Renascence Editions

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Renascence Editions

The Scholemaster (1570)

Roger Ascham (1515-1568)

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Note (from the ASCII version): I have omitted signature designations, have transcribed Greek characters, and have expanded the usual Renaissance contractions for "m" and "n"; marginalia are separated from textual line by // and a curly bracket vertically extending over more than one line is represented by a curly bracket on each successive line; long vertical lines extending over more than one line are also indicated by a vertical line on each successive line of text. -- Judy Boss.

THE SCHOLEMASTER

Or plaine and perfite way of teachyng children, to vnderstand, write, and speake, the Latin tong, but specially purposed for the private brynging vp of youth in Ientlemen and Noble mens houses, and commodious also for all such, as have forgot the Latin tonge, and would, by themselves, without a Scholemaster, in short tyme,

and with small paines, recouer a sufficient habilitie, to vnder-stand, write, and speake Latin.

By Roger Ascham.

An. 1570.

AT LONDON.
Printed by Iohn Daye, dwelling ouer Aldersgate.

Cum Gratia & Priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis, per Decennium.

To the honorable Sir William

Cecill Knight, principall Secretarie to

the Quenes most excellent Maiestie.



Ondry and reasonable be the causes why learned men haue vsed to offer and dedicate such workes as they put abrode, to some such personage as they thinke fittest, either in respect of abilitie of defense, or skill for iugement, or private regard of kindenesse and dutie. Euery one of those considerations, Syr, move me of right to offer this my late husbands M. Aschams worke vnto you. For well remembryng how

much all good learnyng oweth vnto you for defense therof, as the Vniuersitie of Cambrige, of which my said late husband was a member, haue in chosing you their worthy Chaunceller acknowledged, and how happily you haue spent your time in such studies & caried the vse therof to the right ende, to the good service of the Quenes Maiestie and your contrey to all our benefites, thyrdly how much my sayd husband was many wayes bound vnto you, and how gladly and comfortably he vsed in hys lyfe to recognise and report your goodnesse toward hym, leavyng with me then hys poore widow and a great sort of orphanes a good comfort in the hope of your good continuance, which I haue truly found to me and myne, and therfore do duely and dayly pray for you and yours: I could not finde any man for whose name this booke was more agreable for hope [of] protection, more mete for submission to iudgement, nor more due for respect of worthynesse of your part and thankefulnesse of my husbandes and myne. Good I trust it

shall do, as I am put in great hope by many very well learned that can well iudge therof. Mete therefore I compt it that such good as my husband was able to doe and leaue to the common weale, it should be received vnder your name, and that the world should owe thanke therof to you, to whom my husband the authour of it was for good receyved of you, most dutiefully bounden. And so besechyng you, to take on you the defense of this booke, to auaunce the good that may come of it by your allowance and furtherance to publike vse and benefite, and to accept the thankefull recognition of me and my poore

children, trustyng of the continuance of your good memorie of M. Ascham and his, and dayly commendyng the prosperous estate of you and yours to
God whom you serue and whoes you
are, I rest to trouble you.
Your humble Margaret
Ascham.

A Præface to the Reader.



Hen the great plage was at London, the yeare 1563. the Quenes Maiestie Queene *Elizabeth*, lay at her Castle of Windsore: Where, vpon the 10. day of December, it fortuned, that in Sir *William Cicells* chamber, hir Highnesse Principall Secretarie, there dined togither these personages, M. Secretarie him selfe, Syr *William Peter*, Syr *J. Mason*, D. *Wotton*, Syr *Richard Sackuille* Treasurer of the Exchecker, Syr

Walter Mildmaye Chauncellor of the Exchecker, M. Haddon Master of Requestes, M. John Astely Master of the Iewell house, M. Bernard Hampton, M. Nicasius, and J. Of which number, the most part were of hir Maiesties most honourable priuie Counsell, and the reast seruing hir in verie good place. I was glad than, and do reioice yet to remember, that my chance was so happie, to be there that day, in the companie of so manie wise & good men togither, as hardly than could have beene piked out againe, out of all England beside.

M. Secretarie hath this accustomed maner, though his head be neuer so full of most weightie affaires of the Realme, yet, at diner time he doth seeme to lay them alwaies aside: and findeth euer fitte occasion to taulke pleasantlie of other matters, but most gladlie of some matter of learning: wherein, he will curteslie heare the minde of the meanest at his Table.

Not long after our sitting doune, I have strange newes brought me, sayth M. Secretarie, this morning, that diverse Scholers of Eaton, be runne awaie from the Schole, for feare of beating. Whereupon, M. Secretarie tooke occasion, to wishe, that some

more discretion were in many Scholemasters, in vsing correction, than commonlie there is. Who many times, punishe rather, the weakenes of

M. Secretarie.

nature, than the fault of the Scholer. Whereby, many Scholers, that might else proue well, be driven to hate learning, before they knowe, what learning meaneth: and so, are made willing to forsake their booke, and be glad to be put to any other kinde of living.

M. *Peter*, as one somewhat seuere of nature, said plainlie, that the Rodde onelie, was the sworde, that must

keepe, the Schole in obedience, and the Scholer in good order. M. Wotton, á man milde of nature, with soft voice, and fewe wordes, inclined to M. Secretaries iudgement, and said, in mine opinion, the Scholehouse should be in deede, as it is called by name, the house of playe and pleasure, and not of feare and bondage: and as I do remember, so saith Socrates in one place of Plato. And therefore, if a Rodde carie the feare of à Sworde, it is no maruell, if those that be fearefull of nature, chose rather to forsake the Plaie, than to stand alwaies within the feare of a Sworde in a fonde mans handling. M. Mason, after his maner, was verie merie with both parties, pleasantlie playing, both, with the shrewde touches of many courste boyes, and with the small discretion of many leude Scholemasters. M. Haddon was fullie of M. Peters opinion, and said, that the best scholemaster of our time, was the greatest beater, and named the Person. Though, quoth I, it was his good fortune, to send from his Schole, vnto the Vniuersitie, one of the best Scholers in deede of all our time, yet wise men do thinke, that that came so to

M. Peter. M. Wotton.

Ludus literarum.

Plato Rep. 7.

M. Mason.

M. Haddon.

The Author of this booke.

Scholers in deede of all our time, yet wise men do thinke, that that came so to passe, rather, by the great towardnes of the Scholer, than by the great beating of the Master: and whether this be true or no, you your selfe are best witnes. I said somewhat farder in the matter, how, and whie, yong children, were soner allured by loue, than driuen by beating, to atteyne good learning: wherein I was the bolder to say my minde, bicause M. Secretarie curteslie prouoked me thereunto: or else, in such à companie, and namelie in his præsence, my wonte is, to be more willing, to vse mine eares, than to occupie my tonge. Syr *Walter Mildmaye*, M. *Astley*, and the rest, said verie litle: onelie Syr *Rich. Sackuill*, said nothing at all. After dinner I went vp to read with the Queenes Maiestie. We red than togither in the Greke tongue, as I well remember. that noble Oration of *Demosthenes* against *Æschines*, for his false dealing in his Ambassage to king *Philip* of Macedonie. Syr *Rich. Sackuile* came vp sone after: and

finding me in hir Maiesties priuie chamber, he tooke me by the hand, & carying me to à windoe, said, M. *Ascham*, I would not for à good deale of monie, haue bene, this daie, absent from diner. Where, though I said nothing, yet I gaue as good eare, and do consider as well the taulke, that passed, as any one did there. M. Secretarie said very wisely, and most truely, that many yong wittes be driuen to hate learninge, before they know what learninge is. I can be good witnes to this my selfe: For à fond

Demost. *peri* parapresb.

Syr *R*. *Sackuiles* communication with the Author of this booke.

Scholemaster, before I was fullie fourtene yeare olde, draue me so, with feare of beating, from all loue of learninge, as nowe, when I know, what difference it is, to have learninge, and to have litle, or none at all, I feele it my greatest greife, and finde it my greatest hurte, that euer came to me, that it was my so ill chance, to light vpon so lewde à Scholemaster. But seing it is but in vain, to lament thinges paste, and also wisdome to looke to thinges to cum, surely, God willinge, if God lend me life, I will make this my mishap, some occasion

of good hap, to litle *Robert Sackuile* my sonnes sonne. For whose bringinge vp, I would gladlie, if it so please you, vse speciallie your good aduice. I heare saie, you haue à sonne, moch of his age: we wil deale thus togither. Point you out à Scholemaster, who by your order, shall teache my sonne and yours, and for all the rest, I will prouide, yea though they three do cost me a couple of hundred poundes by yeare: and beside, you shall finde me as fast à Frend to you and yours, as perchance any you haue. Which promise, the worthie Ientleman surelie kept with me, vntill his dying daye.

We had than farther taulke togither, of bringing vp of children: of the nature, of quicke, and hard wittes: of the right choice of à good witte: of Feare, and loue in teachinge children. We passed from

children and came to yonge men, namely, Ientlemen: we taulked of their to Thr chiefe moch libertie, to liue as they lust: of their letting louse to sone, to ouer moch pointes of this booke. experience of ill, contrarie to the good order of many good olde common welthes of the Persians and Grekes: of witte gathered, and good fortune gotten, by some, onely by experience, without learning. And lastlie, he required of me verie earnestlie, to shewe, what I thought of the common goinge of Englishe men into Italie. But, sayth he, bicause this place, and this tyme, will not suffer so long taulke, as these good matters require, therefore I pray you, at my request, and at your leysure, put in some order of writing, the cheife pointes of this our taulke, concerning the right order of teachinge, and honestie of liuing, for the good bringing vp of children& yong men. And surelie, beside contentinge me, you shall both please and profit verie many others. I made some excuse by lacke of habilitie, and weakenes of bodie: well, sayth he, I am not now to learne, what you can do. Our deare frende, good M. Goodricke, whose judgement I could well beleue, did once for all, satisfye me fullie therein. Againe, I heard you say, not long agoe, that you may thanke Syr John Cheke, for all the learninge you haue: And I know verie well my selfe, that you did teach the Quene. And therefore seing God did so blesse you, to make you the Scholer of the best Master, and also the Scholemaster of the best Scholer, that euer were in our tyme, surelie, you should please God, benefite your countrie, & honest your owne name, if you would take the paines, to impart to others, what you learned of soch à Master, and how ye taught suchà scholer. And, in vttering the stuffe ye receiued of the one, in declaring the order ye tooke with the other, ye shall neuer lacke, neither matter, nor maner, what to write, nor how to write in this kinde of Argument.

I beginning some farther excuse, sodeinlie was called to cum to the Queene. The night following, I slept litle, my head was so full of this our former taulke, and I so mindefull, somewhat to satisfie the honest request of so deare à frend, I thought to præpare some litle treatise for a New yeares gift that Christmas. But, as it chanceth to busie builders, so, in building thys my poore Scholehouse (the rather bicause the forme of it is somewhat new, and differing from others) the worke rose dailie higher and wider, than I thought it would at the beginninge.

And though it appears now, and be in verie deede, but a small cotage, poore for the stuffe, and rude for the workemanship, yet in going forward, I found the site so good, as I was lothe to giue it ouer, but the making so costlie, outreaching my habilitie, as many tymes I wished, that some one of those three, my deare frendes, with full pursses, Syr *Tho. Smithe*, M. *Haddon*, or M. *Watson*, had had the doing of it. Yet, neuerthelesse, I my selfe,

spending gladlie

that litle, that I gatte at home by good Syr *Iohn Cheke*, and that that I borrowed abroad of my frend *Sturmius*, beside somewhat that was left me in Reuersion by my olde Masters, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and *Cicero*, I haue at last patched it vp, as I could, and as you see. If the matter be meane, and meanly handled, I pray you beare, both with me, and it: for neuer worke went vp in worse wether, with mo lettes and stoppes, than this poore Scholehouse of mine. Westminster Hall can beare some witnesse, beside moch weakenes of bodie, but more trouble of minde, by some such sores, as greue me to toche them my selfe, and therefore I purpose not to open them to others. And, in

M. Smith.
Haddon
Watson. Syr I.
Cheke. I.
Sturmius.
Plato.
Aristotle.
Cicero.

Syr R. Sackuill.

middes of outward iniuries, and inward cares, to encrease them withall, good Syr Rich. Sackuile dieth, that worthie Ientleman: That earnest fauorer and furtherer of Gods true Religion: That faithfull Seruitor to his Prince and Countrie: A louer of learning, & all learned men: Wise in all doinges: Curtesse to all persons: shewing spite to none: doing good to many: and as I well found, to me so fast à frend, as I neuer lost the like before. Whan he was gone, my hart was dead. There was not one, that woare à blacke gowne for him, who caried à heuier hart for him, than I. Whan he was gone, I cast this booke àwaie: I could not looke vpon it, but with weping eyes, in remembring him, who was the onelie setter on, to do it, and would have bene, not onelie à glad commender of it, but also à sure and certaine comfort, to me and mine, for it. Almost two yeares togither, this booke lay scattered, and neglected, and had bene quite giuen ouer of me, if the goodnesse of one had not given me some life and spirite againe. God, the mouer of goodnesse, prosper alwaies him & his, as he hath many times comforted me and mine, and, I trust to God, shall comfort more and more. Of whom, most iustlie I may saie, and verie oft, and alwaies gladlie, I am wont to say, that sweete verse of Sophocles, spoken by Oedipus to worthie Theseus.

echo [gar] acho dia se, kouk allon broton.

Thys hope hath helped me to end this booke: which, if he allowe, I shall thinke my labours well imployed, and shall not moch æsteme the misliking of any others. And I trust, he shall thinke the better of it, bicause he shall finde the best part thereof, to cum out of his Schole, whom he, of all men loued and liked best.

Soph. in Oed. Col.

Yet some men, frendly enough of nature, but of small iudgement in learninge, do thinke, I take to moch paines, and spend to moch time, in settinge forth these childrens affaires. But those good men were neuer brought vp in *Socrates* Schole, who saith plainlie, that no man goeth àbout à more godlie purpose, than he that is mindfull of the good bringing vp, both of hys owne, and other mens children.

Plato in initio Theagis. ou gar esti peri otou theioterou anthropos an bouleusaito, e peri paideias, kai ton auton, kai ton oikeion.

Therfore, I trust, good and wise men, will thinke well of this my doing. And of other, that thinke otherwise, I will thinke my selfe, they are but men, to be pardoned for their follie, and pitied for their ignoraunce.

In writing this booke, I have had earnest respecte to three special pointes, trothe of Religion, honestie in liuing, right order in learning. In which three waies, I praie God, my poore children may diligently waulke: for whose sake, as nature moued, and reason required, and necessitie also somewhat compelled, I was the willinger to take these paines.

For, seing at my death, I am not like to leaue them any great store of liuing, therefore in my life time, I thought good to bequeath vnto them, in this litle booke, as in my Will and Testament, the right waie to good learning: which if they followe, with the feare of God, they shall verie well cum to sufficiencie of liuinge.

I wishe also, with all my hart, that yong M. *Rob. Sackuille*, may take that fructe of this labor, that his worthie Grauntfather purposed he should have done: And if any other do take, either proffet, or pleasure hereby, they have cause to thanke M. *Robert Sackuille*, for whom speciallie this my Scholemaster was prouided.

And one thing I would have the Reader consider in readinge this booke, that bicause, no Scholemaster hath charge of any childe, before he enter into hys Schole, therefore I leaving all former care, of their good bringing vp, to wise and good Parentes, as à matter not belonging to the Scholemaster, I do appoynt thys my Scholemaster, than, and there to begin, where his office and charge beginneth. Which charge lasteth not long, but vntill the Scholer be made hable to go to the Vniuersitie, to procede in Logike, Rhetoricke, and other kindes of learning.

Yet if my Scholemaster, for loue he beareth to hys
Scholer, shall teach hym somewhat for hys furtherance,
and better iudgement in learning, that may serue
him seuen yeare after in the Vniuersitie, he
doth hys Scholer no more wrong, nor deserueth no worse name therby, than he
doth in London, who sellinge silke
or cloth vnto his frend, doth
giue hym better measure,
than either hys promise or bargaine
was.

Farewell in Christ.

The first booke for the youth.



Fter the childe hath learned perfitlie the eight partes of speach, let him then learne the right ioyning togither of substantiues with adiectiues, the nowne with the verbe, the relatiue with the antecedent. And in learninge farther hys Syntaxis, by mine aduice, he shall not vse the common order in common scholes, for making of latines: wherby, the childe commonlie learneth, first, an euill choice of wordes, (and right choice of

wordes, saith Cæsar, is the

foundation of eloquence) than, a wrong placing of wordes: and lastlie, an ill framing of the sentence, with a peruerse iudgement, both of wordes and sentences. These faultes, taking once roote in yougthe, be neuer, or hardlie, pluckt away in age. Moreouer, there is no one thing, that hath more, either dulled the wittes, or taken awaye the will of children from learning, then the care they haue, to satisfie their masters, in making of latines.

Cic. de Cla. or.

Making of Lattines marreth Children.

For, the scholer, is commonlie beat for the making, when the master were more worthie to be beat for the mending, or rather, marring of the same: The master many times, being as ignorant as the childe, what to saie properlie and fitlie to the matter.

Horman. Whittington.

Two scholemasters haue set forth in print, either of them a booke, of soch kinde of latines, *Horman* and *Whittington*. A childe shall learne of the better of them, that, which an other daie, if he be wise, and cum to iudgement, he must be faine to vnlearne againe.

There is a waie, touched in the first booke of *Cicero De Oratore*, which, wiselie brought into scholes, truely taught, and constantly vsed, would not onely take wholly away this butcherlie feare in making of latines, but would also, with ease and pleasure, and in short time, as I know by good experience, worke a true choice and placing of wordes, a right ordering of sentences, an easie vnderstandyng of the tonge, a readines to speake, a facultie to

write, a true iudgement, both of his owne, and other mens doinges, what 1. *De Or.* tonge so euer he doth vse.

The waie is this. After the three Concordances learned, as I touched before, let the master read vnto hym the Epistles of *Cicero*, gathered togither and chosen out by *Sturmius*, for the capacitie of children.

The order of teaching.

First, let him teach the childe, cherefullie and plainlie, the cause, and matter of the letter: then, let him construe it into Englishe, so oft, as the childe may easilie carie awaie the vnderstanding of it: Lastlie, parse it ouer perfitlie. This done thus, let the childe, by and by, both construe and parse it ouer againe: so, that it may appeare, that the childe douteth in nothing, that his master taught him before. After this, the childe must take a paper booke, and sitting in some place, where no man shall prompe him, by him self, let him translate into Englishe his former lesson. Then shewing it to his master

Two paper bokes.

Children learne by prayse.

him translate into Englishe his former lesson. Then shewing it to his master, let the master take from him his latin booke, and pausing an houre, at the least, than let the childe translate his owne Englishe into latin againe, in an other paper booke. When the childe bringeth it, turned into latin, the master must compare it with *Tullies* booke, and laie them both togither: and where the childe doth well, either in chosing, or true placing of *Tullies* wordes, let the master praise him, and saie here ye do well. For I assure you, there is no

such whetstone, to sharpen a good witte and encourage a will to learninge, as is praise.

But if the childe misse, either in forgetting a worde, or in chaunging a good with a worse, or misordering the sentence, I would not haue the master, either froune, or chide with him, if the childe haue done his diligence, and vsed no trewandship therein. For I know by good experience, that a childe shall take more profit of two fautes, ientlie warned of, then of foure thinges, rightly hitt. For than, the master shall haue good occasion to saie vnto him. *N. Tullie* would haue vsed Ientlenes in such a worde, not this: *Tullie* would haue placed this word here, not there: teaching. would haue vsed this case, this number, this person, this degree, this gender: he would haue vsed this moode, this tens, this simple, rather than this compound: this aduerbe here, not there: he would haue ended the sentence with this verbe, not with that nowne or participle, etc.

In these fewe lines, I haue wrapped vp, the most tedious part of Grammer: and also the ground of almost all the Rewles, that are so busilie taught by the Master, and so hardlie learned by the Scholer, in all common Scholes: which after this sort, the master shall teach without all error, and the scholer shall learne without great paine: the master being led by so sure a guide, and the scholer being brought into so plaine and easie a waie. And therefore, we do not contemne Rewles, but we gladlie teach Rewles: and teach them, more plainlie, sensiblie, and orderlie, than they be commonlie taught in common Scholes. For whan the Master shall compare *Tullies* booke with his Scholers translation, let the Master, at the first, lead and teach his Scholer, to ioyne the Rewles of his Grammer booke, with the examples of his present lesson, vntill the Scholer, by him selfe, be hable to fetch out of his Grammer, euerie Rewle, for euerie Example: So, as the Grammer booke be euer in the Scholers hand, and also vsed of him, as a Dictionarie, for euerie present vse. This is a liuely and perfite waie of teaching of Rewles: where the common waie, vsed in common Scholes, to read the Grammer alone by it selfe, is tedious for the Master, hard for the Scholer, colde and vncumfortable for them bothe.

Let your Scholer be neuer afraide, to aske you any dout, but vse discretlie the best allurements ye can, to encorage him to the same: lest, his ouermoch fearinge of you, driue him to seeke some misorderlie shifte: as, to seeke to be helped by some other booke, or to be prompted by some other Scholer, and so goe aboute to begile you moch, and him selfe more.

With this waie, of good vnderstanding the mater, plaine construinge, diligent parsinge, dailie translatinge, cherefull admonishinge, and heedefull amendinge of faultes: neuer leauinge behinde iuste praise for well doinge, I would haue the Scholer brought vp withall, till he had red, & translated ouer ye first booke of Epistles chosen out by *Sturmius*, with a good peece of a Comedie of *Terence* also.

All this while, by mine aduise, the childe shall vse to speake no latine: For, as *Cicero* saith in like mater, with like wordes,

loquendo, male loqui discunt. And, that excellent learned man, G. Budæus, Latin speakyng. in his Greeke Commentaries, sore complaineth, that whan he began to G. Budæus. learne the latin tonge, vse of speaking latin at the table, and elsewhere, vnaduisedlie, did bring him to soch an euill choice of wordes, to soch a crooked framing of sentences, that no one thing did hurt or hinder him more, all the daies of his life afterward, both for

redinesse in speaking, and also good judgement in writinge.

In very deede, if children were brought vp, in soch a house, or soch a Schole, where the latin tonge were properlie and perfitlie spoken, as Tib. and Ca. Gracci were brought vp, in their mother Cornelias house, surelie, than the dailie vse of speaking, were the best and readiest waie, to learne the latin tong. But, now, commonlie, in the best Scholes in England, for wordes, right choice is smallie regarded, true proprietie whollie neglected, confusion is brought in, barbariousnesse is bred vp so in yong wittes, as afterward they be, not onelie marde for speaking, but also corrupted in iudgement: as with moch adoe, or neuer at all, they be brought to right frame againe.

Yet all men couet to haue their children speake latin: and so do I verie earnestlie too. We bothe, haue one purpose: we agree in desire, we wish one end: but we differ somewhat in order and waie, that leadeth rightlie to that end. Other would have them speake at all aduentures: and, so they be speakinge, to speake, the Master careth not, the Scholer knoweth not, what. This is, to seeme, and not to bee: except it be, to be bolde without shame, rashe without skill, full of words without witte. I wish to have them speake so, as it may well appeare, that the braine doth gouerne the tonge, and that reason leadeth forth the taulke. Socrates doctrine is true in Plato, and well marked, and truely vttered by Horace in Arte Poetica, that, where so euer knowledge doth accompanie the witte, there best vtterance doth alwaies awaite vpon the tonge: For, good vnderstanding must first be bred in the childe, which, being nurished with skill, and vse of writing (as I will Plato. Horat. teach more largelie hereafter) is the onelie waie to bring him to iudgement and readinesse in speakinge: and that in farre shorter time (if he followe constantlie the trade of this litle lesson) than he shall do, by common

But, to go forward, as you perceiue, your scholer to goe better and better on awaie, first, with vnderstanding his lesson more quicklie, with parsing more readelie, with translating more spedelie and perfitlie then he was wonte, after, giue him longer lessons to translate: and withall, begin to teach him, both in nownes, & verbes, what is *Proprium*, and what is *Translatum*, what Synonymum, what Diuersum, which be Contraria, and which be most notable Phrases in all his lecture

As:

Much writyng breedeth ready speakyng.

The second degree and order in teachyng.

teachinge of the common scholes in England.

{Rex Sepultus est

Proprium. {magnificè.

{Cum illo principe,

Translatum. {Sepulta est & gloria

{et Salus Reipublicæ.

Synonyma. {Ensis, Gladius.

{Laudare, prædicare.

{Diligere, Amare.

Diuersa. {Calere, Exardescere.

{Inimicus, Hostis.

{Acerbum & luctuosum

{ bellum.

Contraria. {Dulcis & læta

{ *Pax*.

{Dare verba.

Phrases. {abjicere obedientiam.

Your scholer then, must have the third paper booke: in

the which, after he hath done his double translation, let him write, after this sort foure of these forenamed sixe, diligentlie marked out of eurie lesson.

The thyrd paper boke.

{Propria. {Translata.

Quatuor. {Synonyma.

{Diuersa. {Contraria.

{Phrases.

Or else, three, or two, if there be no moe: and if there be none of these at all in some lecture, yet not omitte the order, but write these.

{Diuersa nulla. {Contraria nulla. etc.

This diligent translating, ioyned with this heedefull marking, in the foresaid Epistles, and afterwarde in some plaine Oration of *Tullie*, as, *pro lege Manil: pro Archia Poeta*, or in those three *ad C. Cæs:* shall worke soch a right choise of wordes, so streight a framing of sentences, soch a true iudgement, both to write skilfullie, and speake wittlelie, as wise men shall both praise, and maruell at.

If your scholer do misse sometimes, in marking rightlie these foresaid sixe thinges, chide not hastelie: for that shall, both dull his witte, and discorage his diligence: but monish him gentelie: which shall make him, both willing to amende, and glad to go forward in loue and hope of learning.

I have now wished, twise or thrise, this gentle nature, to be in a Scholemaster: And, that I have done so, neither by chance, nor without some reason, I will now declare at large, why, in mine opinion, loue is

fitter than feare, ientlenes better than beating, to bring vp a childe rightlie in learninge.

Ientlenes in teaching.

With the common vse of teaching and beating in common scholes of England, I will not greatlie contend: which if I did, it were but a small grammatical controuersie, neither belonging to heresie nor treason, nor greatly touching God nor the Prince: although in very deede, in the end, the good or ill bringing vp of children, doth as much serue to the good or ill seruice, of God, our Prince, and our whole countrie, as any one thing doth beside.

Loue. Feare

Common Scholes.

I do gladlie agree with all good Scholemasters in these pointes: to haue children brought to good perfitnes in learning: to all honestie in maners: to haue all fautes rightlie amended: to haue euerie vice seuerelie corrected: but for the order and waie that leadeth rightlie to these pointes, we somewhat differ. For commonlie, many scholemasters, some, as I haue seen, moe, as I haue heard tell, be of so crooked a nature, as, when they meete with a hard witted scholer, they rather breake him, than bowe him, rather marre him, then mend him. For whan the scholemaster is angrie with some other matter, then will he sonest faul to beate his scholer: and though he him selfe should be punished for his folie, yet must he beate some scholer for his pleasure:

though there be no cause for him to do so, nor yet fault in the scholer to deserue so. These ye will say, be fond scholemasters, and fewe they be, that be found to be soch. They be fond in deede, but surelie ouermany soch be found euerie where. But this I will say, that euen the wisest of your great beaters, do as oft punishe nature, as they do correcte faultes. Yea, many times, the better nature, is sorer punished: For, if one, by quicknes of witte, take his lesson readelie, an other, by hardnes of witte, taketh it not so speedelie: the first is alwaies commended, the other is commonlie punished:

Sharpe Scholemasters.

Nature punished.

Quicke wittes for learnyng.

whan a wise scholemaster, should rather discretelie consider the right disposition of both their natures, and not so moch wey what either of them is able to do now, as what either of them is likelie to do hereafter. For this I know, not onelie by reading of bookes in my studie, but also by experience of life, abrode in the world, that those, which be commonlie the wisest, the best learned, and best men also, when they be olde, were neuer commonlie the quickest of witte, when they were yonge. The causes why, amongst other, which be many, that moue me thus to thinke, be these fewe, which I will recken. Quicke wittes commonlie, be apte to take, vnapte to keepe: soone hote and desirous of this and that: as colde and sone wery of the same againe: more quicke to enter spedelie, than hable to pearse farre: euen like ouer sharpe tooles, whose edges be verie soone turned. Soch wittes delite them selues in easie and pleasant studies, and neuer passe farre forward in hie and hard sciences. And therefore the quickest wittes commonlie may proue the best Poetes, but not the wisest Orators: readie of tonge to speake boldlie, not deepe of judgement, either for good counsell or wise writing. Also, for maners and life, quicke wittes commonlie, be, in desire, newfangle, in purpose, vnconstant, light to promise any thing, readie to forget euery thing: both benefite and inurie: and therby neither fast to frend, nor fearefull to foe: inquisitiue of euery trifle, not secret in greatest affaires: bolde, with any Ouicke wittes, for maners & person: busie, in euery matter: sothing, soch as be present: nipping any that lyfe. is absent: of nature also, alwaies, flattering their betters, enuying their equals, despising their inferiors: and, by quicknes of witte, verie quicke and readie, to like none so well as them selues.

Moreouer commonlie, men, very quicke of witte, be also, verie light of conditions: and thereby, very readie of disposition, to be caried ouer quicklie, by any light cumpanie, to any riot and vnthriftines when they be yonge: and therfore seldome, either honest of life, or riche in liuing, when they be olde. For, quicke in witte, and light in maners, be either seldome troubled, or verie sone wery, in carying a verie heuie purse. Quicke wittes also be, in most part of all their doinges, ouerquicke, hastie, rashe, headie, and brainsicke. These two last wordes, Headie, and Brainsicke, be fitte and proper wordes, rising naturallie of the matter, and tearmed aptlie by the condition of ouer moch quickenes of witte. In yougthe also they be, readie scoffers, priuie mockers, and euer ouer light and mery. In aige, sone testie, very waspishe, and alwaies ouer miserable: and yet fewe of them cum to any great aige, by reason of their misordered life when they were yong: but a great deale fewer of them cum to shewe any great countenance, or beare any great authoritie abrode in the world, but either liue obscurelie, men know not how, or dye obscurelie, men marke not whan. They be like trees, that shewe forth, faire blossoms & broad leaues in spring time, but bring out small and not long lasting fruite in haruest time: and that onelie soch, as fall, and rotte, before they be ripe, and so, neuer, or seldome, cum to any good at all. For this ye shall finde most true by experience, that amongest a number of quicke wittes in youthe, fewe be found, in the end, either verie fortunate for them selues, or verie profitable to serue the common wealth, but decay and vanish, men know not which way: except a very fewe, to whom peraduenture blood and happie parentage, may perchance purchace a long standing vpon the stage. The which felicitie, because it commeth by others procuring, not by their owne deseruinge, and stand by other mens feete, and not by their own, what owtward brag so euer is borne by them, is in deed, of it selfe, and in wise mens eyes, of no

great estimation.

Some wittes, moderate enough by nature, be many tymes marde by ouer moch studie and vse of some sciences, namelie, Musicke, Arithmetick, and Geometrie. Thies sciences, as they sharpen mens wittes ouer moch, so they change mens maners ouer sore, if they be not moderatlie mingled, & wiselie applied to som good vse of life. Marke all Mathematicall heades, which be onely and wholy bent to those sciences, how solitarie they be themselues, how vnfit to liue with others, & how vnapte to

serue in the world. This is not onelie knowen now by common experience, but vttered long before by wise mens Iudgement and sentence. Galene saith, moch Musick marreth mens maners: and Plato hath a notable place of the same thing in his bookes de Rep. well marked also, and excellentlie translated by Tullie himself. Of this matter, I wrote once more at large, XX. yeare a go, in my booke of shoting: now I thought but to touch it, to proue, that ouer moch quicknes of witte, either given by nature, or sharpened by studie, doth not commonlie bring forth, eyther greatest learning, best maners, or happiest life in the end.

Som sciences hurt mens wits, and mar mens maners.

Mathematicall heades.

Galen. Plato.

Hard wits in learning.

Contrariewise, a witte in youth, that is not ouer dulle, heavie, knottie and lumpishe, but hard, rough, and though somwhat staffishe, as Tullie wisheth otium, quietum, non languidum: and negotium cum labore, non cum

periculo, such a witte I say, if it be, at the first well handled by the mother, and rightlie smothed and wrought as it should, not ouerwhartlie, and against the wood, by the scholemaster, both for learning, and hole course of liuing, proueth alwaies the best. In woode and stone, not the softest, but hardest, be alwaies aptest, for portrature, both fairest for pleasure, and most durable for proffit. Hard wittes be hard to receive, but sure to keepe: painefull without werinesse, hedefull without wauering, constant without newfanglenes: bearing heavie thinges, thoughe not lightlie, yet willinglie: entring hard thinges, though not easelie, yet depelie, and so cum to that perfitnes of learning in the ende, that quicke wittes, seeme in hope, but do not in deede, or else verie seldome, euer attaine vnto. Also, for maners and life, hard wittes commonlie, ar hardlie caried, either to desire euerie new thing, or else to meruell at euery strange thinge: and therfore they be carefull and diligent in their own matters, not curious and busey in other mens affaires: and so, they becum wise them selues, and also ar counted honest by others. They be graue, stedfast, silent of tong, secret of hart. Not hastie in making, but constant in keping any promise.

Not rashe in vttering, but ware in considering euery matter: and therby, not quicke in speaking, but deepe of iudgement, whether they write, or giue counsell in all waightie affaires. And theis be the men, that becum in the end, both most happie for themselues, and alwaise best estemed abrode in the world.

Hard wits in maners and lyfe.

The best wittes driuen from learnyng, to

I have bene longer in describing, the nature, the good or ill successe, of other liuyng. the quicke and hard witte, than perchance som will thinke, this place and matter doth require. But my purpose was hereby, plainlie to vtter, what iniurie is offered to all learninge, & to the common welthe also, first, by the fond father in chosing, but chieflie by the lewd scholemaster in beating and driuing away the best natures from learning. A childe that is still, silent, constant, and somewhat hard of witte, is either neuer chosen by

the father to be made a scholer, or else, when he commeth to the schole, he is smally regarded, little looked vnto, he lacketh teaching, he lacketh coraging, he lacketh all thinges, onelie he neuer lacketh beating, nor any word, that may moue him to hate learninge, nor any deed that may drive him from learning, to any other kinde of living.

And when this sadde natured, and hard witted child, is bette from his booke, and becummeth after eyther student of the common lawe, or page in the Court, or seruingman, or bound prentice to a merchant,

or to som handiecrafte, he proueth in the ende, wiser, happier and many tymes honester too, than many of theis quick wittes do, by their learninge.

Learning is, both hindred and injured to, by the ill choice of them, that send yong scholers to the vniuersities. Of whom must nedes cum all our Diuines, Lawyers, and Physicions.

Thies yong scholers be chosen commonlie, as yong apples be chosen by of wittes for children, in a faire garden about S. Iames tyde: a childe will chose a learnyng. sweeting, because it is presentlie faire and pleasant, and refuse a Runnet, because it is than grene, hard, and sowre, whan the one, if it be eaten, doth breed, both wormes and ill humors: the other if it stand his tyme, be ordered and kepte as it should, is holsom of it self, and helpeth to the good digestion of other meates: Sweetinges, will receyue wormes, rotte, and dye on the tree, and neuer or seldom cum to the gathering for good and lasting store.

For verie greafe of harte I will not applie the similitude: but hereby, is plainlie seen, how learning is robbed of hir best wittes, first by the great beating, and after by the ill chosing of scholers, to go to the vniuersities. Whereof cummeth partelie, that lewde and spitefull prouerbe, sounding to the greate hurte of learning, and shame of learned men, that, the greatest Clerkes be not the wisest men.

And though I, in all this discourse, seem plainlie to prefer, hard and roughe wittes, before quicke and light wittes, both for learning and maners, yet am I not ignorant that som quicknes of witte, is a singuler gifte of God, and so most rare emonges men, and namelie such a witte, as is quicke without lightnes, sharpe without brittlenes, desirous of good thinges without newfanglenes, diligent in painfull thinges without werisomnes, and constant in good will to do all thinges well, as I know was in Syr Iohn Cheke, and is in som, that yet liue, in whome all theis faire qualities of witte ar fullie mette togither.

But it is notable and trewe, that *Socrates* saith in *Plato* to his frende *Crito*. That, that number of men is fewest, which far excede, either in good or ill, in wisdom of folie, but the meane betwixt both, be the greatest number: which he proueth trewe in diuerse other thinges: as in greyhoundes, emonges which fewe are found, exceding greate, or exceding litle,

exceding swift, or exceding slowe: And therfore I speaking of quick and hard wittes, I ment, the common number of quicke and hard wittes, emonges the which, for the most parte, the hard witte, proueth manie times, the better learned, wiser and honester man: and therfore, do I the more lament, that soch wittes commonlie be either kepte from learning, by fond fathers, or bet from learning by lewde scholemasters.

And speaking thus moche of the wittes of children for learning, the opportunitie of the place, and goodnes of the matter might require to have here declared the most speciall

Hard wits proue best in euery kynde of life.

The ill choice

notes of a good witte for learning in a childe, after the maner and custume of *Plato* in *Critone*. a good horsman, who is skilfull, to know, and hable to tell others, how by certein sure signes, a man may choise a colte, that is like to proue an other day, excellent for the saddle. And it is pitie, that commonlie, more care is had, yea and that emonges verie wise men, to finde out rather a cunnynge man for their horse, than a cunnyng man for their children. They say nay in worde, but they do so in deede. For, to the one, they will gladlie giue a stipend of 200. Crounes by yeare, and loth to offer to the other, 200. shillinges. God, that sitteth in heauen laugheth their choice to skorne, and rewardeth their liberalitie as it should: for he suffereth them, to haue, tame, and well ordered horse, but wilde and vnfortunate Children: and therfore in the ende they finde more pleasure in their horse, than comforte in their children.

But concerning the trewe notes of the best wittes for learning in a childe, I will reporte, not myne own opinion, but the very iudgement of him, that was counted the best teacher and wisest man that learning maketh mention of, and that is Socrates in Plato, who expresseth orderlie thies seuen plaine notes to choise a good witte in a child for learninge.

Trewe notes of a good witte.

{1 Euphues. {2 Mnemon. {3 Philomathes. {4 Philoponos. {5 Philekoos. {6 Zetetikos. {7 Philepainos.

Verie good, or verie ill men, be fewest in number.

Horsemen be wiser in knowledge of a good Colte, than scholemasters be, in knowledge of a good witte.

A good Rider better rewarded than a good Scholemaster.

Horse well broken, children ill taught.

Plato in 7. de Rep.

And bicause I write English, and to Englishemen, I will plainlie declare in Englishe both, what thies wordes of *Plato* meane, and how aptlie they be linked, and how orderlie they folow one an other.

1. Euphues.

Is he, that is apte by goodnes of witte, and appliable by readines of will, to learning, hauing all other qualities of the minde and partes of the bodie, that must an other day serue learning, not trobled,

mangled, and halfed, but sounde, whole, full, & hable to do their office: as, a tong, not stamering, or ouer hardlie drawing forth wordes, but plaine, and redie to deliuer the meaning of the minde: a voice, not softe, weake, piping, wommanishe, but audible, stronge, and manlike: a countenance, not werishe and crabbed, but faire and cumlie: a personage, not wretched and deformed, but taule and goodlie for surelie, a cumlie countenance, with a goodlie stature, geueth credit to learning, and authoritie to the person: otherwise commonlie, either, open contempte, or priuie disfauour doth hurte, or hinder, both person and learning. And, euen as a faire stone requireth to be sette in the finest gold, with the best workmanshyp, or else it leseth moch of the Grace and price, euen so, excellencye in learning, and namely Diuinitie, ioyned with a cumlie personage, is a meruelous Iewell in the world. And how can a cumlie bodie be better employed, than to serue the fairest exercise of Goddes greatest gifte, and that is learning. But commonlie, the fairest bodies, ar bestowed on the foulest purposes. I would it were not so: and with examples herein I will not medle: yet I wishe, that those shold, both mynde it, & medle with it, which haue most occasion to looke to it, as good and wise fathers shold do, and greatest authoritie to amend it, as good & wise magistrates ought to do: And yet I will not let, openlie to lament the vnfortunate case of learning herein.

Witte. Will.

The tong.

The voice.

Face. Stature.

Learnyng ioyned with a cumlie personage.

For, if a father haue foure sonnes, three faire and well formed both mynde and bodie, the fourth, wretched, lame, and deformed, his choice shalbe, to put the worst to learning, as one good enoughe to becum a scholer. I haue spent the most parte of my life in the Vniuersitie, and therfore I can

beare good witnes that many fathers commonlie do thus: wherof, I haue hard many wise, learned, and as good men as euer I knew, make great, and oft complainte: a good horseman will choise no soch colte, neither for his own, nor yet for his masters sadle. And thus moch of the first note.

Deformed creatures commonlie set to learnyng.

Memorie.

Aul. Gel.

2 Mnemon.

Good of memorie, a speciall parte of the first note euphues, and a mere benefite of nature: yet it is so necessarie for learning, as *Plato* maketh it a separate and perfite note of it selfe, and that so principall a note, as without it, all other giftes of nature do small seruice to learning. *Afranius*, that olde Latine Poete maketh Memorie the mother of learning and wisedome, saying thus.

Three sure signes of a good memorie.

Vsus me genuit, Mater peperit memoria, and though it be the mere gifte of nature, yet is memorie well preserued by vse, and moch encreased by order, as our scholer must learne an other day in the Vniuersitie: but in a childe, a good memorie is well known, by three properties: that is, if it be, quicke in receyuing, sure in keping, and redie in deliuering forthe againe.

3 Philomathes.

Giuen to loue learning: for though a child haue all the giftes of nature at wishe, and perfection of memorie at wil, yet if he haue not a special loue to learning, he shall neuer attaine to moch learning. And therfore *Isocrates*, one of the noblest scholemasters, that is in memorie of learning, who taught Kinges and Princes, as *Halicarnassæus* writeth, and out of whose schole, as *Tullie* saith, came forth, mo noble Capitanes, mo wise Councelors, than did out of *Epeius* horse at *Troie*. This *Isocrates*, I say, did cause to be written, at the

entrie of his schole, in golden letters, this golden sentence, ean es philomathes, ese polymathes which excellentlie said in *Greeke*, is thus rudelie in Englishe, if thou louest learning, thou shalt attayne to moch learning.

4. Philoponos.

Is he, that hath a lust to labor, and a will to take paines. For, if a childe haue all the benefites of nature, with perfection of memorie, loue, like, & praise learning neuer so moch, yet if he be not of him selfe painfull, he shall neuer attayne vnto it. And yet where loue is present, labor is seldom absent, and namelie in studie of learning, and matters of the mynde: and therfore did *Isocrates* rightlie iudge, that if his scholer were philomathes he cared for no more. Aristotle, variing from Isocrates in private affaires of life, but agreing with *Isocrates* in common judgement of learning, for loue and labor in learning, is of the same opinion, vttered in these wordes, in his Rhetorike ad Theodecten. Libertie kindleth loue: Loue refuseth no labor: and labor 2 Rhet, ad Theod. obteyneth what so euer it seeketh. And yet neuerthelesse, Goodnes of nature may do little good: Perfection of memorie, may serue to small vse: All loue may be employed in vayne: Any labor may be sone graualed, if a man trust alwaies to his own singuler witte, and will not be glad somtyme to heare, take aduise, and learne of an other: And therfore doth *Socrates* very notablie adde the fifte note.

5. Philekoos.

He, that is glad to heare and learne of an other. For otherwise, he shall sticke with great troble, where he might go easelie forwarde: and also catche hardlie a verie litle by his owne toyle, whan he might gather quicklie a good deale, by an nothers mans teaching. But now there be some, that haue great loue to learning, good lust to labor, be willing to learne of others, yet, either of a fonde shamefastnes, or else of a proud folie, they dare not, or will not, go to learne of an nother: And therfore doth *Socrates* wiselie adde the sixte note of a good witte in a childe for learning, and that is.

6. Zetetikos.

He, that is naturallie bold to aske any question, desirous to searche out any doute, not ashamed to learne of the meanest, not affraide to go to the greatest, vntill he be perfitelie taught, and fullie satisfiede. The seuenth and last poynte is.

7. Philepainos.

He, that loueth to be praised for well doing, at his father, or masters hand. A childe of this nature, will earnestlie loue learnyng, gladlie labor for learning, willinglie learne of other, boldlie aske any doute. And thus, by *Socrates* iudgement, a good father, and a wise scholemaster, shold chose a childe to make a scholer of, that hath by nature, the foresayd

perfite qualities, and cumlie furniture, both of mynde and bodie: hath memorie, quicke to receyue, sure to keape, and readie to deliuer: hath loue to learning: hath lust to labor: hath desire to learne of others: hath boldnes to aske any question: hath mynde holie bent, to wynne praise by well doing.

The two firste poyntes be speciall benefites of nature: which neuerthelesse, be well preserued, and moch encreased by good order. But as for the fiue laste, loue, labor, gladnes to learne of others, boldnes to aske doutes, and will to wynne praise, be wonne and maintened by the onelie wisedome and discretion of the scholemaster. Which fiue poyntes, whether a scholemaster shall worke soner in a childe, by fearefull beating, or curtese handling, you that be wise, judge.

Yet some men, wise in deede, but in this matter, more by seueritie of nature, than any wisdome at all, do laugh at vs, when we thus wishe and reason, that yong children should rather be allured to learning by ientilnes and loue, than compelled to learning, by beating and feare: They say, our reasons serue onelie to breede forth talke, and passe a waie tyme, but we neuer saw good scholemaster do so, nor neuer red of wise man that thought so.

Yes forsothe: as wise as they be, either in other mens opinion, or in their owne conceite, I will bring the contrarie iudgement of him, who, they them selues shall confesse, was as wise as they are, or else they may be iustlie thought to haue small witte at all: and that is *Socrates*, whose iudgement in *Plato* is plainlie this in these wordes: which, bicause they be verie notable, I will recite them in his owne tong, ouden mathema meta douleias chre manthanein: oi men gar tou somatos ponoi bia ponoumenoi cheiron ouden to soma apergazontai; psyche de, biaion ouden emmonon mathema: in Englishe thus, No learning ought to be learned with bondage: For bodelie labors, wrought by compulsion, hurt not the bodie: but any learning learned by compulsion,

tarieth not long in the mynde: And why? For what soeuer the mynde doth learne vnwillinglie with feare, the same it doth quicklie forget without care. And lest proude wittes, that loue not to be contraryed, but haue lust to wrangle or trifle away troth, will say, that *Socrates* meaneth not this of childrens teaching, but of som other higher learnyng, heare, what *Socrates* in the same place doth more plainlie say: me toinyn bia, o ariste, tous paidas en tois mathemasin, alla paizontas trephe, that is to say, and therfore, my deare frend, bring not vp your children in learning by compulsion and feare, but by playing and pleasure. And you, that do read *Plato*, as ye shold, do well perceiue, that these be no Questions asked by *Socrates*, as doutes, but they be Sentences, first affirmed by *Socrates*, as mere trothes, and after, giuen forth by *Socrates*, as right Rules, most necessarie to be marked, and fitte to be folowed of all them, that would haue children taughte, as they should. And in this counsell, iudgement, and authoritie of *Socrates* I will

Plato in 7. de Rep.

The right reading of *Plato*.

Yong
Ientlemen, be
wiselier taught
to ryde, by
common
ryders, than to
learne, by
common
Scholemasters.

repose my selfe, vntill I meete with a man of the contrarie mynde, whom I may iustlie take to be wiser, than I thinke *Socrates* was. Fonde scholemasters, neither can vnder- stand, nor will follow this good counsell of *Socrates*, but wise ryders, in their office, can and will do both: which is the onelie cause, that commonly, the yong ientlemen of England, go so vnwillinglie to schole, and run so fast to the stable: For in verie deede fond scholemasters, by feare, do beate into them, the hatred of learning, and wise riders, by ientle allurements,

do breed vp in them, the loue of riding. They finde feare, & bondage in scholes, They feele libertie and freedome in stables: which causeth them, vtterlie to abhore the one, and most gladlie to haunt the other. And I do not write this, that in exhorting to the one, I would dissuade yong ientlemen from the other: yea I am sorie, with all my harte, that they be giuen no more to riding, then they be: For, of all outward qualities, to ride faire, is most cumelie for him selfe, most necessarie for his contrey, and the greater he is in blood, the greater is his praise, the more he doth excede all other therein. It was one of the three excellent praises, amongest the noble ientlemen the old *Percians*, Alwaise to say troth, to ride faire, and shote well: and so it was engrauen vpon *Darius* tumbe, as *Strabo* beareth witnesse.

Darius the king, lieth buried here, Who in riding and shoting had neuer peare.

But, to our purpose, yong men, by any meanes, leesing the

loue of learning, whan by tyme they cum to their owne rule, they carie commonlie, from the schole with them, a perpetuall hatred of their master, and a continuall contempt of learning. If ten Ientlemen be asked, why they forget so sone in Court, that which they were learning so long in schole, eight of them, or let me be blamed, will laie the fault on their ill handling, by their scholemasters.

Ryding.

Strabo. 15.

Pastime. Learnyng.

Cuspinian doth report, that, that noble Emperor Maximilian, would lament verie oft, his misfortune herein.

Yet, some will say, that children of nature, loue pastime, and mislike learning: bicause, in their kinde, the one is easie and pleasant, the other hard and werisom: which is an opinion not so trewe, as some men weene: For, the matter lieth not so much in the disposition of them that be yong, as in the order & maner of bringing vp, by them that be old, nor yet in the difference of learnyng and pastime. For, beate a child, if he daunce not well, & cherish him, though he learne not well, ye shall haue him, vnwilling to go to daunce, & glad to go to his booke. Knocke him alwaies, when he draweth his shaft ill, and fauor him againe, though he faut at his booke, ye shall haue hym verie loth to be in the field, and verie willing to be in the schole. Yea, I saie more, and not of my selfe, but by the iudgement of those, from whom few wisemen will gladlie dissent, that if euer the nature of man be giuen at any tyme, more than other, to receiue goodnes, it is in innocencie of yong yeares, before, that experience of euill, haue taken roote in hym. For, the pure cleane witte of a sweete yong babe, is like the newest wax, most hable to receiue the best and fayrest printing: and like a new bright siluer dishe neuer occupied, to receiue and kepe cleane, anie good thyng that is put into it.

easelie be won to be verie well willing to learne. And witte in children, by nature, namelie memorie, the onelie keie and keper of all learning, is readiest to receiue, and surest to kepe anie maner of thing, that is learned in yougth: This, lewde and learned, by

common experience, know to be most trewe. For we remember nothyng so well when we be olde, as those things which we learned when we were yong: And this is not straunge, but common in all natures workes. Euery man sees, (as I sayd before) new wax is best for printyng: new claie, fittest for working: new shorne woll, aptest for sone and surest dying: new fresh flesh, for good and durable salting. And this similitude is not rude, nor borowed of the larder house, but out of his scholehouse, of whom, the wisest of England, neede not be ashamed to learne. Yong Graftes grow not onelie sonest, but also fairest, and bring alwayes forth the best and sweetest frute: yong whelpes learne easelie to carie: yong Popingeis learne quicklie to speake: And so, to be short, if in all

Will.} in Children. Witte.}

Yong yeares aptest for learnyng.

other thinges, though they lacke reason, sens, and life, the similitude of youth is fittest to all goodnesse, surelie nature, in mankinde, is most beneficiall and effectuall in this behalfe. Therfore, if to the goodnes of nature, be igyned the wisedome of the teacher, in leading yong wittes into a right and plaine waie of learnyng, surelie, children, kept vp in Gods feare, and gouerned by his grace, maie most easelie be brought well to serue God and

But if will, and witte, by farder age, be once allured from innocencie, delited in vaine sightes, filed with foull taulke, crooked with wilfulnesse, hardned with stubburnesse, and let louse to disobedience, surelie it is hard with ientlenesse, but vnpossible with seuere crueltie, to call them backe to good frame againe. For, where the one, perchance maie bend it, the other shall surelie breake it: and so in stead of some hope, leave an assured desperation, and shamelesse contempt of all goodnesse, the fardest pointe in all mischief, as *Xenophon* doth most trewlie and most wittelie marke.

Therfore, to loue or to hate, to like or contemne, to plie this waie or that waie to good or to bad, ye shall have as ye vse a child in his youth.

And one example, whether loue or feare doth worke more in a child, for vertue and learning, I will gladlie report: which maie be hard Xen. I. Cyri Pæd. with some pleasure, and followed with more profit. Before I went into Germanie, I came to Brodegate in Lecetershire, to take my leaue of that Lady Iane Grey. noble Ladie *Iane Grey*, to whom I was exceding moch beholdinge. Hir parentes, the Duke and Duches, with all the houshould, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, were huntinge in the Parke: I founde her, in her Chamber, readinge *Phædon Platonis* in Greeke, and that with as moch delite, as som ientleman wold read a merie tale in *Bocase*. After salutation, and dewtie done, with som other taulke, I asked hir, whie she wold leese soch pastime in the Parke? smiling she answered me: I wisse, all their sporte in the Parke is but a shadoe to that pleasure, that I find in Plato: Alas good folke, they neuer felt, what trewe pleasure ment. And howe came you Madame, quoth I, to this deepe knowledge of pleasure, and what did chieflie allure you vnto it: seinge, not many women, but verie fewe men haue atteined thereunto. I will tell you, quoth she, and tell you a troth, which perchance ye will meruell at. One of the greatest benefites, that euer God gaue me, is, that he sent me so sharpe and seuere Parentes, and so ientle a scholemaster. For when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speake, kepe silence, sit, stand, or go, eate, drinke, be merie, or sad, be sowyng, plaiyng, dauncing, or doing anie thing els, I must do

contrey both by vertue and wisedome.

it, as it were, in soch weight, mesure, and number, euen so perfitelie, as God made the world, or else I am so sharplie taunted, so cruellie threatened, yea presentlie some tymes, with pinches, nippes, and bobbes, and other waies, which I will not name, for the honor I beare them, so without measure misordered, that I thinke my selfe in hell, till tyme cum, that I must go to M. Elmer, who teacheth me so ientlie, so pleasantlie, with soch faire allurementes to learning, that I thinke all the tyme nothing, whiles I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weeping, because, what soeuer I do els, but learning, is ful of grief, trouble, feare, and whole misliking vnto me: And thus my booke, hath bene so moch my pleasure, & bringeth dayly to me more pleasure & more, that in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deede, be but trifles and troubles vnto me. I remember this talke gladly, both bicause it is so worthy of memorie, & bicause also, it was the last talke that euer I had, and the last tyme, that euer I saw that noble and worthie Ladie.

I could be ouer long, both in shewinge iust causes, and in recitinge trewe examples, why learning shold be taught, rather by loue than feare. He that wold see a perfite discourse of it.

let him read that learned treatese, which my frende Ioan. Sturmius wrote de institutione Principis, to the Duke of Cleues.

The godlie counsels of Salomon and Iesus the sonne of Sirach, for sharpe kepinge in, and bridleinge of youth, are ment rather, for fatherlie correction, then masterlie beating, rather for maners, than for learninge: for other places, than for scholes. For God forbid, but all euill touches, wantonnes, lyinge, pickinge, slouthe, will, stubburnnesse, and disobedience, shold be with sharpe chastisement, daily cut away.

This discipline was well knowen, and diligentlie vsed, among the Græcians, and old Romanes, as doth appeare in Aristophanes, Isocrates, and *Plato*, and also in the Comedies of *Plautus*: where we see that children were vnder the rule of three persones: Præceptore, Pædagogo, Parente: the scholemaster taught him learnyng with all ientlenes: the Gouernour corrected his maners, with moch sharpenesse: The father, held the sterne of his whole obedience: And so, he that vsed to teache, did not commonlie

now in our dayes, the scholemaster is vsed, both for *Præceptor* in learnyng, and

Pædagogus in maners. Surelie, I wold he shold not confound their offices, but discretelie vse the dewtie of both so, that neither ill touches shold be left vnpunished, nor ientlesse in teaching anie wise omitted. And he shall well do both, if wiselie he do appointe diuersitie of tyme, & separate place, for either purpose: vsing alwaise soch discrete moderation as the scholehouse should be counted a sanctuarie against feare: and verie well learning, a common perdon for ill doing, if the fault, of it selfe be not ouer heinous.

vse to beate, but remitted that ouer to an other mans charge. But what shall we saie, whan

And thus the children, kept vp in Gods feare, and preserved by his grace, finding paine in ill doing, and pleasure in well studiyng, shold easelie be brought to honestie of life, and perfitenes of learning, the onelie marke, that good and wise fathers do wishe and labour, that their children, shold most buselie, and carefullie shot at.

There is an other discommoditie, besides crueltie in scholemasters in beating away the loue of learning from children, which hindreth learning and vertue, and good bringing vp of youth, and namelie yong ientlemen, verie moch in

Sturmius de Inst. Princ.

Qui parcit virgæ, odit filium.

- 1. Scholemaster.
- 2. Gouernour.
- 3. Father.

England. This fault is cleane contrary to the first. I wished before, to haue loue of learning bred vp in children: I wishe as moch now, to haue yong men brought vp in good order of liuing, and in some more seuere discipline, then commonlie they be. We haue lacke in England of soch good order, as the old noble *Persians* so carefullie vsed: whose children, to the age of xxi. yeare, were brought vp in learnyng, and exercises of labor, and that in soch place, where they should, neither see that was vncumlie, nor heare that was vnhonest. Yea, a yong ientleman was neuer free, to go where he would, and do what he liste him self, but vnder the kepe, and by the counsell, of some graue gouernour, vntill he was, either maryed, or cald to beare some office in the common wealth.

The schole house.

Youth of England brought vp with to much libertie.

Xen. 7. Cyri Ped.

And see the great obedience, that was vsed in old tyme to fathers and gouernours. No sonne, were he neuer so old of yeares, neuer so great of birth, though he were a kynges sonne, might not mary, but by his father and mothers also consent. *Cyrus* the great, after he had conquered *Babylon*, and subdewed Riche king *Cræsus* with whole *Asia minor*, cummyng tryumphantlie home, his vncle *Cyaxeris* offered him his daughter to wife. *Cyrus* thanked his vncle, and praised the maide, but for mariage he answered him with thies wise and sweete wordes, as they be vttered by *Xenophon*, o kuazare, to te genos epaino, kai ten paida, kai dora boulomai de, ephe, syn te tou patros gnome kai [te] tes metros tauta soi synainesai, &c., that is to say: Vncle *Cyaxeris*, I commend the stocke, I like the maide, and I allow well the dowrie, but (sayth he) by the counsell and consent of my father and mother, I will determine farther of thies matters.

Strong Samson also in Scripture saw a maide that liked him, but he spake not to hir, but went home to his father, and his mother, and desired both father and mother to make the mariage for him. Doth this modestie, doth this obedience, that was in great kyng Cyrus, and stoute Samson, remaine in our yongmen at Xen. 8. Cyri. this daie? no surelie: For we liue not longer after them by tyme, than we liue Pæd. farre different from them by good order. Our tyme is so farre from that old discipline and obedience, as now, not onelie yong ientlemen, but euen verie Great mens girles dare without all feare, though not without open shame, where they sonnes worst list, and how they list, marie them selues in spite of father, mother, God, brought vp. good order, and all. The cause of this euill is, that youth is least looked vnto, when they stand [in] most neede of good kepe and regard. It auaileth not, to see them well taught in yong yeares, and after whan they cum to lust and youthfull dayes, to give them licence to liue as they lust them selues. For, if ye suffer the eye of a yong Ientleman, once to be entangled with vaine sightes, and the eare to be corrupted with fond or filthie taulke, the mynde shall quicklie fall seick, and sone vomet and cast vp, all the holesome doctrine, that he received in childhoode, though he were neuer so well brought vp before. And being ons inglutted with vanitie, he will streight way loth all learning, and all good counsell to the same. And the parents for all their great cost and charge, reape onelie in the end, the frute of grief and care. This euill, is not common to poore men, as God will haue it, but proper to riche and great mens children, as they deserue it. In deede from seuen, to seuentene, yong ientlemen commonlie be carefullie enough brought vp: But from seuentene to seuen and twentie (the most dangerous tyme of all a mans life, and most

slipperie to stay well in) they have commonlie the reigne of all licens in their owne hand, and speciallie soch as do live in the Court. And that which is most to be merueled at, commonlie, the wisest and also best men, be found the fondest fathers in this behalfe. And if som good father would seick

some remedie herein, yet the mother (if the house hold of our Lady) had rather, yea, & will to, haue her sonne cunnyng & bold, in making him to lyue trimlie when he is yong, than by learning and trauell, to be able to serue his Prince and his contrie, both wiselie in peace, and stoutelie in warre, whan he is old.

The fault is in your selues, ye noble mens sonnes, and therefore ye deserue the greater blame, that commonlie, the meaner mens children, cum to be, the wisest councellours, and greatest doers, in the weightie affaires of this Realme. And why? for God will haue it so, of his prouidence: bicause ye will haue it no otherwise, by your negligence. And God is a good God, & wisest in all his doinges, that will place vertue, & displace vice, in those kingdomes, where he doth gouerne. For he knoweth, that Nobilitie, without vertue and wisedome, is bloud in deede, but bloud trewelie, without bones & sinewes: & so of it selfe, without the other, verie weeke to beare the burden of weightie affaires.

Wise men fond fathers.

Meane mens sonnes come th great authoritie.

Nobilitie without wisedome.

Nobilitie with wisedome.

Wisedom.

Nobilitie {
with {Out wisedome.

The greatest shippe in deede commonlie carieth the greatest burden, but yet alwayes with the greatest ieoperdie, not onelie for the persons and goodes committed vnto it, but euen for the shyppe it selfe, except it be gouerned, with the greater wisdome. But Nobilitie, gouerned by learning and wisedome, is in deede, most like a faire shippe, hauyng tide and winde at will, vnder the reule of a skilfull master: whan contrarie wise, a shippe, caried, yea with the hiest tide & greatest winde, lacking a skilfull master, most commonlie, doth either, sinck it selfe vpon sandes, or breake it selfe vpon rockes. And euen so, how manie haue bene, either drowned in vaine pleasure, or ouerwhelmed by stout wilfulnesse, the histories of England be able to affourde ouer many examples vnto vs. Therfore, ye great and noble mens children, if ye will haue rightfullie that praise, and enioie surelie that place, which your fathers haue, and elders had, and left vnto you, ye must kepe it, as they gat it, and that is, by the onelie waie, of vertue, wisedome, and worthinesse.

For wisedom, and vertue, there be manie faire examples in this Court, for yong Ientlemen to folow. But they be, like faire markes in the feild, out of a mans reach, to far of, to shote at well. The best and worthiest men, in deede, be somtimes seen, but seldom taulked withall: A yong Ientleman, may somtime knele to their person, smallie vse their companie, for their better instruction.

But yong Ientlemen ar faïne commonlie to do in the Court, as yong Archers do in the feild: that is take soch markes, as be nie them, although they be neuer so foule to shote at. I meene, they be driuen to kepe companie with the worste: and what force ill companie hath, to corrupt good wittes, the wisest men know best.

And not ill companie onelie, but the ill opinion also of the most part, doth moch harme, and namelie of those, which shold be wise in the trewe de- cyphring, of the good disposition of nature, of cumlinesse in Courtlie maners, and all right doinges of men.

But error and phantasie, do commonlie occupie, the place of troth and iudgement. For, if a yong ientleman, be demeure and still of nature, they say, he is simple and lacketh witte: if he be bashefull, and will soone blushe, they call him a babishe and ill brought vp thyng, when *Xenophon* doth preciselie note in *Cyrus*, that his bashfulnes in youth, was ye verie trewe signe of his vertue & stoutnes after: If he be innocent and ignorant of ill, they say, he is rude, and hath no grace, so vngraciouslie do som gracelesse men, misuse the faire and godlie word G R A C E.

But if ye would know, what grace they meene, go, and looke, and learn emonges them, and ye shall see that it is: First, to blush at nothing. And blushyng in youth, sayth *Aristotle* is nothyng els, but feare to do ill: which feare beyng once lustely fraid away from youth, then foloweth, to dare do any mischief, to contemne stoutly any goodnesse, to be busie in euery matter, to be skilfull in euery thyng, to acknowledge no ignorance at all. To do thus in Court, is counted of some, the chief and greatest grace of all: and termed by the name of a vertue, called Corage & boldnesse, whan *Crassus* in *Cicero* teacheth the cleane contrarie, and that most wittelie, saying thus:

Audere, cum bonis etiam rebus coniunctum, per seipsum est magnopere fugiendum. Which is to say, to be bold, yea in a good matter, is for it self, greatlie to be exchewed.

Grace of

Moreouer, where the swing goeth, there to follow, fawne, flatter, laugh and lie lustelie at other mens liking. To face, stand formest, shoue backe: and to the meaner man, or vnknowne in the Court, to seeme somwhat solume, coye, big, and dangerous of looke, taulk, and answere: To thinke well of him selfe, to be lustie in contemning of others, to have some trim grace in a priuie mock. And in greater presens, to beare a braue looke: to be warlike, though he neuer looked enimie in the face in warre: yet som warlike signe must be vsed, either a slouinglie busking, or an ouerstaring frounced hed, as though out of euerie heeres toppe, should suddenlie start out a good big othe, when nede requireth, yet praised be God, England hath at this time, manie worthie Capitaines and good souldiours, which be in deede, so honest of behauiour, so cumlie of conditions, so milde of maners, as they may be examples of good order, to a good sort of others, which neuer came in warre. But to retorne, where I left: In place also, to be able to raise taulke, and make discourse of euerie rishe: to haue a verie good will, to heare him selfe speake: To be seene in Palmestrie, wherby to conueie to chast eares, som fond or filthie taulke:

Vaine pleasure, and stoute wilfulnes, two greatest enemies to Nobilitie.

Ill companie marreth youth.

The Court iudgeth worst of the best natures in youth.

Xen. in I. Cyr. Pæ,d.
The Grace in Courte.

Grace of Courte.

Cic. 3. de Or.

Boldnes yea in a good matter, not to be praised.

More Grace of Courte.

Men of warre, best of conditions.

Palmistrie.

And if som Smithfeild Ruffian take vp, som strange going: som new mowing with the mouth: som wrinchyng with the shoulder, som braue prouerbe: som fresh new othe, that is not stale, but will rin round in the mouth: som new disguised garment, or desperate hat, fond in facion, or gaurish in colour, what soeuer it cost, how small soeuer his liuing be, by what shift soeuer it be gotten, gotten must it be, and vsed with the first, or els the grace of it, is stale and gone: som part of this gracelesse grace, was discribed by me, in a little rude verse long ago.

{To laughe, to lie, to flatter, to face: {Foure waies in Court to win men grace. {If thou be thrall to none of thiese, {Away good Peek goos, hens Iohn Cheese: {Marke well my word, and marke their dede, {And thinke this verse part of thy Crede.

Would to God, this taulke were not trewe, and that som mens doinges were not thus: I write not to hurte any, but to proffit som: to accuse none, but to monish soch, who, allured by ill counsell, and folowing ill example, contrarie to their good bringyng vp, and against their owne good nature, yeld ouermoch to thies folies and faultes: I know many seruing men, of good order, and well staide: And againe, I heare saie, there be som seruing men do but ill seruice to their yong masters. Yea, rede *Terence*

and *Plaut*. aduisedlie ouer, and ye shall finde in those two wise writers, almost in euery commedie, no vnthriftie yong man, that is not brought there vnto, by the sotle inticement of som lewd seruant. And euen now in our dayes *Getæ* and *Daui*, *Gnatos* and manie bold bawdie *Phormios* to, be preasing in, to pratle on euerie stage, to medle in euerie matter, whan honest *Parmenos* shall not be hard, but beare small swing with their masters. Their companie, their taulke, their ouer great experience in mischief, doth easelie corrupt the best natures, and best brought vp wittes.

But I meruell the lesse, that thies misorders be emonges som in the Court, for commonlie in the contrie also euerie where, innocencie is gone: Bashfulnesse is banished: moch presumption in yougthe: small authoritie in aige: Reuerence is neglected: dewties be confounded: and to be shorte, disobedience doth ouerflowe the bankes of good order, almoste in euerie place, almoste in euerie degree of man.

Ill {Councell. {Company.

Seruinge men. *Terentius*. *Plautus*.

Serui corruptelæ iuuenum.

Multi Getæ pauci Parmenones.

Meane men haue eies to see, and cause to lament, and occasion to complaine of thies miseries: but other haue authoritie to remedie them, and will do so to, whan God shall think time fitte. For, all thies misorders, be Goddes iuste plages, by his sufferance, brought iustelie vpon vs, for our sinnes, which be infinite in nomber, and horrible in deede, but namelie, for the greate abhominable sin of vnkindnesse: but what vnkindnesse? euen such vnkindnesse as was in the Iewes, in contemninge Goddes voice, in shrinking from his woorde, in wishing backe againe for Ægypt, in committing aduoultrie and hordom, not with the women, but with the doctrine of Babylon, did bring all the plages, destructions, and Captiuities, that fell so ofte and horriblie, vpon Israell.

We have cause also in England to beware of vnkindnesse, who have had, in so fewe yeares, the Candel of Goddes worde, so oft lightned, so oft put out, and yet will venture by our vnthankfulnesse in doctrine and sinfull life, to leese againe, lighte, Candle, Candlesticke and all.

God kepe vs in his feare, God grafte in vs the trewe knowledge of his woorde, with a

forward will to folowe it, and so to bring forth the sweete fruites of it, & then shall he preserue vs by his Grace, from all maner of terrible dayes. The remedie of this, doth not stand onelie, in making good common lawes for the hole Realme, but also, (and perchance cheiflie) in obseruing private discipline euerie man carefullie in his own house: and namelie, if speciall regard be had to yougth: and that, not so moch, in teaching them what is good, as in keping them from that, that is ill.

Therefore, if wise fathers, be not as well waare in weeding from their Children ill thinges, and ill companie, as they were before, in graftinge in them learninge, and prouiding for them good scholemasters, what frute, they shall reape of all their coste & care, common experience doth tell.

Here is the place, in yougthe is the time whan som ignorance is as

wilful wittes willinglie against their owne knowledge, perniciouslie againste their owne conscience, haue of late openlie taught. In deede S. Chrysostome, that noble and eloquent Doctor, in a sermon contra fatum, and the curious serchinge of natiuities, doth wiselie saie, that ignorance therein, is better than knowledge: But to wring this sentence, to wreste thereby out of mens handes, the knowledge of Goddes doctrine, is without all reason, against common sence, contrarie to the iudgement also of them, which be the discretest men, and best learned, on their own side. I know, *Iulianus Apostata* did so, but I neuer hard or red, that

necessarie, as moch knowledge, and not in matters of our dewtie towardes God, as som

But this ignorance in youghhe, which I spake on, or rather this simplicitie, or most trewlie, this innocencie, is that, which the noble Persians, as wise Xenophon doth testifie, were so carefull, to breede vp their yougth in. But Christian fathers commonlie do not so. And I will tell you a tale, as moch to be misliked, as the *Persians* example is to be followed.

any auncyent father of the primitiue chirch, either thought or wrote so.

This last somer, I was in a Ientlemans house: where a yong childe, somewhat past fower yeare olde, cold in no wise frame his tongue, to saie, a litle shorte grace: and yet he could roundlie rap out, so manie vgle othes, and those of the newest facion, as som good man of fourescore yeare olde hath neuer hard named before: and that which was most detestable of all, his father and mother wold laughe at it. I moche doubte, what comforte, an other daie, this childe shall bring vnto them. This Childe vsing moche the companie of seruinge men, and geuing good eare to their taulke, did easelie learne, which he shall hardlie forget, all daies of his life hereafter: So likewise, in the Courte, if a yong Ientleman will ventur him self into the companie of Ruffians, it is ouer greate a ieopardie, lest, their facions, maners, thoughtes, taulke, and deedes, will verie sone, be euer like. The confounding of companies, breedeth confusion of good maners both in the Courte, and euerie where else.

And it maie be a great wonder, but a greater shame, to vs Christian men, to vnderstand, what a heithen writer, Isocrates, doth leaue in memorie of writing, concerning the care, that the noble Citie of *Athens* had, to bring vp their yougthe, in honest companie, and vertuous discipline, whose taulke in Greke, is,

Misorders in the countrey.

Contempt of Gods trewe Religion.

Doctrina Mores. Publicæ Leges. Domestica disciplina. Cognitio boni.

Ignoratio mali.

Some ignorance, as good as knowledge.

Chrisost. de Fato.

Iulia. Apostat.

Innocency in youth.

A childe ill brought vp.

Ill Parentes.

to this effect, in Englishe.

"The Citie, was not more carefull, to see their Children "well taughte, than to see their yong men well "gouerned: which they brought to passe, not so "much by common lawe, as by private discipline."

"For they had more regard, that their youghts, by good ord."

"For, they had more regard, that their youghte, by good order "shold not offend, than how, by lawe, they might be punished:

"And if offense were committed, there was, neither waie to "hide it, neither hope of pardon for it. Good natures, were

"not so moche openlie praised as they were secretlie marked,

"and watchfullie regarded, lest they should lease the goodnes "they had. Therefore in scholes of singing and dauncing, and

"other honest exercises, gouernours were appointed, more

"diligent to ouersee their good maners, than their masters were,

"to teach them anie learning. It was som shame to a yong

"man, to be seene in the open market: and if for businesse, he

"passed throughe it, he did it, with a meruelous modestie, and

"bashefull facion. To eate, or drinke in a Tauerne, was not onelie a shame, but also punishable, in a yong man. To

"contrarie, or to stand in termes with an old man, was more

"heinous, than in som place, to rebuke and scolde with his

"owne father: with manie other mo good orders, and faire disciplines, which I referre to their reading, that haue lust

to looke vpon the description of such a worthie common welthe.

And to know, what worthie frute, did spring of soch worthie seade, I will tell yow the most meruell of all, and yet soch a trothe, as no man shall denie it, except such as be ignorant in knowledge of the best stories.

Athens, by this discipline and good ordering of youghe, did breede vp, within the circute of that one Citie, within the compas of one hondred yeare, within the memorie of one mans life, so manie notable Capitaines in warre, for worthinesse, wisdome and learning, as be scarse matchable no not in the state of Rome, in the compas of those seauen hondred yeares, whan it florished moste.

And bicause, I will not onelie saie it, but also proue it, the names of them be these. *Miltiades, Themistocles, Xantippus, Pericles, Cymon, Alcybiades, Thrasybulus, Conon, Iphicrates, Xenophon, Timotheus, Theopompus, Demetrius*, and diuers other mo: of which euerie one, maie iustelie be spoken that worthie praise, which was geuen to *Scipio Africanus*, who, *Cicero* douteth, whether he were, more noble Capitaine in warre, or more eloquent and wise councelor in peace. And if ye beleue not me, read diligentlie, *Æmilius Probus* in Latin, and *Plutarche* in Greke, which two, had no cause either to flatter or lie vpon anie of those which I haue recited.

And beside nobilitie in warre, for excellent and matchles masters in all maner of learninge, in that one Citie, in memorie of one aige, were mo learned men, and that in a maner altogether, than all tyme doth remember, than all place doth affourde, than all other tonges do conteine. And I do not meene of those Authors, which, by iniurie of tyme, by

Ill companie.

Isocrates.

In Orat. Ariopag.

negligence of men, by crueltie of fier and sworde, be lost, but euen of those, which by Goddes grace, are left yet vnto us: of which I thank God, euen my poore studie lacketh not one. As, in Philosophie, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Xenophon*, Euclide and Theophrast: In eloquens and Ciuill lawe, Demosthenes, Æschines, Lycurgus, Dinarchus, Demades, Isocrates, Isæus, Lysias, Antisthenes, Andocides: In histories, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon: and which we lacke, to our great losse, *Theopompus* and *Eph[orus]*: In Poetrie Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and somwhat of Menander, Demosthenes sister sonne.

Now, let Italian, and Latin it self, Spanishe, French, Douch, and Englishe bring forth their lerning, and recite their Authors, Cicero onelie excepted, and one or two moe in Latin, they be all patched cloutes and ragges, in comparison of faire wouen broade clothes. And trewelie, if there be any good in them, it is either lerned, borowed, or stolne, from some one of those worthie wittes of Athens.

The remembrance of soch a common welthe, vsing soch discipline and order for youghhe, and thereby bringing forth to their praise, and leauing to vs for our example, such Capitaines for warre, soch Councelors for peace, and matcheles masters, for all kinde of learninge, is pleasant for me to recite, and not irksum, I trust, for other to heare, except it be soch, as make neither counte of vertue nor learninge.

And whether, there be anie soch or no, I can not well tell: yet I hear saie, some yong Ientlemen of oures, count it their shame to be counted learned: and perchance, they count it their shame, to be counted honest also, for I heare saie, they medle as litle with the one, as with the other. A meruelous case, that Ientlemen shold so be ashamed of good learning, and neuer a whit ashamed of ill maners: soch do saie for them, that the Ientlemen of France do so: which is a lie, as God will haue it. Langæus, and Bellæus that be of France.

dead, & the noble Vidam of Chartres, that is aliue, and infinite mo in France, which I heare tell of, proue this to be most false. And though som, in France, which will nedes be Ientlemen, whether men will or no, and haue more ientleshipe in their hat, than in their hed, be at deedlie feude, with both learning and honestie, yet I beleue, if that noble Prince, king Francis the first were aliue, they shold haue, neither place in his Courte, nor pension in his warres, if he had knowledge of them. This opinion is not French, but plaine Turckishe: from whens, some Frenche fetche moe faultes, than this: which, I praie

selues againste vertue and learninge, to the contempte of God, dishonor of their contrie to the hurt of manie others, and at length, to the greatest harme, and vtter destruction of themselues.

God, kepe out of England, and send also those of oures better mindes, which bend them

Som other, having better nature, but lesse witte, (for ill commonlie, have ouer moch witte) do not vtterlie dispraise learning, but they saie, that without learning, common experience, knowledge of all facions, and haunting all companies, shall worke in yougthe,

Good seede. worthie frute.

Athenes.

Roma.

The noble Capitaines of Athens.

Æmil. Probus. Plutarchus.

The learned of Athenes.

Learnyng, chiefly conteined in the Greke, and in no other tong.

Contemners of learnyng.

Ientlemen of France.

Franciscus 1. Nobilis. Francorum Rex. both wisdome, and habilitie, to execute anie weightie affaire. Surelie long experience doth proffet moch, but moste, and almost onelie to him (if we meene honest affaires) that is diligentlie before instructed with preceptes of well doinge. For good precepts of learning, be the eyes of the minde, to looke wiselie before a man, which waie to go right, and which

Learning teacheth more in one yeare than experience in twentie: And learning teacheth safelie. when experience maketh mo Experience miserable then wise. He hasardeth sore, that waxeth wise by experience. An without learnyng. vnhappie Master he is, that is made cunning by manie shippewrakes: A miserable merchant, that is neither riche or wise, but after som bankroutes. Learnyng. It is costlie wisdom, that is bought by experience. We know by experience it Experience. selfe, that it is a meruelous paine, to finde oute but a short waie, by long wandering. And surelie, he that wold proue wise by experience, he maie be wittie in deede, but euen like a swift runner, that runneth fast out of his waie, and vpon the night, he knoweth not whither. And verilie they be fewest of number, that be happie or wise by vnlearned experience. And looke well vpon the former life of those fewe, whether your example be old or yonge, who without learning haue gathered, by long experience, a litle wisdom, and som happines: and whan you do consider, what mischiefe they haue committed, what dangers they have escaped (and yet xx. for one, do perishe in the aduenture) than thinke well with your selfe, whether ye wold, that your owne son, should cum to wisdom and happines, by the waie of soch experience or no.

It is a notable tale, that old Syr Roger Chamloe, somtime cheife Iustice, wold tell of him selfe. When he was Auncient in Inne of Courte, Certaine yong Ientlemen were brought before him, to be corrected for certaine misorders: And one of the lustiest saide: Syr, we be yong ientlemen, and wisemen before vs, haue proued all facions, and yet those haue done full well: this they said, because it was well knowen, that Syr Roger had bene a good feloe in his yougth. But he aunswered them verie wiselie. In deede saith he, in yougthe, I was, as you ar now: and I had twelue feloes like vnto my self, but not one of them came to a good ende. And therfore, follow not my example in yough, but follow my councell in aige, if euer ye thinke to cum to this place, or to thies yeares, that I am cum vnto, lesse ye meete either with pouertie or Tiburn in the way.

Thus, experience of all facions in youghhe, beinge, in profe, alwaise daungerous, in isshue, seldom lucklie, is a waie, in deede, to ouermoch knowledge, yet vsed commonlie of soch men, which be either caried by som curious affection of mynde, or driven by som hard necessitie of life, to hasard the triall of ouer manie perilous aduentures. Erasmus the honor of learning of all oure time, saide wiselie that experience is the common schole-house of foles, and ill men: Men, of witte and honestie, be otherwise instructed. For there be, that kepe them out of fier, and yet was neuer burned: That beware of water, and yet was neuer nie drowninge: That hate harlottes, and was neuer at the stewes: That abhorre falshode, and neuer brake promis themselues.

Syr Roger Chamloe.

Experience

Erasmus.

Experience the schole-house of Foles, and ill men.

But will ye see, a fit Similitude of this aduentured experience. A Father, that doth let louse his son, to all experiences, is most like a fond Hunter, that letteth slippe a whelpe to the hole herde. Twentie to one, he shall fall vpon a rascall, and let go the faire game. Men that hunt so, be either ignorant persones, preuie stealers, or night walkers.

Learning therefore, ye wise fathers, and good bringing vp, and not blinde & dangerous experience, is the next and readiest waie, that must leede your Children, first, to wisdom, and than to worthinesse, if euer ye purpose they shall cum there. And to saie all in shorte, though I lacke Authoritie to giue counsell, yet I lacke not good will to wisshe, that the yougthe in England, speciallie Ientlemen, and namelie no- bilitie, shold be by good bringing vp, so grounded in iudgement of learninge, so founded in loue of honestie, as, whan they shold be called forthe to the execution of great affaires, in seruice of their Prince and contrie, they might be hable, to vse and to order, all experiences, were they good were they bad, and that, according to the square, rule, and line, of wisdom learning and vertue.

And, I do not meene, by all this my taulke, that yong Ientlemen, should alwaies be poring on a booke, and by vsing good studies, shold lease honest pleasure, and haunt no good pastime, I meene nothing lesse: For it is well knowne, that I both like and loue, and haue alwaies, and do yet still vse, all exercises and pastimes, that be fitte for my nature and habilitie. And beside naturall disposition, in iudgement also, I was neuer, either Stoick in doctrine, or Anabaptist in Religion, to mislike a merie, pleasant, and plaifull nature, if no outrage be committed, against lawe,

mesure, and good order.

Therefore, I wold wishe, that, beside some good time, fitlie appointed, and constantlie kepte, to encrease by readinge, the knowledge of the tonges and learning, yong ientlemen shold vse, and delite in all Courtelie exercises, and Ientlemanlike pastimes. And good cause whie: For the self same noble Citie of Athenes, iustlie commended of me before, did wiselie and vpon great consideration, appoint, the Muses, *Apollo*, and *Pallas*, to be patrones of learninge to their yougthe. For the Muses, besides learning, were also Ladies of dauncinge, mirthe and ministrelsie: *Apollo*, was god of shooting, and Author of cunning playing vpon Instrumentes: *Pallas* also was Laidie mistres in warres. Wherbie was nothing else ment, but that learninge shold be alwaise mingled, with honest mirthe, and cumlie exercises: and that warre also shold be gouerned by learning, and moderated by wisdom, as did well appeare in those Capitaines of *Athenes* named by me before, and also in *Scipio & Cæsar*, the two Diamondes of Rome.

And *Pallas*, was no more feared, in weering *Ægida*, than she was *Pallas*. praised, for chosing *Oliva*: whereby shineth the glory of learning, which thus, was Gouernour & Mistres, in the noble Citie of *Athenes*, both of warre and peace.

Therefore, to ride cumlie: to run faire at the tilte or ring: to plaie at all weapones: to shote faire in bow, or surelie in gon: to vaut lustely: to runne: to leape: to wrestle: to swimme: To daunce cumlie: to sing, and playe of instrumentes cunnyngly: to Hawke: to hunte: to playe at tennes, & all pastimes generally, which be ioyned with labor, vsed in open place, and on the day light, conteining either some fitte exercise for warre, or some pleasant pastime for peace, be not onelie cumlie and decent, but also verie necessarie, for a Courtlie Ientleman to vse.

How experience may proffet.

Diligent learninge ought to be ioyned with pleasant pastimes, namelie in a ientleman.

Learnyng ioyned with pastimes.

Musæ. Apollo. Pallas. But, of all kinde of pastimes, fitte for a Ientleman, I will, godwilling, in fitter place, more at large, declare fullie, in my booke of the Cockpitte: which I do write, to satisfie som, I trust, with som reason, that be

more curious, in marking other mens doinges, than carefull in mendying their owne faultes. And som also will nedes busie them selues in merueling, and adding thereunto vnfrendlie taulke, why I, a man of good yeares, and of no ill place, I thanke God and my Prince, do make choise to spend soch tyme in writyng of trifles, as the schole of shoting, the Cockpitte, and this booke of the first Principles of Grammer, rather, than to take some weightie matter in hand, either of Religion, or Ciuill discipline.

Wise men I know, will well allow of my choise herein: and as for such, who haue not witte of them selues, but must learne of others, to iudge right of mens doynges, let them read that wise Poet *Horace* in his *Arte Poetica*, who willeth wisemen to beware, of hie and loftie Titles. For, great shippes, require costlie tackling, and also afterward dangerous gouernment: Small boates, be neither verie chargeable in makyng, nor verie oft in great ieoperdie: and yet they cary many tymes, as good and costlie ware, as greater vessels do. A meane Argument, may easelie beare, the light burden of a small faute, and haue alwaise at hand, a ready excuse for ill handling:

Learning rewleth both warre and peace.

The pastimes that be fitte for Courtlie Ientlemen.

The Cokpitte.

A booke of a lofty title, beareth the brag of ouergreat a promise.

And, some praise it is, if it so chaunce, to be better in deede, than a man dare venture to seeme. A hye title, doth charge a man, with the heauie burden, of to great a promise: and therefore sayth *Horace* verie wittelie, that, that Poete was a verie foole, that began hys booke, with a goodlie verse in deede, but ouer proude

Fortunam Priami cantabo & nobile bellum,

And after, as wiselie.

Quantò rectiùs hic, qui nil molitur ineptè. etc.

Meening *Homer*, who, within the compasse of a smal

Argument, of one harlot, and of one good wife, did vtter so moch learning in all kinde of sciences, as, by the iudgement of *Quintilian*, he descrueth so hie a praise, that no man yet descrued to sit in the second degree beneth him. And thus moch out of my way, concerning my purpose in spending penne, and paper, & tyme, vpon trifles, & namelie to aunswere some, that haue neither witte nor learning, to do any thyng them selues, neither will nor honestie, to say well of other.

To ioyne learnyng with cumlie exercises, *Conto Baldesær Castiglione* in his booke, *Cortegiano*, doth trimlie teache: which booke, aduisedlie read, and diligentlie folowed, but one yeare at home in England, would do a yong ientleman more good, I wisse, then three yeares trauell abrode spent in *Italie*. And I meruell this booke, is no more read in the Court, than it is, seying it is so well translated into English by a worthie Ientleman Syr *Th*.

The right choise, to chose a fitte Argument to write vpon. *Hor.* in *Arte Poet*.

Homers wisdom in choice of his Argument.

The Cortegian, an excellent booke for a *Hobbie*, who was many wayes well furnished with learning, and very expert in knowledge of diuers tonges.

And beside good preceptes in bookes, in all kinde of tonges, this Court also neuer lacked many faire examples, for yong ientlemen to folow: And surelie, one example, is more valiable, both to good and ill, than xx. preceptes written in bookes: and so Plato, not in one or two, but diuerse places, doth plainlie teach.

ientleman.

Syr Tho. Hobbye.

Examples better then precepts.

If kyng *Edward* had liued a litle longer, his onely example had breed soch a rase of worthie learned ientlemen, as this Realme neuer yet did affourde.

And, in the second degree, two noble Primeroses of Nobilitie, the yong Duke of Suffolke, and Lord H. Matreuers, were soch two examples to the Court for learnyng, as our tyme may rather wishe, than looke for agayne.

At Cambrige also, in S. Iohns Colledge, in my tyme, I do know, that, not so much the good statutes, as two Ientlemen, of worthie memorie Syr Iohn Cheke, and Doctour Readman, by their onely example of excellency in learning, of godlynes in liuyng, of diligencie in studying, of councell in exhorting, of good order in all thyng, did breed vp, so many learned men, in that one College of S. Iohns, at one time, as I beleue, the whole Vniuersitie of Louaine, in many yeares, was neuer able to affourd.

King Ed. 6.

The yong Duke of Suffolke.

Present examples of this present tyme, I list not to touch: yet there is one example, for all the Ientlemen of this Court to folow, that may well satisfie them, or nothing will serue them, nor no example moue them, to goodnes and learning.

It is your shame, (I speake to you all, you yong Ientlemen of England)

L. H. Martreurs.

Syr Iohn Cheke.

D. Readman.

that one mayd should go beyond you all, in excellencie of learnyng, and knowledge of diuers tonges. Pointe forth six of the best giuen Ientlemen of Oueene this Court, and all they together, shew not so much good will, spend not so Elisabeth. much tyme, bestow not so many houres, dayly orderly, & constantly, for the increase of learning & knowledge, as doth the Queenes Maiestie her selfe. Yea I beleue, that beside her perfit readines, in Latin, Italian, French, & Spanish, she readeth here now at Windsore more Greeke euery day, than some Prebendarie of this Chirch doth read Latin in a whole weeke. And that which is most praise worthie of all, within the walles of her priuie chamber, she hath obteyned that excellencie of learnyng, to vnderstand, speake, & write, both wittely with head, and faire with hand, as scarse one or two rare wittes in both the Vniuersities haue in many yeares reached vnto. Amongest all the benefites yt God hath blessed me with all, next the knowledge of Christes true Religion, I counte this the greatest, that it pleased God to call me, to be one poore minister in settyng forward these excellent giftes of learnyng in this most excellent Prince. Whose onely example, if the rest of our nobilitie would folow, than might England be, for learning and wisedome in nobilitie, a spectacle to all the world beside. But see the mishap of men: The best examples haue neuer such forse to moue to any goodnes, as the bad, vaine, light and fond, haue to all ilnes.

And one example, though out of the compas of learning, yet not out of the order of good maners, was notable in this Courte, not fullie xxiiij. yeares a go, when all the actes of Parlament, many good Proclamations, diverse strait commaundementes, sore punishment openlie, speciall regarde priuatelie, cold not do so moch to take away one misorder, as the example of one big one of this Courte did, still to kepe vp the same: The memorie whereof, doth yet remaine, in a common prouerbe of Birching lane.

Take hede therfore, ye great ones in ye Court, yea though ye be ye greatest of all, take hede, what ye do, take hede how ye liue. For as you great ones vse to do, so all meane men loue to do. You be in deed, makers or marrers, of all mens maners within the Realme. For though God hath placed yow, to be cheife in making of lawes, to beare greatest authoritie, to commaund all others: yet God doth order, that all your lawes, all your authoritie, all your commaundementes, do not halfe so moch with meane men, as doth your example and maner of liuinge. And for example euen in the greatest matter, if yow your selues do serue God gladlie and orderlie for conscience sake, not coldlie, and somtyme for maner sake, you carie all the Courte with yow, and the whole Realme beside, earnestlie and orderlie to do the same. If yow do otherwise, yow be the onelie authors, of all misorders in Religion, not

Ill examples haue more force, then good examples.

Great men in Court, by their example, make or marre, all other mens maners.

Example in Religion.

onelie to the Courte, but to all England beside. Infinite shall be made cold in Religion by your example, that neuer were hurt by reading of bookes.

And in meaner matters, if three or foure great ones in Courte, will nedes outrage in apparell, in huge hose, in monstrous hattes, in gaurishe colers, let the Prince Proclame, make Lawes, order, punishe, commaunde euerie gate in London dailie to be watched, let all good men beside do euerie where what they can, surelie the misorder of apparell in mean men abrode, shall neuer be amended, except the greatest in Courte will order and mend them selues first. I know, som greate and good ones in Courte, were authors, that honest Citizens of London, shoulde watche at euerie gate, to take misordered persones in apparell. I know, that honest Londoners did so: And I sawe, which I saw than, & reporte now with some greife, that som Courtlie men were offended with these good men of London. And that, which greued me most of all, I sawe the verie same tyme, for all theis good orders, commaunded from the Courte and executed in London, I sawe I say, cum out of London, euen vnto the presence of the Prince, a great rable of meane and light persons, in apparell, for matter, against lawe, for making, against order, for facion, namelie hose, so without all order, as he thought himselfe most braue, that durst do most in breaking order and was most monsterous in misorder. And for all the great commaundementes, that came out of the Courte, yet this bold misorder, was winked at, and borne withall, in the Courte. I thought, it was not well, that som great ones of the Court, durst declare themselues offended, with good men of London, for doinge

Example in apparell.

Masters, Vshers, & Scholers offense.

Examples in shootyng.

their dewtie, & the good ones of the Courte, would not shew themselues offended, with ill men of London, for breaking good order. I fownde thereby a sayinge of *Socrates* to be most trewe that ill men be more hastie, than good men be forwarde, to prosecute their purposes, euen as Christ himselfe saith, of the Children of light and darknes.

Beside apparell, in all other thinges to, not so moch, good lawes and strait commaundementes as the example and maner of liuing of great men, doth carie all meane men euerie where, to like, and loue, & do, as they do. For if but two or three noble men in the Court, wold but beginne to shoote, all yong Ientlemen, the whole Court, all London, the whole Realme, wold straight waie exercise shooting.

What praise shold they wynne to themselues, what commoditie shold they bring to their contrey, that would thus deserue to be pointed at: Beholde, there goeth, the author of good order, the guide of good men. I cold say more, and yet not ouermuch. But perchance, som will say, I haue stepte to farre, out of my schole, into the common welthe, from teaching a yong scholer, to monishe greate and noble men: yet I trust good and wise men will thinke and iudge of me, that my minde was, not so moch, to be busie and bold with them, that be great now, as to giue trewe aduise to them, that may be great hereafter. Who, if they do, as I wishe them to do, how great so euer they be now, by blood and other mens meanes, they shall becum a greate deale greater hereafter, by learninge, vertue, and their owne desertes: which is trewe praise, right worthines, and verie Nobilitie in deede. Yet, if som will needes presse me, that I am to bold with great men, & stray to farre from my matter, I will aunswere them with

S. Paul, siue perc ontentionem, siue quocunqe modo, modò Christus prædicetur, &c. euen so, whether in place, or out of place, with my matter, or beside my matter, if I can hereby either prouoke the good, or staye the ill, I shall thinke my writing herein well imployed.

Written not for great men, but for great mens children.

But, to cum downe, from greate men, and hier matters, to my litle children, and poore scholehouse againe, I will, God willing, go forwarde orderlie, as I purposed, to instructe Children and yong men, both for learninge and maners.

Ad Philip

Trauelyng into Italie.

Hitherto, I haue shewed, what harme, ouermoch feare bringeth to children: and what hurte, ill companie, and ouermoch libertie breedeth in yougthe: meening thereby, that from seauen yeare olde, to seauentene, loue is the best allurement to learninge: from seauentene to seauen and twentie, that wise men shold carefullie see the steppes of yougthe surelie staide by good order, in that most slipperie tyme: and speciallie in the Courte, a place most dangerous for yougthe to liue in, without great grace, good regarde, and diligent looking to.

Syr *Richard Sackuile*, that worthy Ientlemen of worthy memorie, as I sayd in the begynnynge, in the Queenes priuie Chamber at Windesore, after he had talked with me, for the right choice of a good witte in a child for learnyng, and of the trewe difference betwixt quicke and hard wittes, of alluring yong children by ientlenes to loue learnyng, and of the speciall care that was to be had, to keepe yong men from licencious liuyng, he was most earnest with me, to haue me say my mynde also, what I thought, concernyng the fansie that many yong Ientlemen of England haue to trauell abroad, and namely to lead a long lyfe in Italie. His request, both for his authoritie, and good will toward me, was a sufficient commaundement vnto me, to satisfie his pleasure, with vtteryng plainlie my opinion in that matter. Syr quoth I, I take goyng thither, and liuing there, for a yonge ientleman, that doth not goe vnder the kepe and garde of such a man, as both, by wisedome can, and authoritie dare rewle him, to be meruelous dangerous. And whie I said so than, I will declare at large now: which I said than priuatelie, and write now openlie, not bicause I do contemne, either the knowledge of strange and diuerse tonges, and namelie the Italian

tonge, which next the Greeke and Latin tonge, I like and loue aboue all other: or else bicause I do despise, the learning that is gotten, or the experience that is The Italian gathered in strange contries: or for any private malice that beare to Italie: tong. which contrie, and in it, namelie Rome, I have alwayes speciallie honored: Italia. bicause, tyme was, whan Italie and Rome, haue bene, to the greate good of Roma. vs that now liue, the best breeders and bringers vp, of the worthiest men, not onelie for wise speakinge, but also for well doing, in all Ciuill affaires, that euer was in the worlde. But now, that tyme is gone, and though the place remayne, yet the olde and present maners, do differ as farre, as blacke and white, as vertue and vice. Vertue once made that contrie Mistres ouer all the worlde. Vice now maketh that contrie slaue to them, that before, were glad to serue it. All men seeth it: They themselues confesse it, namelie soch, as be best and wisest amongest them. For sinne, by lust and vanitie, hath and doth breed vp euery where, common contempt of Gods word, private contention in many families, open factions in euery Citie: and so, making them selues bonde, to vanitie and vice at home, they are content to beare the yoke of seruyng straungers abroad. Italie now, is not that Italie, that it was wont to be: and therfore now, not so fitte a place, as some do counte it, for yong men to fetch either wisedome or honestie from thence. For surelie, they will make other but bad Scholers, that be so ill Masters to them selues.

Yet, if a ientleman will nedes trauell into *Italie*, he shall do well, to looke on the life, of the wisest traueler, that euer traueled thether, set out by the wisest writer, that euer spake with tong, Gods doctrine onelie excepted: and that is *Vlysses* in *Homere*. *Vlysses*, and his trauell, I wishe our trauelers to looke vpon, not so much to feare them, with the great daungers, that he many tymes suffered, as to instruct them, with his excellent wisedome, which he alwayes and euerywhere vsed. Yea euen those, that be learned and wittie trauelers, when they be disposed to prayse traueling, as *Vlysses*. a great commendacion, and the best Scripture they haue for it, they gladlie *Homere*. recite the third verse of *Homere*, in his first booke of *Odyssea*, conteining a great prayse of *Vlysses*, for the witte he gathered, & wisdome he vsed in his traueling.

Which verse, bicause, in mine opinion, it was not made at the first, more naturallie in *Greke* by *Homere*, nor after turned more aptlie into *Latin* by *Horace*, than it was a good while ago, in Cambrige, translated into English, both plainlie for the sense, and roundlie for the verse, by one of the best Scholers, that euer S. Iohns Colledge bred, *M. Watson*, myne old frend, somtime Bishop of Lincolne, therfore, for their sake, that haue lust to see, how our English tong, in auoidyng barbarous ryming, may as well receiue, right quantitie of sillables, and trewe order of versifiyng (of which matter more at large hereafter) as either *Greke* or *Latin*, if a cunning man haue it in handling, I will set forth that one verse in all three tonges, for an Example to good wittes, that shall delite in like learned exercise.

Homerus.

pollon d anthropon iden astea kai noon egno.

Horatius.

Qui mores hominum multorum vidit & vrbes.

M. Watson.

All trauellers do gladly report great prayse of Vlysses, For that he knew many mens maners, and saw many Cities.

And yet is not *Vlysses* commended, so much, nor so oft, in *Homere*, bicause he was polytropos, that is, skilfull in many mens manners and facions, as bicause he was polymetis, that is, wise in all

purposes, & ware in all places: which wisedome and warenes will not serue neither a traueler, except *Pallas* be alwayes at his elbow, that is Gods speciall grace from heaven, to kepe him in Gods feare, in all his doynges, in all his ieorneye. For, he shall not alwayes in his absence out of England, light vpon a ientle *Alcynous*, and walke in his faire gardens full of all harmelesse pleasures: but he shall sometymes, fall, either into the handes of some cruell Cyclops, or into the lappe of some wanton and dalying Dame Calypso: and so suffer the danger of many a deadlie Denne, not so full of perils, to distroy the body, as, full of vayne pleasures, to poyson the mynde. Some *Siren* shall sing him a song, sweete in tune, but sownding in the ende, to his vtter destruction. If Scylla drowne him not, Carybdis may fortune swalow hym. Some Circes shall make him, of a plaine English man, a right Italian. And at length to hell, or to some hellish place, is he likelie to go: from whence is hard returning, although one Vlysses, and that by Pallas ayde, and good counsell of *Tiresias* once escaped that horrible Den of deadly darkenes.

Pallas from heauen.

Alcynous. od. 2.

Cyclops. od. 1. Calypso. od. e.

Circes. od. k.

Therfore, if wise men will nedes send their sonnes into *Italie*, let od. 1. m do it wiselie, vnder the kepe and garde of him, who, by his

them do it wiselie, vnder the kepe and garde of him, who, by his wisedome and honestie, by his example and authoritie, may be hable to kepe them safe and sound, in the feare of God, in Christes trewe Religion, in good order and honestie of liuyng: except they will haue them run headling, into ouermany ieoperdies, as *Vlysses* had done many tymes, if *Pallas* had not alwayes gouerned him: if he had not vsed, to stop his eares with waxe: to bind him selfe to the mast of his shyp: to feede dayly, vpon that swete herbe *Moly* with the blake roote and white floore, giuen vnto hym by Mercurie, to auoide all the inchantmentes of *Circes*. Wherby, the Diuine

Poete *Homer* ment couertlie (as wise and Godly men do iudge) that loue of honestie, and hatred of ill, which *Dauid* more plainly doth call the feare of God: the onely remedie agaynst all inchantementes of sinne.

od. m. od. k. Moly Herba.

I know diverse noble personages, and many worthie Ientlemen of England, whom all the *Siren* songes of *Italie*, could neuer vntwyne from the

Psal. 33.

maste of Gods word: nor no inchantment of vanitie, ouerturne them, from the feare of God, and loue of honestie.

But I know as many, or mo, and some, sometyme my deare frendes, for whose sake I hate going into that countrey the more, who, partyng out of England feruent in the loue of Christes doctrine, and well furnished with the feare of God, returned out of Italie worse transformed, than euer was any in *Circes* Court. I know diuerse, that went out of England, men of innocent life, men of excellent learnyng, who returned out of *Italie*, not onely with worse maners, but also with lesse learnyng: neither so willing to liue orderly, nor yet so hable to speake learnedlie, as they were at home, before they went abroad. And why? Plato y^t wise writer, and worthy traueler him selfe, telleth the cause why. He went into Sicilia, a countrey, no nigher Italy by site of place, than Italie that is now, is like Sicilia that was then, in all corrupt maners and licenciousnes of life. Plato found in Sicilia, euery Citie full of vanitie, full of factions, euen as *Italie* is now. And as *Homere*, like a learned Poete, doth feyne, that *Circes*, by pleasant inchantmentes, did turne men into beastes, some into Swine, som

into Asses, some into Foxes, some into Wolues etc. euen so *Plato*, like a wise Philosopher, doth plainelie declare, that pleasure, by licentious vanitie, that sweete and perilous poyson of all youth, doth ingender in all those, that yeld vp themselues to her, foure notorious properties.

Plat. ad Dionys. Epist.

The fruits of vayne pleasure.

Causes why men returne out of Italie, lesse

learned and

worse manered. Homer and *Plato* ioyned and expounded. A Swyne.

An Asse. A Foxe.

{1. lethen

{2. dysmathian

{3. achrosynen

{4. ybrin.

The first, forgetfulnes of all good thinges learned before: the second, dulnes to receyue either learnyng or honestie euer after: the third, a mynde embracing lightlie the worse opinion, and baren of discretion to make trewe difference betwixt good and ill, betwixt troth, and vanitie, the fourth, a proude disdainfulnes of other good men, in all honest matters. Homere and Plato, haue both one meanyng, looke both to one end. For, if a man inglutte himself with vanitie, or walter in filthines like a Swyne, all learnyng, all goodnes, is sone forgotten: Than, quicklie shall he becum a dull Asse, to vnderstand either learnyng or honestie: and yet shall he be as sutle as a Foxe, in breedyng

aphrosyne, Quid, et vnde.

of mischief, in bringyng in misorder, with a busie head, a discoursing tong, and a factious harte, in euery priuate affaire, in all matters of state, with this pretie propertie, alwayes glad to commend the worse partie, and euer ready to defend the falser opinion. And why? For, where will is given from goodnes to vanitie, the mynde is sone caryed from right iudgement, to any fond opinion, in Religion, in Philosophie, or any other kynde of learning. The fourth fruite of vaine pleasure, by Homer and Platos iudgement, is pride in them selues, contempt of others, the very badge of all those that serue in Circes Court. The trewe meenyng of both *Homer* and *Plato*, is plainlie declared in one short sentence of the holy Prophet of God Hieremie, crying out of the vaine & vicious life of the Israelites. This

people (sayth he) be fooles and dulhedes to all goodnes, but sotle, cunning and bolde, in any mischiefe. &c.

The true medicine against the inchantmentes of *Circes*, the vanitie of licencious pleasure, the inticementes of all sinne, is, in *Homere*, the herbe *Moly*, with the blacke roote, and white flooer, sower at the first, but sweete in the end: which,

Hesiodus termeth the study of vertue, hard and irksome in the beginnyng, but in the end, easie and pleasant. And that, which is most to be marueled at, the diuine Poete Homere sayth plainlie that this medicine against sinne and vanitie, is not found out by man, but giuen and taught by God. And for some one sake, that will haue delite to read that sweete and Godlie Verse, I will recite the very wordes of Homere and also turne them into rude English metre.

hybris.

Hieremias 4. Cap.

Hesiodus de virtute.

Homerus, diuinus Poeta.

chalepon de t oryssein andrasi ge thnetoisi, theoi de te panta dynantai.

In English thus.

No mortall man, with sweat of browe, or toile of minde, But onely God, who can do all, that herbe doth finde.

Plato also, that diuine Philosopher, hath many Godly medicines agaynst the poyson of vayne pleasure, in many places, but specially in his Epistles to Dionisius the tyrant of Sicilie: yet agaynst those, that will nedes becum beastes, with seruyng of Circes, the Prophet Dauid, crieth most loude, Nolite fieri sicut equus et mulus: and by and by giueth the right medicine, the trewe herbe Moly, In camo & freno maxillas eorum constringe, that is to say, let Gods grace be the bitte, let Gods feare be the bridle, to stay them from runnyng headlong into vice, and to turne them into the right way agayne. Dauid in the second Psalme after, giueth the same medicine, but in these plainer wordes, Diuerte à malo, & fac bonum. But I am affraide, that ouer many of our trauelers into Italie, do not exchewe the way to Circes Court: but go, and ryde, and runne, and flie thether, they make great hast to cum to her: they make great sute to serue her: yea, I could point out some with my finger, that neuer had gone out of England, but onelie to serue Circes, in Italie.

Vanitie and vice, and any licence to ill liuyng in England was counted stale and rude vnto them. And so, beyng

Mules and Horses before they went, returned verie Swyne and Asses home agayne: yet euerie where verie Foxes with suttle and busie heades; and where they may, verie wolues, with cruell malicious hartes. A meruelous monster, which, for filthines of liuyng, for dulnes to learning him selfe, for wilinesse in dealing with others, for malice in hurting

without cause, should carie at once in one bodie, the belie of a Swyne, the head of an Asse, the brayne of a Foxe, the wombe of a wolfe. If you thinke, we iudge amisse, and write to sore against you, heare, what the *Italian* sayth of the English man, what the master reporteth of the scholer: who vttereth playnlie, what is taught by him, and what learned by you, saying, Englese Italianato, e vn diabolo incarnato, that is to say, you remaine men in shape and facion, but becum deuils in life and condition. This is not, the opinion of one, for some private spite, but the judgement of all, in a common Prouerbe, which riseth, of that learning, and those maners, which you gather in *Italie*: a good Scholehouse of wholesome doctrine: and worthy Masters of commendable Scholers, where the Master had rather diffame hym selfe for hys teachyng, than not shame his

Scholer for his learning. A good nature of the maister, and faire conditions of the scholers. And now chose you, you Italian English men, whether you will be angrie with vs, for calling you monsters, or with the Italianes, for callyng you deuils, or else with your owne selues, that take so much paines, and go so farre, to make your selues both. If some yet do not well vnderstand, what is an English man Italianated, I will plainlie tell him. He, that by liuing, & traueling in Italie, bringeth home into England out of Italie, the Religion, the learning, the policie, the experience, the maners of *Italie*. That is to say, for Religion, Papistrie or worse: for learnyng, lesse commonly than they caried out with them: for pollicie, a factious hart, a discoursing head, a mynde to medle in all mens matters: for experience, plentie of new mischieues neuer knowne in England before: for maners, varietie of vanities, and chaunge of filthy lyuing. These be the inchantementes of Circes, brought out of Italie, to marre mens maners in England: much, by example of ill life, but more by preceptes of fonde bookes, of late translated out of *Italian* into English, sold in euery shop in London, commended by honest titles the soner to corrupt honest maners: dedicated ouer boldlie to

Plat. ad Dio. Psal. 32.

Psal. 33.

A trewe Picture of a knight of Circes Court.

Englishmen brought vp in Italie.

The Italians iudgement of

The Italian diffameth him selfe, to shame the Englishe

An English man Italianated.

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{1 Religion.}
     {2 Learning.}
The {4 Pollicie.}
                      gotten
                      in
                      Italie.
     Experience.
     {5 Maners.}
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Italian bokes translated into English.

vertuous and honorable personages, the easielier to begile simple and innocent wittes. It is pitie, that those, which have authoritie and charge, to allow and dissalow bookes to be printed, be no more circumspect herein, than they are. Ten Sermons at Paules Crosse do not so moch good for mouyng men to trewe doctrine, as one of those bookes do harme, with inticing men to ill liuing. Yea, I say farder, those bookes, tend not so moch to corrupt honest liuyng, as they do, to subuert trewe Religion. Mo Papistes be made, by your mery bookes of Italie, than by your earnest bookes of Louain. And bicause our great Phisicians, do winke at the matter, and make no counte of this sore, I, though not admitted one of their felowshyp, yet hauyng bene many yeares a prentice to Gods trewe Religion, and trust to continewe a poore iorney man therein all dayes of my life, for the dewtie I owe, & loue I beare, both to trewe doctrine, and honest liuing, though I have no authoritie to amend the sore my selfe, yet I will declare my good will, to discouer the sore to others.

S. Paul saith, that sectes and ill opinions, be the workes of the flesh, and frutes of sinne,

this is spoken, no more trewlie for the doctrine, than sensiblie for the reason. And why? For, ill doinges, breed ill thinkinges. And of corrupted maners, spryng peruerted iudgementes. And how? there be in man two speciall thinges: Mans will, mans mynde, Where will inclineth to goodnes, the mynde is bent to troth: Where will is caried from goodnes to vanitie, the mynde is sone drawne from troth to false opinion. And so, the readiest way to entangle the mynde with false doctrine, is first to intice the will

Ad Gal. 5.

Voluntas} {Bonum.

Respicit

Mens} {Verum.

Morte Arthure.

to wanton liuyng. Therfore, when the busie and open Papistes abroad, could not, by their contentious bookes, turne men in England fast enough, from troth and right iudgement in doctrine, than the sutle and secrete Papistes at home, procured bawdie bookes to be

translated out of the *Italian* tonge, whereby ouer many yong willes and wittes allured to wantonnes, do now boldly contemne all seuere bookes that sounde to honestie and godlines. In our forefathers tyme, whan Papistrie, as a standyng poole, couered and ouerflowed all England, fewe bookes were read in our tong, sauyng certaine bookes of Cheualrie, as they sayd, for pastime and pleasure, which, as some say, were made in Monasteries, by idle Monkes, or wanton Chanons: as one for example, *Morte Arthure:* the whole pleasure of which booke standeth in two speciall poyntes, in open mans slaughter, and bold bawdrye: In which booke those be counted the noblest Knightes, that do kill most men without any quarell, and commit fowlest aduoulteries by sutlest shiftes: as Sir *Launcelote*, with the wife of king *Arthure* his master: Syr *Tristram* with the wife of king *Marke* his vncle: Syr *Lamerocke* with the wife of king *Lote*, that was his own aunte. This

is good stuffe, for wise men to laughe at, or honest men to take pleasure at. Yet I know, when Gods Bible was banished the Court, and *Morte Arthure* received into the Princes chamber. What toyes, the dayly readyng of such a booke, may worke in the will of a yong ientleman, or a yong mayde, that liueth welthelie and idlelie, wise men can iudge, and honest men do pitie. And yet ten *Morte Arthures* do not the tenth part so much harme, as one of these bookes, made in *Italie*, and translated in England. They open, not fond and

common wayes to vice, but such subtle, cunnyng, new, and diuerse shiftes, to cary yong willes to vanitie, and yong wittes to mischief, to teach old bawdes new schole poyntes, as the simple head of an English man is not hable to inuent, nor neuer was hard of in England before, yea when Papistrie ouerflowed all. Suffer these bookes to be read, and they shall soone displace all bookes of godly learnyng. For they, carying the will to vanitie, and marryng good maners, shall easily corrupt the mynde with ill opinions, and

false iudgement in doctrine: first, to thinke ill of all trewe Religion, and at last to thinke nothyng of God hym selfe, one special pointe that is to be learned in *Italie*, and *Italian* bookes. And that which is most to be lamented, and therfore more nedefull to be

looked to, there be moe of these vngratious bookes set out in Printe within these fewe monethes, than haue bene sene in England many score yeare before. And bicause our English men made *Italians*, can not hurt, but certaine persons, and in certaine places, therfore these *Italian* bookes are made English, to bryng mischief enough openly and boldly, to all states great and meane, yong and old, euery where.

And thus yow see, how will intised to wantonnes, doth easelie allure the mynde to false opinions: and how corrupt maners in liuinge, breede false iudgement in doctrine: how

sinne and fleshlines, bring forth sectes and heresies: And therefore suffer not vaine bookes to breede vanitie in mens willes, if yow would have Goddes trothe take roote in mens myndes.

That Italian, that first inuented the Italian Prouerbe against our Englishe men Italianated, ment no more their vanitie in liuing, than their lewd opinion in Religion. For, in calling them Deuiles, he carieth them cleane from God: and yet he carieth them no farder, than they willinglie go themselues, that is, where they may freely say their mindes, to the open contempte of God and all godlines, both in liuing and doctrine.

And how? I will expresse how, not by a Fable of *Homere*, nor by the The Italian Philosophie of *Plato*, but by a plaine troth of Goddes word, sensiblie vttered prouerbe expounded. by Dauid thus. Thies men, abhominabiles facti in studijs suis, thinke verily, and singe gladlie the verse before, Dixit insipiens in Corde suo, non est Psa. 14. Deus: that is to say, they geuing themselues vp to vanitie, shakinge of the motions of Grace, driving from them the feare of God, and running headlong into all sinne, first, lustelie contemne God, than scornefullie mocke his worde, and also spitefullie hate and hurte all well willers thereof. Than they have in more reverence, the triumphes of Petrarche: than the Genesis of Moses: They make more accounte of *Tullies* offices, than *S*. Paules epistles: of a tale in Bocace, than a storie of the Bible. Than they counte as Fables, the holie misteries of Christian Religion. They make Christ and his Gospell, onelie serue Ciuill pollicie: Than neyther Religion cummeth amisse to them: In tyme they be Promoters of both openlie: in place againe mockers of both priuilie, as I wrote once in a rude ryme.

Now new, now olde, now both, now neither, To serue the worldes course, they care not with whether.

For where they dare, in cumpanie where they like, they boldlie laughe to scorne both protestant and Papist. They care for no scripture: They make no counte of generall councels: they contemne the consent of the Chirch: They passe for no Doctores: They mocke the Pope: They raile on *Luther*: They allow neyther side: They like none, but onelie themselues: The marke they shote at, the ende they looke for, the heauen they desire, is onelie, their owne present pleasure,

and private proffit: whereby, they plainlie declare, of whose schole, of what Religion they be: that is, Epicures in living, and atheoi in doctrine: this last worde, is no more vnknowne now to plaine English men, than the Person was vnknown somtyme in England, vntill som Englishe man tooke peines, to fetch that develish opinion out of Italie. Thies men, thus Italianated abroad, can not abide our Godlie Italian Chirch at home: they be not of that Parish, they be not of that felowshyp: they like not yt preacher: they heare not his sermons: Excepte somtymes for companie, they cum thither, to heare the Italian tonge naturally spoken, not to hear Gods doctrine trewly preached.

And yet, thies men, in matters of Diuinitie, openlie pretend a great knowledge, and haue priuatelie to them selues, a verie compendious vnderstanding of all, which

neuertheles they will vtter when and where they liste: And that is this: All the misteries of *Moses*, the whole lawe and Cerimonies, the Psalmes and Prophetes, Christ and his Gospell, G O D and the Deuill, Heauen and Hell, Faith, Conscience, Sinne, Death, and all they shortlie wrap vp, they quickly expounde with this one halfe verse of *Horace*.

Credat Iudæus Appella.

Yet though in Italie they may freely be of no Religion, as they are in Englande in verie deede to, neuerthelesse returning home into England they must countenance the profession of the one or the other, howsoeuer inwardlie, they laugh to scorne both. And though, for their private matters they can follow, fawne, and flatter noble Personages, contrarie to them in all respectes, yet commonlie they allie themselues with the worst Papistes, to whom they be wedded, and do well agree togither in three proper opinions: In open contempte of Goddes worde: in a secret securitie of sinne: and in a bloodie desire to have all taken away, by sword or burning, that be not of their faction. They that do read, with indifferent iudgement, *Pygius* and *Machiauel*, two indifferent Patriarches of thies two Religions, do know full well that I say trewe.

Ye see, what manners and doctrine, our Englishe men fetch out of Italie: For finding no other there, they can bring no other hither. And therefore, manie godlie and excellent learned Englishe men, not manie yeares ago, did make a better choice, whan open crueltie draue them out of this contrie, to place themselues there, where Christes doctrine, the feare of God, punishment of sinne, and discipline of Papistrie and honestie, were had in speciall regarde.

Papistrie agree

I was once in Italie my selfe: but I thanke God, my abode there, was but ix. dayes: And yet I sawe in that litle tyme, in one Citie, more libertie to sinne, than euer I hard tell of in our noble Citie of London in ix. yeare. I sawe, it was there, as free to sinne, not onelie without all punishment, but also without any mans marking, as it is free in the Citie of London, to chose, without all blame, whether a man lust to weare Shoo or pantocle. And good cause why: For being vnlike in troth of Religion, they must nedes be vnlike in honestie of liuing. For blessed be Christ, in our Citie of London, commonlie the commandementes of God, be more diligentlie taught, and the seruice of God more reuerentlie vsed, and that daylie in many priuate mens houses, than they be in Italie once a weeke in their common Chirches: where, masking Ceremonies, to delite the eye, and vaine soundes, to please the eare, do quite thrust out of the Chirches, all seruice of God in spirit and troth. Yea, the Lord Maior of London, being but a Ciuill officer, is commonlie for his tyme, more diligent, in punishing sinne, the bent enemie against God and good order, than all the bloodie Inquisitors in Italie be in seauen yeare. For, their care and charge is, not to punish sinne, not to amend manners, not to purge doctrine, but onelie to watch and ouersee that Christes trewe Religion set no sure footing, where the Pope hath any Iurisdiction. I learned, when I was at Venice, that there it is counted good pollicie, when

impietie agree in three opinions.

Pigius.

Machiauelus.

Wise and honest trauelers.

Germanie.

Venice.

London.

Seruice of God in England.

Seruice of God in Italie.

The Lord

there be foure or fiue brethren of one familie, one, onelie to marie: & all the rest, to waulter, with as litle shame, in open lecherie, as Swyne do here in the common myre. Yea, there be as fayre houses of Religion, as great prouision, as diligent officers, to kepe vp this misorder, as Bridewell is, and all the Masters there, to kepe downe misorder. And therefore, if the Pope himselfe, do not onelie graunt pardons to furder thies wicked purposes abrode in Italie, but also (although this present Pope, in the beginning, made som shewe of misliking thereof)

Maior of London.

The Inquisitors in Italie.

assigne both meede and merite to the maintenance of stewes and brothelhouses at home in Rome, than let wise men thinke Italie a safe place for holsom doctrine, and godlie manners, and a fitte schole for

yong ientlemen of England to be brought vp in.

An ungodlie pollicie.

Our Italians bring home with them other faultes from Italie, though not

Contempt of

mariage. so great as this of Religion, yet a great deale greater, than many good men can well beare. For commonlie they cum home, common contemners of mariage and readie persuaders of all other to the same: not because they loue virginitie, but, being free in Italie, to go whither so euer lust will cary them, they do not like, that lawe and honestie should be soch a barre to their like libertie at home in England. And yet they be, the greatest makers of loue, the daylie daliers, with such pleasant wordes, with such smilyng and secret countenances, with such signes, tokens, wagers, purposed to be lost, before they were purposed to be made, with bargaines of wearing colours, floures, and herbes, to breede occasion of ofter meeting of him and her, and bolder talking of this and that &c. And although I have seene some, innocent of all ill, and stayde in all honestie, that have vsed these thinges without all harme, without all suspicion of harme, yet these knackes were brought first into England by them, that learned them before in *Italie* in *Circes* Court: and how Courtlie curtesses so euer they be counted now, yet, if the meaning and maners of some that do vse them, were somewhat amended, it were no great hurt, neither to them selues, nor to others.

An other propertie of this our English *Italians* is, to be meruelous singular in all their matters: Singular in knowledge, ignorant of nothyng: So singular in wisedome (in their owne opinion) as scarse they counte the best Counsellor the Prince hath, comparable to them: Common discoursers of all matters: busic searchers of most secret affaires: open flatterers of great men: priuie mislikers of good men: Faire speakers, with smiling countenances, and much curtessie openlie to all men. Ready bakbiters, sore nippers, and spitefull reporters priuilie of good men. And beyng brought vp in Italie, in some free Citie, as all Cities be there: where a man may freelie discourse against what he will, against whom he lust: against any Prince, agaynst any gouernement, yea against God him selfe, and his whole Religion: where he must be, either Guelphe or Gibiline, either French or Spanish: and alwayes compelled to be of some partie, of some faction, he shall neuer be compelled to be of any Religion: And if he medle not ouer much with Christes true Religion, he shall have free libertie to embrace all Religions, and becum, if he lust at once, without any let or punishment, Iewish, Turkish, Papish, and Deuillish.

A yong Ientleman, thus bred vp in this goodly schole, to learne the next and readie way to sinne, to have a busie head, a factious hart, a talkative tonge, fed with discoursing of factions: led to contemne God and his Religion, shall cum home into England, but verie ill

taught, either to be an honest man him self, a quiet subject to his Prince, or willyng to serue God, vnder the obedience of trewe doctrine, or within the order of honest liuing.

I know, none will be offended with this my generall writing, but onelie such, as finde them selues giltie priuatelie therin: who shall haue good leaue to be offended with me, vntill they begin to amende them selues. I touch not them that be good: and I say to litle of them that be nought. And so, though not enough for their deseruing, yet sufficientlie for this time, and more els when, if occasion so require.

And thus farre haue I wandred from my first purpose of teaching a child, yet not altogether out of the way, bicause this whole taulke hath tended to the onelie aduauncement of trothe in Religion, and honestie of liuing: and hath bene wholie within the compasse of learning and good maners, the speciall pointes belonging in the right bringyng vp of youth.

But to my matter, as I began, plainlie and simplie with my yong Scholer, so will I not leaue him, God willing, vntill I haue brought him a perfite Scholer out of the Schole, and placed him in the Vniuersitie, to becum a fitte student, for Logicke and Rhetoricke: and so after to Phisicke, Law, or Diuinitie, as aptnes of nature, aduise of frendes, and Gods disposition shall lead him.

The ende of the first booke.

To continue: Book II.



Renascence Editions

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Renascence Editions

The Scholemaster (Book II)

Roger Ascham

Book I | Book II

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Note (from the ASCII version): I have omitted signature designations, have transcribed Greek characters, and have expanded the usual Renaissance contractions for "m" and "n"; marginalia are separated from textual line by // and a curly bracket vertically extending over more than one line is represented by a curly bracket on each successive line; long vertical lines extending over more than one line are also indicated by a vertical line on each successive line of text. -- Judy Boss.

The second booke.



Fter that your scholer, as I sayd before, shall cum in deede, first, to a readie perfitnes in translating, than, to a ripe and skilfull choice in markyng out hys sixe pointes, as,

- {1. *Proprium*.
- {2. Translatum.
- {3. Synonymum.
- {4. *Contrarium*.
- {5. Diuersum.
- {6. Phrases.

Than take this order with him: Read dayly vnto him, some booke of *Tullie*, as the third booke of Epistles chosen out by *Sturmius*, *de Amicitia*, or that excellent Epistle conteining

almost the whole first book *ad Q. fra:* some Comedie of *Terence* or *Plautus:* but in *Plautus*, skilfull choice must be vsed by the master, to traine his Scholler to a iudgement, in cutting out perfitelie ouer old and vnproper wordes: *Cæs. Cicero. Commentaries* are to be read with all curiositie, in specially without all exception to be made, either by frende or foe, is seene, the vnspotted *de Senectute,* proprietie of the Latin tong, euen whan it was, as the *Grecians* say, in akme, that is, at the hiest pitch of all perfitenesse: or some Orations of *T. Liuius, Terentius.* such as be both longest and plainest.

These bookes, I would have him read now, a good deale at every lecture:

Plautus.

for he shall not now vse dalie translation, but onely construe againe, and Iul. Cæsar. parse, where ye suspect, is any nede: yet, let him not omitte in these bookes, his former exercise, in marking diligently, and writyng orderlie out his six T. Liuius. pointes. And for translating, vse you your selfe, euery second or thyrd day, to chose out, some Epistle ad Atticum, some notable common place out of his Orations, or some other part of *Tullie*, by your discretion, which your scholer may not know where to finde: and translate it you your selfe, into plaine naturall English, and than giue it him to translate into Latin againe: allowing him good space and tyme to do it, both with diligent heede, and good aduisement. Here his witte shalbe new set on worke: his judgement, for right choice, trewlie tried: his memorie, for sure reteyning, better exercised, than by learning, any thing without the booke: & here, how much he hath proffited, shall plainly appeare. Whan he bringeth it translated vnto you, bring you forth the place of Tullie: lay them together: compare the one with the other: commend his good choice, & right placing of wordes: Shew his faultes iently, but blame them not ouer sharply: for, of such missings, ientlie admonished of, proceedeth glad & good heed taking: of good heed taking, springeth chiefly knowledge, which after, groweth to perfitnesse, if this order, be diligentlie vsed by the scholer & iently handled by the master: for here, shall all the hard pointes of Grammer, both easely and surelie be learned vp: which, scholers in common scholes, by making of Latines, be groping at, with care & feare, & yet in many yeares, they scarse can reach vnto them. I remember, whan I was yong, in the North, they went to the Grammer schole, litle children: they came from thence great lubbers: alwayes learning, and litle profiting: learning without booke, euery thing, vnderstandyng within the booke, litle or nothing: Their whole knowledge, by learning without the booke, was tied onely to their tong & lips, and neuer ascended vp to the braine & head, and therfore was sone spitte out of the mouth againe: They were, as men, alwayes goyng, but euer out of the way: and why? For their whole labor, or rather great toyle without order, was euen vaine idlenesse without proffit. In deed, they tooke great paynes about learning: but employed small labour in learning: Whan by this way prescribed in this booke, being streight, plaine, & easie, the scholer is alwayes laboring with pleasure, and euer going right on forward with proffit: always laboring I say, for, or he have construed parced, twise translated over by good advisement, marked out his six pointes by skilfull iudgement, he shall have necessarie occasion, to read

ouer euery lecture, a dosen tymes, at the least. Which, bicause he shall do alwayes in order, he shall do it alwayes with pleasure: And pleasure allureth loue: loue hath lust to labor: labor alwayes obteineth his purpose, as most trewly, both *Aristotle* in his Rhetoricke & *Oedipus* in *Sophocles* do teach, saying, pan gar ekponoumenon aliske. *et. cet.* & this oft

reading, is the

verie right following, of that good Counsell, which *Plinie* doth geue to his frende Fuscus, saying, Multum, non multa. But to my purpose againe:

In Oedip. Tyr.

Rhet. 2

Whan, by this diligent and spedie reading ouer, those forenamed good bokes of Tullie, Terence, Cæsar, and Liuie, and by this second kinde of translating out of your English, tyme shall breed skill, and vse shall bring Epist. lib. 7. perfection, than ye may trie, if you will, your scholer, with the third kinde of translation: although the two first wayes, by myne opinion, be, not onelie sufficent of them selues, but also surer, both for the Masters teaching, and scholers learning, than this third way is: Which is thus. Write you in English, some letter, as it were from him to his father, or to some other frende, naturallie, according to the disposition of the child, or some tale, or fable, or plaine narration, according as Aphthonius beginneth his exercises of learning, and let him translate it into Latin againe, abiding in soch place, where no other scholer may prompe him. But yet, vse you your selfe soch discretion for choice therein, as the matter may be within the compas, both for wordes and sentences, of his former learning and reading. And now take heede, lest your scholer do not better in some point, than you your

selfe, except ye have bene diligentlie exercised in these kindes of translating before:

I had once a profe hereof, tried by good experience, by a deare frende of myne, whan I came first from Cambrige, to serue the Queenes Maiestie, than Ladie Elizabeth, lying at worthie Syr Ant. Denys in Cheston. Iohn Whitneye, a yong ientleman, was my bedfeloe, who willyng by good nature and prouoked by mine aduise, began to learne the Latin tong, after the order declared in this booke. We began after Christmas: I read vnto him Tullie de Amicitia, which he did euerie day twise translate, out of Latin into English, and out of English into Latin agayne. About S. Laurence tyde after, to proue how he proffited, I did chose out Torquatus taulke de Amicitia, in the later end of the first booke de finib. bicause that place was, the same in matter, like in wordes and phrases, nigh to the forme and facion of sentences, as he had learned before in de Amicitia. I did translate it my selfe into plaine English, and gaue it him to turne into Latin: Which he did, so choislie, so orderlie, so without any great misse in the hardest pointes of Grammer, that some, in seuen yeare in Grammer Scholes, yea, & some in the Vniuersities to, can not do halfe so well. This worthie yong Ientleman, to my greatest grief, to the great lamentation of that whole house, and speciallie to that most noble Ladie, now Queene Elizabeth her selfe, departed within few dayes, out of this world.

And if in any cause, a man may without offence of God speake somewhat vngodlie, surely, it was some grief vnto me, to see him hie so hastlie to God, as he did. A Court, full of soch yong Ientlemen, were rather a Paradise than a Court vpon earth. And though I had neuer Poeticall head, to make any verse, in any tong, yet either loue, or sorrow, or both, did wring out of me than, certaine carefull thoughtes of my good will towardes him, which in my murning for him, fell forth, more by chance, than either by skill or vse, into this kinde of misorderlie meter.

Myne owne Iohn Whitney, now farewell, now death doth parte vs twaine, No death, but partyng for a while, whom life shall ioyne agayne. Therfore my hart cease sighes and sobbes, cease sorowes seede to sow,

Wherof no gaine, but greater grief, and hurtfull care may grow. Yet, whan I thinke vpon soch giftes of grace as God him lent, My losse, his gaine, I must a while, with ioyfull teares lament. Yong yeares to yelde soch frute in Court, where seede of vice is sowne, Is sometime read, in some place seene, amongst vs seldom knowne. His life he ledde, Christes lore to learne, with will to worke the same: He read to know, and knew to liue, and liued to praise his name. So fast to frende, so foe to few, so good to euery weight, I may well wishe, but scarcelie hope, agayne to haue in sight. The greater iove his life to me, his death the greater payne: *His life in Christ so surelie set, doth glad my hearte agayne:* His life so good, his death better, do mingle mirth with care, My spirit with ioye, my flesh with grief, so deare a frend to spare. Thus God the good, while they be good, doth take, and leaves vs ill, That we should mend our sinfull life, in life to tary still. Thus, we well left, be better rest, in heauen to take his place, That by like life, and death, at last, we may obteine like grace. Myne owne Iohn Whiteney agayne fairewell, a while thus parte in twaine, Whom payne doth part in earth, in heauen great ioye shall ioyne agayne.

In this place, or I procede farder, I will now declare, by whose authoritie I am led, and by what reason I am moued, to thinke, that this way of duble translation out of one tong into an other, in either onelie, or at least chiefly, to be exercised, speciallie of youth, for the ready and sure obteining of any tong.

There be six wayes appointed by the best learned men, for the learning of tonges, and encreace of eloquence, as

- {1. Translatio linguarum.
- {2. Paraphrasis.
- {3. Metaphrasis.
- *{*4. *Epitome*.
- {5. Imitatio.
- {6. Declamatio.

All theis be vsed, and commended, but in order, and for respectes: as person, habilitie, place, and tyme shall require. The fiue last, be fitter, for the Master, than the scholer: for men, than for children: for the vniuersities, rather than for Grammer scholes: yet neuerthelesse, which is, fittest in mine opinion, for our schole, and which is, either wholie to be refused, or partlie to be vsed for our purpose, I will, by good authoritie, and some reason, I trust perticularlie of euerie one, and largelie enough of them all, declare orderlie vnto you.

¶ Translatio Linguarum.

Translation, is easie in the beginning for the scholer, and bringeth also moch learning and great iudgement to the Master. It is most common, and most commendable of all other exercises for youth: most common, for all your constructions in Grammer scholes, be nothing els but translations: but because they be not double translations, as I do require, they bring forth but simple and single commoditie, and bicause also they lacke the daily vse of writing, which is the onely thing that breedeth deepe roote, buth in ye witte, for good vnderstanding, and in ye memorie, for sure keeping of all that is learned. Most commendable also, & that by ye iudgement of all authors, which intreate of theis exercises. *Tullie* in the person of *L. Crassus*, whom he maketh his example of eloquence and trewe iudgement in learning, doth, not onely praise specially, and chose this way of translation for a yong man, but doth also discommend and

refuse his owne former wont, in exercising *Paraphrasin & Metaphrasin*.

1. de Or.

**Paraphrasis* is, to take some eloquent Oration, or some notable common place in Latin, and expresse it with other wordes: **Metaphrasis* is, to take Quint. x.* some notable place out of a good Poete, and turn the same sens into meter, or into other wordes in Prose. **Crassus*, or rather Tullie*, doth mislike both these wayes, bicause the Author, either Orator or Poete, had chosen out before, the fittest wordes and aptest composition for that matter, and so he, in seeking other, was driuen to vse the worse.

Quintilian also preferreth translation before all other exercises: yet hauing a lust, to dissent, from Tullie (as he doth in very many places, if a man read his Rhetoricke ouer aduisedlie, and that rather of an enuious minde, than of any iust cause) doth greatlie commend Paraphrasis, crossing spitefullie Tullies iudgement in refusing the same: and so do Ramus and Talæus euen at this day in France to. But such singularitie, in dissenting from the best mens iudgementes, in liking onelie their owne opinions, is moch misliked of all them, that ioyne with learning, discretion, and wisedome. For he, that can neither like Aristotle in Logicke and Philosophie, nor Tullie in Rhetoricke and Eloquence, will, from these steppes, likelie enough presume, by like pride, to mount hier, to the misliking of greater matters: that is either in Religion, to haue a dissentious head, or in the common wealth, to haue a factious hart: as I knew one a student in Cambrige, who, for a singularitie, began first to dissent, in the scholes, from Aristotle, and sone after became a peruerse Arrian, against Christ and all true Religion: and studied diligentlie Origene, Basileus, and S. Hierome, onelie to gleane out of their workes, the pernicious heresies of Celsus, Eunomius, and Heluidius, whereby the Church of Christ, was so poysoned withall.

But to leaue these hye pointes of diuinitie, surelie, in this quiet and harmeles controuersie, for the liking, or misliking of *Paraphrasis* for a yong scholer, euen as far, as *Tullie* goeth beyond *Quintilian, Ramus*, and *Talæus*, in perfite Eloquence, euen so moch, by myne opinion, cum they behinde *Tullie*, for trew iudgement in teaching the same. * *Plinius Secundus*, a wise Senator, of great experience, excellentlie learned him selfe, a liberall Patrone of learned men, and the purest writer, in myne opinion, of all his age, I except not *Suetonius*, his two scholemasters *Quintilian* and *Tacitus*, nor yet his most excellent learned Vncle, the Elder *Plinius*, doth expresse in an Epistle to his frende *Fuscus*, many good wayes for order in studie: but he

beginneth with translation, and preferreth it to all the rest: and bicause his wordes be notable, I will recite them.

Vtile in primis, vt multi præcipiunt, ex Græco in Latinum, & ex Latino vertere in Græcum: Quo genere exercitationis, proprietas splendorque verborum, apta structura sententiarum, figurarum copia & explicandi vis colligitur. Præterea, imitatione optimorum, facultas similia inueniendi paratur: & quæ legentem, fefellissent, transferentem fugere non possunt. Intelligentia ex hoc, & iudicium acquiritur.

* Plinius Secundus. Plinius dedit Quintiliano præceptori suo, in matrimonium filiæ, 50000 numum.

Epist. lib. 7, Epist. 9.

Ye perceiue, how *Plinie* teacheth, that by this exercise of double translating, is learned, easely, sensiblie, by litle and litle, not onelie all the hard congruities of Grammer, the choice of aptest wordes, the right framing of wordes and sentences, cumlines of figures and formes, fitte for euerie matter, and proper for euerie tong, but that which is greater also, in marking dayly, and following diligentlie thus, the steppes of the best Autors, like inuention of Argumentes, like order in disposition, like vtterance in Elocution, is easelie gathered vp: whereby your scholer shall be brought not onelie to like eloquence, but also, to all trewe vnderstanding and right judgement, both for writing and speaking. And where Dionys. Halicarnassæus hath written two excellent bookes, the one, de delectu optimorum verborum, the which, I feare, is lost, the other, of the right framing of wordes and sentences, which doth remaine yet in Greeke, to the great proffet of all them, that trewlie studie for eloquence, yet this waie of double translating, shall bring the whole proffet of both these bookes to a diligent scholer, and that easelie and pleasantlie, both for fitte choice of wordes, and apt composition of sentences. And by theis authorities and reasons am I moued to thinke, this waie of double translating, either onelie or chieflie, to be fittest, for the spedy and perfit atteyning of any tong. And for spedy atteyning, I durst venture a good wager, if a scholer, in whom is aptnes, loue, diligence, & constancie, would but translate, after this sorte, one litle booke in *Tullie*, as de senectute, with two Epistles, the first ad Q. fra: the other ad lentulum, the last saue one, in the first booke, that scholer, I say, should cum to a better knowledge in the Latin tong, than the most part do, that spend foure or fiue yeares, in tossing all the rules of Grammer in common scholes. In deede this one booke with these two Epistles, is not sufficient to affourde all Latin wordes (which is not necessarie for a yong scholer to know) but it is able to furnishe him fully, for all pointes of Grammer, with the right placing ordering, & vse of wordes in all kinde of matter. And why not? for it is read, that *Dion. Prussæus*, that wise Philosopher, & excellent orator of all his tyme, did cum to the great learning & vtterance that was in him, by reading and folowing onelie two bookes, *Phædon Platonis*, and *Demosthenes* most notable oration peri parapresbeias. And a better, and nerer example herein, may be, our most noble Queene Elizabeth, who neuer toke yet, Greeke nor Latin Grammer in her hand, after the first declining of a nowne and a verbe, but onely by this double translating of Demosthenes and Isocrates dailie without missing euerie forenone, and likewise som part of Tullie euery afternone, for the space of a yeare or two, hath atteyned to soch a perfite

vnderstanding in both the tonges, and to soch a readie vtterance of the latin, and that wyth soch a iudgement, as they be fewe in nomber in both the vniuersities, or els where in England, that be, in both tonges, comparable with her Maiestie. And to conclude in a short rowme, the commodities of double translation, surelie the mynde by dailie marking, first, the cause and matter: than, the wordes and phrases: next, the order and composition: after the reason and argumentes: than the formes and figures of both the tonges: lastelie, the measure and compas of euerie sentence, must nedes, by litle and litle drawe vnto it the like shape of eloquence, as the author doth vse, which is red.

And thus much for double translation.

Paraphrasis.

Paraphrasis, the second point, is not onelie to expresse at

large with moe wordes, but to striue and contend (as *Quintilian* saith) to Lib. x. translate the best latin authors, into other latin wordes, as many or thereaboutes.

This waie of exercise was vsed first by *C. Crabo*, and taken vp for a while, by *L. Crassus*, but sone after, vpon dewe profe thereof, rejected justlie by *Crassus* and *Cicero*: yet allowed and made sterling agayne by *M. Quintilian*: neuerthelesse, shortlie after, by better assaye, disalowed of his owne scholer *Plinius Secundus*, who termeth it rightlie thus *Audax contentio*. It is a bold comparison in deede, to thinke to say better, than that is best. Soch turning of the best into worse, is much like the turning of good wine, out of a faire sweete flagon of siluer, into a foule mustie bottell of ledder: or, to turne pure gold and siluer, into foule brasse and copper.

Such kinde of *Paraphrasis*, in turning, chopping, and changing, the best to worse, either in the mynte or scholes, (though *M. Brokke* and *Quintilian* both say the contrary) is moch misliked of the best and wisest men. I can better allow an other kinde of *Paraphrasis*, to turne rude and barbarus, into proper and eloquent: which neuerthelesse is an exercise, not fitte for a scholer, but for a perfite master, who in plentie hath good choise, in copie hath right iudgement, and grounded skill, as did appeare to be in *Sebastian Castalio*, in translating *Kemppes* booke *de Imitando Christo*.

But to folow *Quintilianus* aduise for *Paraphrasis*, were euen to take paine, to seeke the worse and fowler way, whan the plaine and fairer is occupied before your eyes.

The olde and best authors that euer wrote, were content if occasion required to speake twise of one matter, not to change the wordes, but rhetos, that is, worde for worde to expresse it againe. For they thought, that a matter, well expressed with fitte wordes and apt composition, was not to be altered, but liking it well their selues, they thought it would also be well allowed of others.

A scholemaster (soch one as I require) knoweth that I say trewe.

He readeth in *Homer*, almost in euerie booke, and speciallie in *Secundo et nono Iliados*, not onelie som verses, but whole leaues, not to be altered with new, but to be vttered with the old selfe same wordes.

He knoweth, that *Xenophon*, writing twise of *Agesilaus*, once in his life, againe in the historie

of the Greekes, in one matter, kepeth alwayes the selfe same wordes. He doth the like, speaking of *Socrates*, both in the beginning of his Apologie and in the last ende of apomnemoneumaton.

Homerus. {2. IL. { {9.

Demosthenes also in 4. *Philippica* doth borow his owne wordes vttered before in his oration *de Chersoneso*. He doth the like, and that more at large, in his orations, against *Androtion* and *Timocrates*.

Xenophon.

In latin also, *Cicero* in som places, and *Virgil* in mo, do repeate one matter, with the selfe same wordes. Thies excellent authors, did thus, not for lacke of wordes, but by iudgement and skill: whatsoeuer, other, more curious, and lesse skilfull, do thinke, write, and do.

Demosthenes.

Cicero.

Paraphrasis neuerthelesse hath good place in learning, but not, by myne *Virgilius*. opinion, for any scholer, but is onelie to be left to a perfite Master, eyther to expound openlie a good author withall, or to compare privatelie, for his owne exercise, how some notable place of an excellent author, may be vttered with other fitte wordes: But if ye alter also, the composition, forme, and order than that is not *Paraphrasis*, but *Imitatio*, as I will fullie declare in fitter place.

The scholer shall winne nothing by *Paraphrasis*, but onelie, if we may beleue *Tullie*, to choose worse wordes, to place them out of order, to feare ouermoch the iudgement of the master, to mislike ouermuch the hardnes of learning, and by vse, to gather vp faultes, which hardlie will be left of againe.

The master in teaching it, shall rather encrease hys owne labor, than his scholers proffet: for when the scholer shall bring vnto his master a peece of *Tullie* or *Cæsar* turned into other latin, then must the master cum to *Quintilians* goodlie lesson *de Emendatione*, which, (as he saith) is the most profitable part of teaching, but not in myne opinion, and namelie for youthe in Grammer scholes. For the master nowe taketh double paynes: first, to marke what is amisse: againe, to inuent what may be sayd better. And here perchance, a verie good master may easelie both deceive himselfe, and lead his scholer into error.

It requireth greater learning, and deeper iudgement, than is to be hoped for at any scholemasters hand: that is, to be able alwaies learnedlie and perfitelie

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{Mutare quod ineptum est:
{Transmutare quod peruersum est:
{Replere quod deest;
{Detrahere quod obest:
{Expungere quod inane est.
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And that, which requireth more skill, and deaper consideracion

{Premere tumentia: {Extollere humilia: {Astringere luxuriantia: {Componere dissoluta.

The master may here onelie stumble, and perchance faull in teaching, to the marring and

mayning of the Scholer in learning, whan it is a matter, of moch readyng, of great learning, and tried iudgement, to make trewe difference betwixt

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{Sublime, et Tumidum:
{Grande, et immodicum:
{Decorum, et ineptum:
{Perfectum, et nimium.
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Some men of our time, counted perfite Maisters of eloquence, in their owne opinion the best, in other mens iudgements very good, as *Omphalius* euerie where, *Sadoletus* in many places, yea also my frende *Osorius*, namelie in his Epistle to the Queene & in his whole booke *de Iusticia*, haue so ouer reached them selues, in making trew difference in the poyntes afore rehearsed, as though they had bene brought vp in some schole in *Asia*, to learne to decline rather then in *Athens* with *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and *Demosthenes*, (from whence *Tullie* fetched his eloquence) to vnderstand, what in euerie matter, to be spoken or written on, is, in verie deede, *Nimium*, *Satis*, *Parum*, that is for to say, to all considerations, *Decorum*, which, as it is the hardest point, in all learning, so is it the fairest and onelie marke, that scholers, in all their studie, must alwayes shote at, if they purpose an other day to be, either sounde in Religion, or wise and discrete in any vocation of the common wealth.

Agayne, in the lowest degree, it is no low point of learnyng and iudgement for a Scholemaster, to make trewe difference betwixt

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{Humile & depressum:
{Lene & remissum:
{Siccum & aridum:
{Exile & macrum:
{Inaffectatum & neglectum.
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In these poyntes, some, louing *Melancthon* well, as he was well worthie, but yet not considering well nor wiselie, how he of nature, and all his life and studie by iudgement was wholly spent in *genere Disciplinabili*, that is, in teaching, reading, and expounding plainlie and aptlie schole matters, and therfore imployed thereunto a fitte, sensible, and caulme kinde of speaking and writing, some I say, with very well louyng, but not with verie well weying *Melancthones* doinges, do frame them selues a style, cold, leane, and weake, though the matter be neuer so warme & earnest, not moch vnlike vnto one, that had a pleasure, in a roughe, raynie, winter day, to clothe him selfe with nothing els, but a demie, bukram cassok, plaine without plites, and single with out lyning: which will neither beare of winde nor wether, nor yet kepe out the sunne, in any hote day.

Some suppose, and that by good reason, that *Melancthon* him selfe came to this low kinde of writing, by vsing ouer moch *Paraphrasis* in reading: For studying therebie to make euerie thing streight and easie, in smothing and playning all things to much, neuer leaueth, whiles the sence it selfe be left, both lowse and lasie. And some of those *Paraphrasis of Melancthon* be set out in Printe, as, *Pro Archia Poeta*, & *Marco Marcello:* But a scholer, by myne opinion, is better occupied in playing or sleping, than in spendyng

time, not onelie vainlie but also harmefullie, in soch a kinde of exercise.

If a Master woulde have a perfite example to folow, how, in *Genere sublimi*, to avoide Nimium, or in Mediocri, to atteyne Satis, or in Humili, to exchew Parum, let him read diligently for the first, Secundam Philippicam, for the meane, De Natura Deorum, and for the lowest, Partitiones. Or, if in an other tong, ye looke for like example, in like perfection, for all those three degrees, read Pro Ctesiphonte, Ad Leptinem, & Contra Olympiodorum, and, what witte, Arte, and diligence is hable to affourde, ye shall plainely see.

Paraphrasis in vse of teaching, hath hurt Melanchtons stile in writing.

Cicero.

Ioan. Stur.

For our tyme, the odde man to performe all three perfitlie, whatsoeuer he Demosthenes. doth, and to know the way to do them skilfullie, what so euer he list, is, in my poore opinion, Ioannes Sturmius.

He also councelleth all scholers to beware of Paraphrasis, except it be, from worse to better, from rude and barbarous, to proper and pure latin, and yet no man to exercise that neyther, except soch one, as is alreadie furnished with plentie of learning, and grounded with stedfast iudgement before.

All theis faultes, that thus manie wise men do finde with the exercise of *Paraphrasis*, in turning the best latin, into other, as good as they can, that is, ye may be sure, into a great deale worse, than it was, both in right choice for proprietie, and trewe placing, for good order is committed also commonlie in all common scholes, by the scholemasters, in tossing and trobling yong wittes (as I sayd in the beginning) with that boocherlie feare in making of Latins.

Therefore, in place, of Latines for yong scholers, and of *Paraphrasis* for the masters, I wold have double translation specially vsed. For, in double translating a perfite peece of Tullie or Cæsar, neyther the scholer in learning, nor ye Master in teaching can erre. A true tochstone, a sure metwand lieth before both their eyes. For, all right congruitie: proprietie of wordes: order in sentences: the right imitation, to inuent good matter, to dispose it in good order, to confirme it with good reason, to expresse any purpose fitlie and orderlie, is learned thus, both easelie & perfitlie: Yea, to misse somtyme in this kinde of translation, bringeth more proffet, than to hit right, either in *Paraphrasi* or making of Latins. For though ye say well, in a latin making, or in a *Paraphrasis*, yet you being but in doute, and vncertayne whether ye saie well or no, ye gather and lay vp in memorie, no sure frute of learning thereby: But if ye fault in translation, ye ar easelie taught, how perfitlie to amende it, and so well warned, how after to exchew, all soch faultes againe.

Paraphrasis therefore, by myne opinion, is not meete for Grammer scholes: nor yet verie fitte for yong men in the vniuersitie, vntill studie and tyme, haue bred in them, perfite learning, and stedfast iudgement.

There is a kinde of *Paraphrasis*, which may be vsed, without all hurt, to moch proffet: but it serueth onely the Greke and not the latin, nor no other tong, as to alter *linguam* Ionicam aut Doricam into meram Atticam: A notable example there is left vnto vs by a notable learned man *Diony: Halicarn:* who, in his booke, peri syntaxeos, doth translate the goodlie storie of Candaules and Gyges in 1. Herodoti, out of Ionica lingua, into Atticam. Read the place, and ye shall take, both pleasure and proffet, in conference of it. A man, that is exercised in reading, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, and Demosthenes, in vsing to

turne, like places of *Herodotus*, after like sorte, shold shortlie cum to soch a knowledge, in vnderstanding, speaking, and writing the Greeke tong, as fewe or none hath yet atteyned in England. The like exercise out of *Dorica lingua* may be also vsed, if a man take that litle booke of *Plato*, *Timæus Locrus*, *de Animo et natura*, which is written *Dorice*, and turne it into soch Greeke, as *Plato* vseth in other workes. The booke, is but two leaues: and the labor wold be, but two weekes: but surelie the proffet, for easie vnderstanding, and trewe writing the Greeke tonge, wold conteruaile wyth the toile, that som men taketh, in otherwise coldlie reading that tonge, two yeares.

And yet, for the latin tonge, and for the exercise of *Paraphrasis*, in those places of latin, that can not be bettered, if some yong man, excellent of witte, corragious in will, lustie of nature, and desirous to contend euen with the best latin, to better it, if he can, surelie I commend his forwardnesse, and for his better instruction therein, I will set before him, as notable an example of *Paraphrasis*, as is in Record of learning. *Cicero* him selfe, doth contend, in two sondrie places, to expresse one matter, with diuerse wordes: and that is *Paraphrasis*, saith *Quintillian*. The matter I suppose is taken out of *Panætius*: and therefore being translated out of Greeke at diuers times, is vttered for his purpose, with diuers wordes and formes: which kinde of exercise, for perfite learned men, is verie profitable.

2. De Finib.

a. Homo enim Rationem habet à natura menti datam quæ, & causas rerum et consecutiones videt, & similitudines, transfert, & disiuncta coniungit, & cum præsentibus futura copulat, omnemque complectitur vitæ consequentis statum. b. Eademque ratio facit hominem hominum appetentem, cumque his, natura, & sermone in vsu congruentem: vt profectus à caritate domesticorum ac suorum, currat longius, & se implicet, primò Ciuium, deinde omnium mortalium societati: vtque non sibi soli se natum meminerit, sed patriæ, sed suis, vt exigua pars ipsi relinquatur. c. Et quoniam eadem natura cupiditatem ingenuit homini veri inueniendi, quod facillimè apparet, cum vacui curis, etiam quid in cælo fiat, scire auemus, & c.

1. Officiorum.

a. Homo autem, qui rationis est particeps, per quam consequentia cernit, & causas rerum videt, earumque progressus, et quasi antecessiones non ignorat, similitudines, comparat, rebusque præsentibus adiungit, atque annectit futuras, facile totius vitæ cursum videt, ad eamque degendam præparat res necessarias. b. Eademque natura vi rationis hominem conciliat homini, & ad Orationis, & ad vitæ societatem: ingeneratque imprimis præcipuum quendam amorem in eos, qui procreati sunt, impellitque vt hominum cætus & celebrari inter se, & sibi obediri velit, ob easque causas studeat parare ea, quæ suppeditent ad cultum & ad victum, nec sibi soli, sed coniugi, liberis, cæterisque quos

charos habeat, tuerique debeat, c. Ouæ cura exsuscitat etiam animos, & maiores ad rem gerendam facit: imprimisque hominis est propria veri inquisitio atque inuestigatio: ita cum sumus necessarijs negocijs curisque vacui, tum auemus aliquid videre, audire, addiscere, cognitionemque rerum mirabilium. & c.

The conference of these two places, conteining so excellent a peece of learning, as this is, expressed by so worthy a witte, as *Tullies* was, must needes bring great pleasure and proffit to him, that maketh trew counte, of learning and honestie. But if we had the Greke Author, the first Patterne of all, and therby to see, how *Tullies* witte did worke at diuerse tymes, how, out of one excellent Image, might be framed two other, one in face and fauor, but somwhat differing in forme, figure, and color, surelie, such a peece of workemanship compared with the Paterne it selfe, would better please the ease of honest, wise, and learned myndes, than two of the fairest Venusses, that euer Apelles made.

And thus moch, for all kinde of *Paraphrasis*, fitte or vnfit, for Scholers or other, as I am led to thinke, not onelie, by mine owne experience, but chiefly by the authoritie & iudgement of those, whom I my selfe would gladliest folow, and do counsell all myne to do the same: not contendyng with any other, that will otherwise either thinke or do.

Metaphrasis.

This kinde of exercise is all one with *Paraphrasis*, saue it is out of verse, either into prose, or into some other kinde of meter: or els, out of prose into verse, which was Socrates exercise and pastime (as Plato reporteth) when he was in prison, to translate Æsopes Fabules into verse. Quintilian doth greatlie praise also this exercise: but bicause Tullie doth disalow it in yong men, by myne opinion, it were not well to vse it in Grammer Scholes, euen for the selfe same causes, that be recited against *Paraphrasis*. And therfore, for the vse, or misuse of it, the same is to be thought, that is spoken of *Paraphrasis* before. This was Sulpitius exercise: and he gathering vp therby, a Poeticall kinde of talke, is iustlie named of Cicero, grandis et Tragicus Orator: which I think is spoken, not for his praise, but for other mens warning, to exchew the like faulte. Yet neuertheles, if our Scholemaster for his owne instruction, is desirous, to see a perfite example hereof, I will recite one, which I thinke, no

man is so bold, will say, that he can amend it: & that is *Chrises* the Priestes Oration to the *Grekes*, in the beginning of *Homers Ilias*, turned excellentlie into prose by *Socrates* him selfe, and that aduisedlie and purposelie for other to folow: and therfore he calleth this exercise, in the same place, mimesis, that is, *Imitatio*, which is most trew: but, in this booke, for teachyng sake, I

Platoin Phædone.

Hom. 1. Il. Pla. 3. Rep.

will name it *Metaphrasis*, reteining the word, that all teachers, in this case, do vse.

Homerus, I. Iliad.

o gar elthe thoas epi neas Achaion, lysomenos te thygatra, pheron t apereisi apoina, stemmat echon en chersin ekebolou Apollonos, chryseo ana skeptro kai elisseto pantas Achaious, Atreida de malista duo, kosmetore laon.

Atreidai te, kai alloi euknemides Achaioi, ymin men theoi doien, Olympia domat echontes, ekpersai Priamoio polin eu d oikad ikesthai paida d emoi lysai te philen, ta t apoina dechesthai, azomenoi Dios uion ekebolon Apollona.

enth alloi men pantes epeuphemesan Achaioi aideisthai th ierea, kai aglaa dechthai apoina all ouk Atreide Agamemnoni endane thymo, alla kakos aphiei, krateron d epi mython etellen.

me se, geron, koilesin ego para neusi kicheio, e nyn dethynont, e ysteron autis ionta, me ny toi ou chraisme skeptron, kai stemma theoio ten d ego ou lyso, prin min kai geras epeisin, emetero eni oiko, en Argei telothi patres iston epoichomenen, kai emon lechos antioosan. all ithi, me m erethize saoteros os ke neeai.

os ephat eddeisen d o geron, kai epeitheto mytho be d akeon para thina polyphloisboio thalasses, polla d epeit apaneuthe kion erath o geraios Apolloni anakti, ton eukomos teke Leto.

klythi meu, argyrotox, os Chrysen amphibebekas, killan te zatheen, Tenedoio te iphi anasseis, smintheu, ei pote toi Charient epi neon erepsa, e ei de pote toi kata piona meri ekea tauron, ed aigon, tode moi kreenon eeldor tiseian Danaoi ema dakrua soisi belessin.

Socrates in 3. de Rep. saith thus,

Phraso gar aneu metrou, ou gar eimi poietikos.

elthen o Chryses tes te thygatros lytra pheron, kai iketes ton Achaion, malista de ton basileon: kai eucheto, ekeinois men tous theous dounai elontas ten Troian, autous de sothenai, ten de thygatera oi auto lysai, dexamenous apoina, kai ton theon aidesthentas. Toiauta de eipontos autou, oi men alloi esebonto kai synenoun, o de Agamemnon egriainen, entellomenos nyn te apienai, kai authis me elthein, me auto to te skeptron, kai ta tou theou stemmata ouk eparkesoi. prin de lythenai autou thygatera, en Argei ephe

gerasein meta ou. apienai de ekeleue, kai me erethizein, ina sos oikade elthoi. o de presbytes akousas edeise te kai apeei sige, apochoresas d ek tou stratopedou polla to Apolloni eucheto, tas te eponymias tou theou anakalon kai ypomimneskon kai apaiton, ei ti popote e en naon oikodomesesin, e en ieron thysiais kecharismenon doresaito. on de charin kateucheto tisai tous Achaious ta a dakrua tois ekeinon belesin.

To compare *Homer* and *Plato* together, two wonders of nature and arte for witte and eloquence, is most pleasant and profitable, for a man of ripe iudgement. *Platos* turning of *Homer* in this place, doth not ride a loft in Poeticall termes, but goeth low and soft on foote, as prose and *Pedestris oratio* should do. If *Sulpitius* had had *Platos* consideration, in right vsing this exercise, he had not deserved the name of *Tragicus Orator*, who should rather have studied to expresse *vim Demosthenis*, than *furorem Poætæ*, how good so ever he was, whom he did folow.

And therfore would I haue our Scholemaster wey well together *Homer* and *Plato*, and marke diligentlie these foure pointes, what is kept: what is added: what is left out: what is changed, either, in choise of wordes, or forme of sentences: which foure pointes, be the right tooles, to handle like a workeman, this kinde of worke: as our Scholer shall better vnderstand, when he hath bene a good while in the Vniuersitie: to which tyme and place, I chiefly remitte this kinde of exercise.

And bicause I euer thought examples to be the best kinde of teaching, I will recite a golden sentence out of that Poete, which is next vnto *Homer*, not onelie in tyme, but also in worthines: which hath bene a paterne for many worthie wittes to follow, by this kind of *Metaphrasis*, but I will content my selfe, with foure workemen, two in *Greke*, and two in *Latin*, soch, as in both the tonges, wiser & worthier, can not be looked for. Surelie, no stone set in gold by most cunning workemen, is in deed, if right counte be made, more worthie the looking on, than this golden sentence, diuerslie wrought vpon, by soch foure excellent Masters.

Hesiodus. 2.

- 1. outos men panariotos, os auto panta noese, phrassamenos ta k epeita kai es telos esin ameino:
- 2. esthlos d au kakeinos, os eu eiponti pithetai,
- 3. os de ke met autos noee, met allou akouon en thymo balletai, o d aut achreios aner.
 - ¶ Thus rudelie turned into base English.

- 1. That man in wisedome passeth all, to know the best who hath a head:
- 2. And meetlie wise eeke counted shall, who yeildes him selfe to wise mens read:
- 3. Who hath no witte, nor none will heare, amongest all fooles the bell may beare.

Sophocles in Antigone.

- 1. *Phem egoge presbeuein poly, Phynai ton andra pant epiotemes pleon:*
- 2. Ei d oun (philei gar touto me taute repein), Kai ton legonton eu kalon to manthanein.

Marke the wisedome of *Sophocles*, in leauyng out the last sentence, because it was not cumlie for the sonne to vse it to his father.

¶ D. Basileus in his Exhortation to youth.

Memnesthe tou Esiodou, os phesi, ariston men einai ton par eautou ta deonta xynoronta. 2. Esthlon de kakeinon, ton tois, par eteron ypodeicheisin epomenon. 3. ton de pros oudeteron epitedeion achreion einai pros apanta.

¶ M. Cic. Pro A. Cluentio.

1. Sapientissimum esse dicunt eum, cui, quod opus sit, ipsi veniat in mentem: 2. Proxime accedere illum, qui alterius bene inuentis obtemperet. 3. In stulticia contra est: minus enim stultus est is, cui nihil in mentem venit, quam ille, qui, quod stultè alteri venit in mentem comprobat.

Cicero doth not plainlie expresse the last sentence, but doth inuent it fitlie for his purpose, to taunt the folie and simplicitie in his aduersarie *Actius*, not weying wiselie, the sutle doynges of *Chrysogonus* and *Staienus*.

¶ Tit. Liuius in Orat. Minutij. Lib. 22.

1. Sæpe ego audiui milites; eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat, quid in rem sit: 2. Secundum eum, qui bene monenti obediat: 3. Qui, nec ipse consulere, nec alteri parere scit, eum extremi esse ingenij.

Now, which of all these foure, *Sophocles, S. Basil, Cicero*, or *Liuie*, hath expressed *Hesiodus* best, the iudgement is as hard, as the workemanship of euerie one is most excellent in deede. An other example out of the *Latin* tong also I will recite, for the worthines of the workeman therof, and that is *Horace*, who hath so turned the begynning of *Terence Eunuchus*, as doth worke in me, a pleasant admiration, as oft so euer, as I compare those two places togither. And though euerie Master, and euerie good Scholer to, do know the places, both in *Terence* and *Horace*, yet I will set them heare, in one place togither, that with more pleasure, they may be compared together.

¶ Terentius in Eunucho.

Quid igitur faciam? non eam? ne nunc quidem cum accersor ultrò? an potius ita me comparem, non perpeti meretricum contumelias? exclusit: reuocat, redeam? non, si me obsecret. PARMENO a little after. Here, quæ res in se neque consilium neque modum habet vllum, eam consilio regere non potes. In Amore hæc omnia insunt vitia, iniuriæ, suspiciones, inimicitiæ, induciæ, bellum, pax rursum. Incerta hæc si tu postules ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas, quem si des operam, vt cum ratione insanias.

¶ Horatius, lib. Ser. 2. Saty. 3.

Nec nunc cum me vocet vltro,
Accedam? an potius mediter finire dolores?
Exclusit: reuocat, redeam? non si obsecret. Ecce
Seruus non Paulo sapientior: ô Here, quæ res
Nec modum habet, neque consilium, ratione modóque
Tractari non vult. In amore, hæc sunt mala, bellum,
Pax rursum: hæc si quis tempestatis propè ritu
Mobilia, et cæca fluitantia sorte, laboret
Reddere certa, sibi nihilò plus explicet, ac si
Insanire paret certa ratione, modòque.

This exercise may bring moch profite to ripe heads, and stayd iudgementes: bicause, in traueling in it, the mynde must nedes be verie attentiue, and busilie occupide, in turning and tossing it selfe many wayes: and conferryng with great pleasure, the varietie of worthie wittes and iudgementes togither: But this harme may sone cum therby, and namelie to yong Scholers, lesse, in seeking other wordes, and new forme of sentences, they chance vpon the worse: for the which onelie cause, *Cicero* thinketh this exercise not to be fit for yong men.

Epitome.

This is a way of studie, belonging, rather to matter, than to wordes: to memorie, than to

vtterance: to those that be learned alreadie, and hath small place at all amonges yong scholers in Grammer scholes. It may proffet privately some learned men, but it hath hurt generallie learning it selfe, very moch. For by it have we lost whole *Trogus*, the best part of *T. Liuius*, the goodlie Dictionarie of *Pompeius festus*, a great deale of the Civill lawe, and other many notable bookes, for the which cause, I do the more mislike this exercise, both in old and yong.

Epitome, is good priuatelie for himselfe that doth worke it, but ill commonlie for all other that vse other mens labor therein: a silie poore kinde of studie, not vnlike to the doing of those poore folke, which neyther till, nor sowe, nor reape themselues, but gleane by stelth, vpon other mens growndes. Soch, haue emptie barnes, for deare yeares.

Grammer scholes haue fewe *Epitomes* to hurt them, except *Epitheta Textoris*, and such beggarlie gatheringes, as *Horman*, *whittington*, and other like vulgares for making of latines: yea I do wishe, that all rules for yong scholers, were shorter than they be. For without doute, *Grammatica* it selfe, is sooner and surer learned by examples of good authors, than by the naked rewles of *Grammarians*. *Epitome* hurteth more, in the vniuersities and studie of Philosophie: but most of all, in diuinitie it selfe.

In deede bookes of common places be verie necessarie, to induce a man, into an orderlie generall knowledge, how to referre orderlie all that he readeth, *ad certa rerum Capita*, and not wander in studie. And to that end did *P. Lombardus* the master of sentences and *Ph. Melancthon* in our daies, write two notable bookes of common places.

But to dwell in *Epitomes* and bookes of common places, and not to binde himselfe dailie by orderlie studie, to reade with all diligence, principallie the holyest scripture and withall, the best Doctors, and so to learne to make trewe difference betwixt, the authoritie of the one, and the Counsell of the other, maketh so many seeming, and sonburnt ministers as we haue, whose learning is gotten in a sommer heat, and washed away, with a Christmas snow againe: who neuerthelesse, are lesse to be blamed, than those blind bussardes, who in late yeares, of wilfull maliciousnes, would neyther learne themselues, nor could teach others, any thing at all.

Paraphrasis hath done lesse hurt to learning, than Epitome: for no Paraphrasis, though there be many, shall neuer take away Dauids Psalter. Erasmus Paraphrasis being neuer so good, shall neuer banishe the new Testament. And in an other schole, the Paraphrasis of Brocardus, or Sambucus, shall neuer take Aristotles Rhetoricke, nor Horace de Arte Poetica, out of learned mens handes.

But, as concerning a schole *Epitome*, he that wold have an example of it, let him read *Lucian* peri kallous which is the verie *Epitome* of *Isocrates* oration *de laudibus Helenæ*, whereby he may learne, at the least, this wise lesson, that a man ought to beware, to be ouer bold, in altering an excellent mans worke.

Neuertheles, some kinde of *Epitome* may be vsed, by men of skilful iudgement, to the great proffet also of others. As if a wise man would take *Halles* Cronicle, where moch good matter is quite marde with Indenture Englishe, and first change, strange and inkhorne tearmes into proper, and commonlie vsed wordes: next, specially to wede out that, that is superfluous and idle, not onelie where wordes be vainlie heaped one vpon an other, but also where many sentences, of one meaning, be clowted vp together as though *M. Hall* had bene, not writing the storie of England, but varying a sentence in Hitching schole: surelie a

wise learned man, by this way of *Epitome*, in cutting away wordes and sentences, and diminishing nothing at all of the matter, shold leave to mens vse, a storie, halfe as moch as it was in quantitie, but twise as good as it was, both for pleasure and also commoditie.

An other kinde of *Epitome* may be vsed likewise very well, to moch proffet. Som man either by lustines of nature, or brought by ill teaching, to a wrong iudgement, is ouer full of words, sentences, & matter, & yet all his words be proper, apt & well chosen: all his sentences be rownd and trimlie framed: his whole matter grownded vpon good reason, & stuffed with full arguments, for his intent & purpose. Yet when his talke shalbe heard, or his writing be red, of soch one, as is, either of my two dearest frendes, *M. Haddon* at home, or *Iohn Sturmius* in Germanie, that *Nimium* in him, which fooles and vnlearned will most commend, shall eyther of thies two, bite his lippe, or shake his heade at it.

This fulnes as it is not to be misliked in a yong man, so in farder aige, in greater skill, and weightier affaires, it is to be temperated, or else discretion and iudgement shall seeme to be wanting in him. But if his stile be still ouer rancke and lustie, as some men being neuer so old and spent by yeares, will still be full of youthfull conditions as was Syr F. Bryan, and euermore wold have bene: soch a rancke and full writer, must vse, if he will do wiselie the exercise of a verie good kinde of *Epitome*, and do, as certaine wise men do, that be ouer fat and fleshie: who leaving their owne full and plentifull table, go to soiorne abrode from home for a while, at the temperate diet of some sober man: and so by litle and litle, cut away the grosnesse that is in them. As for an example: If Osorius would leaue of his lustines in striuing against S. Austen, and his ouer rancke rayling against poore Luther, and the troth of Gods doctrine, and give his whole studie, not to write any thing of his owne for a while, but to translate *Demosthenes*, with so straite, fast, & temperate a style in latine, as he is in Greeke, he would becume so perfit & pure a writer, I beleue, as hath bene fewe or none sence *Ciceroes* dayes: And so, by doing himself and all learned moch good, do others lesse harme, & Christes doctrine lesse iniury, than he doth: & with all, wyn vnto himselfe many worthy frends, who agreing with him gladly, in ye loue & liking of excellent learning, are sorie to see so worthie a witte, so rare eloquence, wholie spent and consumed, in striuing with God and good men.

Emonges the rest, no man doth lament him more than I, not onelie for the excellent learning that I see in him, but also bicause there hath passed privatelie betwixt him and me, sure tokens of moch good will, and frendlie opinion, the one toward the other. And surelie the distance betwixt London and Lysbon, should not stoppe, any kinde of frendlie dewtie, that I could, eyther shew to him, or do to his, if the greatest matter of all did not in certeyne pointes, separate our myndes.

And yet for my parte, both toward him, and diuerse others here at home, for like cause of excellent learning, great wisdome, and gentle humanitie, which I have seene in them, and felt at their handes my selfe, where the matter of indifference is mere conscience in a quiet minde inwardlie, and not contentious malice with spitefull rayling openlie, I can be content to followe this rewle, in misliking some one thing, not to hate for anie thing els.

But as for all the bloodie beastes, as that fat Boore of the wood: or those

Psal. 80.

brauling Bulles of Basan: or any lurking *Dormus*, blinde, not by nature, but by malice, & as may be gathered of their owne testimonie, giuen ouer to blindnes, for giuing ouer God & his word; or soch as be so lustie runnegates, as first, runne from God & his trew doctrine, than, from their Lordes, Masters, & all dewtie, next, from them selues & out of their wittes, lastly from their Prince, contrey, & all dew allegeance, whether they ought rather to be pitied of good men, for their miserie, or contemned of wise men, for their malicious folie, let good and wise men determine.

And to returne to *Epitome* agayne, some will iudge moch boldnes in me, thus to iudge of *Osorius* style: but wise men do know, that meane lookers on, may trewelie say, for a well made Picture: This face had bene more cumlie, if that hie redde in the cheeke, were somwhat more pure sanguin than it is: and yet the stander by, can not amend it himselfe by any way. And this is not written to the dispraise but to the great commendation of *Osorius*, because *Tullie* himselfe had the same fulnes in him: and therefore went to *Rodes* to cut it away: and saith himselfe, *recepi me domum prope mutatus*, *nam quasi referuerat iam oratio*. Which was brought to passe I beleue, not onelie by the teaching of *Molo Appollonius* but also by a good way of *Epitome*, in binding him selfe to translate *meros Atticos Oratores*, and so to bring his style, from all lowse grosnesse, to soch firme fastnes in latin, as is in *Demosthenes* in Greeke. And this to be most trew, may easelie be gathered, not onelie of *L. Crassus* talke in 1. *de Or.* but speciallie of *Ciceroes* owne deede in translating *Demosthenes* and *Æschines* orations peri steph. to that verie ende and purpose.

And although a man growndlie learned all readie, may take moch proffet him selfe in vsing, by *Epitome*, to draw other mens workes for his owne memorie sake, into shorter rowme, as *Conterus* hath done verie well the whole *Metamorphosis* of *Ouid*, & *Dauid Cythræus* a great deale better, the ix. Muses of *Herodotus*, and *Melanchthon* in myne opinion, far best of all, the whole storie of Time, not onelie to his own vse, but to other mens proffet and hys great prayse, yet, *Epitome* is most necessarie of all in a mans owne writing, as we learne of that noble Poet *Virgill*, who, if *Donatus* say trewe, in writing that perfite worke of the *Georgickes*, vsed dailie, when he had written 40. or 50. verses, not to cease cutting, paring, and pollishing of them, till he had brought them to the nomber of x. or xij.

And this exercise, is not more nedefullie done in a great worke, than wiselie done, in your common dailie writing, either of letter, or other thing else, that is to say, to peruse diligentlie, and see and spie wiselie, what is alwaies more than nedeth: For, twenty to one, offend more, in writing to moch, than to litle: euen as twentie to one, fall into sicknesse, rather by ouer moch fulnes, than by anie lacke or emptinesse. And therefore is he alwaies the best English Physition, that best can geue a purgation, that is, by way of *Epitome*, to cut all ouer much away. And surelie mens bodies, be not more full of ill humors, than commonlie mens myndes (if they be yong, lustie, proude, like and loue them selues well, as most men do) be full of fansies, opinions, errors, and faultes, not onelie in inward inuention, but also in all their vtterance, either by pen or taulke.

And of all other men, euen those that haue y^e inuentiuest heades, for all purposes, and roundest tonges in all matters and places (except they learne and vse this good lesson of *Epitome*) commit commonlie greater faultes, than dull, staying silent men do. For, quicke

inuentors, and faire readie speakers, being boldned with their present habilitie to say more, and perchance better to, at the soden for that present, than any other can do, vse lesse helpe of diligence and studie than they ought to do: and so haue in them commonlie, lesse learning, and weaker iudgement, for all deepe considerations, than some duller heades, and slower tonges haue.

And therefore, readie speakers, generallie be not the best, playnest, and wisest writers, nor yet the deepest judgers in weightie affaires, bicause they do not tarry to weye and iudge all thinges, as they should: but having their heades over full of matter, be like pennes ouer full of incke, which will soner blotte, than make any faire letter at all. Tyme was, whan I had experience of two Ambassadors in one place, the one of a hote head to inuent, and of a hastie hand to write, the other, colde and stayd in both: but what difference of their doinges was made by wise men, is not vnknowne to some persons. The Bishop of Winchester Steph: Gardiner had a quicke head, and a readie tong, and yet was not the best writer in England. Cicero in Brutus doth wiselie note the same in Serg: Galbo, and Q. Hortentius, who were both, hote, lustie, and plaine speakers, but colde, lowse, and rough writers: And *Tullie* telleth the cause why, saying, whan they spake, their tong was naturally caried with full tyde & wynde of their witte: whan they wrote their head was solitarie, dull, and caulme, and so their style was blonte, and their writing colde: Quod vitium, sayth Cicero, peringeniosis hominibus neque satis doctis plerumque accidit. And therfore all quick inuentors, & readie faire speakers, must be carefull, that, to their goodnes of nature, they adde also in any wise, studie, labor, leasure, learning, and iudgement, and than they shall in deede, passe all other, as I know some do, in whome all those qualities are fullie planted, or else if they give ouer moch to their witte, and ouer litle to their labor and learning, they will sonest ouer reach in taulke, and fardest cum behinde in writing whatsoeuer they take in hand. The methode of *Epitome* is most necessarie for soch kinde of men. And thus much concerning the vse or misuse of all kinde of *Epitomes* in matters of learning.

Imitatio.

Imitation, is a facultie to expresse liuelie and perfitelie that example: which ye go about to folow. And of it selfe, it is large and wide: for all the workes of nature, in a maner be examples for arte to folow.

But to our purpose, all languages, both learned and mother tonges, be gotten, and gotten onelie by *Imitation*. For as ye vse to heare, so ye learne to speake: if ye heare no other, ye speake not your selfe: and whome ye onelie heare, of them ye onelie learne.

And therefore, if ye would speake as the best and wisest do, ye must be conuersant, where the best and wisest are: but if yow be borne or brought vp in a rude contrie, ye shall not chose but speake rudelie: the rudest man of all knoweth this to be trewe.

Yet neuerthelesse, the rudenes of common and mother tonges, is no bar for wise speaking. For in the rudest contrie, and most barbarous mother language, many be found can speake verie wiselie: but in the Greeke and latin tong, the two onelie learned tonges, which be kept, not in common taulke, but in private bookes, we finde alwayes, wisdome and eloquence, good matter and good vtterance, neuer or seldom a sonder. For all soch Authors, as be fullest of good matter and right iudgement in doctrine, be likewise alwayes, most proper in wordes, most apte in sentence, most plaine and pure in vttering the same.

And contrariwise, in those two tonges, all writers, either in Religion, or any sect of Philosophie, who so euer be founde fonde in iudgement of matter, be commonlie found as rude in vttering their mynde. For Stoickes, Anabaptistes, and Friers: with Epicures, Libertines and Monkes, being most like in learning and life, are no fonder and pernicious in their opinions, than they be rude and barbarous in their writinges. They be not wise, therefore that say, what care I for a mans wordes and vtterance, if his matter and reasons be good. Soch men, say so, not so moch of ignorance, as eyther of some singular pride in themselues, or some speciall malice or other, or for some private & perciall matter, either in Religion or other kinde of learning. For good and choice meates, be no more requisite for helthie bodies, than proper and apte wordes be for good matters, and also plaine and sensible vtterance for the best and depest reasons: in which two pointes standeth perfite eloquence, one of the fairest and rarest giftes that God doth geue to man.

Ye know not, what hurt ye do to learning, that care not for wordes, but for matter, and so make a deuorse betwixt the tong and the hart. For marke all aiges: looke vpon the whole course of both the Greeke and Latin tonge, and ye shall surelie finde, that, whan apte and good wordes began to be neglected, and properties of those two tonges to be confounded, than also began, ill deedes to spring: strange maners to oppresse good orders, newe and fond opinions to striue with olde and trewe doctrine, first in Philosophie: and after in Religion: right iudgement of all thinges to be peruerted, and so vertue with learning is contemned, and studie left of: of ill thoughtes cummeth peruerse iudgement: of ill deedes springeth lewde taulke. Which fower misorders, as they mar mans life, so destroy they good learning withall.

But behold the goodnesse of Gods prouidence for learning: all olde authors and sectes of Philosophy, which were fondest in opinion, and rudest in vtterance, as Stoickes and Epicures, first contemned of wise men, and after forgotten of all men, be so consumed by tymes, as they be now, not onelie out of vse, but also out of memorie of man: which thing, I surelie thinke, will shortlie chance, to the whole doctrine and all the bookes of phantasticall Anabaptistes and Friers, and of the beastlie Libertines and Monkes.

Againe behold on the other side, how Gods wisdome hath wrought, that of *Academici* and *Peripatetici*, those that were wisest in iudgement of matters, and purest in vttering their myndes, the first and chiefest, that wrote most and best, in either tong, as *Plato* and *Aristotle* in Greeke, *Tullie* in Latin, be so either wholie, or sufficiently left vnto vs, as I neuer knew yet scholer, that gaue himselfe to like, and loue, and folow chieflie those three Authors but he proued, both learned, wise, and also an honest man, if he ioyned with all the trewe doctrine of Gods holie Bible, without the which, the other three, be but fine edge tooles in a fole or mad mans hand.

But to returne to *Imitation* agayne: There be three kindes of it in matters of learning. The whole doctrine of Comedies and Tragedies, is a perfite *imitation*, or faire liuelie painted picture of the life of euerie degree of man. Of this *Imitation* writeth *Plato* at large in 3. *de Rep*. but it doth not moch belong at this time to our purpose.

The second kind of *Imitation*, is to folow for learning of tonges and sciences, the best

authors. Here riseth, emonges proude and enuious wittes, a great controuersie, whether, one or many are to be followed: and if one, who is that one: *Seneca*, or *Cicero: Salust* or *Cæsar*, and so forth in Greeke and Latin.

The third kinde of *Imitation*, belongeth to the second: as when you be determined, whether ye will follow one or mo, to know perfitlie, and which way to follow that one: in what place: by what meane and order: by what tooles and instrumentes ye shall do it, by what skill and iudgement, ye shall trewelie discerne, whether ye follow rightlie or no.

This *Imitatio*, is *dissimilis materiei similis tractatio*: and also, *similis materiei dissimilis tractatio*, as *Virgill* folowed *Homer*: but the Argument to the one was *Vlysses*, to the other *Æneas*. *Tullie* persecuted *Antonie* with the same wepons of eloquence, that *Demosthenes* vsed before against *Philippe*. *Horace* foloweth *Pindar*, but either of them his owne Argument and Person: as the one, *Hiero* king of *Sicilie*, the other *Augustus* the Emperor: and yet both for like respectes, that is, for their coragious stoutnes in warre, and iust gouernment in peace.

One of the best examples, for right *Imitation* we lacke, and that is *Menander*, whom our *Terence*, (as the matter required) in like argument, in the same Persons, with equall eloquence, foote by foote did folow.

Som peeces remaine, like broken Iewelles, whereby men may rightlie esteme, and iustlie lament, the losse of the whole.

Erasmus, the ornament of learning, in our tyme, doth wish that som man of learning and diligence, would take the like paines in *Demosthenes* and *Tullie*, that *Macrobius* hath done in *Homer* and *Virgill*, that is, to write out and ioyne together, where the one doth imitate the other. Erasmus wishe is good, but surelie, it is not good enough: for *Macrobius* gatherings for the *Eneidos* out of *Homer*, and *Eobanus Hessus* more diligent gatherings for the *Bucolikes* out of *Theocritus*, as they be not fullie taken out of the whole heape, as they should be, but euen as though they had not sought for them of purpose, but fownd them scatered here and there by chance in their way, euen so, onelie to point out, and nakedlie to ioyne togither their sentences, with no farder declaring the maner and way, how the one doth folow the other, were but a colde helpe, to the encrease of learning.

But if a man would take this paine also, whan he hath layd two places, of *Homer* and *Virgill*, or of *Demosthenes* and *Tullie* togither, to teach plainlie withall, after this sort. 1. *Tullie* reteyneth thus moch of the matter, thies sentences, thies wordes:

2. This and that he leaueth out, which he doth wittelie to this end and purpose. 3. This he addeth here. 4. This he diminisheth there. 5. This he ordereth thus, with placing that here, not there. 6. This he altereth and changeth, either, in propertie of wordes, in forme of sentence, in substance of the matter, or in one, or other conuenient circumstance of the authors present purpose. In thies fewe rude English wordes, are wrapt vp all the necessarie tooles and instrumentes, wherewith trewe *Imitation* is rightlie wrought withall in any tonge. Which tooles, I openlie confesse, be not of myne owne forging, but partlie left vnto me by the cunningest Master, and one of the worthiest Ientlemen that euer England bred, Syr *Iohn Cheke:* partelie borowed by me out of the shoppe of the dearest frende I haue out of England, *Io. St.* And therefore I am the bolder to borow of him, and here to leaue them to other, and namelie to my Children: which tooles, if it please God, that an other day, they

may be able to vse rightlie, as I do wish and daylie pray, they may do, I shal be more glad, than if I were able to leaue them a great quantitie of land.

This foresaide order and doctrine of *Imitation*, would bring forth more learning, and breed vp trewer iudgement, than any other exercise that can be vsed, but not for yong beginners, bicause they shall not be able to consider dulie therof. And trewelie, it may be a shame to good studentes who having so faire examples to follow, as *Plato* and *Tullie*, do not vse so wise wayes in folowing them for the obteyning of wisdome and learning, as rude ignorant Artificers do, for gayning a small commoditie. For surelie the meanest painter vseth more witte, better arte, greater diligence, in hys shoppe, in folowing the Picture of any meane mans face, than commonlie the best studentes do, even in the vniuersitie, for the atteining of learning it selfe.

Some ignorant, vnlearned, and idle student: or some busic looker vpon this litle poore booke, that hath neither will to do good him selfe, nor skill to iudge right of others, but can lustelie contemne, by pride and ignorance, all painfull diligence and right order in study, will perchance say, that I am to precise, to curious, in marking and piteling thus about the imitation of others: and that the olde worthie Authors did neuer busic their heades and wittes, in following so preciselie, either the matter what other men wrote, or els the maner how other men wrote. They will say, it were a plaine slauerie, & inurie to, to shakkle and tye a good witte, and hinder the course of a mans good nature with such bondes of seruitude, in following other.

Except soch men thinke them selues wiser then *Cicero* for teaching of eloquence, they must be content to turne a new leafe.

The best booke that euer *Tullie* wrote, by all mens iudgement, and by his owne testimonie to, in writyng wherof, he employed most care, studie, learnyng and iudgement, is his book *de Orat. ad Q. F.* Now let vs see, what he did for the matter, and also for the maner of writing therof. For the whole booke consisteth in these two pointes onelie: In good matter, and good handling of the matter. And first, for the matter, it is whole *Aristotles*, what so euer *Antonie* in the second, and *Crassus* in the third doth teach. Trust not me, but beleue *Tullie* him selfe, who writeth so, first, in that goodlie long Epistle *ad P. Lentulum*, and after in diuerse places *ad Atticum*. And in the verie booke it selfe, Tullie will not haue it hidden, but both *Catulus* and *Crassus* do oft and pleasantly lay that stelfh to *Antonius* charge. Now, for the handling of the matter, was *Tullie* so precise and curious rather to follow an other mans Paterne, than to inuent some newe shape him selfe, namelie in that booke, wherin he purposed, to leaue to posteritie, the glorie of his witte? yea forsoth, that he did. And this is not my gessing and gathering, nor onelie performed by *Tullie* in verie deed, but vttered also by *Tullie* in plaine wordes: to teach other men thereby, what they should do, in taking like matter in hand.

And that which is specially to be marked, *Tullie* doth vtter plainlie his conceit and purpose therein, by the mouth of the wisest man in all that companie: for sayth *Scæuola* him selfe, *Cur non imitamur, Crasse, Socratem illum, qui est in Phædro Platonis &c.*

And furder to vnderstand, that *Tullie* did not *obiter* and bichance, but purposelie and mindfullie bend him selfe to a precise and curious Imitation of *Plato*, concernyng the shape and forme of those bookes, marke I pray you, how curious *Tullie* is to vtter his purpose and doyng therein, writing thus to *Atticus*.

Quod in his Oratorijs libris, quos tantopere laudas, personam desideras Scæuolæ, non eam temerè dimoui: Sed feci idem, quod in politeia Deus ille noster Plato, cum in Piræeum Socrates venisset ad Cephalum locupletem & festiuum Senem, quoad primus ille sermo haberetur, adest in disputando senex: Deinde, cum ipse quoque commodissimè locutus esset, ad rem diuinam dicit se velle discedere, neque postea reuertitur. Credo Platonem vix putasse satis consonum fore, si hominem id ætatis in tam longo sermone diutius retinuisset: Multo ego satius hoc mihi cauendum putaui in Scæuola, qui & ætate et valetudine erat ea qua meministi, & his honoribus, vt vix satis decorum videretur eum plures dies esse in Crassi Tusculano. Et erat primi libri sermo non alienus à Scæuolæ studijs: reliqui libri technologian habent, vt scis. Huic ioculatoriæ disputationi senem illum vt noras, interesse sanè nolui.

If *Cicero* had not opened him selfe, and declared hys owne thought and doynges herein, men that be idle, and ignorant, and enuious of other mens diligence and well doinges, would have sworne that *Tullie* had neuer mynded any soch thing, but that of a precise curiositie, we fayne and forge and father soch thinges of *Tullie*, as he neuer ment in deed. I write this, not for nought: for I have heard some both well learned, and otherwayes verie wise, that by their lustie misliking of soch diligence, have drawen back the forwardnes of verie good wittes. But even as such men them selves, do sometymes stumble vpon doyng well by chance and benefite of good witte, so would I have our scholer alwayes able to do well by order of learnyng and right skill of judgement.

Concernyng Imitation, many learned men haue written, with moch diuersitie for the matter, and therfore with great contrarietie and some stomacke amongest them selues. I haue read as many as I could get diligentlie, and what I thinke of euerie one of them, I will freelie say my mynde. With which freedome I trust good men will beare, bicause it shall tend to neither spitefull nor harmefull controuersie. In *Tullie*, it is well touched, shortlie taught, not fullie declared by *Ant. in 2. de Orat:* and afterward in *Orat. ad Brutum*, for the liking and misliking of *Isocrates:* and the contrarie iudgement of *Tullie* against *Caluus*, *Brutus*, and *Calidius*, *de genere dicendi Attico & Asiatico. Dionis. Halic.* peri mimeseos. I feare is lost: which Author, next *Aristotle*, *Plato*, and *Tullie*, of all other, that write of eloquence, by the iudgement of them that be best learned, deserueth the next prayse and place.

Quintilian writeth of it, shortly and coldlie for the matter, yet hotelie and spitefullie enough, agaynst the Imitation of *Tullie*.

Erasmus, beyng more occupied in spying other mens faultes, than declaryng his own aduise, is mistaken of many, to the great hurt of studie, for his authoritie sake. For he writeth rightlie, rightlie vnderstanded: he and

Longolius onelie differing in this, that the one seemeth to give ouermoch, the other ouer litle, to him, whom they both, best loued, and chiefly allowed of all other.

Budæus in his Commentaries roughlie and obscurelie, after his kinde of writyng: and for the matter, caryed somwhat out of the way in ouermuch misliking the Imitation of *Tullie. Phil. Melancthon*, learnedlie and trewlie. *Camerarius* largely with a learned iudgement, but somewhat confusedly, and with ouer rough a stile.

Sambucus, largely, with a right iudgement but somewhat a crooked stile. Other haue written also, as Cortesius to Politian, and that verie well: Bembus ad Picum a great deale better, but Ioan. Sturmius de Nobilitate literata, & de Amissa dicendi ratione, farre best of all, in myne opinion, that euer tooke this matter in hand. For all the rest, declare chiefly this point, whether one, or many, or all, are to be followed: but Sturmius onelie hath most learnedlie declared, who is to be followed, what is to be followed, and the best point of all, by what way & order, trew Imitation is rightlie to be exercised. And although Sturmius herein doth farre passe all other, yet hath he not so fullie and perfitelie done it, as I do wishe he had, and as I know he could. For though he hath done it perfitelie for precept, yet hath he not done it perfitelie enough for example: which he did, neither for lacke of skill, nor by negligence, but of purpose, contented with one or two examples bicause he was mynded in those two bookes, to write of it both shortlie, and also had to touch other matters.

Barthol. Riccius Ferrariensis also hath written learnedlie, diligentlie and Cortesius. verie largelie of this matter euen as hee did before verie well de Apparatu linguæ Lat. He writeth the better in myne opinion, bicause his whole P. Bembus. doctrine, iudgement, and order, semeth to be borowed out of Io. Stur. bookes. He addeth also examples, the best kinde of teaching: wherein he Ioan. Sturmius. doth well, but not well enough: in deede, he committeth no faulte, but yet, deserueth small praise. He is content with the meane, and followeth not the best: as a man, that would feede vpon Acornes, whan he may eate, as good cheape, the finest wheat bread. He teacheth for example, where and how, two or three late Italian Poetes do follow Virgil: and how Virgil him selfe in the storie of Dido, doth wholie Imitate Catullus in the like matter of Ariadna: Wherein I like better his diligence and order of teaching, than his iudgement in choice of examples for Imitation. But, if he had done thus: if he had declared where and how, how oft and how many wayes Virgil doth folow Homer, as for example the comming of Vlysses to Alcynous and Calypso, with the comming of Æneas to Cartage and Dido: Likewise the games running, wrestling, and shoting, that Achilles maketh in Homer, with the selfe same games, that Æneas maketh in Virgil: The harnesse of Achilles, with the harnesse of *Æneas*, and the maner of making of them both by *Vulcane*: The notable combate betwixt Achilles and Hector, with as notable a combate betwixt Æneas and Turnus. The going downe to hell of Vlysses in Homer, with the going downe to hell of &AEneas in Virgil: and other places infinite mo, as similitudes, narrations, messages, discriptions of persones, places, battels, tempestes, shipwrackes, and common places for diuerse purposes, which be as precisely taken out of *Homer*, as euer did Painter in London follow the picture of any faire personage. And when thies places had bene gathered together by this way of diligence than to have conferred them together by this order of teaching as, diligently to marke what is kept and vsed in either author, in wordes, in sentences, in matter: what is added: what is left out: what ordered otherwise, either præponendo, interponendo, or postponendo: And what is altered for any respect, in word, phrase, sentence, figure, reason, argument, or by any way of circumstance: If Riccius had done this, he had not onely bene well liked, for his diligence in teaching, but also iustlie

Cicero.

Dio. Halicar.

Quintil.

Erasmus.

Budæus.

Ph. Melanch.<

Ioa. Cammer.

Sambucus.

commended for his right iudgement in right choice of examples for the best *Imitation*.

Riccius also for *Imitation* of prose declareth where and how *Longolius* doth folow *Tullie*, but as for *Longolius*, I would not have him the patern of our *Imitation*. In deede: in *Longolius* shoppe, be proper and faire shewing colers, but as for shape, figure, and naturall cumlines, by the iudgement of best iudging artificers, he is rather allowed as one to be borne withall, than especially commended, as one chieflie to be folowed.

If *Riccius* had taken for his examples, where *Tullie* him selfe foloweth either *Plato* or *Demosthenes*, he had shot than at the right marke. But to excuse *Riccius*, somwhat, though I can not fullie defend him, it may be sayd, his purpose was, to teach onelie the Latin tong, when thys way that I do wish, to ioyne *Virgil* with *Homer*, to read *Tullie* with *Demosthenes* and *Plato*, requireth a cunning and perfite Master in both the tonges. It is my wish in deede, and that by good reason: For who so euer will write well of any matter, must labor to expresse that, that is perfite, and not to stay and content himselfe with the meane: yea, I say farder, though it be not vnposible, yet it is verie rare, and meruelous hard, to proue excellent in the Latin tong, for him that is not also well seene in the Greeke tong. *Tullie* him selfe, most excellent of nature, most diligent in labor, brought vp from his cradle, in that place, and in that tyme, where and whan the Latin tong most florished naturallie in euery mans mouth, yet was not his owne tong able it selfe to make him so cunning in his owne tong, as he was in deede: but the knowledge and *Imitation* of the Greeke tong withall.

This he confesseth himselfe: this he vttereth in many places, as those can tell best, that vse to read him most.

Therefore thou, that shotest at perfection in the Latin tong, thinke not thy selfe wiser than *Tullie* was, in choice of the way, that leadeth rightlie to the same: thinke not thy witte better than *Tullies* was, as though that may serue thee that was not sufficient for him. For euen as a hauke flieth not hie with one wing: euen so a man reacheth not to excellency with one tong.

I haue bene a looker on in the Cokpit of learning thies many yeares: And one Cock onelie haue I knowne, which with one wing, euen at this day, doth passe all other, in myne opinion, that euer I saw in any pitte in England, though they had two winges. Yet neuerthelesse, to flie well with one wing, to runne fast with one leg, be rather, rare Maistreis moch to be merueled at, than sure examples safelie to be folowed. A Bushop that now liueth, a good man, whose iudgement in Religion I better like, than his opinion in perfitnes in other learning, said once vnto me: we haue no nede now of the Greeke tong, when all thinges be translated into Latin. But the good man vnderstood not, that euen the best translation, is, for mere necessitie, but an euill imped wing to flie withall, or a heuie stompe leg of wood to go withall: soch, the hier they flie, the sooner they falter and faill: the faster they runne, the ofter they stumble, and sorer they fall. Soch as will nedes so flie, may flie at a Pye, and catch a Dawe: And soch runners, as commonlie, they shoue and sholder to stand formost, yet in the end they cum behind others & deserue but the hopshakles, if the Masters of the game be right iudgers.

Therefore in perusing thus, so many diverse bookes for *Imitation*, it came into my head that a verie fitable booke might be made *de Imitatione*, after an other sort, than euer yet was attempted of that matter, conteyning a certaine fewe fitte preceptes, vnto the which

should be gathered and applied plentie of examples, out of the choisest authors of both the tonges. This worke would stand, rather in good diligence, for the gathering, and right iudgement for the apte applying of those

examples: than any great learning or vtterance at all.

The doing thereof, would be more pleasant, than painfull, & would bring also moch proffet to all that should read it, and great praise to him would take it in hand, with just desert of thankes.

Erasmus, giuyng him selfe to read ouer all Authors Greke and Latin, seemeth to have prescribed to him selfe this order of readyng: that is, to note out by the way, three speciall pointes: All Adagies, all similitudes, and all wittie sayinges of most notable personages: And so, by one labour, he left to posteritie, three notable bookes, & namelie two his Chiliades, Apophthegmata and Similia. Likewise, if a good student would bend him selfe to read diligently ouer Tullie, and with him also at the same tyme, as

Optima ratio Imitationis.

Erasmus order in his studie.

{Plato. {Xenophon. {Isocrates. {Demosth. {Aristotles. Cicero.

diligently *Plato*, & *Xenophon*, with his bookes of Philosophie, *Isocrates*, & *Demosthenes* with his orations, & *Aristotle* with his Rhetorickes: which fiue of all other, be those, whom *Tullie* best loued, & specially followed: & would marke diligently in *Tullie* where he doth *exprimere* or *effingere* (which be the verie propre wordes of Imitation) either, *Copiam Platonis* or *venustatem Xenophontis*, *suauitatem Isocratis*, or *vim Demosthenis*, *propriam & puram subtilitatem Aristotelis*, and not onelie write out the places diligentlie, and lay them together orderlie, but also to conferre them with skilfull iudgement by those few rules, which I haue expressed now twise before: if that diligence were taken, if that order were vsed, what perfite knowledge of both the tonges, what readie and pithie vtterance in all matters, what right and deepe iudgement in all kinde of learnyng would follow, is scarse credible to be beleued.

These bookes, be not many, nor long, nor rude in speach, nor meane in matter, but next the Maiestie of Gods holie word, most worthie for a man, the louer of learning and honestie, to spend his life in. Yea, I have heard worthie *M. Cheke* many tymes say: I would have a good student passe and iorney through all Authors both *Greke* and *Latin:* but he that will dwell in these few bookes onelie: first, in Gods holie Bible, and than ioyne with it, *Tullie* in *Latin, Plato, Aristotle: Xenophon: Isocrates:* and *Demosthenes* in *Greke:* must nedes proue an excellent man.

Some men alreadie in our dayes, haue put to their helping handes, to this worke of Imitation. As *Perionius, Henr. Stephanus in dictionario Ciceroniano*, and *P. Victorius* most praiseworthelie of all, in that his learned worke conteyning xxv. bookes *de varia lectione:* in which bookes be ioyned diligentlie together the best Authors of both the tonges where one doth seeme to imitate an other.

But all these, with *Macrobius, Hessus*, and other, be no more but common porters, caryers, and bringers of matter and stuffe togither. They order nothing: They lay before you, what is done: they do not teach you, how it is done: They busie not them selues with forme of buildyng: They do not declare, this stuffe is thus framed by *Demosthenes*, and thus and thus by *Tullie*, and so likewise in *Xenophon*, *Plato* and *Isocrates* and *Aristotle*. For ioyning *Virgil* with *Homer* I have sufficientlie declared before.

The like diligence I would wish to be taken in *Pindar* and *Horace* an equal match for all respectes. In Tragedies, (the goodliest Argument of all, and for the vse, either of a learned preacher, or a Ciuill Ientleman, more profitable than Homer, Pindar, Virgill, and Horace: yea comparable in myne opinion, with the doctrine of Aristotle, Plato, and Xenophon,) the Grecians, Sophocles and Euripides far ouer match our Seneca, in Latin, namely in oikonomia et Decoro, although Senacaes elocution and verse be verie commendable for his tyme. And for the matters of *Hercules*, *Thebes*, Hippolytus, and Troie, his Imitation is to be gathered into the same booke, and to be tryed by the same touchstone, as is spoken before.

In histories, and namelie in Liuie, the like diligence of Imitation, could bring excellent learning, and breede stayde judgement, in taking any like matter in hand.

Onely *Liuie* were a sufficient taske for one mans studie, to compare him, Dion. Halicarn. first with his fellow for all respectes, Dion. Halicarnassæus: who both, liued in one tyme: tooke both one historie in hande to write: deserued both like Polibius. prayse of learning and eloquence. Than with *Polybius* that wise writer, whom *Liuie* professeth to follow: & if he would denie it, yet it is plaine, that Thucidides. 1 the best part of the thyrd *Decade* in *Liuie*, is in a maner translated out of the thyrd and rest of Polibius: Lastlie with Thucydides, to whose Imitation Liuie Decad. is curiouslie bent, as may well appeare by that one Oration of those of Campania, asking aide of the Romanes agaynst the Samnites, which is Lib. 7. wholie taken, Sentence, Reason, Argument, and order, out of the Oration of Corcyra, asking like aide of the Athenienses against them of Corinth. If Thucid. 1. some diligent student would take paynes to compare them togither, he should easelie perceiue, that I do say trew. A booke, thus wholie filled with examples of Imitation, first out of *Tullie*, compared with *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Isocrates*, *Demosthenes* and Aristotle: than out of Virgil and Horace, with Homer and Pindar: next out of Seneca with Sophocles and Euripides: Lastlie out of Liuie, with Thucydides, Polibius and Halicarnassæus, gathered with good diligence, and compared with right order, as I haue expressed before, were an other maner of worke for all kinde of learning, & namely for eloquence, than be those cold gatheringes of Macrobius, Hessus, Perionius, Stephanus, and Victorius, which may be vsed, as I sayd before, in this case, as porters and caryers, deseruing like prayse, as soch men do wages; but onely Sturmius is he, out of whom, the trew suruey and whole workemanship is speciallie to be learned.

I trust, this my writing shall give some good student occasion, to take some peece in hand of this worke of Imitation. And as I had rather have any do it, than my selfe, yet surelie my selfe rather than none at all. And by Gods grace, if God do lend me life, with health, free laysure and libertie, with good likyng and a merie heart, I will turne the best part of my studie and tyme, to toyle in one or other peece of this worke of Imitation.

This diligence to gather examples, to give light and vnderstandyng to good preceptes, is no new inuention, but speciallie vsed of the best Authors and oldest writers. For Aristotle him selfe, (as *Diog. Laertius* declareth) when he had written that goodlie booke of the

Perionius. H. Steph. P. Victorius.

Pindarus. Horatius.

Sophocles. Euripides. Seneca.

Tit. Liuius.

Topickes, did gather out of stories and Orators, so many examples as filled xv. bookes, onelie to expresse the rules of his *Topickes*. These were the Commentaries, that *Aristotle* thought fit for hys *Topickes*: And therfore to speake as I thinke, I neuer saw yet any Commentarie vpon Aristotles Logicke, either in Greke or Latin, that euer I lyked, bicause they be rather spent in declaryng scholepoynt rules, than in gathering fit examples for vse and vtterance, either by pen or talke. For preceptes in all Authors, and namelie in Aristotle, without applying vnto them, the Imitation of examples, be hard, drie, and cold, and therfore barrayn, vnfruitfull and vnpleasant. But Opus de recta imitandi ratione.

Aristoteles.

Commentarij Græci et Latini in Dialect. Aristotelis.

Aristotle, namelie in his Topicks and Elenches, should be, not onelie fruitfull, but also pleasant to, if examples out of *Plato*, and other good Authors, were diligentlie gathered, and aptlie applied vnto his most perfit preceptes there. And it is notable, that my frende Sturmius writeth herein, that there is no precept in Aristotles Topickes wherof plentie of examples be not

manifest in Platos workes. And I heare say, that an excellent learned man, Tomitanus in Italie, hath expressed euerie fallacion in Aristotle, with diuerse examples out of *Plato*. Would to God, I might once see, some worthie student of Aristotle and Plato in Cambrige, that would ioyne in one booke the preceptes of the one, with the examples of the other. For such a labor, were one speciall peece of that worke of Imitation, which I do wishe were gathered

Precepta in Aristot.

Exempla in Platone.

Cambrige, at my first comming thither, but not at my going away, committed this fault in reading the preceptes of Aristotle without the examples of other Authors: But herein, in my time thies men of worthie memorie, M. Redman, M. Cheke, M. Smith, M. Haddon, M. Watson, put so to their helping handes, as that vniuersitie, and all studentes there, as long as learning shall last, shall be bounde vnto them, if that trade in studie be trewlie followed, which those men left behinde them there.

By this small mention of Cambridge, I am caryed into three imaginations: first, into a sweete remembrance of my tyme spent there: than, into som carefull thoughts, for the greuous alteration that followed sone after: lastlie, into much joy to heare tell, of the good recouerie and earnest forwardnes in all good learning there agayne.

To vtter theis my thoughts somwhat more largelie, were somwhat beside my matter, yet not very farre out of the way, bycause it shall wholy tend to the good encoragement and right consideration of learning, which is my full purpose in writing this litle booke: whereby also shall well appeare this sentence to be most trewe, that onely good men, by their gouernment & example, make happie times, in euery degree and state.

Doctor Nico. Medcalfe, that honorable father, was Master of S. Iohnes Colledge, when I came thether: A man meanelie learned himselfe, but not meanely affectioned to set forward learning in others. He found that Colledge spending scarse two hundred markes by yeare: he left it spending a thousand markes and more. Which he procured, not with his mony, but by his wisdome; not chargeablie bought by him, but liberallie geuen by others by his meane, for the zeale & honor they bare to learning. And that which is worthy of memorie, all thies givers were almost Northenmen: who being liberallie rewarded in the seruice of their Prince, bestowed it as liberallie for the good of

together in one Volume.

their Contrie. Som men thought therefore, that D. Medcalfe was parciall to D. Nic. Medcalf. Northrenmen, but sure I am of this, that Northrenmen were parciall, in doing more good, and geuing more landes to ye forderance of learning, than any The parcialitie other contrie men, in those dayes, did: which deede should haue bene, rather of Northren an example of goodnes, for other to folowe, than matter of malice, for any to men in S. enuie, as some there were that did. Trewly, D. Medcalfe was parciall to Iohnes College. none: but indifferent to all: a master for the whole, a father to euery one, in that Colledge. There was none so poore, if he had, either wil to goodnes, or wit to learning, that could lacke being there, or should depart from thence for any need. I am witnes my selfe, that mony many times was brought into yong mens studies by strangers whom they knew not. In which doing, this worthy *Nicolaus* followed the steppes of good olde S. *Nicolaus*, that learned Bishop. He was a Papist in deede, but would to God, amonges all vs Protestants I might once see but one, that would winne like praise, in doing like good, for the aduauncement of learning and vertue. And yet, though he were a Papist, if any yong man, geuen to new learning (as they termed it) went beyond his fellowes, in witte, labor, and towardnes, euen the same, neyther lacked, open praise to encorage him, nor private exhibition to mainteyne hym, as worthy Syr I. Cheke, if he were aliue would beare good witnes and so can many mo. I my selfe one of the meanest of a great number, in that Colledge, because there appeared in me som small shew of towardnes and diligence, lacked not his fauor to forder me in learning.

And being a boy, new Bacheler of arte, I chanced amonges my companions to speake against the Pope: which matter was than in euery mans mouth, bycause *D. Haines* and *D. Skippe* were cum from the Court, to debate the same matter, by preaching and disputation in the vniuersitie. This hapned the same tyme, when I stoode to be felow there: my taulke came to *D. Medcalfes* eare: I was called before him and the Seniores: and after greuous rebuke, and some punishment, open warning was geuen to all the felowes, none to be so hardie to geue me his voice at that election. And yet for all those open threates, the good father himselfe priuilie procured, that I should euen than be chosen felow. But, the election being done, he made countinance of great discontentation thereat. This good mans goodnes, and fatherlie discretion, vsed towardes me that one day, shall neuer out of my remembrance all the dayes of my life. And for the same cause, haue I put it here, in this small record of learning. For next Gods prouidence, surely that day, was by that good fathers meanes, *Dies natalis*, to me, for the whole foundation of the poore learning I haue, and of all the furderance, that hetherto else where I haue obteyned.

This his goodnes stood not still in one or two, but flowed aboundantlie ouer all that Colledge, and brake out also to norishe good wittes in euery part of that vniuersitie: whereby, at this departing thence, he left soch a companie of fellowes and scholers in *S. Iohnes* Colledge, as can scarse be found now in some whole vniuersitie: which, either for diuinitie, on the one side or other, or for Ciuill seruice to their Prince and contrie, haue bene, and are yet to this day, notable ornaments to this whole Realme: Yea *S. Iohnes* did then so florish, as Trinitie college, that Princely house now, at the first erection, was but *Colonia deducta* out of *S. Iohnes*, not onelie for their Master, fellowes, and scholers, but also, which is more, for their whole, both order of learning, and discipline of maners: & yet to this day, it neuer tooke Master but such as was bred vp before in *S. Iohnes*: doing

the dewtie of a good *Colonia* to her *Metropolis*, as the auncient Cities in Greice and some yet in Italie, at this day, are accustomed to do.

S. Iohnes stoode in this state, vntill those heuie tymes, and that greuous change that chanced. An. 1553. whan mo perfite scholers were dispersed from thence in one moneth, than many

yeares can reare vp againe. For, whan *Aper de Sylua* had passed the seas, Psal. 80. and fastned his foote againe in England, not onely the two faire groues of learning in England were eyther cut vp, by the roote, or troden downe to the ground and wholie went to wracke, but the yong spring there, and euerie where else, was pitifullie nipt and ouertroden by very beastes, and also the fairest standers of all, were rooted vp, and cast into the fire, to the great weakning euen at this day of Christes Chirch in England, both for Religion and learning.

And what good could chance than to the vniuersities, whan som of the greatest, though not of the wisest nor best learned, nor best men neither of that side, did labor to perswade, that ignorance was better than knowledge, which they ment, not for the laitie onelie, but also for the greatest rable of their spiritualtie, what other pretense openlie so euer they made: and therefore did som of them at Cambrige (whom I will not name openlie,) cause hedge priestes fette oute of the contrie, to be made fellowes in the vniuersitie: saying, in their talke priuilie, and declaring by their deedes openlie, that he was, felow good enough for their tyme, if he could were a gowne and a tipet cumlie, and haue hys crowne shorne faire and roundlie, and could turne his Portesse and pie readilie: whiche I speake not to reproue any order either of apparell, or other dewtie, that may be well and indifferentlie vsed, but to note the miserie of that time, whan the benefites prouided for learning were so fowlie misused. And what was the frute of this seade? Verely, judgement in doctrine was wholy altered: order in discipline very sore changed: the loue of good learning, began sodenly to wax cold: the knowledge of the tonges (in spite of some that therein had florished) was manifestly contemned: and so, ye way of right studie purposely peruerted: the choice of good authors of mallice confownded. Olde sophistrie (I say not well) not olde, but that new rotten sophistrie began to beard and sholder logicke in her owne tong: yea, I know, that heades were cast together, and counsell deuised, that *Duns*, with all the rable of barbarous questionistes, should have dispossessed of their place and rownes, Aristotle, Plato, Tullie, and Demosthenes, when good M. Redman, and those two worthy starres of that vniuersitie, M. Cheke, and M. Smith, with their scholers, had brought to florishe as notable in Cambrige, as euer they did in Grece and in Italie: and for the doctrine of those fowre, the fowre pillers of learning, Cambrige than geuing place to no vniuersitie, neither in France, Spaine, Germanie, nor Italie. Also Aristoteles. in outward behauiour, than began simplicitie in apparell, to be layd aside: Plato. Cicero. Courtlie galantnes to be taken vp: frugalitie in diet was priuately misliked: Demost. Towne going to good cheare openly vsed: honest pastimes, joyned with labor, left of in the fieldes: vnthrifty and idle games, haunted corners, and Shoting. occupied the nightes: contention in youth, no where for learning: factions in the elders euery where for trifles. All which miseries at length, by Gods prouidence, had

their end 16. Nouemb. 1558. Since which tyme, the yong spring hath shot vp so faire, as

now there be in Cambrige againe, many goodly plantes (as did well appeare at the Queenes Maiesties late being there) which are like to grow to mightie great timber, to the honor of learning, and great good of their contrie, if they may stand their tyme, as the best plantes there were wont to do: and if som old dotterell trees, with standing ouer nie them, and dropping vpon them, do not either hinder, or crooke their growing, wherein my feare is ye lesse, seing so worthie a Iustice of an Oyre hath the present ouersight of that whole chace, who was himselfe somtym, in the fairest spring that euer was there of learning, one of the forwardest yong plantes, in all that worthy College of *S. Iohnes:* who now by grace is growne to soch greatnesse, as, in the temperate and quiet shade of his wisdome, next the prouidence of God, and goodnes of one, in theis our daies, *Religio* for sinceritie, *literæ* for order and aduauncement, *Respub*. for happie and quiet gouernment, haue to great rejoysing of all good men, speciallie reposed them selues.

Now to returne to that Question, whether one, a few, many or all, are to be followed, my aunswere shalbe short: All, for him that is desirous to know all: yea, the worst of all, as Questionistes, and all the barbarous nation of scholemen, helpe for one or other consideration: But in euerie separate kinde of learning and studie, by it selfe, ye must follow, choiselie a few, and chieflie some one, and that namelie in our schole of eloquence, either for penne or talke. And as in portraicture and paintyng wise men chose not that workman, that can onelie make a faire hand, or a well facioned legge but soch one, as can furnish vp fullie, all the fetures of the whole body, of a man, woman and child: and with all is able to, by good skill, to give to euerie one of these three, in their proper kinde, the right forme, the trew figure, the naturall color, that is fit and dew, to the dignitie of a man, to the bewtie of a woman, to the sweetnes of a yong babe: euen likewise, do we seeke soch one in our schole to folow, who is able alwayes, in all matters, to teach plainlie, to delite pleasantlie, and to cary away by force of wise talke, all that shall heare or read him: and is so excellent in deed, as witte is able, or wishe can hope, to attain vnto: And this not onelie to serue in the Latin or Greke tong, but also in our own English language. But yet, bicause the prouidence of God hath left vnto vs in no other tong, saue onelie in the *Greke* and *Latin* tong, the trew preceptes, and perfite examples of eloquence, therefore must we seeke in the Authors onelie of those two tonges, the trewe Paterne of Eloquence, if in any other mother tongue we looke to attaine, either to perfit vtterance of it our selues, or skilfull iudgement of it in others.

And now to know, what Author doth medle onelie with some one peece and member of eloquence, and who doth perfitelie make vp the whole bodie, I will declare, as I can call to remembrance the goodlie talke, that I haue had oftentymes, of the trew difference of Authors, with that Ientleman of worthie memorie, my dearest frend, and teacher of all the litle poore learning I haue, Syr *Iohn Cheke*.

The trew difference of Authors is best knowne, *per diuersa genera dicendi*, that euerie one vsed. And therfore here I will deuide *genus dicendi*, not into these three, *Tenuè*, *mediocrè*, & *grande*, but as the matter of euerie Author requireth, as

{Poeticum.}
{in Genus {Historicum.}
{Philosophicum.}
{Oratorium.}

These differre one from an other, in choice of wordes, in framyng of Sentences, in handling of Argumentes, and vse of right forme, figure, and number, proper and fitte for euerie matter, and euerie one of these is diuerse also in it selfe, as the first.

{ Comicum.
Poeticum, { Tragicum.
in { Epicum.
{ Melicum.

And here, who soeuer hath bene diligent to read aduisedlie ouer, *Terence*, *Seneca*, Virgil, Horace, or els Aristophanes, Sophocles, Homer, and Pindar, and shall diligently marke the difference they vse, in proprietie of wordes, in forme of sentence, in handlyng of their matter, he shall easelie perceiue, what is fitte and decorum in euerie one, to the trew vse of perfite Imitation. Whan M. Watson in S. Iohns College at Cambrige wrote his excellent Tragedie of Absalon, M. Cheke, he and I, for that part of trew Imitation, had many pleasant talkes togither, in comparing the preceptes of Aristotle and Horace de Arte Poetica, with the examples of Euripides, Sophocles, and Seneca. Few men, in writing of Tragedies in our dayes, haue shot at this marke. Some in *England*, moe in *France*, Germanie, and Italie, also have written Tragedies in our tyme: of the which, not one I am sure is able to abyde the trew touch of Aristotles preceptes, and Euripides examples, saue only two, that euer I saw, M. Watsons Absalon, and Georgius Buckananus Iephthe. One man in Cambrige, well liked of many, but best liked of him selfe, was many tymes bold and busie, to bryng matters vpon stages, which he called Tragedies. In one, wherby he looked to wynne his spurres, and whereat many ignorant felowes fast clapped their handes, he began the Protasis with Trochæijs Octonarijs: which kinde of verse, as it is but seldome and rare in Tragedies, so is it neuer vsed, saue onelie in *Epitasi*: whan the Tragedie is hiest and hotest, and full of greatest troubles. I remember ful well what M. Watson merelie sayd vnto me of his blindnesse and boldnes in that behalfe although otherwise, there passed much frendship betwene them. M. Watson had an other maner care of perfection, with a feare and reuerence of the judgement of the best learned: Who to this day would neuer suffer, yet his *Absalon* to go abroad, and that onelie, bicause, in *locis* paribus, Anapestus is twise or thrise vsed in stede of *Iambus*. A smal faulte, and such one, as perchance would neuer be marked, no neither in *Italie* nor *France*. This I write, not so much, to note the first, or praise the last, as to leaue in memorie of writing, for good example to posteritie, what perfection, in any tyme, was, most diligentlie sought for in like

maner, in all kinde of learnyng, in that most worthie College of S. Iohns in Cambrige.

{Diaria.}
Historicum {Annales.}
in {Commentarios.}
{Iustam Historiam.}

For what proprietie in wordes, simplicitie in sentences, plainnesse and light, is cumelie for these kindes, *Cæsar* and *Liuie*, for the two last, are perfite examples of Imitation: And for the two first, the old paternes be lost, and as for some that be present and of late tyme, they be fitter to be read once for some pleasure, than oft to be perused, for any good Imitation of them.

Philosophicum {Sermonem, as officia Cic. et Eth. Arist. in {Contentionem.

As, the Dialoges of *Plato, Xenophon*, and *Cicero:* of which kinde of learnyng, and right Imitation therof, *Carolus Sigonius* hath written of late, both learnedlie and eloquentlie: but best of all my frende *Ioan. Sturmius* in hys Commentaries vpon *Gorgias Platonis*, which booke I haue in writyng, and is not yet set out in Print.

Oratorium {Humile. {Mediocre. {Sublime.}

Examples of these three, in the *Greke* tong, be plentifull & perfite, as *Lycias, Isocrates*, and *Demosthenes*: and all three, in onelie *Demosthenes*, in diuerse orations

as contra Olimpiodorum, in leptinem, & pro Ctesiphonte. And trew it is, that Lisias. Hermogines writeth of Demosthenes, that all formes of Eloquence be perfite in him. In Ciceroes Orations, Medium & sublime be most excellentlie handled, but Humile in his Orations, is seldome sene: yet neuerthelesse in other bookes, as in some part of his offices, & specially in Partitionibus, he is comparable in hoc humili & disciplinabili genere, euen with the best that euer wrote in Greke. But of Cicero more fullie in fitter place. And thus, the trew difference of stiles, in euerie Author, and euerie kinde of learnyng may easelie be knowne by this diuision.

{Poeticum. in {Historicum. Genus {Philosophicum. {Oratorium.

Which I thought in this place to touch onelie, not to prosecute at large, bicause, God willyng, in the *Latin* tong, I will fullie handle it, in my booke *de Imitatione*.

Now, to touch more particularlie, which of those Authors, that be now most commonlie in mens handes, will sone affourd you some peece of Eloquence, and what maner a peece of eloquence, and what is to be liked and followed, and what to be misliked and eschewed in them: and how some agayne will furnish you fully withall, rightly, and wisely considered, somwhat I will write as I haue heard Syr *Ihon Cheke* many tymes say.

The Latin tong, concerning any part of purenesse of it, from the spring, to the decay of the same, did not endure moch longer, than is the life of a well aged man, scarse one hundred yeares from the tyme of the last *Scipio Africanus* and *Lælius*, to the Empire of *Augustus*. And it is notable, that *Velleius Paterculus* writeth of *Tullie*, how that the perfection of eloquence did so remayne onelie in him and in his time, as before him, were few, which might moch delight a man, or after him any, worthy admiration, but soch as *Tullie* might haue seene, and such as might haue seene *Tullie*. And good cause why: for no perfection is durable. Encrease hath a time, & decay likewise, but all perfit ripenesse remaineth but a moment: as is plainly seen in fruits, plummes and cherries: but more sensibly in flowers, as Roses & such like, and yet as trewlie in all greater matters. For what naturallie, can go no hier, must naturallie yeld & stoup againe.

Of this short tyme of any purenesse of the Latin tong, for the first fortie yeare of it, and all the tyme before, we have no peece of learning left, saue *Plautus* and *Terence*, with a litle rude vnperfit pamflet of the elder *Cato*. And as for *Plautus*, except the scholemaster be able to make wise and ware choice, first in proprietie of wordes, than in framing of Phrases and sentences, and chieflie in choice of honestie of matter, your scholer were better to play, then learne all that is in him. But surelie, if iudgement for the tong, and direction for the maners, be wisely ioyned with the diligent reading of *Plautus*, than trewlie *Plautus*, for that purenesse of the Latin tong in Rome, whan Rome did most florish in wel doing, and so thereby, in well speaking also, is soch a plentifull storehouse, for common eloquence, in meane matters, and all private mens affaires, as the Latin tong, for that respect, hath not the like agayne. Whan I remember the worthy tyme of Rome, wherein *Plautus* did liue, I must nedes honor the talke of that tyme, which we see *Plautus* doth vse.

Terence is also a storehouse of the same tong, for an other tyme, following soone after, & although he be not so full & plentiful as *Plautus* is, for multitude of matters, & diuersitie of wordes, yet his wordes, be chosen so purelie, placed so orderly, and all his stuffe so neetlie packed vp, and wittely compassed in euerie place, as, by all wise mens iudgement, he is counted the cunninger workeman, and to have his shop, for the rowme

that is in it, more finely appointed, and trimlier ordered, than *Plautus* is.

Three thinges chiefly, both in *Plautus* and *Terence*, are to be specially considered. The matter, the vtterance, the words, the meter. The matter in both, is altogether within the compasse of the meanest mens maners, and doth not stretch to any thing of any great weight at all, but standeth chiefly in vtteryng the thoughtes and conditions of hard fathers, foolish mothers, vnthrifty yong men, craftie seruantes, sotle bawdes, and wilie harlots, and so, is moch spent, in finding out fine fetches, and packing vp pelting matters, soch as in London commonlie cum to the hearing of the Masters of Bridewell. Here is base stuffe for that scholer, that should becum hereafter, either a good minister in Religion, or a Ciuill Ientleman in seruice of his Prince and contrie: except the preacher do know soch matters to confute them, whan ignorance surelie in all soch thinges were better for a Ciuill Ientleman, than knowledge. And thus, for matter, both *Plautus* and *Terence*, be like meane painters, that worke by halfes, and be cunning onelie, in making the worst part of the picture, as if one were skilfull in painting the bodie of a naked person, from the nauell downward, but nothing else.

For word and speach, *Plautus* is more plentifull, and *Terence* more pure and proper: And for one respect, Terence is to be embraced aboue all that euer wrote in hys kinde of argument: Bicause it is well known, by good recorde of learning, and that by Ciceroes owne witnes that some Comedies bearyng *Terence* name, were written by worthy *Scipio*, and wise Lælius, and namely Heauton: and Adelphi. And therefore as oft as I reade those Comedies, so oft doth sound in myne eare, the pure fine talke of Rome, which was vsed by the floure of the worthiest nobilitie that euer Rome bred. Let the wisest man, and best learned that liueth, read aduisedlie ouer, the first scene of *Heauton*, and the first scene of Adelphi, and let him consideratlie iudge, whether it is the talke of a seruile stranger borne, or rather euen that milde eloquent wise speach, which *Cicero* in *Brutus* doth so lively expresse in Lælius. And yet neuerthelesse, in all this good proprietie of wordes, and purenesse of phrases which be in *Terence*, ye must not follow him alwayes in placing of them, bicause for the meter sake, some wordes in him, somtyme, be driuen awrie, which require a straighter placing in plaine prose, if ye will forme, as I would ye should do, your speach and writing, to that excellent perfitnesse, which was onely in *Tullie*, or onelie in Tullies tyme.

The meter and verse of *Plautus* and *Terence* be verie meane, and not to be followed: which is not their reproch,

but the fault of the tyme, wherein they wrote, whan no kinde of Poetrie, in the Latin tong, was brought to perfection, as doth well appeare in the fragmentes of *Ennius, Cæcilius*, and others, and euidentlie in *Plautus & Terence*.

Terence, if thies in Latin be compared with right skil, with *Homer, Euripides, Aristophanes*, and other in Greeke of like sort. *Cicero* him selfe doth complaine of this vnperfitnes, but more plainly *Quintilian*, saying, in *Comædia maximè claudicamus, et vix leuem consequimur vmbram:* and most earnestly of all *Horace in Arte Poetica*, which he doth namely *propter carmen lambicum*, and referreth all good studentes herein to the Imitation of the Greeke tong, saying.

Exemplaria Græca nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.

This matter maketh me gladly remember, my sweete tyme spent at Cambrige, and the pleasant talke which I had oft with *M. Cheke*, and *M. Watson*, of this fault, not onely in the olde Latin Poets, but also in our new English Rymers at this day. They wished as *Virgil* and *Horace* were not wedded to follow the faultes of former fathers (a shrewd mariage in greater matters) but by right *Imitation* of the perfit Grecians, had brought Poetrie to perfitnesse also in the Latin tong, that we Englishmen likewise would acknowledge and vnderstand rightfully our rude beggerly ryming, brought first into Italie by *Gothes* and *Hunnes*, whan all good verses and all good learning to, were destroyd by them: and after caryed into France and Germanie: and at last, receyued into England by men of excellent wit in deede, but of small learning, and lesse iudgement in that behalfe.

But now, when men know the difference, and haue the examples, both of the best, and of the worst, surelie, to follow rather the *Gothes* in Ryming, than the Greekes in trew versifiyng, were euen to eate ackornes with swyne, when we may freely eate wheate bread emonges men. In deede, *Chauser*, *Th. Norton*, of Bristow, my L. of Surrey, *M. Wiat, Th. Phaer*, and other Ientlemen, in translating *Ouide*, *Palingenius*, and *Seneca*, haue gonne as farre to their great praise, as the copie they followed could cary them, but, if soch good wittes, and forward diligence, had bene directed to follow the best examples, and not haue bene caryed by tyme and custome, to content themselues with that barbarous and rude Ryming, emonges their other worthy praises, which they haue iustly deserued, this had not bene the least, to be counted emonges men of learning and skill, more like vnto the Grecians, than vnto the Gothians, in handling of their verse.

In deed, our English tong, hauing in vse chiefly, wordes of one syllable which commonly be long, doth not well receiue the nature of *Carmen Heroicum*, bicause *dactylus*, the aptest foote for that verse, conteining one long & two short, is seldom therefore found in English: and doth also rather stumble than stand vpon *Monosyllabis*. *Quintilian* in hys learned Chapiter *de Compositione*, geueth this lesson *de Monosyllabis*, before me: and in the same place doth iustlie inuey against all Ryming, that if there be any, who be angrie with me, for misliking of Ryming, may be angry for company to, with *Quintilian* also, for the same thing: And yet *Quintilian* had not so iust cause to mislike of it than, as men haue at this day.

And although *Carmen Exametrum* doth rather trotte and hoble, than runne smothly in our English tong, yet I am sure, our English tong will receiue *carmen Iambicum* as naturallie, as either *Greke* or *Latin*. But for ignorance, men can not like, & for idlenes, men will not labor, to cum to any perfitenes at all. For, as the worthie Poetes in *Athens* and *Rome*, were more carefull to satisfie the iudgement of one learned, than rashe in pleasing the humor of a rude multitude, euen so if men in England now, had the like reuerend regard to learning skill and iudgement, and durst not presume to write, except they came with the like learnyng, and also did vse like diligence, in searchyng out, not onelie iust measure in euerie meter, as euerie ignorant person may easely do, but also trew quantitie

in euery foote and sillable, as onelie the learned shalbe able to do, and as the *Grekes* and *Romanes* were wont to do, surelie than rash ignorant heads, which now can easely recken vp fourten sillables, and easelie stumble on euery Ryme, either durst not, for lacke of such learnyng: or els would not, in auoyding such labor, be so busie, as euerie where they be:

and shoppes in London should not be so full of lewd and rude rymes, as commonlie they are. But now, the ripest of tong, be readiest to write: And many dayly in setting out bookes and balettes make great shew of blossomes and buddes, in whom is neither, roote of learning, nor frute of wisedome at all. Some that make *Chaucer* in English and *Petrarch* in *Italian*, their Gods in verses, and yet be not able to make trew difference, what is a fault, and what is a just prayse, in those two worthie wittes, will moch mislike this my writyng. But such men be euen like followers of *Chaucer* and *Petrarke*, as one here in England did folow Syr *Tho. More:* who, being most vnlike vnto him, in wit and learnyng, neuertheles in wearing his gowne awrye vpon the one shoulder, as Syr *Tho. More* was wont to do, would nedes be counted lyke vnto him.

This mislikyng of Ryming, beginneth not now of any newfangle singularitie, but hath bene long misliked of many, and that of men, of greatest learnyng, and deepest iudgement. And soch, that defend it, do so, either for lacke of knowledge what is best, or els of verie enuie, that any should performe that in learnyng, whereunto they, as I sayd before, either for ignorance, can not, or for idlenes will not, labor to attaine vnto.

And you that prayse this Ryming, bicause ye neither haue reason, why to like it, nor can shew learning to defend it, yet I will helpe you, with the authoritie of the oldest and learnedst tyme. In *Grece*, whan Poetrie was euen at the hiest pitch of perfitnes, one *Simmias Rhodius* of a certaine singularitie wrote a booke in ryming *Greke* verses, naming it oon, conteyning the fable, how *Iupiter* in likenes of a swan, gat that egge vpon *Leda*, whereof came *Castor*, *Pollux* and faire *Elena*. This booke was so liked, that it had few to read it, but none to folow it: But was presentlie contemned: and sone after, both Author and booke, so forgotten by men, and consumed by tyme, as scarse the name of either is kept in memorie of learnyng: And the like folie was neuer folowed of any, many hondred yeares after vntill ye *Hunnes* and *Gothians*, and other barbarous nations, of ignorance and rude singularitie, did reuiue the same folie agayne.

The noble Lord *Th.* Earle of Surrey, first of all English men, in translating the fourth booke of *Virgill:* and *Gonsaluo Periz* that excellent learned man, and Secretarie to kyng *Philip* of *Spaine*, in translating the *Vlisses of Homer* out of *Greke* into *Spanish*, haue both, by good iudgement, auoyded the fault of Ryming, yet neither of them hath fullie hite perfite and trew versifiyng. In deede, they observe iust number, and even feete: but here is the fault, that their feete: be feete without ioyntes, that is to say, not distinct by trew quantitie of sillables: And so, soch feete, be but numme feete: and be, even as vnfitte for a verse to turne and runne roundly withall, as feete of brasse or

wood be vnweeldie to go well withall. And as a foote of wood, is a plaine shew of a manifest maime, euen so feete, in our English versifiing, without quantitie and ioyntes, be sure signes, that the verse is either, borne deformed, vnnaturall and lame, and so verie vnseemlie to looke vpon, except to men that be gogle eyed them selues.

The spying of this fault now is not the curiositie of English eyes, but euen the good iudgement also of the best that write in these dayes in *Italie*: and namelie of that worthie *Senese Felice Figliucci*, who, writyng vpon *Aristotles Ethickes* so excellentlie in *Italian*, as neuer did yet any one in myne opinion either in *Greke* or *Latin*, amongest other thynges doth most earnestlie inuey agaynst the rude ryming of verses in that tong: And whan soeuer he expresseth *Aristotles* preceptes, with any example, out of *Homer* or *Euripides*, he translateth them, not after the Rymes of *Petrarke*, but into soch kinde of perfite verse, with like feete and quantitie of sillables, as he found them before in the *Greke* tonge: exhortyng earnestlie all the *Italian* nation, to leave of their rude barbariousnesse in ryming, and follow diligant.

The Earle of Surrey.

GonsaluoPeriz.

Senese

Felice

Figliucci.

nation, to leaue of their rude barbariousnesse in ryming, and folow diligently the excellent *Greke* and *Latin* examples, in trew versifiyng. And you, that be able to vnderstand no more, then ye finde in the *Italian* tong: and neuer went farder than the schole of *Petrarke* and *Ariostus* abroad, or els of *Chaucer* at home though you haue pleasure to wander blindlie still in your foule wrong way, enuie not others, that seeke, as wise men haue done before them, the fairest and rightest way: or els, beside the iust reproch of malice, wisemen shall trewlie iudge, that you do so, as I haue sayd and say yet agayne vnto you, bicause, either, for idlenes ye will not, or for ignorance ye can not, cum by no better your selfe.

And therfore euen as *Virgill* and *Horace* deserue most worthie prayse, that they spying the vnperfitnes in *Ennius* and *Plautus*, by trew Imitation of *Homer* and *Euripides*, brought Poetrie to the same perfitnes in *Latin*, as it was in *Greke*, euen so those, that by the same way would benefite their tong and contrey, deserue rather thankes than disprayse in that behalfe.

And I rejoyce, that euen poore England preuented *Italie*, first in spying out, than in seekyng to amend this fault in learnyng.

And here, for my pleasure I purpose a litle, by the way, to play and sporte with my Master *Tully:* from whom commonlie I am neuer wont to dissent. He him selfe, for this point of learnyng, in his verses doth halt a litle by his leaue. He could not denie it, if he were aliue, nor those defend hym now that loue him best. This fault I lay to his charge: bicause once it pleased him, though somwhat merelie, yet oueruncurteslie, to rayle vpon poore England, objecting both, extreme beggerie, and

mere barbariousnes vnto it, writyng thus vnto his frend *Atticus*: There is not one scruple of siluer in that whole Isle, or any one that knoweth either learnyng or letter.

Tullies saying against England.

But now master *Cicero*, blessed be God, and his sonne Iesu Christ, whom you neuer knew, except it were as it pleased him to lighten you by some shadow, as couertlie in one place ye confesse saying: *Veritatis tantum vmbram consectamur*, as your Master *Plato* did before you: blessed be God, I say, that sixten hundred yeare after you were dead and gone, it may trewly be sayd, that for siluer, there is more cumlie plate, in one Citie of England, the of the proudest Cities in all *Italie*, and take *Rome* for one of them. And for lease

Ad Att. Lib. iv. Ep. 16.

Offic.

be sayd, that for siluer, there is more cumlie plate, in one Citie of England, than is in foure of the proudest Cities in all *Italie*, and take *Rome* for one of them. And for learnyng, beside the knowledge of all learned tongs and liberall sciences, euen your owne bookes *Cicero*, be as well read, and your excellent eloquence is as well liked and loued, and as trewlie followed in England at this day, as it is now, or euer was, sence your owne tyme, in

any place of *Italie*, either at *Arpinum*, where ye were borne, or els at *Rome* where ye were brought vp. And a litle to brag with you *Cicero*, where you your selfe, by your leaue, halted in some point of learnyng in your owne tong, many in England at this day go streight vp, both in trewe skill, and right doing therein.

This I write, not to reprehend *Tullie*, whom, aboue all other, I like and loue best, but to excuse *Terence*, because in his tyme, and a good while after, Poetrie was neuer perfited in *Latin* vntill by trew *Imitation* of the Grecians, it was at length brought to perfection: And also thereby to exhorte the goodlie wittes of England, which apte by nature, & willing by desire, geue them selues to Poetrie, that they, rightly vnderstanding the barbarous bringing in of Rymes, would labor, as *Virgil* and *Horace* did in Latin, to make perfit also this point of learning, in our English tong.

And thus much for *Plautus* and *Terence*, for matter, tong, and meter, what is to be followed, and what to be exchewed in them.

After *Plautus* and *Terence*, no writing remayneth vntill *Tullies* tyme, except a fewe short fragmentes of *L. Crassus* excellent wit, here and there recited of *Cicero* for example sake, whereby the louers of learning may the more lament the losse of soch a worthie witte.

And although the Latin tong did faire blome and blossome in *L. Crassus*, and *M. Antonius*, yet in *Tullies* tyme onely, and in Tullie himselfe chieflie, was the Latin tong fullie ripe, and growne to the hiest pitch of all perfection.

And yet in the same tyme, it began to fade and stoupe, as *Tullie* him selfe, in *Brutus de Claris Oratoribus*, with weeping wordes doth witnesse.

And bicause, emongs them of that tyme, there was some difference, good reason is, that of them of that tyme, should be made right choice also. And yet let the best *Ciceronian* in Italie read *Tullies* familiar epistles aduisedly ouer, and I beleue he shall finde small difference, for the Latin tong, either in propriety of wordes or framing of the stile, betwixt *Tullie*, and those that write vnto him. As *ser. Sulpitius*, *A. Cecinna*, *M. Cælius*, *M. et D. Bruti*, *A. Pollio*, *L. Plancus*, and diuerse other: read the epistles of *L. Plancus* in *x. Lib*.

and for an assay, that Epistle namely to the Coss. and whole Senate, the Epi. Planci x. lib. Epist. 8. eight Epistle in number, and what could be, eyther more eloquentlie, or more wiselie written, yea by *Tullie* himselfe, a man may justly doubt. Thies men and Tullie, liued all in one tyme, were like in authoritie, not vnlike in learning and studie, which might be iust causes of this their equalitie in writing: And yet surely, they neyther were in deed, nor yet were counted in mens opinions, equall with *Tullie* in that facultie. And how is the difference hid in his Epistles? verelie, as the cunning of an expert Sea man, in a faire calme fresh Ryuer, doth litle differ from the doing of a meaner workman therein, euen so, in the short cut of a priuate letter, where, matter is common, wordes easie, and order not moch diuerse, small shew of difference can appeare. But where *Tullie* doth set vp his saile of eloquence, in some broad deep Argument, caried with full tyde and winde, of his witte and learnyng, all other may rather stand and looke after him, than hope to ouertake him, what course so euer he hold, either in faire or foule. Foure men onely whan the Latin tong was full ripe, be left vnto vs, who in that tyme did florish, and did leaue to posteritie, the fruite of their witte and learning: Varro, Salust, Cæsar, and Cicero. Whan I

say, these foure onely, I am not ignorant, that euen in the same tyme, most excellent Poetes, deseruing well of the Latin tong, as *Lucretius, Cattullus, Virgill* and *Horace*, did write: But, bicause, in this litle booke, I purpose to teach a yong scholer, to go, not to daunce: to speake, not to sing, whan Poetes in deed, namelie *Epici* and *Lyrici*, as these be, are fine dauncers, and trime singers, but *Oratores* and *Historici* be those cumlie goers, and faire and wise speakers, of whom I wishe my scholer to wayte vpon first, and after in good order, & dew tyme, to be brought forth, to the singing and dauncing schole: And for this consideration, do I name these foure, to be the onelie writers of that tyme.

¶Varro.

Varro, in his bookes *de lingua Latina*, *et Analogia* as these be left mangled and patched vnto vs, doth not enter there in to any great depth of eloquence, but as one caried in a small low vessell him selfe verie nie the common shore, not much vnlike the fisher men of Rye, and Hering men of Yarmouth. Who deserue by common mens opinion, small commendacion, for any cunning saling at all, yet neuertheles

in those bookes of *Varro* good and necessarie stuffe, for that meane kinde of *Varro*. Argument, be verie well and learnedlie gathered togither.

His bookes of Husbandrie, are moch to be regarded, and diligentlie to be De Rep. read, not onelie for the proprietie, but also for the plentie of good wordes, in all contrey and husbandmens affaires: which can not be had, by so good authoritie, out of any other Author, either of so good a tyme, or of so great learnyng, as out of *Varro*. And yet bicause, he was fourescore yeare old, whan he wrote those bookes, the forme of his style there compared with *Tullies* writyng, is but euen the talke of a spent old man: whose wordes commonlie fall out of his mouth, though verie wiselie, yet hardly and coldie, and more heauelie also, than some eares can well beare, except onelie for age, and authorities sake. And perchance, in a rude contrey argument, of purpose and iudgement, he rather vsed, the speach of the contrey, than talke of the Citie.

And so, for matter sake, his wordes sometyme, be somewhat rude: and by the imitation of the elder *Cato*, old and out of vse: And beyng depe stept in age, by negligence some wordes do so scape & fall from him in those bookes, as be not worth the taking vp, by him, that is carefull to speake or write trew Latin, as that sentence in him, *Romani, in pace à rusticis alebantur, et in bello ab his tuebantur*. A good student must be therfore carefull and diligent, to read with iudgement ouer euen those Authors, which did write in the most perfite tyme: and let him not be affrayd to trie them, both in proprietie of wordes, and forme of style, by the touch stone of *Cæsar* and *Cicero*, whose puritie was neuer soiled, no not by the sentence of those, that loued them worst.

All louers of learnyng may sore lament the losse of those bookes of *Varro*, which he wrote in his yong and lustie yeares, with good leysure, and great learnyng of all partes of Philosophie: of the goodliest argumentes, perteyning both to the common wealth, and private life of man, as, *de Ratione studij*, *et educandis liberis*, which booke, is oft recited, and moch praysed, in the fragmentes

of *Nonius*, euen for authoritie sake. He wrote most diligentlie and largelie, also the whole historie of the state of *Rome*: the mysteries of their whole Religion: their lawes, customes, and gouernement in peace: their maners, and whole discipline in warre: And this is not my gessing, as one in deed that neuer saw those bookes, but euen, the verie iudgement, & playne testimonie of *Tullie* him selfe, who knew & read those bookes, in these wordes: *Tu ætatem Patriæ: Tu descriptiones temporum: Tu sacrorum, tu sacerdotum Iura: Tu domesticam, tu bellicam disciplinam: Tu sedem Regionum, locorum, tu omnium diuinarum humanarumque rerum nomina, genera, officia, causas aperuisti. & c.*

Lib. 3. Cap. 1.

The loue of Varroes bookes.

In Acad. Quest.

But this great losse of Varro, is a litle recompensed by the happy Cic. ad Att. comming of Dionysius Halicarnassæus to Rome in Augustus dayes: who getting the possession of Varros librarie, out of that treasure house of learning, did leaue vnto vs some frute of *Varros* witte and diligence, I meane, his goodlie bookes de Antiquitatibus Romanorum. Varro was so estemed for his excellent learnyng, as Tullie him selfe had a reuerence to his judgement in all doutes of learning. And Antonius Triumuir, his enemie, and of a contrarie faction, who had power to kill and bannish whom he listed, whan Varros name amongest others was brought in a schedule vnto him, to be noted to death, he tooke his penne and wrote his warrant of sauegard with these most goodlie wordes, Viuat Varro vir doctissimus. In later tyme, no man knew better, nor liked and loued more *Varros* learnyng, than did *S. Augustine*, as they do well vnderstand, that haue diligentlie read ouer his learned bookes de Ciuitate Dei: Where he hath this most notable sentence: Whan I see, how much *Varro* wrote, I meruell much, that euer he had any leasure to read: and whan I perceiue how many thinges he read, I meruell more, that euer he had any leasure to write. &c.

And surelie, if *Varros* bookes had remained to posteritie, as by Gods prouidence, the most part of *Tullies* did, than trewlie the *Latin* tong might have made good comparison with the *Greke*.

Saluste.

Salust, is a wise and worthy writer: but he requireth a learned Reader, and a right considerer of him. My dearest frend, and best master that euer I had or heard in learning, Syr *I. Cheke*, soch a man, as if I should liue to see England breed the like

againe, I feare, I should liue ouer long, did once giue me a lesson for *Salust*, which, as I shall neuer forget my selfe, so is it worthy to be remembred of all those, that would cum to perfite iudgement of the Latin tong. He said, that *Salust* was not verie fitte for yong men, to learne out of him, the puritie of the Latin tong: because, he was not the purest in proprietie of wordes, nor choisest in aptnes of phrases, nor the best in framing of sentences: and therefore is his writing, sayd he neyther plaine for the matter, nor sensible

Salust.

Syr Iohn Chekes iudgement and counsell for readyng of Saluste.

for mens vnderstanding. And what is the cause thereof, Syr, quoth I. Verilie said he,

bicause in Salust writing, is more Arte than nature, and more labor than Arte: and in his labor also, to moch toyle, as it were, with an vncontented care to write better than he could, a fault common to very many men. And therefore he doth not expresse the matter liuely and naturally with common speach as ye see Xenophon doth in Greeke, but it is caried and driven forth artificiallie, after to learned a sorte, as *Thucydides* doth in his orations. And how cummeth it to passe, sayd I, that Cæsar and Ciceroes talke, is so naturall & plaine, and Salust writing so artificiall and darke, whan all they three liued in one tyme? I will freelie tell you my fansie herein, said he: surely, Cæsar and Cicero, beside a singular prerogative of naturall eloquence geuen vnto them by God, both two, by vse of life, were daylie orators emonges the common people, and greatest councellers in the Senate house: and therefore gaue themselues to vse soch speach as the meanest should well vnderstand, and the wisest best allow: following carefullie that good councell of Aristotle, loquendum vt multi, sapiendum vt pauci. Salust was no soch man, neyther for will to goodnes, nor skill by learning: but ill geuen by nature, and made worse by bringing vp, spent the most part of his yough very misorderly in ryot and lechery. In the company of soch, who, neuer geuing theyr mynde to honest doyng, could neuer inure their tong to wise speaking. But at last cummyng to better yeares, and bying witte at the dearest hand, that is, by long experience of the hurt and shame that commeth of mischeif, moued, by the councell of them that were wise, and caried by the example of soch as were good, first fell to honestie of life, and after to the loue of studie and learning: and so became so new a man, that Cæsar being dictator, made him Pretor in Numidia where he absent from his contrie, and not inured with the common talke of Rome, but shut vp in his studie, and bent wholy to reading, did write the storie of the Romanes. And for the better accomplishing of the same, he red *Cato* and *Piso* in Latin for gathering of matter and troth: and *Thucydides* in Greeke for the order of his storie, and furnishing of his style. Cato (as his tyme required) had more troth for the matter, than eloquence for the style. And so Salust, by gathering troth out of Cato, smelleth moch of the roughnes of his style: euen as a man that eateth garlike for helth, shall cary away with him the sauor of it also, whether he will or not. And yet the vse of old wordes is not the greatest cause of Salustes roughnes and darknesse: There be in Salust some old wordes in deed as patrare bellum, ductare exercitum, well noted by Quintilian, and verie much misliked of him: and Lib. 8. Cap. 3. De Ornatu. supplicium for supplicatio, a word smellyng of an older store than the other two so misliked by Quint: And yet is that word also in Varro, speaking of Oxen thus, boues ad victimas faciunt, atque ad Deorum supplicia: and a few old wordes mo. Read Saluste and Tullie aduisedly together: and in wordes ye shall finde small difference: yea Salust is more geuen to new wordes, than to olde, though som olde writers say the contrarie: as Claritudo for Gloria: exactè for perfectè: Facundia for eloquentia. Thies two last wordes *exactè* and *facundia* now in euery mans mouth, be neuer (as I do remember) vsed of *Tullie*, and therefore I thinke they be not good: For surely *Tullie* speaking euery where so moch of the matter of eloquence, would not so precisely have absteyned from the word Facundia, if it had bene good: that is proper for the tong, & common for mens vse. I could be long, in reciting many soch like, both olde & new wordes in Salust: but in very dede neyther oldnes nor

newnesse of wordes maketh the greatest difference betwixt Salust and Tullie, but first

strange phrases made of good Latin wordes, but framed after the Greeke tonge, which be neyther choisly borowed of them, nor properly vsed by him: than, a hard composition and crooked framing of his wordes and sentences, as a man would say, English talke placed and framed outlandish like. As for exin phrases, nimius at animus be two ysed wordes, yet homo nimius animi, is an

The cause why Salust is not like Tully.

as a man would say, English talke placed and framed outlandish like. As for example first in phrases, *nimius et animus* be two vsed wordes, yet *homo nimius animi*, is an vnused phrase. *Vulgus, et amat, et fieri*, be as common and well known wordes, as may be in the Latin tong, yet *id quod vulgò amat fieri*, for *solet fieri*, is but a strange and grekish kind of writing. *Ingens et vires* be proper wordes, yet *vir ingens virium* is an vnproper kinde of speaking and so be likewise,

{æger consilij. {promptissimus belli. {territus animi.

and many soch like phrases in Salust, borowed as I sayd not choisly out of Greeke, and vsed therefore vnproperlie in Latin. Againe, in whole sentences, where the matter is good, the wordes proper and plaine, yet the sense is hard and darke, and namely in his prefaces and orations, wherein he vsed most labor, which fault is likewise in *Thucydides* in Greeke, of whom Salust hath taken the greatest part of his darkenesse. For Thucydides likewise wrote his storie, not at home in Grece, but abrode in Italie, and therefore smelleth of a certaine outlandish kinde of talke, strange to them of Athens, and diverse from their writing, that liued in Athens and Grece, and wrote the same tyme that *Thucydides* did, as Lysias, Xenophon, Plato, and Isocrates, the purest and playnest writers, that euer wrote in any tong, and best examples for any man to follow whether he write, Latin, Italian, French, or English. Thucydides also semeth in his writing, not so much benefited by nature, as holpen by Arte, and caried forth by desire, studie, labor, toyle, and ouer great curiositie: who spent xxvii. yeares in writing his eight bookes of his history. Salust likewise wrote out of his contrie, and followed the faultes of Thuc. to moch: and boroweth of him som kinde of writing, which the Latin tong can not well beare, as Casus nominatiuus in diuerse places absolutè positus, as in

that place of *Iugurth*, speaking *de leptitanis*, *itaque ab imperatore facilè quæ petebant adepti, missæ sunt eò cohortes ligurum quatuor*. This thing in participles, vsed so oft in *Thucyd*. and other Greeke authors to, may better be borne with all, but *Salust* vseth the same more strangelie and boldlie, as in thies wordes, *Multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus*. I beleue, the best Grammarien in England can scarse giue a good reule, why *quisque* the nominatiue case, without any verbe, is so thrust vp amongest so many oblique cases. Some man perchance will smile, and laugh to scorne this my

Dionys. Halycar. ad Q. Tub. de Hist. Thuc.

Ad Att. Lib. 7. Epistola. 3.

oblique cases. Some man perchance will smile, and laugh to scorne this my writyng, and call it idle curiositie, thus to busie my selfe in pickling about these small pointes of Grammer, not fitte for my age, place and calling, to trifle in: I trust that man, be he neuer so great in authoritie, neuer so wise and learned, either, by other mens iudgement, or his owne opinion, will yet thinke, that he is not greater in England, than *Tullie* was at *Rome*,

not yet wiser, nor better learned than *Tullie* was him selfe, who, at the pitch of three score yeares, in the middes of the broyle betwixt Cæsar and Pompeie, whan he knew not, whether to send wife & children, which way to go, where to hide him selfe, yet, in an earnest letter, amongest his earnest councelles for those heuie tymes concerning both the common state of his contrey, and his owne private great affaires he was neither vnmyndfull nor ashamed to reason at large, and learne gladlie of *Atticus*, a lesse point of Grammer than these be, noted of me in Salust, as, whether he should write, ad Piræea, in Piræea, or in Piræeum, or Piræeum sine præpositione: And in those heuie tymes, he was so carefull to know this small point of Grammer, that he addeth these wordes Si hoc mihi zetema persolueris, magna me molestia liberaris. If Tullie, at that age, in that authoritie, in that care for his contrey, in that ieoperdie for him selfe, and extreme necessitie of hys dearest frendes, beyng also the Prince of Eloquence hym selfe, was not ashamed to descend to these low pointes of Grammer, in his owne naturall tong, what should scholers do, yea what should any man do, if he do thinke well doyng, better than ill doyng: And had rather be, perfite than meane, sure than doutefull, to be what he should be, in deed, not seeme what he is not, in opinion. He that maketh perfitnes in the *Latin* tong his marke, must cume to it by choice & certaine knowledge, not stumble vpon it by chance and doubtfull ignorance: And the right steppes to reach vnto it, be these, linked thus orderlie together, aptnes of nature, loue of learnyng, diligence in right order, constancie with pleasant moderation, and alwayes to learne of them that be best, and so shall you iudge as they that be wisest. And these be those reules, which worthie Master *Cheke* dyd impart vnto me concernyng Salust, and the right iudgement of the Latin tong.<

¶ Cæsar.

br> *Cæsar* for that litle of him, that is left vnto vs, is like the halfe face of a *Venus*, the other part of the head beyng hidden, the bodie and the rest of the members vnbegon, yet so excellentlie done by *Apelles*, as all men may stand still to mase and muse vpon it, and no man step forth with any hope to performe the like.

His seuen bookes *de bello Gallico*, and three *de bello Ciuili*, be written, so wiselie for the matter, so eloquentlie for the tong, that neither his greatest enemies could euer finde the least note of parcialitie in him (a meruelous wisdome of a man, namely writyng of his owne doynges) nor yet the best iudegers of the *Latin* tong, nor the most enuious lookers vpon other mens writynges, can say any other, but all things be most perfitelie done by him.

Brutus, *Caluus*, and *Calidius*, who found fault with *Tullies* fulnes in woordes and matter, and that rightlie, for *Tullie* did both, confesse it, and mend it, yet in *Cæsar*, they neither did, nor could finde the like, or any other fault.

And therfore thus iustlie I may conclude of *Cæsar*, that where, in all other, the best that euer wrote, in any tyme, or in any tong, in *Greke* or *Latin*, I except neither *Plato*, *Demosthenes*, nor *Tullie*, some fault is iustlie noted, in *Cæsar* onelie, could neuer yet fault be found.

Yet neuertheles, for all this perfite excellencie in him, yet it is but in one member of eloquence, and that but of one side neither, whan we must looke for that example to folow, which hath a perfite head, a whole bodie, forward and backward, armes and legges and all.

FINIS.

