **ouer commen**, overcome
- **owed**, owned
- **Oza**, for Uzza

P

- **parayle**, likeness, similarity
- **pasis**, paces
- **paynefulness**, laboriousness, readiness to take pains
- **Paynims**, heathen
- **peace**, piece
- **peasible**, peaceable
- **peere**, equal
- **perished**, caused to perish
- **perler**, parlour
- **Perse**, for Persia
- **perse**, pierce
- **Perses**, for Perseus
- **persing**, piercing
- **personage**, body, person
- **peruse**, examine
- **petied**, pitied
- **petites**, little, young; ie. children
- **Pharo**, for Pharaoh
- **pike-thank**, flatterer
- **perries**, whirlwind
- **placabilitie**, anger restrained or controlled
- **Plini**, for Pliny
- **policie**, the use of deceit to accomplish a practical end
- **policie**, power of devise
- **Pompei**, for Pompey
- **pondered**, weighed, considered
- **ponderous**, having weight, heavy
- **Pontane**, for Pontanus
- **poreblynde**, purblind
- **porpheri**, porphyry
- **poses**, rheums, catarrhs
- **poure**, poor
- **poyses**, weights
- **praty**, pretty
- **prease**, press, crowd
- **preordinate**, preordained
- **prepence**, thinks beforehand, anticipates
- **prepensd**, forethought
- **preuely**, privily
- **preuented**, anticipated, antedated
- **pristinate**, pristine, original
- **procurement**, instigation
- **profe**, proof

- **propise, proper**, suited, fit, propitious
- **provecte**, carried forward, advanced
- **prowes**, prowess
- **Ptolomee**, for Ptolemy
- **puissant**, powerful
- **pitltrie**, poultry
- **puysaunce**, puissance, physical prowess
- **pye**, a magpie
- **pynnes**, a game, nine-pins

R

- **radde**, read
- **radicate**, rooted radycate, root
- **ratified**, confirmed, thought
- **rauine** (i.e. ravine), rapine
- **rauissed**, carried away
- **rebecke**, violin with three strings
- **reboyleth**, re-boils, stirs up again. resists
- **refrained**, had a curb applied
- **Regalities** (i.e. the ceremonial side of royalty), the insignia or regalia of the king
- **relenteth**, become soft or fluid (Croft)
- **remembreth**, calls to remembrance, relate
- **reminant**, remnant, remainder
- **remitte**, submit
- **remording**, biting, causing remorse
- **renne**, run
- **renome**, renownu
- **rentyng**, rending
- **repugne**, oppose
- **repugne agayne**, resist
- **repugnyng**, resisting
- **resceyued**, received
- **reserued**, except
- **respect**, looking over, consideration
- **ribawdry**, ribaldry
- **Roboaz**, for Rehoboam
- **rode**, roadstead, harbour
- **romayne**, Roman
- **rosiall**, rosy
- **roume**, room
- **routes**, assemblages, multitudes

- **royle**, horse, stud. Croft shows that a Flemish horse is meant by the term
- **rusticall**, boorish
- **rusticitie**, boorishness

S

- **sadde**, serious
- **sapience**, wisdom
- **sauage**, wild; in beestes sauage
- **sauerynge**, savouring, smacking
- **saulfe**, safe
- **savoureth**, gives a savour or relish
- **science**, knowledge
- **Scithes**, for Scythians
- **seelynge**, blindfolding
- **seeue**, sieve
- **sely**, simple
- **semblable**, like, similar
- **semblably**, similarly. So too, semblable wise, likewise
- **semblaunt**, appearing; "makingsemblaunt," giving the appearance
- **semblaunt**, appearance, front, countenance
- **sengle**, simple
- **sengles**, singles
- **sens**, since
- **sentence**, judgment, opinion
- **sententious**, i.e. in the form of judgments, expressing decisive opinions (sententia)
- **sepulture**, burial, tomb
- **sequele**, consequence
- **severetie**, seriousness, gravity of demeanour
- **shailles**, Croft gives this as equal to "tatters or rags"
- **shalme**, a flute
- **shamfastnes**, modesty
- **shone**, shoon, shoes
- **similitude**, likeness, portraiture
- **simulachre**, likeness
- **skoser**, a horse dealer (see Croft's edition of the Governour, Glossary)
- **slee**, slay
- **sleight**, skill.
- **socour**, succour

- **solace**, satisfaction, pleasure
- **solutions**, judgments
- **Sonne**, sun
- **sopheme**, sophism
- **souketh**, sucketh
- **soune**, sowne, sound
- **sourded**, raised up
- **sowernes**, sourness
- **sowne**, swoon, sound
- **spice**, species, kind
- **spradde**, spread
- **sprent**, be-sprent, be-sprinkled
- **squynces**, quinsy
- **stalles**, for hives
- **stare**, a starling
- **stereth**, stir
- **sterres**, stars
- **stiche**, ie. stitch
- **strawed**, strewn
- **subverted**, owerturned
- **suertie**, safety
- **sufficient**, efficient
- **suffised**, satisfied
- **Suisses**, for Swiss
- **superstition**, a standing still in amazement, wonder, dread
- **surmounte**, surpass
- **surplusage**, excess
- **sussitate**, raise. We only use resuscitate
- **susters**, sister's

T

- **table**, Fr. tableau, picture
- **tache**, stain, spot
- **tariar**, one who tarries
- **tedious**, annoying
- **tempre himself**, restrain himself
- **tenese**, tennis
- **tergate**, target
- **testars**, a canopy at the head of the bed
- **than**, then
- **that forth**, thenceforth

- **the**, thee
- **thens**, thence
- **Therence**, for Terence
- **threttist**, threatenest
- **tiller-bowe**, cross-bow
- **tisike**, phthisis, consumption
- **to**, too
- **towker**, tucker, fuller of cloth (Croft, Glossary)
- **traicte**, treat
- **trauvayle**, work; Fr. travaille'r
- **trayned**, drawn
- **trille**, roll, twirl
- **trues**, truce
- **trumpe**, trumpet
- **trusses**, used now in "trusses of hay"
- **turmentes**, equipment for war (Croft)
- **tyranny**, sometim*es used for "rulership, government," not necessarily cruel or hard

U

- **uncourtaisely**, uncourteously
- **undeclared**, unexpounded
- **uneth**, scarcely
- **unfayned**, unfeigned
- **uungyued**, unchained
- **unhabile**, unskilful, incapable
- **unlefull**, unlawful
- **unneth**, scarcely
- **unpuruaied**, unpurveyed, unprovided with food
- **unwetinge**, ignorant
- **ure**, Croft traces this word to oeuvre, and gives its meaning as "operation, action, practice"

V

- **vacaunt**, vacant, free
- **vauntynge**, vaulting
- **vendicate**, establish a claim
- **ventilate**, fanned, winnowed, threshed out
- **very**, true, real. Cf. "My very son Esau"
- **vestures**, clothes, garments

- **visage**, appearance, a face
- **vitaile**, vitayle, victuals
- **volupte**, voluptuousness
- **vouched**, called to witness Lat. vocare. Cf. vouchsafe
*
- **vulgare**, adj. common
- **vulgare**, common people
- **vulgarely**, commonly

W

- **waikenes**, weakness
- **waiker**, weaker
- **warke**, work
- **ways**, worse
- **waxed**, became
- **wayver**, a weaver
- **weale**, well-being
- **wench**, maid
- **wene**, think, be of opinion
- **wake**, week
- **wilie**, wily
- **willyng hym**, making him willing
- **wist**, known
- **wolde**, sometimes where we use should
- **woode**, mad
- **wortes**, herbs, pot-herbs
- **wraste**, wrest

X

- **X thousand**, ten thousand

Y

- **yarde**, yard. rod
- **Ye**, yea
- **yocke**, yoke
- **yoman** for the monthe, probably misprint for mouth.
Yeoman for the mouth, a butler (see Whitney's
Dictionary)
- **yorning**, Croft shows that this word means "the cry of

animals"

- **yvory**, ivory

Z

- **Zelatours**, zealous supporters

