On January 20, 1849, presented by Augustus Herronway.
Your little finger is the anatomically first, the tube about a human degree of the dilatation, like the anastomotic point of a canal or river in a land. Hence, as one might write, You are with one name in the world, Heloise, and in my Samael. The rest, live, forgive.
THE ESSAYES
Or
Morall, Politike and Millitarie Discourses
of
Lo: Michaell de Montaigne,
Knight

Of the noble Order of S" Michael, and one of the Gentlemen in Ordinary of the French king, Henry the third his Chamber.

The first Booke.

First written by him in French.

And

now done into English

By
By him that hath inviolably vowed his labors to the Aeternitie of their Honors, whose names he hath severally inscribed on these his consecrated Altars.

The first Booke.

To the Right Honorable
Lucie Co: of Bedford:
And
Ladie Anne Harrington
Her Ho: Mother.

The second Booke.

To the Right Honorable
Elizabeth Co: of Rutland,
And
Ladie Penelope Riche.

The third Booke.

To the Right Honorable
Ladie Elizabeth Grey,
And
Ladie Marie Nevill.

John Florio.

Printed at London by Val. Sims for Edward Blount dwelling in Paules churchyard. 1603.
TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE my best-best Benefactors, and most-most honored Ladies,

Lucie Countesse of Bedford;

and her best-most loved-loving Mother,

Ladie Anne Harrington.

Trange it may seeme to some, whose seeming is mis-seeming, in one worthless patronage to joyn two so severallie all-worthy Ladies. But to any in the right, it would be judged wrong, to disjoyne them in ought, who never were neerer in kinde, then ever in kinde:se: None dearer (dear Ladies) I have seen, and all may say, to your Honorable husbands then you, to you then your Honorable husbands, and then to other, then eyther is to th'other. So as were I to name but the one, I should surely intend the other: but intending this Dedication to two, I could not but name both. To my last Birth, which I held masculine, (as are all mens conceptions that are their owne, though but by their collecting, and this was to Montaigne like Bacchus, closed in, or loosed from his great Jupiter's thigh) I the indulgent father invited two right Honorable Godfathers, with the ONE of your Noble Lady-shippes to witnessse. So to this defective edition (since all translations are reputed finallies, delivered at second hand, and I in this serve but as Vulcan, to hatchet this Minerva from that Jupiter's bigge braine) I yet at least a fondling foster-father, having transported it from France to England, put it in English clothes; taught it to talk our tongue (though many times with a jerke of the French largou) would set it forth to the best service I might; and to better I might not, then You that deserve the best. Yet hath it this above your other servants: it may not onely serve you two, to repeat in true English what you reade in fine French, but many thousands more, to tell them in their owne, what they would be taught in an other language. How nobly it is descended, let the father in the ninth Chapter of his third booke by letters testimoniall of the Romane Senate and Citty beare record: How rightly it is his, and his beloved, let him by his discourse in the eight of his second, written to the Lady of Esthias (as if it were to you concerning your sweete heire, most motherly-affected Lady Harrington) and by his acknowledgement in this first to all Readers give evidence, first that it is de bonnefoy, then more than that, c'est moy: How worthily qualified, embellished, furnish'd it is, let his faire-spoken, and fine-witted Daughter by alliance paife her verdic, which shee neede not recant: Heere-hence to offer it into your service, let me for him but do and say, as he did for his other selfe, his peerlesse paire Steven de Bontie, in the 28. of this first, and thinke he speaks to you my
The Epistle.

praise-surmounting Countesse of Bedford, what hee there speaks to the Lady of Grammont Countesse of Guiflon: Since as his Maiyter-Poete faide,

—mutuo nomine, dete

Fabula narratur:——

Do you but change the name,

Of you is faide the fame:

So do hir attributes accord to your demerites, wherof to runne a long-breathed careere, both so faire and large a field might envite mee, and my in-burning spirits would encite mee, if I were not held-in by your sweete reining hand (who have e-ver hedle this desire, sooner to exceede what you are thought, then be thought what you are not) or should I not prejudice by premonstration your affured advantage. When your value shall come to the weighing: And yet what are you not that may excelle? What weight would you not elevate in truest ballance of best judgements: More to be followed by glorie, since you flyt it, which yet many good fellow: Moft to be praified, for refuling all praifes which yet will praffe on vertue, will she, nill she. In which matter of fame (and that exceeding good) wel may you (I doubt not) vfe the word, which my Author heere (I feare) vsurpeth:

—Virsque acquirimundo.

The further that he goeth,

The more in strengthe the groweth:

Since (as in the original) if of this vertue or glory, more of yours, his Arch-Poet might verifie.

Ingrediturque solus, & capus inter nubila condit:

She (great and good) on earth doth move,

Yet veiles hir head in heaven above:

But being by your limit-leffe moderation lockt in limits (who more desire, nothing may be said, than too much) though I can never say too much, as he of Carthage, so I of your praine-worthieesse, were beter to say nothing; then too little. For this in hand, (if it may be so honored to kiffe your Honors gracious hand) if any grace or good be either afforded to it, or deserved by it, all that by the father, foster-father, and all that are of kinne or kinde unto it, must be to your Honor, grace, and goodnesse imputed and ascribed. For (that I may discharge me of all this, and charge you with your owne, pardon Madame my plainenesse) when I with one Chapter found my myself over-charged, whereto the charge or chioie of an Honorable person, and by me not-to-be denied Benefactor (Noble and vertuous Sir Edward Wotton) had engaged me, (which I finisshed in your owne house) your Honor having dayned to read it, without pitty of my faiing, my faiing, my labouring, my languishing, my gasping for some breath (O could so Honorable, be so pitty-leffe: Madame, now doe I flatter you:) Yet commanèd me on: (and let me die outright, ere I do not that comman.) I say not you toke pleasure at shore (as those in this Author) to see me sea-rough, wether-beaten, shippe-wrackt, almost drowned. Nor say I like this mans Indian King, you checkt with a fower-sterne countenance the yervetefl complaint of your drooping, neere-dying subiect. Nor say I (as he alreadgeth out of others) like an ironically modest Virgin, you endure, you commanèd, yea delighted to see mee live for life, yea fall out of breath. Vnmercifull you were, but not so cruel. (Madame, now doe I flatter you:) Yet this I may and must say, like in this French-mans report, our third in name, but first and chiefe in fame, K. Edward, you would not succour your blacke, not sonne, but serveant, but bade him fight and conquer, or die: Like the Spartan imperious Mother, a shield indeed you gave mee, but with this Word. Aut cum hoc, aut
ant in hoc. I must needs say while this was in doing, to put and keepe mee in hart like a captivated Canniball fattend against my death, you often cryed Coraggio, and called ca ca, and applauded as I paffed, and if not set mee in, yet set mee on, even with a Syrens a tres loisible Vife. O Madame who then spake faire? As for mee, I onely fay, as this man embosied Hart out of hart, I wept, I wept, and I went on, till now I stand at bay: howsoever, I hope that may yet save me, which from others stranges others, I meane the coller you have put about my neck with your inscription, Nols me cedere, nam sun Diana. Yet nor can you denye, nor I dissemble, how at first I pleaded this Authors tedious difficultie, my felfe-knowne insufficiencie, and others more leisurefull abilitie. But no excuse would serve him, that muft serve without excuse. Little power had I to performe, but leffe to refuse what you impofde: for his length you gave time: for his hardneffe you advis'd help: my weakness you might bidde doe it's best: others strength you would not lecke for further. Yet did your honoured name tally to my succour the forces of two deare friends, both devoted to your service, both obliged to your vertues: The one Maifter Theodoro Diodati, as in name, so indede Gods-gift to me, my bonus genius, and sent me as the good Angel to Raymond in Taffo for my assistant to combat this great Argument: Who as he is happy in you, and in you, that like Aristotle to Alexander, he may in all good learning, and dooth with all industrious attention instruct, direct, adorn that noble, hopeful, and much promising spirit of your beloved brother and house-heire Maifter John Harrington: So was he to me in this inextricable laberineth like Ariadnae thread; in this rockie-rough Ocean, a guide-fish to the Whale; in these darke-vencouth waves, a cleare relucient light. Had not he beene, I had not bin able to wade through: and had not he dissolv'd these knots, none had, few could. The other (my onellie dearest and in love-sympathizing friend, Maifter Doctor Guinnee, of whom I may jutly fay what my Authour faieth of his second-felle Steven de la Boetie: for, he could not better pourtray him for him felle, then he hath lively delineated him for me) willing to doe me cafe, and as willing to doe your Honour service, as you know him a fcholler (and pitty is it the World knowes not his worth better, for as the Prince of Italian Poets faide of Valerius Corvinus, Non so,fe miglior Duce o Cavalliero, so may I truely fay of him. Non so, fe miglior Oratore o Poeta, o Philosopho (Medico) So Scholler-like did he undertake what Latine profè, Grecce, Latine, Italian or French Poefie should crosse my way (which as Bugge-beares affrighted my vnacquaintance with them) to ridde them all afore mee, and for the most part drawne them from their dennes: Wherein what in defatigable paines he hath vndergone, and how succeffefully overgome, I referre to your Honor, I remit to the learned, for, who but he could have quoted fo divers authors, and noted so severall places: So was hee to mee in this bundle of riddles an understanding oedipus, in this perilous-crookt paffage a monster-quelling Thesefus or Hercules: With these two supporters of knowledge and friendhip, if Iuyrtheld and armed have paft the pikes, the honor be all yours, since all by yours was done for your Honor. That all this is thus, the reply of that friend vpon my answer to your Ho: invitation in a fonet of the like, (but not fame) terminations may signifie and telle all the world. Then let none fay I flatter, when I forbeare not to tell all. Yet more I muft needs fay, if Poets be inspired by their muse, if glouders take corage by the eie or memory of their miftriss(es) (as both have made some long believe) having already faid, as Petrark to his miftris,

In questo stato fen Donnaper vui,  
By you, or for you, Madame thus am I.  
I now rather averre as the Lyricke to his Melpomene.
The Epistle Dedicatiorie.

Quod spiro, & placce, si placeo, tum est.
That I do breathe and please, if please I doe,
It is your grace, such grace proceed's from you.

For, besides your owne inexplicable bounty first-mover of my good, La quale
risogli me peregrino errante, e fra gli scogli e l'onde agitato, al furor di Fortuna, e benigna-
mente guidi in porto di salute e pace, Your noblest Earles beneficence,fore-running all
as farre in curtefye as pedigree, and bearing not onely in his heart or hand, but even
in aspect and due respect the native magnanimity of Bedford, and magnificent
francis-Nature of the R v s s e s , hath so kindly bedewed my earth when it was
sunburnt, so gently thawed it when it was frost-bound, as (were there anie good in me)
I were more fenceleffe then earth, if I returned not some fruitie in good measure.
This may be thought too much for no better a deferver than I am: Yet more
must I acknowledge joyned to this: for as to all, that profess any learning, & do you
(but small) steade therein, you and your husbands hand (most bounteous Ladie
Harrington) have beene so open, & your hospitable house, my retreat in storms,
my reliefe in neede, Yea your hearts ever enlarged: so for an instance, in doing
wel by me (the meanest) as if honorable father and mother with their noblest sonne
and daughter should contend in that onely praise-worthy emulation of wel doing,
you seemed even to strive, who should excel each other, who should best entertaine,
cherish and foster mee: And as if this river of benignitie did runne in a blood,
your worthie Sonne in-law, and vertuous Daughter Chichester with like-sweete li-
quor have supplied my drie ceterns. So as to the name and house of Bedford and
Harrington, without prophaneneffe, let me vow but one worde of the Pastorall,
I L L I V S A R A M,

and with that word myselfe

Your Honorable Ladifhips in

humble hartie service,

John Florio.
TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, Lucie Countesse of Bedford.

Eluent lustre of our English Dames,
In one comprising all most priz'd of all,
Whom Vertue hirs, and bounty hirs doth call,
Whose vertue honor, beauty love enflames,
Whose value wonder writes, silence proclaimes,
Though, as your owne, you know th'originall
Of this, whose grace must by translation fall;
Yet since this, as your owne, your Honor claims.
Yours be the honor, and if any good
Be done by it, we give all thanks and praise;
For it to you: but who enough can give?
Aye-honor'd be your Honorable Blood;
Rise may your Honor, which your merits raise;
Live may you long, your Honor you out-live.

Il Candido.
To the noble-minded Ladie,  
Anne Harrington.

If Mothers love exceeding others love,  
If Honours heart excelling all mens hearts,  
If bounties hand with all her beauteous parts,  
Poets, or Painters would to pourtray prove,  
Should they seeke earth below, or heav'n above,  
Home, Court or Countrie, forraine moulds or marts,  
For Master-point, or modell of their artes,  
For life, then here, they neede no further move:  
For Honour, Bountie, Love, when all is done,  
(Detraet they not) what should they adde, or faine,  
But onely write, Lady ANNE HARRINGTON.  
Her picture lost, would Nature second her,  
She could not, or she must make her againe.  
So vowes he, that himselfe doth hers averre.

Il Candido.
To the curteous Reader.

Half I apologize to translation! Why but some holde (as for their free-hold) that such conversion is the subversion of Universities. God holde with them, and with holde them from impiach or empiach. It were an ill turne, the turning of Books should be the overturning of Learning. Tea but my olde fellow No, no tolde me, and taught publikly, that from translation all Science had it's of-spring. Likely, since even Philosophy, Grammar, Rhetorike, Logike, Arithmetike, Geometrie, Astronomie, Musike, and all the Mathematices yet holde their name of the Greckes: and the Greckes drew their baptisming water from the conduit-pipes of the Egyptiante, and they from the wellsprings of the Hebrews or Chaldees. And can the wellsprings be so sweete and deepe, and will the well-drawne water be so fower and smail? And were their Countries so enmolded, advantaged, and embellished by such deriving, and doth it drive our noblest Colonies upon the rocks of ruine? And did they well, and prove it well? Why but Learning would not be made common. Tea but Learning cannot be too common, and the commoner the better. Why but who is not seale, his Mistress should be so profuite? Tea but this Mistress is like ayre, fire, water, the more breathed the clearer; the more extended the warmer, the more drawne the sweeter. It were humanitie to coope her up, and worthy forseture close to conceal her. Why but Schollers should have some privilege of preheminence. So have they: they only are worthy Translators. Why but the vulgar should not knowe all, No, they can not for all this: nor even Schollers for much more: I would, both could and knew much more than either doth or can. Why but all would not be knowne of all. No nor can: much more we know not that we know: all know something, none know all; would all know all? they must beaake ere they be so bigge. God only men farre from God. Why but pearsles should not bee call to binne: yet are rings put in their noes, and a sister should know his fire, and will know his meat and his medicine, and much besides, as any saine doth suppose it to be Marioram. Why, but it is not well Divinitie should be a cellode or olde wise, a cobbler, or clothiers tale or table-tale. There is use, and abuse: use none too much: abuse none too little. Why but let Learning be wrap't in a learned mantle. Tea but to be unvarp by a learned nurce: tea to be lap't up againe. Tea, and unlapt againe. Else, holde we ignorance the mother of devotion, praying and preaching in an unknowne tongue: as for a mother, as a seel daughter: a good mind perhaps, but surely an ill manner. If the beast bee meet for us, why should the best behard? Why but the beast wrote beast in a tongue more unknowne: Nay in a tongue more knowne to them that wrote, and not unknowne of them to whom they wrote. Why but more honour to him that speaks more learned. Tea such perhaps, as Quintillians Orator, a learned man I warrant him, for I understand him never a word. Why but let men write for the most honour of the Writer, Nay, for most profit of the Reader: and so haply, most honour. If to write obscurely be perplexedly offensive, as Augustus wellin'd: for our owne not to write in our owne but unintelligible, is haply to fewe and more critical, but surely without honor, without profit, if he go not, or send not an interpreter, whose what is he but a Translator? Observe be he that loves obseru'rites. And therefore willingly I take his worde, though willingly I doe mistaie it, Transflata proflig. Why but who ever did well in it? Nay, who did ever well without it? If nothing can be now sayd, but hath beene sayd before (as bee sayd weell) if there be new thing under the Sunne, What is that that hath beene? That that shall be: (as be sayd that was mistaie) What doe the best then, but gleane after others harvest? Borrow their colours, interwee their possessions? What doe they but translate? perhaps, usurpe? at least, collect?
To the Reader.

collect? if with acknowledgement, it is well; if by stealth, it is too bad: in this, our confidence is our accuser; pester sceptic our judge: in that our friends is our advocate, and you Readers our inquisitor. Why but whom can I name, that have a great name for it? Nay who great else, but either in part, as Plato and Aristotle out of many; Tullie, Plutarch, Pliny out of Plato, Aristotle and many; or of purpose, as all that since have made most know the Greeks, and almost the Latine, even translated their whole treatises? Why Cardan maintained, neither Homers were can be well express in Latine, nor Virgils in Greek, nor Peturachs in either. Suppose Homer took nothing out of any, for we hear of none good before him, and there must be a first; yet Homer by Virgil is often so translated as Scaliger conceives; there is the armour of Hercules most paffant put on the back of Bacchus most delicate: and Peturach, if well tracked, would be found in their footsteps, whose verie garbage least Poets are noted to have gathered. Why but that Scaliger thinks that Ficinus by his rhetorical simplicity translated Plato, as if an Owe should represent an Eagle, or some tara-rag Player should tell the princely Telephus with ayse, as rag'd as his clothes, a grace as bad as his voice. If the famous Ficinus were so faulty, who may hope to escape cost-free? But for him and us all let me confess, as be heere confessed; and let confession make halfe amends, that every language hath its Genius and inexpressible forms; without Pythagoras his Metempsychois it can not rightly be translated. The Tuscan aulogious, the Venus of the French, the shrews state of the Spanish, the strong significance of the Dutch cannot from beere be drawne to life. The senfe may keepe forms; the sentence is disguised, the fineness, fineness, feature diminished: as much as artes nature is sort of nature arte, a picture of a body, a shadow of a substance. Why then belike I have done by Montaigne, as Terence by Manander, made of good French no good English. If I have done no worse, and it be no worse taken, it is well. As he, if no Poet, yet am I no theafe, since I say of whom I badit, rather to imitate his and his authors negligence, then any backbiters observe diligence. His horse I set before you, perhaps without his trappings, and his meate without sauce. Indeede in this specially finde I fault with my maister, that as Caiusius and Antonio in Tullie, the one seemed to contemne, the other not to know the Grecians, whereas the one so spake Grecian as be seemed to know no other tongue; the other in his travelli to Athens and Rhodes had long conversed with the learned Grecians: So be, most writing of himself, and the worst rather then the best, disclaimeth all memorie, authorities, or borrowing of the ancient or modernes; whereas in course of his discourse he seemes acquainted not onely with all, but no other but authours, and could out of question like Cyrus or Caesar call any of his armie by his name and condition. And I would for we all be had in this whole body done as much, as in most of that of other languages my preedece in aulogious, and never sufficiently commended friend bath done for mine and your ease and intelligence. Why then againe, as Terence, I have had helpe. Help, and thankes for it, and thynke you neede not be displeaseth by themeth that may please you in a better matter. Why but Elysies are but mens school-themes pieced together you might as well say, several texts. All is in the choise & banding. Trauary but Montaigne, had he wit, it was but a French with ferridillent, legier, and extravagant. Now say you English writ by the flairest centurie of as learned a wit as is among you. The eminenet of that judicious worthy Counsellor (honorable Sir Edward Wotton) would not have embarkedit me to this discovery, had not his wifedome kneweth it worth my pains, and your perusing. And shoul'd or would any dog-tooth de Criticks, or adder-tongued Satyres scoff or sue fault, that in the course of his discourses, or webbe of his Elysies, or entitling of his chapters, he holdeth a dis- ingated, broken and gadding file; and that many times they answer not their tyles, and have no coherence together, to such I will say little, for they deserve but little; but if they list, else let them chuse, I send them to the ninth chapter of the third booke, folio 506, where himselfe preventeth their carping, and foreseeing their critisme answereth them for me at full. Yet are there herein errors. If of matter, the Authors, if of omission, the printers: him I would not amend, but send him to you as I found him: this I could not attend, but where I commaund faults, let me pray and entreat you for your owne fake to correct as you read it, amend as you list. But some errors are mine, and mine by more then translation. Are they in Grammar, or Ortiographie as easie for you to right, as me to be wrong; or in confronation, as mis-attributing him, her, or it, to things alive, or dead, or newer; you may some know my meaning, and othersones use your mending: or are they in some uncomly terms; as entraine, consciencious, endeare, earnish, comport, office, facultate, ammynge, debauching, regret, effort, emotion, and such like; if you like them not, take others most commonly set by them to expand them, since there they were set to make such likely French words familiar with our English, which well may beare them. If any be captall in sense mistaking, be I admonished,
To the Reader.

nasted, and they shall be recanted: howsever, the ful/ness of the French prints, the diversities of copies, editions and volumes (some whereof have more or lesse then others, and I in London having followed some, and in the countie others, now those in folio, now those in octavo, yet in this last survey reconciled all; therefore or blame not rashly, or condemne not fondly the multitude of them set for your further ease in a Table (at the end of the booke) which ere you beginne to reade, I entreate you to peruse: this Printers wanting a diligent Corre/ctor, my many employments, and the distance betweene me and my friends I should conferre-with, may extenuate, if not excuse, even more errors. In summe, if any think he could do better, let him trie; they will be better thinkes of what is done. Seven or eight of great wit and worth have aysayed, but found these Essayes no attempt for French apprentices or Littletonians. If this doone it may please you, as I wish it may, and I hope it shalI, I wish you shall be pleased: though not, yet still I am.

the same resolute

John Florio.
The Author to the Reader.

Reader, loe here a well-meaning Booke. It doeth at the first entrance fore-warme thee, that in contriving the fame, I have proposed vnto my selue no other then a familiar and private end: I have had no respect or consideration at all, either to thy service, or to my glory: my forces are not capable of any such deffeigne. I have vowed the fame to the particular commoditie of my kinsfolkes and friends: to the end, that looking me (which they are likely to doe ere long) they may therein finde some lineaments of my conditions and humours, and by that meanes repreve more whole, and more lively foster the knowledge and acquaintance they have had of me. Had my intention beeene to fore-stall and purchase the worlds opinion and favour, I would surely have adorne my selue more quaintly, or kept a more grave and solemne march. I desire therein to be delineated in mine owne genuine, simple and ordinary fashion, without contention, arte or studies; for it is my selue I portray. My imperfections shall therein be read to the life, and my natural forme discerned, so farreforth as publicke reverence hath permitted me. For, if my fortune had beene to have lived among those nations, which yet are said to live vnder the sweete libertie of Natures first and vncorrupted lawes, I assure thee, I would most willingly have portrayed my selue fully and naked. Thus gentle Reader my selue am the ground-worke of my booke: It is then no reason thou shouldest employ thy time about so frivolous and vaine a subject. Therefore farewell. From Montaigne, the first of March. 1580.
Al mio amato fratelliere Mr. Giovanni Florio.

Lorio, che sai? Hai così ardito al Monti?
Al monte più soffeso che Parma,
Ardente più che Mongibello? Ahilasso:
Plinio qui muore prima, che qui monte.
Se' Pegaso non hai, che cavall'fonte,
Ritirati dal periglioso passo.
L'hai fatto pur, andand' or alt' or basso:
Ti sò ben dir', tu sei Bellerophonte.
Tre corpi di Chimera di Montagnana
Hai rapinato, fusso, rinversato.
Del' honorat imprès anchor mi gloria.
Premiar' ti potess' io d'or' di Spagna,
Di qui che Bianco-scor' farnesi ornato.
Ma del' honor' si basti, che sei Florio.

Il Candido.
### The Table.

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HE most usual waie to appease those minde wee have offended, when revenge lies in their handes, and that we stand at their mercy, is, by fulmiflion to move them to commiseration and pittie: Nevertheless, courage, confiance, and resolution (meanes altogether oppofite) have fometimes wrought the fame effect. Edward the blacke Prince of Wales (who fo long governed our Countrie of Guienne, a man whose conditions & fortune were accompanied with many notable parts of worth and magnanimity) having bin grievously offended by the Lusogians, though he by maine force tooke and entred their Cittie, could by no meanes be appeased, nor by the waifefull out-cries of all forts of people (as of men, women, and children) be moved to any pittie, they proftating themselves to the common slaughter, crying for mercie, and humbly submitting themselves at his feete, vntill fuch time as in triumphant manner paffing through their Cittie, hee perceived three French Gentlemen, who alone, with an incredible and undaunted boldnes gained foone the enraged violence, and made head againft the furie of his victorious army. The confercation and refpeft of fo notable a vertue, did fift abate the dinte of his wrath, and from thofe three began he to relent, and fhew mercie to all the other inhabitants of the faiid towne. Scanderbeg, Prince of Epirus, following one of his fouldiers, with purpofe to kill him, who by all meanes of humilitie, and fubmifie entreatie, had firt aflayed to pacifie him, in fuch an infallable extremity, refolved at last, refolutely to encounter him with his fword in his hand. This refolution did immediately flay his Captaines furie, who feeing him undertake fo honourable an attempt, not onely forgave, but received him into grace and favour. This example may happily, of fuch as have not knowne the prodigious force, and matchleffe valor of the faiid Prince, admit another interpretation. The Emperor Conradas, third of that name; having besieged Guelphe, Duke of Bavaria, what towns or base fatisfaction ever was offerd him, would yeeld to no other milder conditions, but onely touffer fuch Gentlewomen as were with the Duke in the Cittie (their honors safe) to ilufe the towne afoote, with fuch things as they could carry about them. They with an unrelening courage, advised and refoled themselves (neglecting all other riches or jewels) to carry their husbands, their children, and the Duke himfelfe, on their backes: The Emperor perceiving the quaintnes of their devife, tooke fo great pleaure at it, that he wept for joy, and forwifh converted that former inexorable rage, and mortall hatred he bare the Duke; into fo mild a unrelening and gentle kindnes, that thence forwad he entreated both him and his, with all favour and courtefie; Either of these wayes
ways might easily persuade me: for I am much inclined to mercy, and affected to mildness. So it is, that in mine opinion, I should more naturally stoop unto compassion, than bend to exultation. Yet is piety held a violent passion among the Stoics. They would have us admire the afflicted, but not to faint, and suffer with them. These examples seem fitted for mee, forasmuch as these minde are scene to be assaullt and environed by these two meanes, in vnauntedly suffering the one, and flopping vnder the other. It may peradventure be sade, that to yeeld ones heart vnto contumination, is an effect of multitude, tenderness, and meekness: whence it proceedeth, that the weakest nature, as of women, children, and the vulgar fate are more subject vnto it. But (having contemned tears and wailings) to yeeld vnto the only reverence of the sacred Image of vertue, is the effect of a courageous and inexorable minde, holding a Masculine and constant vigor, in honour and affection. Notwithstanding amazement and admiration may in leffe generous minde worke the like effect. Witness the Thesabes, who having accused & indicted their captains, as of capitall crime, forsomuch as they had continued their charge, beyond the time prescribed them, did with one voice condemn Pelopides, because he submissively yeelded vnder the burthen of such objections, and to save himselfe, employed no other meanes, but fo long-lingering, and demife entrences; where on the contrary, Epaminondas, boldly relating the exploits achiev'd by him, and with a fierce and arrogant manner, vpbraiding the people with them, had not the heart so much as to take their lots into his hands, but went his way, and was freely absolv'd: the assembly much commending the floutness of his courage. Dionysius the elder, after long-lingering and extreme difficulties, having taken the Cittie of Reggio, and in it the Captaine Phyth (a very honest man) who had so obstinately defended the same, would needs have a tragical example of revenge. First, he told him, how the day before, he had caus'd his sonne, and all his kinsfolkes to be drowned. To whom Phyth, stoutly out-facing him answered nothing, but that they were more happy then himselfe, by the space of one day. Afterward he caus'd him to be stripp'd, and by his executioners to be taken and dragged through the Cittie, most ignominiously, and cruelly, whipping him, charging him besides, with outrageous and contumelious speeches. All which notwithstanding, as one no whit difmaide, he everthrew a cantant and resolute heart. And with a cheerful and bold countenance went on still, lowly recounting the honourable and glorious cause of his death, which was, that he would not consent to yeeld his Country into the handes of a cruel tyrant, menacing him with an imminent punishment of the Gods. Dionysius plainly reading in his Souldiers lookes, that in law of animating them with bravmg his conquered enemy, they in contempt of him, and scorn of his triumph, seemed by the affrontishment of so rare a vertue, to be mov'd with compassion, and enclin'd to mutiny, yea, and to free Phyth from out the hands of his Satellites, caus'd his torture to cease, and secretly sent him to be drown'd in the Sea. Surely, man is a wonderfull, vaile, diverse, and wavering subject: it is very hard to ground any directly-confant and uniforme judgement vpon him. Behold Pompey, who freely pardong all the Cittie of the Marmatins, against which hee was grievously enraged, for the love of the magnanimity, and consideration of the exceeding vertue of Zeno, one of their fellow-citizens, who tooke the public fault vnto himselfe, and defir'd no other favor, but alone to bear the punishment thereof; whereas Silace hoaste having yfed the like vertue in the Cittie of Berina, obtained nothing, neither for himselfe, nor for others. And direcly against my first example, the hardiest amongst them, and so gracious to the vanquished, Alexander the great, after many strange difficulties, forcing the Cittie of Gaza, encountered by chance with Betis, that command'd therein, of whose valour (during the siege) he had heard wouderfull and strange exploits; being then alone, forsaken all his followers, his armes all-broken, all-befmeared with blood and wounds, fighting amongst a number of Macedonians, who bell-mell layde still vpon him; provoked by fo deere a victorie (for among other mishappes hee had newly received two hurtes in his body) faide thus vnto him; Betis, thou shalt die as thou would'st: for make account thou must endure "all the tormentes, may possibly bee devi'ded or influded vpon a citizen wretch, as thou art.

But he, for all his enemies threatres; without speaking one word, returned onely an affured, serene, and disdainful countenance vpon him; which silent oblation Alexander noting
noting, saide thus vnto him selfe: What? would hee not bend his knee; could hee not uter one sappliant voyce? I will assuredly vanquish his silence, and if I can not wrest a word from him, I will at least make him to obbe or grone. And converting his anger into rage, comman-
ded his heele to bee through-pierced, and soall alive with a corde through them, to be torne, mangled, and dismembered at a carts-taile. May it be, the force of his courage, was so natural and peculiar vnto him, that because he would no whit admire him, he res-
pected him the leffe: or deemed he it proper vnto him selfe, that in this height, he could not without the spite of an envious passion, endure to see it in another? or was the natural
violence of his rage incapable of any opposition? surely, had it received any restraint, it may
be supposed, that in the rackacking and defolation of the cutte of Thebes, it should have felt
the same; in seeing so many Worthies loft, and valiant men put to the sword, as having no
means of publike defence; for above fixe thousand were slaine and maffacred, of which
not one was scene, either to runne away, or beg for grace. But on the contrary, some here
and there seeking to affront, and endeavoursing to choake their victorios enemies, vsrning
and provoking them to force them die an honourable death. Not one was scene to yelde,
and that to his last gasp did not attempt to revenge him selfe, and with all weapons of dis-
paire, with the death of some enemies, comfort and sweeten his owne miserie. Yet could not
the affliction of their vertue find any ruth or pitie, nor might one day suffice to glut or af-
fwage his revengefull wrath. This butcherous slaughter continued vnto the last drop of any
remaining blood; where none were spared but the unarmed and naked, the aged and impo-
tent, the women and children: that so from amongst them, they might get thirtie thousand
flaves.

The second Chapter.

Of Sadnesse or Sorrowe.

No man is more free from this passion than I, for I neither love nor regard it: albeit
the world hath vndertaken, as it were upon covenant, to grace it with a particular fa-
vour. Therewith they adorn age, vertue, and conscience. Oh foolish and base orna-
ment. The Italians have more properly with it’s name entided malignitie: for, it is a qual-
tie ever hursfull, ever fortithand as ever base and coward, the Stoikes inhibit their Elders
and Sages to be therewith tainted, or have any feeling of it. But the Storie saith, that
Pharnaciaus king of Egypt, having bin defeated and taken by Cambises king of Persia, see-
ing his owne daughter passe before him in base and vilest manner, beeing fent to drawe wa-
ter from a well, his friends weeping & wailing about him (he with his eies fixt on the ground,
could not be moved to uter one word) and shortly after beholding his fonne led to execu-
tion, held still the fame vndaunted countenance: but perceiving a familiar friend of his
hale amongst the captives, he beganne to beate his hands, and burst forth into extreme
sorrow. This might well be compared to that which one of our Princes was lately scene to
doe, who being at Trent, and receiving newes of his elder brothers death, but such a bro-
ther as on him lay all the burthen and honour of his house; and shortly after tidings of his
younger brothers decease, who was his second hope, and having with an unmatched coun-
tenance and exemplar constance endured these two affronts; it forntuned not long after, that
one of his servants dying, he by this latter accident suffred him selfe to be so far trans-
ported, that quitting and forgetting his former resolution, hee so abandoned him selfe to
all manner of sorrow and griefe, that some argued, only this last mischance had toucht him
to the quicke: but verily the reason was, that being otherwise full, and over-plunged in sor-
rrowe, the last furcharge brake the bounds and barres of patience. The like might (I say)
be judged of our storie, were it not it followeth, that Cambises inquiring of Pharnaciaus,
why he was nothing distempered at the misfortune of his sonne & daughter, he did so im-
patiently beare the disastre of his friend: It is, answered he, Because this last displeasure may
be manifested by weeping, whereas the two former exceede by much, all meanees and compasse
to be expressed by teares. The invention of that antient Painter might happily fitte this
purpose, who in the sacrifice of Iphigenia, being to represent the griefe of the by-stan-
ders,
ders, according to the quality & interest each one bare for the death of so faire, so yong and innocent a Lady, having ranfackled the utmost skill and effects of his arte, when he came to the Virgins father, as if no countenance were able to represent that degree of sorrow, he drew him with a vail over his face. And that is the reason why our Poets faire miserable Niobe, who suffered having lost seven sones, and immediately as many daughters, as one outer-burthened with their losse, to have beene transformed into a stone;

And grew as hard as stone,
By miserie and moane.

Thereby to expresse this mournfull silent stupiditie, which doth pierce vs, when accidents surpaassing our strength overwhelm us. Verily the violence of a griefe, being extreame, must needs affronte the mind, & hinder the liberty of his actions. As it hapnheth at the sodore alarum of some bad tidings, when wee shall feele our selves surprised, benumbered, and as it were depraved of all motion, so that the soule bursting afterward forth into teares and complaints, seemeth at more ease and libertie, to loose, to cleare and dilate it selfe.

Et viae vix tandem, voces laxata dolore est,
And scarce at laff for speach,
By griefe was made a breach.

In the warses which king Ferdinando made against the widow of John king of Hungarie, about Buda, a man at armes was particularly noted of all men, for so much as in a certaine skirmish he had shewed exceeding proweffle of his body, and though vnknowne, being flame, was highly commendede and much bemoaned of all: but yet of none so greatly as of a German Lord, called Kaifeke, as he that was amazed at so rare vertue: his body being recovered and had off, this Lord, led by a common curiositie, drew neere vnto it, to see who it might be, and having caused him to be disarmed, perceived him to be his owne sone, which unknowne, did greatly augment the compassion of all the camp: he only without framing word, or closing his eyes, but earnestly viewing the dead body of his sone, stood up right, till the vehemencee of his sad sorrow, having suppresed and chossed his vitall spirits, fed him stark dead to the ground.

Chi puo dir con ogni arde in picciole fuoco,
He that can say how he doth frie,
In peticte gentle flames doth lie,
Saying those Lovers that would lively represent an intollerable passion.

Misero quod amnes

Eripit senis misis, Nnma flmal te
Lesbia aplexi, mihi e ipser mii
Quad loquer amens.

Lingua fed torpet, tennis sub armus
Flamma dimanat, sonitu supe
Tumiam aurum, gemina teguntur,
Lumina nole.

— miserably from me,

This bereaves all fence: for I can no sooner
Eie thee my sweete heart, but I wot not one word
to speake amazed.

Tongue-tide as in a trance, while a sprightly thin flame
Flowes in all my joynts, with a selfe-refounding
Both my cares tingle, with a night redoubled
Both mine eies are veld.

Nor is it in the liveliest, and most ardent heat of the fit, that we are able to display our plaints and perswasions, the soule being then aggrandized with heave thoughts, and the body suppresed and languishing for love. And thence is sometimes engendered that casual faintnes, which so vunreasonably surpriseth passionate Lovers, and that childeffe, which by the power of an extreme heat doth seize on them in the verie midst of their joy and enjoying. All passions that may be tasted and digested, are but meane and flight.
The first Booke.

Cura leses logumatur, ingentes stipent.

Light cares can freely speake,

Great cares heart rather breake.

The surpize of an vnepected pleasure aboyneth vs alike,

Ut me conspect venientem, & Traia circum

Arma amens visid, magnus externita monstru,

Diriguit visus in medio, calor ossa relinquit,

Labitur, & longo vix tandem tempore sustur.

When the beheld me come, and round about

Senliffe save Troian armes, the flood atraide

Stone-fill at so strange sights: life-heat flew out:

She faints: as left, with long paufe thus the fade.

Besides the Romane Ladie, that died for joy to see her fonne returne alivye from the bat
tel of Camilla, Sophoetes and Dionysius the Tyrant, who deceased through outer gladnes: and

Talus, who died in Corsica, reading the newes of the honours the Roman Senate had con
ferred vpon him: It is reported that in our age,Pope Leo the tenth, having received adver
tisement of the taking of the citty of Milane, which he had so exceedingly desired, entred
into such excesse of joy, that he fell into an ague, whereof he shortly died. And for a more
authentically testimonie of humane imbecillitie, it is noted by our Antients, that Diodorus
the Logitian, being surprized with an untrue passion or apprehension of shame, fell
downe flarke dead, because neither in his Schoole, nor in publique, he had been able to re
solve an argument propounded vnto him. I am little subject to these violent passions. I
have naturally a hard apprehension, which by discourse I daily harden more and more.

The third Chapter.

Our affections are transported beyond our selves.

Those which thin accuse men for ever gazing after future things, and go about to teach
vs, to take hold of present fortunes, and settle our selves vpon them, as having no hold
of that which is to come; yea much lesse then we have of that which is already past, touch
and are ever harping vpon the commonest humane error, if they dare call that an error, to
which Nature hir selfe, for the service of the continuation of her worke, doth address vs, im
printing (as it doth many others) this false imagination in vs, as more jealous of our actions,
then of our knowledge. We are never in our selves, but beyond. Fear, desire, and hope, draw vs ever towards that which is to come, and remove our fence and consideration from
that which is, to ammufe vs on that which shall be, yea when we shall be no more. Calamity:
fus est animus futuri anxius. A minde in suspense, what is to come, is in a pitifull case.

This notable example or precept is often allledged in Plato. Follow thy businesse, and
knowe thy selfe; Each of these two members, doth generally imply all our duty, and likewise
enfolds his companion. He that should do his businesse, might percieve that his first lefson
is, to knowe what he is, and what is convenient for him. And he that knoweth himselfe,
takes no more another matters for his owne, but above all other things, lovethe and corre
cteth himselfe, rejecteth superfluous occupations, idle imaginations, and vnproufite propo
sitions. As if you grant folleie what it defireth, it will no-withe be satisfied; so is wisdome
content with that which is present, and never displeased with it selfe. Epicurus doth dispence
his age from the foresight and care of what shall inuie. Amongst the lawes that regard the
deceased, that which ties the actions of Princes to be examined when they are dead, seems
to me very soleide. They are companions, if not masters of the lawes: That which justice
could not work on their heads, it is reason it effect vpon their reputation, and goods of their
successors: things wee many times preferre before our lives. It is a custome brings many
singular commodities vnto nations that obserue it, and to be desired of all good Princes:
who have cause to complaine that the memorie of the wicked is vnde as theirs. Wee owe a

B 3
like obedience and subjection to all Kings; for it respects their office: but flillation and affect
ion, we owe it only to their vertue. If they be unworthy, we are to endure them patiently, to
conceal their vices, & to aid their indifferent actions with our commendations, as long as their
authority hath need of our assistance, and that ought to be affcribed unto politic
order. But our commerce with them being ended, there is no reason we should refuse the
unfolding of our felt wrongs vnto justice and our libertie. And specially to refuse good sub-
jects, the glory to have reverently and faithfully served a maister, whose imperfections were
so well knowne vnto them; exempting poffertie from fo profitable an example. And such
as for the respect of some private benefit or interest do wickedly imbrace the memore of
an unworthy Prince, doe particular justice at the charge of publike justice. Titus Livius
speaketh truly, where he faith, that the speech of men brought vp vnder a royaltie is ever
full of vaine oftentations, and falfc witnefles; every man indifferently extolling the king,
to the furthest straine of valour and Soveraigne greatnes. The magnanimity of those two
Souldiers, may be reproved, one of which being demanded of Nero, why he hated him,
answered him to his teeth; I loved thee whilst thou waft worthie of love, but since thou be
ecomeft a partieke, a fire-brand, a jugler, a player, and a Coach-man, I hate thee, as thou
deferved. The other being asked, wherefore he fought to kill himanswered, Because I find
no other course to hinder thy vncertaintie outrages and impious deeds. But can any man,
that hath his fences about him, justly reprooe the publike and generall testimonies, that
since his death, have bin given, and so shall be fo ever, both against him and all such like re-
probates, of his tyrannical and wicked demanors? I am fone that in fo fainted a policie as the
Lacedemonian was, fo fained and fond a ceremonie at the death of their kings was ever
devised and brought in vfe. All their confederates and neighbours, all the flave-slaves, men
and women poll-mell, for a testimonie of their griefe and sorrow did mangle and gaff their
foreheads; and in their out-cries, and lamentations, exclaimed, that their deceased king,
howsoever he had lived, was and had bin the beft Prince that ever they had, afcribing in or-
der the commendations due vnto defter, and to the laft and latter rancke, what belongs vn
to the firft merite. Aristotel that hath an oare in every water, and medleth with all things,
makes a question, about Selenos speech, who faith, that no man can truly be counted happy
before his death, Whether he that lived and died according to his wish may be named hap
py, Whether his renowne be good or ill, and whether his poffertie be miserable or no. Whilst
we flire and remove, we transport our selves by preoccupation wheroever we lift:
But no sooner are we out of being, but we have no communication at all with that which
is. And it were better to tell Selenos, that never man is happy then, since he never is fo, but
when he is no more.

Bertrand of Glefsquin, died at the siege of the castle of Rencom, neere vnto Puy in Auvergne:
the besieged yeelding afterward, were forced to carry the keyes of the Castles, vpon the de
cased body of the Captaine. Bartholomew of Alvian, General of the Venetian forces dy-
ing in their service and wars about Brefcia, and his body being to be transported to Venice,
through the territotie of Verona, which then was enemy vnto them, the greatest part of the
armie thought it expedient to demand a safeconduct for their paffage of those of Verona,
to which Theodor Tribulius stoutly opposed himselfe, and chose rather to passe it by maine
force, and to hazard the day, saying it was not convenient, that he who in his life-time had
never apprehended fear of his enemies should now being dead, seeme to fear them. Ven
rily in like matters, by the lawes of Greece, hee that required a dead bodie of his enemies,
with intent to burie the fame, renounced the victory, and might no more erect any trophie
of it: and he who was so required, purchased the title of honour and gaine. So did Nicias
loose
loose the advantage he had clearly gained of the Corinthians, and contrariwise, the Romans, assured that, he doubtedly had gotten of the Boeotians. These actions might bee deemed strange, if in all ages it were not a common-received opinion, not only to extend the care of our selves, beyond this life, but also to believe, that heavenly favours do often accompany vs unto our grave, and continue in our posterity. Whereof there are so many examples (leaving our moderne part) that I neede not write faire into it.

Edward the first, king of England, in the long wars he had with Robert King of Scotland, having by trial found how greatly his presence advantaged the successe of his affaires, and how he was ever victorious in any enterprise he undertook in his owne person; when he died, bound his sonne by solemn oath, that being dead he should cause his body to be boiled, until the flesh fell from the bones, which he should cause to be entered, and carefully keeping the bones, ever care them about him, whenever he should happen to have wars with the Scots: As if deftine had fatally annexed the victory unto his limmes. John Zifca, who for the defence of Wicksiff opinions so much troubled the state of Bohemia, commanded that after his death his body should be seal, and a drum made of his skin, to be carried and founded in all the wars against his enemies, deeming the sound of it would be a means to continue the advantages, which in his former wars he had obtained of them. Certaine Indians did like wise carry the bones of one of their Captaines in the skirmishes they had with the Spaniards, in regard of the good successe (whilst he lived) hee had against them: And other nations of that new-found world, do likewise carry the bodies of such woorthy and fortunate men with them, as have died in their battles, to serve them in stead of good fortune and encouragement. The first examples serve nothing else in their tombs, but the reputation acquired by their former achievements; but these will also adjoyne vs to the power of working. The act of Captaine Bayard is of better composition, who perceiving himselfe deadly wounded by a shot received in his body, being by his men persuaded to come off and retire himselfe from out the throng, answered, he would not now so neere his end, beginne to turne his face from his enemies: and having slowly fought so long as he could stand, feeling himselfe to faint and stagger from his horse, commanded his steward to lay him against a tree, but in such sort, that he might die with his face toward the enemies, as indeed he did. I may not omit this other example, as remarkeable for this consideration, as any of the precedent: The Emperor Maximilian, great grand-father to Phillip, now King of Spain, was a Prince highly endowed with many notable qualities, and amongst others with a wel-nigh matchless beauty and comelines of body; but with other customes of his, hee had this one much contrarie to other Princes, who to dispacth their weightiest affaires make often their close flooste, their regale Throne or Counsell-chamber, which was, that he would never permit any groome of his chamber (were he never so neere about him) to see him in his inner chamber, if he had occasion but to make water, void as nicely and as religiously withdraw himselfe as any maiden, and never suffer so much as a Phisition, much leffe any other whatsoever, to see those privie partes that all in modestie feke to keepe secret and vnscene. My selfe, that am so bROADE-mouthed and lavish in speaches, am notwithstanding naturally touched with that bashfulnesse. And vnleste it be by the motion of necessitie or of voluptuousnesse, I never willingly emparted those actions and partes (which custome willeth to be concealed) to the view of any creature. I endure more compulsion, then I deeme befitting a man, especilly of my profession. But he grew to such superfition, that by expressse words in his last will and testament, he commanded, that being dead, he should have linen-flops put about them. He should by Cedicile have annexed unto it, that he who should put them on, might have his eies hood-wincket. The instruction which Cyrus giveth his children, that neither they nor any other should either see or touch his body, after the breath were once out of it. I describ it vnse of motive of devotion in him. For both his historian and himselfe, amongst many other notable qualities they are endued with, have throughout all the course of their life, seemed to have a singular respect and awefull reverence vnto religion. That story displeased me very much, which a noble man told me of a kinsman of mine (a man very famous & well knowne both in peace and warre) which is, that dying verie aged in his court, being much tormented with extreme pangs of the stone, hee with an earnest and vnwearted care, employed all his last hours, to dispose the honor and ceremonie of his funerall, and summoned all the noble
that came to visit him to give him affured promise to be as assistants, and to convey him to his last resting place. To the very same Prince, who was with him at his last gape, he made

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verie earnest haste, he would command all his household to wait upon him at his interment, enforcing many reasons, and alluding divers examples, to prove that it was a thing verie convenient, and sitting a man of his qualitie; which affured promise when he had obtained, and had at his pleasure marshalled the order how they should march, he seemed quietely and contentedly to yield vp the ghost. I have feldome seene a vanitie continue so long. This oth-

\[ \text{verbatim} \]

er curiousitie meere opposite vnto it (which to prove I need not labor for home-examples) seeneth in my opinion cosin-gerrman to this: that is, when one is ever ready to breathe his last, carefully and passionately to endeavor, how to reduce the convoy of his obsequies vnto some particular & vnwonted paramonie, to one fervant and to one lanterne: I heare the hum-

\[ \text{verbatim} \]

or and appointment of Marcus Amilius Lepidus commended, who expresely forbade his heirs to vfe those ceremonies about his interment, which in such cases were formerly accustomed: Is it temperance and frugilitie, to avoide the charge and voluptuousnes, the vfe and knowledge of which is imperceptible vnto vs? Lo here an easie reformation and of small cost. Were it requisite to appoint any, I would be of opinion, that as well in that, as in all other actions of mans life, every man should referre the rule of it to the qualitie of his fortune. And the Philosopher Lycon did wisely appoint his friends to place his body, where they should thinke it fittest and for the best: and for his obsequies, they should neither be superfluous and over-costly, nor base and sparing. For my parte, I would wholly relieve on custome, which should dispose this ceremony, and would yeeld my felfe to the discretion of the first or next, into whose hands I might chance to fall. Tota hic locus est contemnedus in nobis, non negligendus in nostris. All this matter should be despised of vs, but not neglected of ours. And religiously said a holy man: (Curatio funeris, condicio sepulture, pompa exequiarum, magis funerium, solatia, quam subsidia mortuorum. The procuration of funeralles, the manner of burial, the pomp of obsequies, are rather comfortes to the living, than helps to the dead. Therefore Socrates anwered Criton, who at the houre of his death, asked him, how he would be buried: Even as you please, faide he: were I to meddle further with this subiect, I would deeme it more gallant, to imitate those who yet living and breathing, vndertake to enjoy the order and honour of their sepulchres, and that pleafe themselves to beholde their dead countenance in Marble. Happy they that can rejoice and gratifie their fenses with infensibilitie, and live by their death! A little thing would make me conceive an inexplicable hatred against all popular domination; although it seeme most natural and just vnto me: when I call to minde that inhuman injustice of the Athenians, who without further trial or remiliffion, yea without suffering them so much as to reply or answere for themselves, condemned thofe noble and worthy captains, that returned victoriously from the sea-battle, which they (neece the Iles Argiuenes) had gained of the Lacademianists the most contended, bloodie, and greatest fight the Gracians ever obtained by sea with their owne forces: foromuch as after the victorie, they had rather followed those occasions, which the lawe of warre presentt vnto them, for their availe, then to their prejudice faide to gather and burie their dead men. And the succours of Diomedon makes their ruthless execution more hateful, who beeing a man of notable and exemplar vertue, both militarie and politike, and of them so cruelly condemned; after he had heard the bloody sentence, advancing himselfe forward to speake, having fit opportunitie and plaeful audience he, I say, instead of excusing himselfe, or endeavouring to justify his cause, or to excupeate the evident iniquitie of so cruell a doome, expressed but a care of the Judges preservation, earnestly beseeching the Gods to turne that judgement to their good, praying that for want of not satisfying the vows, which he and his companions had vowed in acknowledge-

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ment and thanksgiving for so famous a victorie, and honourable fortune, they might not drawe the wrath and revenge of the Gods upon them, declaring what their vows were. And without more words, or urging further reasons, courageously addressed himselfe to his execution. For Chabrias, Captaine Generall of their fleete, having afterward obtained a famous victorie of Polias, Admiral of Sparta, in the ile of Naue, lost absolutely the benefit of it, and only contented with the day (a matter of great consequence for their affaires) fearing to incur the mischief of this example, and to have a few dead careasses of his friends, that floated vp and dowe the sea, gave leasure to an infinite number of his
The first Booke.

living enemies, whom he might easily have surprized, to saile away in saile, who afterward made them to purchase their importunate superstition, at a deere-deere rate.

_Queris, quo iactas, post obiitum, iaco?_
_Quo non nata iacent._

Where shall you lie when you are dead?
Where they lie that were never bred.

This other restores the fence of reff unto a bodie without a soule.

_Neque sepulchrum, quo receptas, habent portum corporum._
_Vbi, remissa humana vita, corpus requiescat a malis._

To turne in, as a hav'n, have he no grave,
Where life left, from all griece he reft may have.

Even as Nature makes vs to fee, that many dead things have yet certaine secret relations vnto life. Wine dooth alter and change in fellers, according to the changes and alterations of the season of its vineyard. And the flesh of wilde beastes and venison doeth change qualitie and taffe in the powdering-tubbes, according to the nature of living flesh, as some say that have observed it.

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The fourth Chapter.

_How the soule dischargeth her passions upon false objectts, when the true saile it._

A Gentleman of ours exceedingly subject to the gowt, being instantly sollicitated by his Phisitions, to leave all manner of false-meates, was wont to answere pleasanfly, that when the fittes or pangs of the decease tooke him, hee would have some body to quarrel with; and that crying and cursing, now against Botanie-fausege, and sometimnes by railing against false meates-tongues, and gammons of bakon, he found some ease. But in good earneft, even as the arme being lifted vp to strike, if the stroke hit not, but fall voide, we fee some paine in it, and many times strike it out of joynt; and that to yeald our sight pleasaunt, it must not bee lost and dispierced in the vaste ayre, but ought rather to have a limited bound to sustaine it by a reasonable distance.

_Devatus ut amittit vires, nisi robore densa,
Occurrunt sina statio diffusa inani._

As windes in empiet ayre diffusae, strength lose,
Vnlefe thick old-grown woodes their strength opposte.

So seezest it that the soule moved and tossed, if the have not some holde to take, loofeth it selfe in it selfe, and must ever be stored with some objectt, on which it may light and work. _Pimarkes_ faeth fisly of those who affhectionate themselves to Monkies and little Dogges, that the looking parte which is in vs, for want of alawfull holde, rather then it will be idle, doth forge a false and fruolous holde vnto it selfe. And wee see that the soule in her passions doth rather deceive it selfe, by framing a false and fantastical subject vnto it selfe, yea against her owne conceite, then not to worke vpon something. So doth their owne rage transport beastes, to set vpon the stone or weapon that hath hurt them; yea and sometimnes with irefull teeth to revenge themselves against themselves, for the hurt or smart they fee.

_Pamoniis baud alter pest iictum saltior orsa_
_Cui aculum para Lybis amentum babena,
Serratam in vulmus, telique irata receptum._

Iaipetis, & secum fugientem circuit hastam,
Even fo the wound enraged Austrian beare,
On whom a Moore hath thirld his flanged speare,
Wheels on her wound, and raging bites the darte,
Circling that flies with her, and can not parte.
What causes doe we invent, for the crosseis that happen vnto vs? bee it right, or wrong:what take we not holde of, to have something to thrive withal? It is not the golden locks thou tearesf, nor the whitenesse of the breast, which thou through vexation so cruelly doest assume, that have by means of an vnluckie bullet, loft thy deere-beloved brother, on something else shouldst thou wreake thy selfe. Linius speaking of the Romane army in Spain, after the losse of two great Captaines that were brethren. flere omnes repetere, & offensare capita: They always repeate, and often beat their heads. It is an ordinarie c度ome: And the Philosopher Byron, was very pleasant with the king, that for griefe he tore his hair, when he said, Doth this man thinkes, that baldeness will affwage his griefe? who hath not feene some to chew and swallow cards, and well-nigh checke themselves with bales of dice, only to be revenged for the losse of some mony? Xerxes whipped the Sea, and writ a cartell of defiance to the hill Athos: And Cyrus for manie daies together ammused his whole armie to bee revenged of the river Cyndus, for the fcare he tooke passing over the fame: And Caligula caused a verie faire house to be defaced, for the pleasure his mother had received in the fame. When I was young, my countrmen were wont to say, That one of your neighbours Kings, having receiued a blowe at Gods hand, were to be revenged on him, and ordained, that for some yeares space no man should pray vnto him, nor speake of him, nor so long as he were in authoritie, believe in him. By which report, they do not so much publish the forfimifh, as the ambitions glorie, peculiar vnto that nation of whom it was spoked. They are vices that ever goo together: But in truth such actions encline vnto forfimifh conceit, then to fondnes. Anguis Caesar having beene beaten by a tempest on the sea, defied the God Neptune, & in the celebration of the Ciceronian games, that so he might be avenged on him, he caused his image to be remooved from out the place, where it stood amongst the other Gods wherein he is also lefle excusable, then the former, and lefle then he was afterwaeres, when having loft a battell, vnder Augustus Varro in Germanie, all in rage and desparate, he went vp and downe beating his head against the waules, mainly crying out: Oh Varro, restore me my Soultiers againe: For, those excede all folle, (for so much as impietie is joyned vnto it) that will wreake themselves against God, or fortune, as if he had cares subjeft to our battery: In imitation of the Thracians, who when it lightens or thunders, begin with a Titanian revenge to shooe against heaven, thinking by shooting of arrows to drawe God to some reafon. Now, as faith that ancint Poet in Plutarch, Point ne se font corrompre aux affaires, Il ne leur chaut de toutes nos choleres. We ought not angry be at what God dooth, For he cares not who beares an angry tooth. But we shal never raine ingough against the disorder and vnruleffe of our minde.

The fifth Chapter.

Whether the Captaine of a place besieged ought to rule forth to parle.

L cultivated Marcus Legate of the Romans, in the warre against Persius King of Macedon, desirous to get so much time, as he wanted to prepare his army, gave out some motives of accorde, wherewith the King inveagled, yeelded vnto a truce for certaine daies: by which means he furnished his enemie with opportunitie & leasure to arm himselfe, wherefore proceeded the Kings last rune and over-throw. Yet is it, that the elders of the Senate, mindful of their fore-fathers cutes, condemned this prædice as an enemie to their ancient proceedings, which was, saide they, to fight with vertue, and not with craft, nor by surprizes, or stratagems by night, nor by fet-flights, and vnlookt-for approches, never undertaking a warre, but after it was proclaimed, yea many times after the appointed hour and place of the battell. With this confience did they send backe to Pirrus his traitorous Phisitian, and to
Dolus an virtus quis in bole requarit?
Deceit, or vertue, either, in foes, it skill's not whether.

The Achaians, saith Polibius, detested all manner of deceit in their wars, deeming that no victone, where their enemies courages were not quelled. Eam vir sanctus, & sapiens fecit esse victoriam veram, qua suba fidem, & integra dignitatem paravit. A wife and religious man will know that is victorie indeed, which shall be attained with ercide unimpeached, and dignitie untainted, faith another.

Uos ne velit, an me regnare hers, quid vos ferat fors
Virtute experiamur.
If fortune will have you toaigne, or me,
And what chance bring's, let vertues triall be.

In the Kingdome of Tornates, among those nations, which wee so full-mouthed, call Barbarous, the cullome beareth, that they never undertake a warre, before the fame be denounced; therunto adding an ample declaration of the meanes they have to employ therein, what manner, and how many men, what munition, and what Armes either offensive or defensive: which done, they also eftablish as a law, that without reproch or imputation, it shall be lawfull for any man, in their warres, to use what advantage for ever, may in any fortlee further or helpe them to vanquish. The ancient Florentines were so far from desiring any advantage of their enemies by fuddaine surprizes, that a moneth before they could bring their Armie into the field, they would give them warning, by the commynall sound of their common bell, which they called Martinella. As for vs, who are lesse superfluous, and deeme him to have the honour of the ware, that hath the profit of it, and according to Lysander, say, that Where the Lions-skinnes will not suffice, wee must adde a feaunting of the Foxes; the most ordinarie occasions of surprizes are drawnne from this prudence, and as wee say, there is no time, wherein a Captaine ought to be more warie and circumspect to looke about him, then that of partes, and treaties of accordede: And therefore is it a common rule in the mouth of all our modern men of warre, that the Governoor or Commander of a besieged place, ought never to fallie forth himselfe to parlie. In the time of our forefathers, the fame was cast in the teeth, (as a reproch) vnto the Lord of Montford and Affigni, who defended Montfion, against the Earl of Newfane. Yet in this case it were execuable in him, that should fo fallie out, that the assurance and advantage, might still be on his side. As did the Earl Guido Rangoni in the Cittie of Reggio (if crede may be given to Bellay, for Gueicardin affirmeth, that it was himselfe) when as the Lord of Eften, for to parlie, made his approaches vnto it, who did fo lie forake his forte, that whilst they were in parlie, a commotion being raised, the Lord of Eften and the troupes which came with him, in that tumult found him-selfe to be the weakest, so that Alexander Trivulzio was there slaine, and hee deeming it the seafeft way, was forced to followe the Earle, and on his word to yeeld himselfe to the mercie and shelter of blowes, into the citie. Eumenes in the Citty of Na-ra, being vrged by Antigonus, that besieged him, to fallie forth to parlie, alleging that there was treason he should come to him, Sith hee was the better man, and the stronger after he had made this noble answere, I wil never thincke any man better then my selfe, so long as I can hold or rule my swerde; nor did he ever yeeld vntill Antigonus had delivered him Ptolomey, his owne nephew for a pledge, whom he required. Yet thall we see some to have prospered well in falling foorth of their houldes to parlie, vpon the wordes and honor of the assilants, witnesse Henri de Vantix, a knight of Champagne, who being beleagued by the English-men in the Castle of Commerce, and Bartholomew of Bone, who at that siege commanded as Chiefe, having caused the greatest parte of the Castle to be sapped, so that there wanted nothing but the giving of fire, vitally to subvert the fame, vnder the ruines of it, fummoned thefaide Henris to issue out, and for his owne good to parlie with him, which he did, accompanied but
but with three more, who manifestly seeing the evident ruine, wherein he was undoubted-ly like to fall, acknowledged himselfe infinitely beholding to his enemie, vnto whose dieretion, after he had yeelded together with his troupes, and that fire was given to the Mine, the maine props of the Castle falling, it was vterly overthowne and carried away; I am easily perfwaded to yeeld to other mens words and faith, but hardly would I do it, when I should give other men cause to imagine, that I had rather done it through dispaire and want of courage, then of a free and voluntary choife, and confidence in his honestie and well-meaning.

The first Booke.

The sixth Chapter.

That the houre of parties is dangerous.

Norwithstanding I say lately, that those of Mafidan, a place not farre from mee, who with others of their partie, were by our forces compelled to dislodge thence, exclaimed, they were betrayed, because during the speech of accord, and the truce yet continuing, they had beene surprized and defeated; which thing might haply, in other ages have had some apperance of truth; but, as I say, our manner of proceeding in such cases, is altogether differing from these rules, and no man ought to expect performance of promise from an enemie, except the last seale of bond be fully annexed thereunto, wherein notwithstanding is then much care and vigilance required, and much a doe shalbe found. And it was euer a dangerous counsell to trust the performance of word or othe given vnto a Cittie, that yeelds vnto gentle and favourable composition, and in that firce to give the neede, bloodthirstie, and pray-greedy Souldeir free entrance into it, vnto the free choise and licence of a victoiuous amnie. Lucius Eemoninus Regulus a Romane Praetor, having left much time in attempting by force to take the cittie of Porce, by reason of the singular proweell, which the inhabitants thwed, in stoutly defending themselves, covenanted to receive them as friends vnto the people of Rome, and to enter their Cittie as a place confederate, remooving all feare of hostile-action from them. But to the end hee might appeare more glorious, and dreadfull, having caused his armie to enter with him, do what he might, he could not bridle the rage of his Souldeirs; and with his owne eyes saw moft part of the Cittie raffacked and spoyled, the rights of covetousnesse and revenge supplanting thos of his authoritie and militarie discipline. Cleomenes was wont to say, that What hurtefore a man might doe his enemies in time of warre, was beyond justice, and not subiect unto it, as well towards the Gods as towards men: who for seaven dayes having made truce with thos of Argia, the third night, whilst they were all asleep mistrafting no harme, hee charged and over-threw them, alleging for his excuse, that in the truce no mention had bin made of nights. But the Gods left not his perfidious policy unrevened: For during their entrance in the Cittie, and businesse about taking hostages, the Cittie of Caputum was by surprize taken from him: which happened in the times of the justiest Captaines, and of the most perfect Romane discipline: For it is not faiide, that time and place serving, wee must not make vfe and take advantage of our enemies foolish oversight, as we do of their cowardise. And verily warre hath naturally many reasoable privileges to the prejudice of reason. And here failes the rule. Neminem id agere, ut ex alterius pradetur infictia. That no man should endeavour to pray upon another mans ignorance. But I wonder of the scope that Xenophon allows them, both by his discourse, and by diversェ exploits of his perfect Emperor: an Author of wonderfull consequence in such things, as a great Captaine and a Philosopher, and one of Socrates chiefest Disciples, nor do I altogether yeeld to the measure of his dispensation. The Lord of Abyfnion besieging Capua, after he had given it a furious batterie, the Lord Fa-britius Colonna, Captaine of the towne, having from under a bastion or skonce begunne to partie, and his men growing negligent and carelesse in their offices and guarde, our men did sodainely take the advantage offered-them, entered the towne, over-ranne it, and put all to the sworde. But to come to later examples, yea in our memorie, the Lord Luins Romero at
The first Booke.

You, having committed this oversight to issue out of his holde, to parle with the Constable of France, at his returne found the Towne taken, and himselfe jack-out-of-doors. But that we may not parle unrevenged. The Marques of Pescaie beleagerring Genova, where Duke Obeliskus Commedo commanded under our protection, and an accord betweene them having so long but treated, and earnestly solicited, that it was held as ratified, and vpon the point of conclusion, the Spaniards being entred the Towne, and seeing themselves the stronger, tooke their opportunitie, and vied it as a full and compleate victory: and since at Lignie in Barriois, where the Earle of Brienne commanded, the Empour having besieged him in person, and Berthouille Lieutenant to the faide Earle being come forth of his hold to parle, was no sooner out, whilst they were disputing, but the Towne was surpris'd, and he excluded. They say,

Nulla victor semper maius laudabil cosa,
Vincis per fortuna et ingenio.

To be victorious, evermore was glorious,
Be we by fortune or by wit victorious.

But the Philosopher Chriipus would not have beene of that opinion; nor I neither, for he was wont to say, That those who runne for the maiestie may well employ all their strength to make speede, but it is not lawfull for them to lay handes on their adversaries, to slay him, or to crose legges, to make him trippe or fall. And more generously answered Alexander the great, at what time Polyperon persuadde him to take the benefit of the advantage which the darkelle of the night afforded him, to charge Darius; No no, said he, it sitteth not mee to hunt after night-time victories: Malone fortune ponente, quam victoriae pudet. I had rather repent me of my fortune, then be ashamed of my victory.

Atque idem fugientem haud est dignatus Orodem
Sternere, nec alta cecum dare cæspide vincum:
Obnux adversaque occurrat, fæce viro vir
Contuit, haud surfato melior, sed foribus armis.
He dign'd not to strike downe Orodem flying,
Or with his throwne-launce blindely-wound him running:
But man to man affront himselfe applying,
Met him, as more esteem'd for strength then cunning.

The seuenthe Chapter.

That our intention judgeth our actions.

The common saying is, that Death acquitts us of all our bounties. I knowe some that have taken it in another fience. Henrie the seuenthe, king of England made a composition with Philip fonne to Maximian the Emperor, or to give him a more honorable title, father to the Emperor Charles the fift, that the said Philip should deliver into his handes, the Duke of Saffo, his mortal enemie, who was fled out of England, and saved himselfe in the Low countries, alwaies provided the king should attempt nothing against the Dukes life; which promise notwithstanding, being neere his end, he expresslie by will and Testament commended his succeeding fonne, that immediately after his deceas, he should cause him to be put to death. In the late tragedie, which the Duke of Avo presented vs withall at Brussels, the Earles of Horne and Egmond, were many remarkable things, and worthie to be noted: and amongst others, that the faide Count Egmond, upon whom faithfull word and assurance, the Earle of Horne was come in, and yeelded himselfe to the Duke of Avo, required by the lawmfullitie to be first put to death, to the end his death might acquit and free him of the worde and bond, which he ought and was engaged for, to the faide Earle of Horne. It seemeth that death hath no whit discharged the former of his worde given, and that the second,
The first Booke.

The eight Chapter.

Of Idlenes.

"As we see some idle, fallow grounds, if they be fat and fertile, to bring forth store & sundry roots of wilde & unprofitable weedes, & that to keepe them in vre, we must subiect and employ them with certaine feeudes for our vse and service. And as we see some women, though single & alone, often to bring forth lumps of shapelesse flesh, whereas to produce a perfect and natural generation, they must be manured with another kind of seede: So is it of minds, which except they be buttered about some subject, that may bridge and keepe them under, they will here and there wildly scatter themselves through the vaste field of imaginations.

Sicut aqua tremulans labrit ubi lumen ahennis
Solo repercussum, aut raddians imagine Lune,
Omnia percolat latè locas, simque sub auris
Erigitur fummique fert lacuaria tecât.

As trembling light reflected from the Sunne,
Or radiant Moone on water-fild brasse-lauers,
Flies over all in aire vpraized soone.

And there is no folle, or extravagant raving, they produce not in that agitation.

Vuln. agris sommi, vane,

Fingerunt species.
Like fickle mens dreams, that faile,
Imaginations vaine.

The minde that hath no fixed bound, will easlie loose it selfe: For, as wee say, To be every where, is to be nowhere.

Quiaque ubique habitat, Maxime, quisquam habitat,

Good
The first Booke.

Good sir, he that dwells every where,
No where can say, that he dwells there.

It is not long since I retired my selfe within mine owne house, with full purpose, as much as lay in me, not to trouble my selfe with any businesse, but solitarily and quietly to wear out the remainder of my well-nigh spent life; where me thought I could do my spirit no greater favour, then to give him the full scope of idlenesse, and entertaine him as he best pleased, and withall, to satisfy him selfe as he best liked: which I hoped he might now, being by time become more sedate and ripe, accomplish very easily, but I finde,

Variam semper datur anima mentem.

Evermore idlenesse,

Doth wavering minde addresse.

That contrariwise playing the skittish and loose-broken jade, he takes a hundred times more cariere and libertie into his selfe, then he did for others, and begets in me so many extravagant Chimerae, and fantastical monsters, so orderlesse, and without any reason, one huddling upon another, that at-leeuare to view the foolishnesse and monstrous strageneffe of them, I have begunne to keepe a register of them, hoping, if I live, one day to make him ashamed, and blush at himselfe.

The ninth Chapter.

Of Lyres.

Here is no man living, whom it may lese beleeue to speake of memorie, then my selfe, for to say truth, I have none at all: and am fully perswaded that no-man can be so weake and forgetfull as mine. All other partes are in me common and vile, but touching memorie, I thinke to carry the prize from all other, that have it weake, nay and to gain the reputation of it, besides the naturall want I endure (for truly considering the necessitie of it, Plato hath reason to name it A great and mightie Goddesse.) In my countrey, if a man will imply that one hath no fence, he will say, such a one hath no memorie: and when I complaine of mine, they reprove me and will not believe me, as if I accused my selfe to be mad and fenceless. Which is an empairing of my market: But they do me wrong, for contrariwise, it is commonly feene by experience, that excellent memories do rather accompanie weake judgements. Moreover they wrong me in this (who can do nothing so well as to be a perfect friend) that the same wordes which accuse my infirmity, represent ingratitude. From my affection they take bolde of my memorie, and of a natural defect, they inferre a want of judgement or confidence. Some will say, he hath forgotten this prayer, or that promise, he is not mindfull of his old friends, he never remembered to say, or doe, or conceal this or that, for my sake. Verily I may easily forget, but to neglect the charge my friend hath committed to my trust, I never do it. Let them beare with my infirmity, and not conclude it to be a kind of malice; which is so contrarie an enemy to my humour. Yet am I somewhat comforted. First, because it is an evil, from which I have chiefly drawn the reason to correct a worse mischief, that would easily have growne upon me: that is to say, ambition; which defect is intolerable in them that meddle with worldly negotiations. For as diverse like examples of natures progresse, say, the hath happily strengthened other faculties in me, according as it hath growne weaker and weaker in me, and I should easilly lay downe and drawe my mind and judgement, upon other meanes traces; without excercising their proper forces, if by the benefit of memorie, foraine inventions and strange opinions were present with me. That my speech is thereby shorter: For the Magazin of Memorie, is per adventure more flored with matter, then is the store-house of Invention. Had it holded out with me, I had ere this wearied all my friends with prating: the subjects rouzing the mean faculties I have to manage and employ them, strengthening and wrestling my discourses. It is pitie, I have affaid by the trial of some of my private friends: according as their memorie hath minified them a whole and perfect matter, who recoile their narration so faire-backe, and

C2 fluff-
The first Booke.

stuff it with so many vaine circumstancs, that if the story be good, they moiter the good
necle of it; if bad, you must needs either curse the good fortune of their memorie, or blame
the misfortune of their judgement. And it is no casie matter, being in the midel of the ca-
riere of a discourse, to stop cunningly, to make a fudaine periode, and to cut it off. And
there is nothing whereby the cleane strength of a horse is more known, then to make a rea-
die and cleane stop. Among the skilfull I see some, that strive, but cannot play their race.
Whilst they labor to finde the point to stop their course, they flagger and falter, as men
that flant through weaknesses. Above all, old men are dangerous, who have onelie the me-
more of things past left them, and have loft the remembrance of their repetitions. I have
heard some very pleasant reports become moft blinde and tedious in the mouth of a cer-
taine Lord, for as much as all the by-standers had manie times beene cloyed with them. Se-
condly, (as faide an auncient Writer) that, I do not so much remember intriues received.
I had neede have a prompter as Darius had, who not to forget the worke, he had receivd of
the Athenians, whensoever he fate downe at his table, caufed a page to sing vnto him, Sir,
remember the Athenians, and that the places or bookes which I read over, do ever smile vpon
me, with some newe novellie. It is not without reason, men say, that hee who hath not a good
and reade memorie, should neuer meddle with telling of ties, and feare to become a liar. I am
not ignorant how the Grammarians make a difference betwenee speaking vntrue and ly-
ings, and faie that to speake vntruly, is to speake that which is falle, but was reputed true;
and that the definition of the latene worde, mentiri, whence the French word, mentir, is derived,
which in English is to lie, implyeth and meaneth to goe againft ones confience; and by con-
sequence it concerneth only thofe who speake contrary to that which they knowe, of whom
I speake. Now thefe, either invent, feale, flame and all, or else they difguife and change a
true ground. When they difguife or change, if they bee often put to the repetition of one
thing, it is hard for them to keepe-still in one path, and verie strange if they loofe not them-
eyselves: becaufe the thing, as it is, having firft taken vp her fand in the memory, and there
by the way of knowledge and witting, imprinted it-selfe, it were hard it should not reprefe
it felfe to the imagination, displacing and fpumplanting fallehood, which therein can have no
fuch footing, or settled falfe-nesse: and that the circumfances of the firft appetitiffe, hippe,
still diving into the minde, fhoule not fcape into difpeffe the remembrance of all falle or
baffardized partes gotten together. Where they altogether invent, forasmuch as there is no
certaine impression, to front their fallehood, they tee me to have fo much the lesfe fear to
miffake or forget themselfes, which alfo notwithstanding being an ayrie bodie, and with-
out hold-fall may eafily ecape the memorie, except it be well allured: whereof I have of-
ten (to my no small pleafure) feene the experience, at the coft of thofe, who profefse ne-
ever to frame their speech, but as f elf that fitt the affaires, they negotiate, and as f elf shall
pleafe the great men, they speake vnto. For the circumfances to which they will subiect
their credite and confience, being subiect to many changes, their speech mufli likewife di-
verifie and change with them, whence it followeth that of one falle-fame subiect they speake
diverfiely, as now white, now gray, to one man thus, and thus to an other. And if peradven-
ture thefe kinds of men hoard-vp their fo contrarie instructions, what becomes of this
goodly arte? Who besides, often moft foolishly forget themselfes, and runne at random:
For, what memorie fhall suffice them, to remember fo many different fortmes they have
framed to one fame subiect? I have in my daies feene diverfe that have envied the reputa-
tion of this worthy kinde of wisedome, who perceive not, that if there bee a reputation,
there can be no effect. Verily, lying is an ill and deteable vice. Nothing makes vs men,
and no other meanes, keepes vs bound one to another, but the word: knew we but the hor-
rour and confquence of it, we would with fire and word pursue and hate the fame, and
more juftly then any other crime. I fee all men generally busied (and that verie improperly)
to punifh certaine flight and childhood errors in children, which have neither impression nor
confluence, and chastife and vex them for rafh and fond actions. Onelyling, and flub-
bennelle somewhat more, are the faults whose birth and progreffe I would have feuerely
punifhed and cut off; for they growe and encreafe with them: and if the tongue have once
gotten this ill habite, good Lord how hard, nay how impossible is it to make her leave it?
whereby it enfueth, that we fee many very honet men in other matters, to be subject and
couldevd to that fault. I have a good had to my tailoure, whom I never heard speake a truth;
no not when it might stand him instead of profit. If a le had no more faces but one, as truth hath, we should in fare better terms then we are: For, whatsoever a le should say, we would take it in a contrarie fence. But the opposite of truth hath many-many shapes, and an vndefinite field. The Pythagorians make good to be certaine and finite, and euill to be infinite and vncertaine. A thousand by-waes misste the mark, one only hits the fame. Surely I can never assur my selfe to come to a good end, to warrant an extreame and evident danger, by a thameleffe and folemne lie.

An ancient Father saith, We are better in the company of a knowne dogge, than in a mans fa-

cietie, whose speach is unknowne to us. It exceptus alieno non fit dominus vice. A stranger to a

stranger is not like a man. And how much is a false speach leffe fociable than silence? King

Francis the fift, vaunted himfelfe to have by this means brought Francis Taverna, Amba-
sfador of Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, to a non-plus; a man very famous for his rare elo-

cuence, and fatuie in speach, who had beene dispachted to excufe his maifter, towards

his Majeftie, of a matter of great importance, which was this. The King to keepe ever some

intelligence in itale, whence he had lately bene expell'd, but efpecially in the Dukedom of

Milan, thought it expedient to entertaine a Gentleman of his about the Duke; in ef-
est as his Ambassador, but in appearance as a private man; who should make fieve to re-

fide there about his particular affaires, forsoome much as the Duke, who depended much

more of the Empourer (chiefly then that he was treatinge a mariage with his niece, daugh-
ter of the king of Denmark, who is at this day Dowager of Loraine) could not without

great prejudice vnto himselfe discover to have any correpsondance and conference with vs.

For which commission and purpose a Gentleman of Milan, named Meriville, then serv-
ing the King in place of one of the Quiers of his Querie, was deemed fit. This man be-

ing dispachted with fecret letters of credence, and instructions of an Ambassador, together

with other letters of commendation to the Duke inavour of his particular affaires, as a

maffe and pretence of his proceedings, continued fo long about the Duke, that the Empourer

gave him to have some fulpition of him; which as we suppose was caufe of what enuf-
ced, which was, that vnder voleur of a muther committted, the Duke one night caufed the

faide Meriville to be behead, having ended his proccif in two daies. Maifter Francis

being come to the Court, fraught with a long counterfet deducfion of this fiorie (for the

King had addressed himfelfe to all the Princes of Christendome, yea and to the Duke him-

felfe for justice, for fuch an outrage committed vpon his fervant) had one morning au-

dance in the Kings councell-chamber: who for the foundation of his caufe having esta-

blished and to that end projected many goodly and colourable appearances of the fae:

namely, that the Duke his maifter, had never taken Meriville for other then a private gentle-

man, and his owne fubjeft, and who was come thither about his private busines, where he

had never lived vnnder other name, professing he had never knowne him to be one of the

Kings household, nor never heard of him, much leffe taken him for his Majefties Agent. But

the King vrging him with fivers objections and demaund, and charging him on every fide,

pref him fo farre with the execution done by night, and as it were by fleggth, that the fecke

man, being much entangled and fiodainely surprized, as if he would fet an innocent face on

the matter, anwered, that for the loue and reipeft of his Majeftie, the Duke his Maifter,

would have been very loath that fuch an execution should have bin done by day. Here

every man may gueffe whither he were taken thort or no, having tripped before fo goodly a

nofe, as was that of our King Francis the fift. Pope Julius the second, having fent an Amba-
sfador to the King of England to animate him againft our forefaiid King: the Ambassador

having had audience touching his charge, and the King in his anfwere vrging and in-

fting upon the diificultie he found & forelaw in levying fuch convenient forces, as should

be required to withstand fo mighty, and fet upon fo punifh a King, and alleging certaine

pertinent reafon: The Ambassador fondly and unfitly replied, that him-felfe had long be-

fore maturely considered them, and had told the Pope of them. By which anfwere fo farre

from his propofition (which was with all speed, & without more circumftances to vnderfate

and vndergoe a dangerou wavve) the King of England tooke holde of the fift argument

which in effeit he afterwaide found true, which was, that the faide Ambassador, in his owne

particular intent, was more affected to the French side, whereas adverfiting his maifter, his

goods were all confi badge, himfelfe disgraced, and he vvere hardly escaped with life.
The first Booke.

The tenth Chapter.

Of ready or slowe speach.

One fayrent a tous toutes graces dommee. All Gods good graces are not gone to all, or of al any one. So doe we see that in the gift of eloquence, some have such a facility and promptitude, and that which we call vtreance, &e fame, and at commandes, that at all affayes, and vpon everie occasion, they are ready and provided; and others more slowe, never speake any thing except much labourd and premeditated. As Ladies and dainty Dames are taught rules to take recreations and bodily exercises, according to the advantage of what they have fairest about them. If I were to give the like counsel, in those two different advantages of eloquence, whereof preachers and pleading-lawyers of our age seeme to make profession; the slowe speaker in mine opinion shoulde be the better preacher, and the other the better lawyer. For somuch as the charge of the firft allowes him as much leisure as pleareth to prepare him-selve; moreover his cariere continueth still in one kind without interruption: whereas the Lawyers occasions urging him still vpon any accident to be ready to enter the lift; and the vnxpected replies and answers of his adverarie partie, doe often divert him from his purpose, where he is enforced to take a new course. Yet is-it, that at the last enter-view which was at Marcellia betweene Pope Clement the seaveneth, and Francis the firft, our King, it hapned cleane contrary, where Monfieur Pojer, a man of chief reputation, and all daies of his life, brought vp to pleade at the bar, whose charge being to make an Oration before the Pope, and having long time before premeditated and cond's the same by roate, yet, and as some report, brought it with him ready-penned from Paris the very same day it should have beene pronounced; the Pope suspecting he might happily speake something, might offend the other Princes Ambassadors, that were about him, lent the argument, which hee at that time & place thought fittest to be treated of, to the king, and by fortune cleane contrary to that which Pojer, had so much studied for: So that his Oration was altogether frustrate, and he must presently frame another. But he perceiving him-selve vnable for it, the Cardinall Belloy was faine to supply his place and take that charge vpon him. The Lawyers charge is much harder then the preachers: (yet in mine opinion) shall we finde more passable Lawyers then commendable preachers, at least in France. It seemeth to be more proper to the minde, to have his operation ready and sodaine, and more incident to the judgement, to have it flow and confiderate. But who remaineth more, if he have no leasure to prepare him-selve, and the likewife to whome leasure giveth no advantage to say better, are both in one selfe degree of strangeness. It is reported that Seuerus Caffius speake better extempore, and without premeditation. That he was the more beholding to fortune, then to his diligence; that to be interrupted in his speach redounded to his profite: and that his adversaries feared to vrgge-him, lest his sodaine anger should redouble his eloquence. I know this condition of nature by experience, which can not abide a vehement and laborious premeditation: except it hold a fone, a voluntarie, and selfe-pleasing course, it can never come to a good end. We commonly fay of some compositions, that they smell of the oyle, and of the lampe, by reason of a certaine harfnesse, and rudeness, which long, plodding, labours imprints in them that be much elaborated. But besides, the care of well-doing, and the contention of the minde, over-stretched to her enterprise, doth breake and impeache the same; even as it happeneth vnto water, which being closely pent-in, through it's owne violence & abundance, can not finde issue at an open gullet. In this condition of nature, whereof I now speake, this also is joyned vnto it, that it defirith not to be pricked forward by these strong passions, as the anger of Caffius (for that motion woulde be over-ride) it ought not to be violently shaken, but yeeldingly solicited: it desirith to be rouz'd and pricked forward by strange occasions, both present and casuall. If it goe all-alone, it dooth but languish and loyter behindes agitation is her life and grace. I cannot well containe my selfe in mine owne possession and disposition, chauce hath more interest in it than my selfe; occasion, company, ye the change of my voice, draws more from mine minde than I can finde therein, when by my selfe I found and endevor to employ the same. My wordes like wise are better than
than my writings, if choise may be had into worthlesse things. This also happeneth vnto me, that where I seake my selfe, I finde not my selfe: and I finde my selfe more by chance, than by the search of mine owne judgement. I shall perhaps have call'd forth some little-tic in writing, happily dull and harsh for another, but smooth and curious for my selfe. Let vs leave all these complements and quaintness. That is spoken by every man, according to his owne strength. I have to losit, that I wot not what I would have faide, and strangers have sometimes found it before me. Had I alwaies a razor about me, where that happeneth, I should cleane razee my selfe out. Fortune may at some other time make the light thereof appeare brighter vnto me, than that of mid-day, and will make mee wonder at mine owne falting or stickling in the myre.

The first Booke.

Of Prognostication.

A Stouching Oracles it is very certaine, that long before the comming of our Salvour \textit{Iesu Christi}, they had beginne to loose their credit: for wee see that Cicero laboureth to finde the quale of their declination: And these be his words: \textit{Cur isto modo iam oracula}, Delphis non eduntur non modo nostra aetate, sed antiqua, ut nihil posset esse contemnitus? Why in like sorte are not Oracles now vnterred, not only in our times, but a good while since, so as now nothing can be more contemptible? But as for other prognostikes, that were drawne from the anatomi of beasts in sacrifices, to which Plato doth in some sorte ascribe the natural constitution of the internal members of them, of the scraping of chickens, of the flight of birds, \textit{Aene quaestam uerus augurandam cae sus nata esse putamus. We are of opinion, certaine birds were even bred to prognosticate some things of thunder and turnings and back and forwards of rivers. Multa certa montes: multa augures prident: multa oracula declarantur: multa vaticinationibus: multa somnii: multa portentis. Soothsayers see much: bird-prophets foresee much; much is foretold by Oracles; much by prophesies; much by dreames; much by portentuous signes, and others, upon which antiquity grounded most of their enterprises, as well publike as private: our religion hath abolished them. And albeit there remaine yet amongst vs some means of divination in the flames, in spirits, in shapes of the body, in dreames, and elsewhere a notable example of the mad and fond curiosity of our nature, ammusing it selfe to preoccupate future things, as if it had not enough to doe to digest the present.}

\textit{car bane tribucor Olympi}

\textit{Sollicitis ujus mortaltibus addere curam,}
\textit{Non cant venutus ut duc per omnia clades?}
\textit{Si subito quodcumque parasit coe s futuri}
\textit{Mens hominum fati,REAT faveri timenti.}
\textit{Why pleas'd it thee, thou ruler of the sphears,}
\textit{To adde this care to mortalls care-clog d minde,}
\textit{That they their miferie know,ere it appeares?}
\textit{Let thy drifts sodaine come; let men be blinde}
\textit{Towards future fate: oh let him hope that feares.}

\textit{Ne vide quidem est forire quid futurum sit. Miferum est enim nihil proficience mungi. It is not so much as profitable for us to know what is to come, for it is a miserable thing, a man should fret and be vexed, and doe no good. Yet is it of much lesse authority, too here wherefore the examples of Francis Marquis of Saluzzo hath seemed remarkeable vnto me: who being Lieutenant General unto Francis our King, and over all his forces, which hee then had beyond the Mountains in Italia, a man highly favored in all our court, and other wise infinite beholding to the King for his owne Marquisitie, which his brother had forfeited: and having no occasion to doe it, yet and his minde and affections contradicte the same, suffered himselfe to be frighted and deluded (as it hath since been manifestly proveed) by the fond prognostications, which then throughout all Europe were given out to the advantage of the Emperor C 4.}
Emperor Charles the first, and to our prejudice and disadvantage (but specially in Italy, where these foolish predictions had so much poffefled the Italians, that in Rome were hid great wagers, and much money given out upon the exchange, that we should vitally be over-thrown) that after he had much condoled, yea and complained with his secret friends, the unavoidable miseries, which hee forsooke prepared by the fates against the crowne of France, and the many friends he had there, he vnikindly resented, and became a turne-cote on the Emperors side, to this intolerable losse and destruction, notwithstanding all the con-
stellations then reigning. But was drawne vnto it as a man encompassed and befet by divers passions; for having both strong castles, and all manner of munition and strength in his owne handes, the enemies armie vnder Antonio Leuafiare from him, and wee nothing misruting him, it was in his power to doe worse then he did. For notwithstanding his treason we loft neither man nor towne, except Ferrara: which long after was by vs stoutly con-
trolled and defended.

Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Catholicos nobis premis Deus,
Ridique summary ultra
Fatuos periculcit.

Our wife God hides in pitch. dark night
Of future time the event decreed,
And laughs at man, if man affright
Feare more, then he to feare hath neede.

Hee potens fui
Leta quae deget, cui locet in dieum
Divisit, vixis, cras vel alta
Nube polam pater occupato,
Vel sole puro.

He of himfelfe lives merifie,
Who each day, I have liv'd, can say;
To morow let God charge the skie
With dark clouds, or faire sunshine shine raye.

Lucis in praenium animus, quod ultra est,
Oderit curare.

For prefent time a merey minde
Hates to respect what is behinde.

And these which take this word in a contrary fenfe are in the wrong. If sic reciprocantur, ut & si duuratio sit, & si duuratio sit, & si duuratio sit, duuratio. This confequence is so reciprocal, as if there be any division, there are Gods: and if there bee Gods, there is division. Much more wisely Pauinas.

Nam si quis dixit aequum animam intelligent,
Plutesque ex aliis iscreare sapient, quain ex suo,
Magis audientium quain an scrutinandum cenfeo.

Who vnderstand what language birds exprefse,
By their owne, then heaftles-livers knowing leffe,
They may be heard, not hearted-to, I guffe.

This so famous art of divination of the Tuscanes grew thus. A husband-man digging very deep into the ground, with his plough-share, faw Tagus, a demy God appeare out of it, with an infantine face, yet fraught with an aged-like wifedome. All men ranne to fee him, and both his words and knowledge were for many ages after remined, and collected, containing the principles and meanes of this art. An off-spring futable to her progresse. I would rather direct affaires by the chance of dice, then by such frivolous dreams. And truly in all common-wealthes, men have ever abfirmed much authoritie vnto chance. Plato in the policie which he imagineth by defection, aribeth the deciding of manie important effects vnto it, and amongst other things would have marriages betwene the good to bee contrived by fortune. And giveth so large priviledges vnto this casual election, that hee ap-
points the Children proceeding from them to be brought vp in the countries; and those borne of the bad to be banished and sent abroad. Notwithstanding any of those so exil-
The first Booke.

Thofe which I have here described, and sometimes preferred, the Sancient writers, and all accidents allmage their authoritie. A man were as good to say, they must needs speake truth and lies. *Quis est enim qui tometers dicat, non aliquando continent? For who is he that knoweth all things, sometimes lies not at the white? I thinke not the better of them, though what they say prove sometimes true. It were more certaine, if there were either a rule or a truth to lie ever. Seeing no man recordeth their fables, because they are ordinary and infinit; and their predictions are made to bee of credite, because they are rare, incredible and prodigious. So answered Diogenes, the Atheeft (being in Same-brace) to him, who in thew him diverse vowes and offringes hanging in the Temple, brought fither by such as had escaped shipwrecke, faide thus vnto him: *Tor that thinke the Gods to have no care of humane things, what say you by so many men favored by their grace and helpe? Thus is it done, anwered he: Those which were drowned farre exceeding their number, are not heere sette-fourth. Cicero lieth, That amongst all other philosophers that have avowed and acknowleded the Gods, only Xenophon, the Colophonian bath gone-about to roote-out all manner of divination. It is so much the lesse to be wondered at, if at any time we have seene some of our Princes minds to their great damage, relievere such like vanities. I would to God, I had with mine owne eyes seene those two wonders, mentioned in the booke of Joachin the Abbot of Calabria, who fore-told all the Popes that should enue, together with their names and furies: And that of Leo the Emperor who spoke all the Emperors and Patriarkes of Greece. This have I seen with mine owne eyes, that in publicke confusions, men amazed at their owne fortune, give themselves head-long, as it were to all manner of superstition, to seach in heauen the caufes and ancient threats of their ill-lucke, and in my time are so strongly successful therein, as they have perfwaded me, that it is an ammusing of harpe and idle wits, that such as are inured to this futeleet, by foubling and vnfouling them, may in all other writings be capable to find out what they feelke-after. But above all, their darke, ambiguous, fantastical, and prophetical gibrifh, mends the matter much, to which their authors never give a plaine fene, that pofterity, may apply what meaning and construction it shal pleafe unto it. The Demon of Socrates was peradventure a certaine impulsion of will, which, without the advice of his discouer, presented it selu vnto him. In a minde so well purified, and by contimual exercise of wisedome and vertue so well prepared, as his was, it is likely, his inclinations (though raft and inconsiderate) where ever of great moment, and worthie to be followed. Every man feeth in himelfe some image of such agitations, with a prompt, vehement, and casuall opinion. It is in me to give them some authorize, that afford to little to our wisedome. And I have had some, equally weake in reason, and violent in perfwasion and disfauation (which was more ordinarie to Socrates) by which I have so happily and so profitably suffered my selfe to be transported, as they might perhaps be thought to containe some matter of divine inspiration.

The twelfth Chapter.

Of Conflancie.

The law of resolution and conftancie impleth not, we should not, as much as lieth in our power shelter our selues from the mischieves and inconveniences that threaten-us, nor by confequence feare, they should surprife-us. Contrariwise, all honest meanes for a man to warrant him-selfe from euils, are not onely tolerable, but commendable. And the parte of conftancie is chiefly acted in firmly bearing the inconveniences, against which no remedie is to be found. So that, there is no nimbleness of bodie, nor wealding of hand-weapons, that we will reject, if it may in any fort defend-us from the blowe, meanest-us. Many most warlike nations in their conflicts and fights, vsed retreating and flight as a principall advantage, and shewed their backs to their enimie much more dangerously then their faces. The Turkes at this day retaine something of that humour. And Socrates in

Plato
Plato doth make at Laches, because he had defined fortitude, to keepe her-selfe steady in her rancour against her enemies; What, faith hee, were it then commendis to beate them, in giving them place? And alledgest Homer against him, who commendeth Achilles his skill in flying and giving ground. And because Laches being better advised, adviseth that custom to be amongst the Scytians, and generally amongst all horsemen, he alledgest further unto him the example of the Lacedemonian footmen (a nation above all other vised to fight on foot) who in the battale of Plate, were able to open and to put to row the Persian Phalange, adviseth themselves to scatter and put themselves backe, that so by the opinion of their light, they might if they should pursuie them, rush in upon them, and put that foot-combined-maffe to rout. By which means they gained the victorie. Touching the Scytians, it is reported, that when Darus went to subdue them, he sent their King many reprochfull speeches, for somuch as hee ever saw him retire and give-ground before him, and to avoid the maine battale. To whom Indabisere, (for so was his name) answered, that, They did it not for feare of him, nor any other man living, but that it was the fashio of his nation to march thus: as having neither cities, nor houses, nor manured land to defend, or to feare their enemies should take any commoditie by them. But if hee had to grant a desire to feede on them, he might draw nearer to view the place of their ancient Sepulchres, and there hee should meete with whom to speake his belly-full. Notwithstanding when a man is once within reach of cannon-shot, and as it were point-blanke before them. As the fortune of warre doth duere times bring men vnto, itt becommeth a resolute minde to start-side, or he daunted, at the threat of a shot, because by the violence and sodain-nesse thereof wee deeme it inevitable: and there are some, who by lifting vp of a hand, or stoooping their head, have sometimes given their fellows cause of laughter: yet have we seene, in the voyage, the Emperor Charles the fifth made against vs in Pronence, the Marquis of Gianno, beeinge gone out to furuay the city of Arles, and thence himselfe out of a winde-mill, vnder colour of which he was come somewhat neere the Towne, he was discovered by the Lord of Bonevall, and the Seneshall of Agens, who were walking vpon the Theatre Auxiarnes (so called in French because it is full of sand) who shewing him to the Lorde of Babiers, Commynnarie of the Artillerie. He mounted a culverin so leuell, that had not the Marquis perceived the fire, and so started aside, it was constantly affirmed, he had beene shot through the body. Likewise not many yeares before, Lorence of Medec, Duke of Urban, and father to the Queene-mother of France, besieging Mondolphe, a place in Italy, in the province named the Vicariate, Seeing fire given to a piece that flouer right vpon him, stooped his head, and well befell him that hee plaid the ducks, for otherwise the bullet, which went right over, and within a little of his head, had double shot him through the pance. But to say truth, I will never thinke these motions were made with discoure, for what judgement can you give of an ayme, either high or low in a matter so sodainely? It may rather be thought that fortune favoured their feare: and which an other time might as well bee a mane to make them fall into the cannons-mouth, as to avoide the same. I cannot chaffe, if the cracke of a musket do sodainely streake mine cares, in a place where I least looke for it, but I must needs start at it: which I have seene happen to men of better sorte then my selfe. Nor do the Stoicke mean, that the Soule of their wisest man in any for the readie the first visions and sodainely fantasies, that surprize the same: but rather content that, as it were vnto a natural subjection, he yeedes and shrinckes vnto the lowd clattering and roar of heaven, or some violent downe-fall, for example-fake, vnto paleneffe, and contraction. So likewise in other passions, always provided, his opinion remains safe and whole, and the situation of his reason, admit no tainting or alteration whatsoever: and hee no whit content to his fright and sufferance. Touching the first part; the same hapneth to him, that is not wise, but farre otherwise concerning the second. For the impression of passions doth not remaine superficially in him: but rather penetrates even into the secret of reason, infecting and corrupting the same. He judgeth according to them, and conformeth himselfe to them. Consider precisely the state of the wise Stoicke:

Mis immota mones, lacryme voluntur monae.
His minde doth firme remaine,
Tearres are distil'd in vaine.

The wise Peripatetike dooth not exempt him selfe from perturbations of the minde, but dooth moderate them.
The first Booke.

The thirteenth Chapter.
Of Ceremonies in the interview of Kings.

There is no subject so vaine, that deserveth not a place in this Rapodie. It were a notable discourses into our common rules, both towards an equal, but more toward a great person, not to meece with you in your house, if he have once warned you that he will come: And Margaret Queene of Navourre, was wont to say to this purpose, That it was a kind of incivilitie in a gentleman, to depart from his house, as the fashion is, to meece with him; that is comming to him, how worthie soever he be: and that it more agreeth with civility and respect, to stay for him at home, and there to entertaine him: except it were for fear the stranger should misse his way: and that it sufficeth to accompany and wait upon him, when he is going away againe. As for me, I oftentimes forget both these vaine offices; as one that endeuor eth to abolish all manner of ceremonies in my house. Some will bee offended at it, what can I doe withall? I had rather offend a stranger once, then myselfe every day; for it were a continuall subjection. To what end doe men avoyde the fervitude of courtes, and entertaine the same in their owne houses? Moreover it is a common rule in all assemblies, that hee who is the meaner man, commeth first to the place appointed, for so much as it belongeth to the better man to be first-for, and waited vp on by the other. Neverthelesse wee saw that at the interview, prepared at Marcellis betweene Pope Clement the seaveneth, and Francis the first, King of France, the King having appointed all necessarie preparations, went him-selfe out of the Towne, and gave the Pope two or three dayes-leasure, to take his entry into it, and to refresh him-selfe, before he would come to meete him there. Likewise at the meeting of the saine Pope with the Emperour at Bologna, the Emperour gave the Pope advantage and leasure to be first there, and afterward came him-selfe. It is (say they) an ordinarie ceremonie at enterprizes betweene suche Princes, that the better man, should ever come first to the place appointed; yea before him in whole countrie the assembly is; and they take it in this fende, that it is, because this complement should tellifie, he is the better man, whom the meaner goeth to seeke, and that hee saith unto-him. Not only each country, but every Cittie, yea and every vocation hath his owne particular decorum. I have very carefully bene brought vp in mine infancy, and have lived in very good company, because I would not be ignorant of the good maners of our country of France, and I am persuaded I might keepe a schoole of them. I love to follow them, but not so cowardly, as my life remaine thereby in subjection. They have some painfull forms in them, which if a man forget by differetion, and not by error, he shall no whit be disgraced. I have often seen men prove vnmannetlie by too much manners, and importantie by overmuch servility. The knowledge of entertainment is otherwise a profitable knowledge. It is, as grace and beautie are, the reconciler of the first accusations of societie and familiarity: and by consequence, it openeth the entrance to instruct vs by the example of others, and to.exploite and produce our example, if it have any instructing or communicable thing in it.

The fourteenth Chapter.

Men are punished by too-much opiniating themselves in a place without reason.

V Alor hath his limites, as other vertues have: which if a man out-go, hee shall finde himselfe in the traine of vice: in such sort, that vnlesse a man know their right bounds, which in truth are not on a sudaine, easilly hit vp, he may fall into rashness, obstinacie, and
and folle. From this consideration grew the custom we hold in warres, to punish, and that with death, those who wilfully oppress themselves to defend a place, which by the rules of warre, can not be kept. Otherwise upon hope of impunity, there should bee no cotege, that might not entertaine an Armie. The Lord Constable Membrancie at the siege of Pavia, having beene appoyned to passe over the river Tofine, and to quarter himselfe in the suburbs of Saint Antonie, being impeached by a tower, that stood at the end of the bridge, and which obstinately would needs hould out, yea and to be battered, causd all those that were within it, to be hanged. The fame man afterward, accompanying my Lord the Dolphin of France in his journey beyond the Alpes, having by force taken in the castle of Villane, and all those that were within the same, having by the fune of the Souldiers bin put to the foworde, except the Captaine, and his Ancient, for the fame reason, causd them both to be hanged and strangld: As did also, Captaine Martin du Retail, the Gouvernor of Turn, in the faide countrie, the Captaine of Saint Bory: all the rest of his men having beene maffacred at the taking of the place. But for somuch as the judgement of the strength or weakenes of the place, is taken by the cinimate and counterpoise of the forces that affaile it (for some man might justly oppinate him selfe against two culverins, that would play the mad-man to expect thirtie cannons) where the greatnesse of the Prince conquering must be considered, his reputation, and the respect that is due unto him: there is danger a man should somewhat bend the ballance on that side. By which termes it happeneth, that some have so great an opinion of themselves, and their meanes, and deeming it unreasonable, anything should be worthy to make head against them, that so long as their fortune continueth, they over-passe what hill or dificultie sever they finde to withftand or refift them: As is seene by the formes of summonsings, and challenges, that the Princes of the East, and their successors yet remaining have in vfe, so fierce, so haughty, and so full of a barbarous kinde of commandement. And in those places where the Portugales abated the pride of the Indians, they found some states observing this univerfal and inviolable law, that what enemie foever he be, that is overcome by the King in person, or by his Lieutenant, is exempted from all componifion of ranfone or mercue. So above all, a man who is able should take heed, left he fall into the hands of an enemie-judge, that is victorius and armed.

The fifteenth Chapter.

Of the punishment of Cowardife.

I have heretofore heard a Prince, who was a very great Captaine, holde opinion, that a soldier might not for cowardifh of heart be condemned to death; who sitting at his table heard report of the Lord of Vergins sentence, who for yeelding vp of Bollin was doomed to loose his head. Verily there is reason a man should make a difference betweene faults proceeding from our weakenes, and those that growe from our malice. For in the latter we are directly bandied against the rules of reason, which nature hath imprinted in vs; and in the former it seemeth, we may call the same nature, as a warrant, because it hath left vs in such imperfection and defect. So as divers nationes have judged, that no man should blame vs for any thing we doe against our conscience. And the opinion of thofe which condemn heretikes and miferantes vnto capitall punishments, is partly grounded vpon this rule: and the fame which eftablisheth, that a Judge or an advocate may not be called to account for any matter committed in their charge through overflight or ignorance. But touching cowardifh, it is certain, the common fashion is, to punish the fame with ignominie and shame. And some hold, that this rule was firft put in practice by the Law-giver Charondas, and that before him the lawes of Greece were wont to punifh thofe with death, who for feare did runne away from a Battell: where he onely ordained, that for three dayes together, clad in womens attire, they should be madeto fit in the market-place: hoping yet to have some service at their hands, and by means of this reproch, they might recover their courage-gaine
The first Booke.

Suffundere male hominis argumem quod suffundere: Rather move a man's blood to blush in his face, then remove it by bleeding from his body.

It appeareth also, that the Romane lawes did in former times punish such as had runne away, by death. For Aemanius Marcellinus reporteth, that Tiberius the Emperor condemned tenue of his Souldiers, who in a charge against the Parthians, had but turned their backes from it; first to be degraded, and then to suffer death, as he faith, according to their lawes, who nevertheless, condemneth others for a like fault, under the ensigne of bag and baggage, to be kept amongst the common prisoners. The sharpe punishment of the Romains against those Souldiers that escaped from Carnae: and in the same warre, against those that accompanied Cn. Fulcins in his defeafe, reached not unto death, yet may a man feare, such open shame may make them difpare, and not only prove faint and cold friends, but cruel and sharpe enemies. In the time of our forefathers, the Lord of Franget, whilom Lieutenant of the Marshall of Chastelions companie, having by the Marshall of Cabanes been placed Governor of Fontanerabe, instead of the Earle of Lude, and having yielded the same vnto the Spaniards, was condemned to be degraded of all Nobilitie, and not oneely himsfelfe, but all his succeeding posterity declared villains and clowmes, taxable and incapable to beare armes; which sentence was put in execution at Lyons. The like punishment did afterward all the Gentlemen suffer, that were within Gnode, when the Earle of Nafwer entered the townes: and others in PC. Neuerthelesse, if there were no groffe an ignorance, and no apparant cowardice, as that it should exceede all ordinarie, it was reafon it should be taken for a sufficent prove of inexecutable treacherie, and knavesie, and for such to be punishing.

The sixteenth Chapter.

A tricke of certaine Ambassadors.

In all my travells I did ever observe this custome, that is, aways to learene something by the communication of others (which is one of the best schooles that may be) to reduce those I confer withall, to speake of that wherein they are most convenient and skilfull.

Bassi a nocchiero regionar de' veni,
Al bisolco de' tori, & le sue piaghe
Contil guerrier, contil pistor gl' armenti.
Sailors of windes, plow-men of beasts take keepe,
Let Souldiers count their wounds, shepheards their sheepe.

For commonly we fee the contrary, that many chuse rather to discourse of any other trade than their owne; supposing it to be so much new reputation gotten; witness the quip Archiadam us gave Periander, saying that he forsooke the creade of a good Phisitian, to become a pa
trie Poet. Note but how Cesar displaished his invention at large, when hee would have vs conceive his inventions how to bulde bridges, and deuises, how to frame other war-like engines; and in respect of that, how close and succint he writes, when he speake of the offices belonging to his profession, of his valour, and of the conduct of his warre. His exploits prove him a most excellent Captaine, but he would be knowne for a skilfull Ingenier, a qualitie somewhat strange in him. Dionysius the elder was a very great chietaine and Leader in warre, as a thing belte fitting his fortune: but he greatly labored, by meanes of Poetrie, to assume high commendation vnto himselfe, howbeit he had but little skill in it.

A certaine Lawyer was not long since brought to fee a studie, stored with all manner of bookes, both of his owne, and of all other faculties, wherein he found no occasion to entertaine himselfe withall, but like a sord cunning clarke earnestly busied himselfe to glosse and confute a fence or barre, placed over the screw of the studie, which a hundred Captaines and Souldiers see every day, without observing or taking offence at them.

Optat epiphisa bos piper, optat arare caballus.
The Oxen would trappings wear,
The Horse, ploughes-voieke would beare.
By this course you never come to perfection, or bring any thing to good passe. Thus must a man endeavor to induce the Architect, the Painter, the Shoemaker to speak of their own trade, and so of the rest, every man in his vocation. And to this purpose am I wont, in reading of histories (which is the subject of most men) to consider who are their writers: If they be such as profess nothing but bare learning, the chief things they learn in them, is their flile, and language; if Phliffions: I believe them in whatsoever they shall report concerning the temperatenesse of the aire, the health and complexion of Princes, or of hurts and infirmities. If Lawyers, we should observe the controversies of rights, titles, and pretences of laws and customs, the establishments of policies, and such like things: If Divines, we may note the affairs of the Church, the Ecclesiastical censures, dispensations, cases of conscience, and marriages: If Courtiers, manners, compliments, ceremonies, and entertainments: If Warriors, what belongs vnto their charge, but chiefly the managing and conduct of the achievements or exploits wherein they have bin themselves in person: If Ambassadors, the negotiations, intelligences, practices, policies, and manner how to direct, comploit, and conduct them. And therefore, what in an other Writer I should peradventure have curiositie passed over, I have with some advisement considered and marked the same in the history of the Lord of Lanyer, a man most expert, and intelligent in such matters: which is, that after he had exactly set downe and declared those glorious, and farre-fetcht remonstrances of the Emperor Charles the fifth, made in the consistorie of Rome, in the presence of the Bishops of Macon, and the Lord of Velly, our Ambassadors; wherein he entermixt many bitter and outrageous words against vs; and amongst others, that if his Captaines and Souldiers were not of much more faithfullnes, and sufficiencie in the arte of warre, then our Kings, he would forthwith tie a rope about his necke, and goe aske him mercy, whereof he seemed to believe somethings for afterward while he lived, he vanced twice or thrice to vter the verie same worde. Moreover, that he had challenged the king to fight with him, man to man in his shirt, with Rapier and Dager in a boate. The faide Lord of Lanyer, following his storie, addeth that the faide Ambassadors making a dispatch of what had passe vnto the King, dissembl the chiefest part vnto him, yea and concealed the two precedent articles from him. Now me thought it very strange, that it should lie in the power of an Ambassadour to dispence with any point, concerning the advertisements he should give vnto his Maister, namely of such consequence, coming from such a person, and spoken in so great an assembly, whereas me feemed it should have beene the office of a trustie servant, truthly and exactly to set downe things as they were, and in what manner they had succeeded: to the end the libertie of disposing, judging and chusing, might wholly be in the maister. For, to alter and conceale the truth from him, for feare he should confirme and take it otherwise then he ought, and left that might provoke him to some bad resolution; and in the meane while to suffer him to be ignorant of his owne affairs, me thought should rather have appertained to him, that giveth the law, then to him that receiveth the same; to the Maister or over-seer of the schoole, and not to him who should think himself inferior, as well in authoritie, as in wise-dome and good counsell. Howsoever it were, I would be loath to be so vseyd in mine owne small and particular busines, we doe so willingly ypon every flight occasion and pretence negligence, and forgote commandement, and are so farre from obaying, that we rather vforpe a knnde of maisterie, and free power: every man doth so naturally aspire vnto libertie and autoritie, that no profite ought to be so deare vnto a superior, proceeding from those that serve him, as their simple and natural obedience. Whosover obeyeth by discretion, and not by subjction, corrupteth and abuseth the office of commanding. And P. Crazius hee whom the Romans deemed five times happy, when he was Consill in Asia; having sent a Gracian Ingenier, to bring the greatest of two shippe-maftes before him, which hee had scene in Athens, thereby to frame an engine of batterie: This man vnder colour of his skil, presumed to do otherwise than he was bidden, and brought the lefser of the two maftes which according to his artes reason he deemed the fittest. Crazius having patiently heard his reasons and allegations, causeth him to be wel whipped; preferring the interest of true discipline, before that of the worke. On the other side a man might also consider, that this so strict obedience, belongs but to precise and prefixed commandements. Ambassadors have a more scopefull and free charge, which in manie points dependeth chiefly of their disposition. They do not mereley execute, but frame and direct by their owne advice and counsell, the
the will of their Majesties. I have in my days seen some person of commandement, checked and found fault with all, because they had rather obeyed the literal sense, and bare worses of the Kings letters, than the occasions of the affairs they had in hand. Men of understanding and experience do yet at this day commend the example of the Kings of Persia, which was to mince the instructions given to their Agents, and Lieutenants so small, that in the least accident they might have recourse to their directions and ordinances: This delay, in so farre-reaching a scope of domination, having often brought great prejudice, and notable damage unto their affairs. And Craufus writing vnto a man of that profession, and advertising him of the wse whereunto he purposed the foresaid masts; seemeth he not to enter into conference with him concerning his determination, and with him to enterpose his censure or advise of it.

The seventeenth Chapter.

Offeare.

Ob IPupii, ueterinique, corte, & vox sancibos basitis. I stood agast, my haire on end, My jaw-tide tongue no speach would lend.

I am no good Naturalist (as they say) and I know not well by what springs feare doth work in vs but well I wot it is a strange passion: and as Philistians say, there is none doth sooner transport our judgement out of his due seate. Verily I have seen divers become madde and fencelle for feare: yea and in him, who is most settled, and best resolved, it is certaine, that whilst his fitte continueth, it begeteth many strange dazlings, and terrible amazements in him. I omitte to speake of the vulgare sorte, to whom it sometimes representeth strange apparitions, as their fathers and grandfathers ghosts, risen out of their graves, and in their winding-sheets: & to others it sometimes sheweth Lerves, Hobgoblins, Robingood-fellowes, and such other Bug-bears and Chimeras. But even amongst Soulediers, with whom it ought to have no credit at all, how often hath the changed a flocke of sheep into a troupe of armed men? Bufhers and shrubbes into men-at-armes and Lanciers? or friends into our enemies? and a red cross into a white? At what time the Duke of Bourbon tooke Rome, an Ancient that kept Sentinell in the borough Saint-Peter, was at the first alarum surprized with such terror, that with his colours in his hand, hee sodainly threw himselfe through the hole of a breach out of the Cittie, and fell just in the middest of his enemies, supposing the waie to goe straite in the hart of the Cittie: but in the end, he no sooner perceived the Duke of Bourbon troupes, advancing to withstand him, imagining it to bee some fallie, the Citizens made that way, hee better be-thinking him-selfe, turned head, and the very same way, hee came out, he went into the town againe, which was more then three hundred paces distance towards the fields. The like hapned, but not so succesfullly vnto Captaine Inlius his ensigne-bearer at what time Saint Paulus was taken from vs by the Earle of Burges, and the Lord of Ren, who was so frightened with feare, that going about to cast himselfe over the townes waile, with his Ancient in his hand, or to creep through a spike-hole, he was cut in pieces by the affailants. At which siege likewise, that horror and feare is very memorable, which so did chace, seize upon, and freeze the hart of a Gentleman, that having received no hurt at all, hee fell downe stark-dead upon the ground before the breach. The like passion or rage doth sometimes poftelle a whole multitude. In one of the encounters that Germanicus had with the Germanes, two mighty troupes were at one instant so frighted with feare, that both tooke themselves to their heele, and ranne away two contrary wailes, the one right to that place whence the other fled. It sometimes addeth wings vnto our heele, as vnto the first named, and other times it takes the wse of our feete from vs: as we may reade of Theophtius the Emperor, who in a bataill hee left against the Agarens, was...
fe amazed and astonied, that he could not resolve to scape away by flight: adea pavor etiam auxilia formidat: Feare is so afraye even of that shoud help. Vntill such time as Manuel, one of the chief leaders in his armie, having rouzed and shaken him, as it were out of a dead sleepe, said vnto him, Sir, if you will not presently follow me, I will surely kill you; for better were it you should lose your life, than being taken prisoner, lose your Empire and all. Then doth the shew the vniolt of her power, when for her owne service, she calls vs off vnto valour, which it hath exacted from our duty and honor. In the first fett-battel, the Romans left against Hannibal, under the Conful Sempronius, a troupe of well-night tenne thoufand footemen, was so surprized with feare, that feeing no other way to take, nor by what other course to give their bafenes free passage, they headlong bent their flight toward the thickest and strongest squadron of their enemies, which with such furtie it rowted and brake through, as it drunke, and filme a great number of the Carthagians: purchasing a reprochfull and disgracefull flight, at the fame rate as it might have gained a moft glorious victorie. It is feare I stand moli in feare of. For, in sharpntes it turmounet all other accidents. What affection can be more violent and juft than that of Pompys friends, who in his owne chip were spectators of that horrible massacre? yet is it, that the feare of the Egyptian failes, which beganne to approach them, did in such fort daunt and scare them, that some have noted, they onely buffed themselves to haften the marriners, to make what speed they could, & by mane strength of oares to fave themselves, vntill such time, as being arived at Tyre, and that they were free from feare, they had leasure to bethinke themfelves, of their late loffe, and give their plaints and teares free passage, which this other stronger passion had suspended and hundred.

Tum pavor sapientiam omnem ad animo expellit.
Feare then vnbrafts all wit,
That in my minde did fi.

Those who in any skirmith or sodaine bickering of warre have been throughly skared, fores-hurt, wounded, and gored as they be, are many times the next day after, brought to charge againe. But such as have conceived a true feare of their enemies, it is hard for you to make them lookem in the face againe. Such as are in continuall feare to loose their goods, to be banished, or to be subdued, live in vnceffant argent and languor, and thereby often loose both their drinking, their eating, and their refl. Whereas the poore, the banished, and feele fervants, live often as carelesly and as pleafantly as the others. And so many men, who by the impatience and urging of feare, have hanged, drownet, and head-long tumbled downe from some rocke, have plainly taught vs, that feare is more imporunt and intolerable then death. The Greecians acknowledge an other kind of it, which is beyond the error of our dicourse; proceeding, as they say, without any apparrant caufe, and from an heavenly impulsion. Whole Nations and Armies are often烦e surprized with it. Such was that, which brought so wonderfull a defolation to Carthage, where nothing was heard but lamentable out-cries, and flightfull exclamations: the inhabitants were feene desperately to runne out of their houfes, as to a sodaine alarum, and furiously to charge, hurt, and enter-kill one another; as if they had beene enemies come to vsurpe and possess their Cittie. All things were there in a disordered confusion, and in a confused furtie, vntill such time as by prayers and facrifices, they had appeased the wrath of their Gods. They call it to this day, the Punike terror.

The eighteenth Chapter.

That we should not judge of our happinesse, vntill after our death.

— feilisset ultima semper
Exspectanda dies homini est, dicitque beatum
Ante obitum nemo, supremaque fumus a debet.
We must except of man the latest day,
Nore he die, he's happie, can we say.

The
The first Booke. 29

The verie children are acquainted with the storie of Cyrus to this purpose: who being taken by Cyrus, & by him condemned to die, and one of his execution, cried out aloud: Ohi, Solon, Solon! which words of his, being reported to Cyrus, who inquiring what he meant by them, told him, hee now at his owne cost verified the advertisement Solon had before times given him: which was, that no man, what cheerefull & blanct things countenance forever fortune shewed them, may rightly deeme himselfe happy. til such time as hee have passed the last day of his life, by reason of the uncertainitie and vicitlitude of humane things, which by a verie light motive, and slight occasion, are often changed from one to another cleane contrary state and degree. And therefore Agesilaus answered one that counted the King of Persia happy, because being very yong, he had gotten the garland of so mighty and great a dominion: yea but, saide he, Priamye at the same age was not vnhappy; of the Kings of Macedon, that succeeded Alexander the great, some were afterward seene to become loyners and scriveners at Rome; and of Tirants of Sicile, schoolmasters at Cordoue: One that had conquered half the world, and been Emperour over so many Armies, became an humble, and miserabe fitter to the raskall officers of a King of Egypt: At to hight a rate did that great Pompey purchase the irksome prolonging of his life but for five or six moneths. And in our fathers dayses, Lodovick Sforse, tenth Duke of Millane, vnder whom the state of Italie had so long beene turmoyled and shaken, was seene to die a wretched prisoner at Lobshe in France, but not till hee had lived and lingered ten years in thrallome, which was the worst of his bargaine. Oh humane and barbarous cruelty! So various and inconstant is the hand of fortune in disposing of Empires and Kingdomes. And a thousand such like examples. For, it seemeth that as the sea-billows and surging waves, rage and storme against the falsely pride, and stubborne height of our buildings. So is there above certaine spirits that envye the rising prosperities and greatnesse here below.

Vspite adiores humanos res adhuc quaedam
Obestis, & pulchros fases cutique secure
Proceliante, ac ludibrio sibi habere videtur.
A hidden powre so mens fates hath out-worne
Faire swordes, fierce scepters, signes of honours borne,
It seemes to trample and deade in fcorne.

And it seemeth Fortune doth sometime: narrowly watch the last day of our life, thereby to shew her power, and in one moment to overthrow, what for many yeares together she had beene erecting, and makes vs crie after Laberius, Nimium nam die una plus vixi, mihi quam vivendum fuit. Thus it is, I have lived longer by this one day, then I should. So may that good advice of Solon be taken with reason. But forsoo much as hee is a Philosopher, with whom the faveours or disfavours of fortune, and good or ill lucke have no place, and are not regarded by them: and puifances and greatnesse, and accidents of qualitie, are well nigh indifferent: I deeme it very likely he had a further reach, and that meant the same good fortune of our life, which dependeth of the tranquilitie and contentment of a wel-borne minde, and of the resolution and assurance of a well ordered soule, should never be ascribed vnto man, vntil he have bin scene play the last act of his comedie, and without doubt the hardest. In all the rest there may be some miske: either these sophisticall discourses of Philosophe are not in vs but by countenance, or accidents that never touch vs to the quick, give vs alwaies leasure to keepe our countenance sedled. But when that last parte of death, and of our selves comes to be acte, then no dissembling will abide, then is it high time to speake plaine English, and put off all vizardes: then whatsoever the pot containeth must be shewne, both good or bad, faules or cleane, wine or water.

Looke here, why at this last call, all our lives other actions must be tried and touched. It is the maister-day, the day that judgeth all others: it is the day, saith an auncient Writer.
The first Book.

The nineteenth Chapter.

That to Philosophie, is to learn how to die.

Cicero faith, that to Philosophie is no other thing, then for a man to prepare himselfe to death: which is the reaon, that study and contemplation doth in some sorte withdraw our soule from vs, and severally employ it from the body, which is a kind of apprenticeship and resemblance of death; or else it is, that all the wisdom and discourse of the world, doth in the end resolve upon this point, to teach vs, not to feare to die. Truely either reason mockes vs, or it onely aymeth at our contentment, and in fine, bends all hir travell to make vs live well, and as the holy Scripture faith, at our eafe. All the opinions of the world conclude, that pleasure is our end, howbeit they take divers meanes vnto, and for it, else would men reject them at their first comming. For, who would glue care vnto him, that for it's end would establish our paine and disturbance? The dilositions of philosophicall fefts in this caufe, are verball: Tranferramus solerimfas nugas: Let vs returne over such over-fine fooletries, and subsid rerum. There is more wilfulneffe and wrangling among them, then pertaines to a sacred profession. But what person a man vnder taketh to ake, he doth ever therewithall perfonate his owne. Although they say, that in vertue it selfe, the last scope of our aye is voluptuofnes. It pleaseth me to improue their cares still with this word, which so much offendeth their hearing: And if it imploie any chiefe pleasure or exceeding contentments, it is rather due to the affilience of vertue, then to any other supply, voluptuofnes being more strong, finnowie, sturdy, and manie, is but more seriously voluptuous. And we should give it the name of pleasure, more favorable, sweeter, and more natural; and not term it vigor, from which it hath his denomination. Should this bauer sensualitie defresse this faire name, it should be by competencie, and not by privilege. I finde it lesse void of incommodities and croffes than vertue. And besides that, hir taffe is more fleeting, momentarie, and fading, the hath hir faultes, hir eues, and hir travels, and both sweate and blood. Furthermore the hath particularly so many wounding passions and of so feuerall sorts, and so filthie and lothsome a societie waiting vpon hir, that the is equivalent to penitencie. We are in the wrong, to thinke hir incommodities serve hir as a provocation, & feaoning to hir sweeties, as in nature one contrarie is vivified by another contrarie: and to say, when we come to vertue,that like feruices and difficulties over-whelme it, and yeeld it aufftere and inaccessible. Where as much more pro-
property than vnlo voluptuousites,they ennable,Sharpen,animate,and raise that divine and perfect pleasure, which it mediates and procureth vs. Truely he is very wuorthie hir acquaintance, that counter-ballanceth hir cost to his fruit, and knowes neither the graces nor vie of t. Thofe who goe about to infruct vs, how hir puruifi is very hard and laborious, and hir joye and delightfull: what else tell they vs, but that he is ever vnpleasand and yrkforme? For, what humane meane did ever attaine vnlo an absolute enjoying of it? The perfect . have bene content but to aspire and approach hir, without ever poffeffing hir. But they are deceived; seeing that of all the pleasure we know, the puruifi of them is pleasant. The enterprize is perceived by the quality of the thing, which it hath regard vnto for it is a good portion of the effect, and confubstantiall. That happines and felicitie, which fineth in vertue, repleniseth his approches and appurtenances, even vnto the firft entrance and vtmost barre. Now of all the benefits of vertue, the contempt of death is the chiefest, a meane that furnifheth our life with an eafe-full tranquillitie, and gues vs a pure and amiable taffe of it: without which every other voluptuousites is extinguished. Loc,here the reasons why all rules encounter and agree with this article. And albeit they all lead vs with a common accord to deprehe grieues, povertie, and other accidentall crosses, to which mans life is subiect, it is not with an equall care: as well because accidents are not of such a necessitie, for most men paffe their whole life without feeling any want or povertie, and other-some without feeling any griece or flicknes, as Xenophilus the mufition, who lived a hundred and fixie yeares in perfect and continual health: as alfo if the worst happen, death may at all times, and whensoever it shall please vs, cut off all other inconveniences and crosses. But as for death, it is inevitabile.

Omnes eodem cognovimus omnium
Questor uris, ferius, osius
Sors exitus, & nos in eorum exitum imposuit a cymbe.
All to one place are driv'n, of all
Shak't is the lot-pot, where-hence shall
Sooner or later drawn, lots fall,
And to deaths boate for awe enthral.

And by consequence, if the make vs affaied, it is a continual subject of torment, and which can no way be cas'd. There is no starting-hole will hide vs from hir, she will finde vs where-foever we are, we may as in a suspected country flarte and come here and there: que quis saxum Tantalo semper imendet: Which evermore hangs like the stone over the head of Tantalus:
Our laws doe often condemme and send malefactors to be executed in the same place where the crime was committed: to which place, whilst they are going, lead them along the fairest houses, or entertaine them with the best cheere you can,

non Sicula dapes
Dulce emolument aporem:
Non avium, eborari, cantus
Sommum reddent.
Not all King Demi daintie fare,
Can pleasing taffe for them prepare:
No fong of birds, no musitches found
Can hulabie to sleepe profound.

Do you thinke they can take any pleasure in it? or be any thing delighted? and that the final intent of their voyage being still before their eyes, hath not altered and altogether dis-tracted their taffe from all these commodities and allurements?

And ut iter, numeratque dies, statisque viarum
Metitur vitam, torquetur peste futura.
He hears his iorney, count's his daies, so measures he
His life by his waies length, yet with the ill shall be.

The end of our cariere is death, it is the necessitie object of our aime if it affright vs, how is it possible we should step one foote further without an ague? The remedie of the vulgar forte is, not to thinke on it. But from what brutall lupiditie may so grosse a blindnes come vpon him? he must be made to bridle his Asse by the taille,
The first Booke.

Qui capite ipsa usque in mentem vestigia retro.
Who doth a course contrarie tunne
With his head to his course begunne.

It is no maruell if he be so often taken tripping; some do no sooner hear the name of death spoken of, but they are afraid, yea the moft part will crosse themselues, as if they heard the Devil named. And because mention is made of it in mens wils and testamentes, I warrant you there is none will let his hand to them, til the Phisitian have given his last doome, and ytterly forseth them. And God knowes, being then betweene such paine and feare, with what fould judgement they endure him. For so much as this fillable founden so vnpleasantly in their eares, and this voice seemed fo ill-boding and vnluckie, the Romans had learned to allay and dilate the fame by a Periphrasis. In fiew of faying, he is dead, or he hath ended his daies, they would fay, he hath lived. So it be fe, be it past or no, they are conforted: from whom we have borowed our phtasæ quondam, alias, or late fuch a one. It may happily be, as the common faying is, the time we live, is worth the mony we pay for it. I was borne betweene eleven of the clocke and noone, the laft of Februarie 1533: according to our computation, the yeare beginning the first of Januarie. It is but a fortnight since I was 39 yeares old. I want at leaft as much more. If in the mean time I should trouble my thoughts with a matter fo farre from me, it were but folly. But what? we fee both young and olde to leave their life after one felle-fame condition. No man departs otherwise from it, then if he but now came to it, feeding there is no man fo crazed, bedrell, or decrepitt, fo long as he remembers Mathusalem, but thinkes he may yet live twintie yeares. Moreover, feely creature as thou art, who hath limited the ende of thy daies? Happily thou presumest upon Phisitians reports. Rather consider the effect and experience. By the common course of things, long since thou livest by extraordinary favour. Thou hast already over-past the ordinarie tearmes of common life: And to prove it, remember but thy acquaintances, and tell me how many more of them have died before they came to thy age, then have either attained or out-gone the fame: ye and of thofe that through renouned hath ennoble their life, if thou but register them, I will lay a wager, I will finde more that have died before they came to five and thirty yeares, then after. It is consonant with reafon and pietie, to take example by the humanity of Iofia Chrift, who ended his humane life at three and thirtie yeares. The greatest man that ever was, being no more then a man, I mean Alexander the great, ended his daies, and died also of that age. How many several meanes and wayes hath death to surprize vs.

Quid quisque vitae, munquam hominum saecula
Custum est in horis.
A man can never take good heed,
Hourly what he may shunne and speede.

I omit to speake of agues and pleuries; who would ever have imagined, that a Duke of Britannie should have beene stifled to death in a throng of people, as whilome was a neighbour of mine at Lyons, when Pope Clement made his entrance there? Haft thou not feene one of our late Kings flaine in the middef of his sportes? and one of his ancestors die miserably by the chocke of a hog? Echidna fore-threathed by the fall of an house, when he stood moft vpon his guard, ftrucken dead by the fall of a Tortoise shell, which fell out of the tallans of an Eagle flying in the ayre? and another choked with the kernel of a grape? And an Emperour die by the scratch of a combe, whilfe he was combing his head? And Lepides with hittting his foote againft a doore-feele? And Anfiinus with stumbling againft the Confull-chamber doore as he was going in there? And Cornelius Gallus the Praetor, Tegibus Captaine of the Romane watch, Ledomig fonne of Guido Genzaga, Marquis of Mantua, end their daies betwixt womenis thighs? And of a farre worse example Spane-fippes the Platonian Philosopher, and one of our Popes? Poore Rebinus a judge, whilfe he demurred the fute of a plaintifs but for eight daies, beholde his lift expired? And Caius Iulius a Phisition, whilfe he was annoyng the eyes of one of his patients, to have his owne sight closed for ever by death. And if amongst these examples, I may add one of a brother of mine, called Captaine Saint Martin, a man of three and twintie yeares of age, who had already given good testimonie of his worth and forward valor, playing at tennis, received a blow with a ball, that hit him a little above the right ear, without apperance of any
any confusion, baze, or hurt, and never sitting or reeding vpon it, died within six hours after an Apoplexy, which the blow of the ball caused in him. These so frequent and ordinary examples, hapning, and being full before our eyes, how is it possible for man to forget or forget the remembrance of death? and why should it not continually seeme vnto vs, that she is full ready at hand to take vs by the throat? What matter is it, will you say vnto me, how and in what manner it is, so long as a man doe not trouble and vex himselfe therewith? I am of this opinion, that howsoever a man may throwd or hide himselfe from his darte, yea were it under an oxen hide, I am not the man would shrinke backe: it sufficeth meth to live at my ease; and the best recreation I can have, that doe I ever take: in other matters, as little vainglorious, and exemplar as you lift.

--- praeliter deliris inerigere sideri,
Dum mea deleitent nulla me, vel demique fallant,
Quam sapere & ringer.
A dotard I had rather see me, and dull,
So me my faults may please, make me a gull,
Than to be wise, and beate my vexed gull.

But it is folly to thinke that way to come vnto it. They come, they goe, they trot, they dance: but no speech of death. All that is good sport. But if the be once come, and on a sedaine and openly surprize, either them, their wives, their children, or their friends, what torments, what out-cries, what rage, and what dispaire oth then overhelme them? fawe you ever any thing so drooping, so changed, and so distracted? A man must looke to it, and in better times fore-see it. And might that brutish carelesse lodging in the minde of a man of understanding (which I finde altogether impossible) the fels vs her ware at over deere a rate: were the an enemie by mans wit to be avoided, I would advise man to borrow the weapons of cowardlines: but since it may not be: and that be you either a coward or a runcway, an honest or a valiant man, he overtakes you,

Nempe & fugaces persequitur virum,
Nec parent imbellis inuenite,
Populus simidiique tergo.
She persecutes the man that flies,
She spares not weak youth to surprize,
But on their hames and backe turnd plies.

And that no temper of cuirace may shielde or defend you,
Ile licet ferro cautus se condit in are,
Mors tamen inclusum pretrebi inde caput.
Though he with yron and brasse his head empale,
Yet death his head enclosed thence will have.

Let vs learn to stand, and combatte him with a resolute minde. And beginne to take the greatest advantage the hath vpon vs from him, let vs take a clean contrary way from the common, let vs remove him strangenes from him, let vs converse frequent, and acquaint our selves with him, let vs have nothing so much in minde as death, let vs at all times and seasons, and in the mitht manner that may be, yea with all faces shapen and represent the same vnto our imagination. At the stumbling of a horse, at the fall of a stone, at the least prcke with a pinne, let vs prefently ruminat and say with our selves, what if it were death it selfe? and thereupon let vs take heart of grace, and call our wits together to confront him. A midst our bankers, feasts, and pleasures, let vs ever have this refrainer or object before vs, that is, the remembrance of our condition, and let not pleasure so much mislead or transport vs, that we altogether neglect or forget, how many waies, our joyes, or our feelings, be subject vnto death, and by how many holde-faits thee threatens vs and them. So did the Egyptians, who in the midst of their banquetings, and in the full of their greatest cheere, caused the anatomie of a dead man to be brought before them, as a memorandum and warning to their guests.

Omnem credo dieunti dulcisssipe supremum,
Crata supervenes,que non peraditut boras.
Thynke every day shunes on thee as thy laft,
Welcome it will come, whereof hope was past.
It is uncertaine where death looks for vs, let vs expect it everie where: where the premeditation of death, is a fore-thinking of libertie. He who hath learned to die, hath unlearned to live. There is no evil in life, for him that hath well conceived, how the privation of life, is no evil. To know how to die, doth free vs from all subjection and constraint. *Paulus* *Ambrosius* answered one, whom that miserable *King Macedon* his prisoner sent to entreate him, he would not lead him in triumph, let him make that request unto himselfe. Verily, as Nature affordeth not some helpes, in all things, it is very hard that arte and industrie should goe farre before. Of my selfe, I am not much given to melancholy, but rather to dreaming and sluggishnes. There is nothing wherewith I have ever more entertained my selfe, than with the imaginations of death, yea in the most licentious times of my age.

*Incumabundum, cum as floridior aereet.*

When my age flourishing
Did spend it's pleasant spring.

Being amongst faire Ladies, and in earnest play, some have thought me busied, or musing with my selfe, how to digest some jelouie, or meditating on the vnccertaine of some conceived hope, when God he knowes, I was entertaining my selfe with the remembrance of some one or other, that but few daies before was taken with a burning feuer, and of his foredaine end, comming from such a feast or meeting where I was my selfe, and with his head full of side conceites, of love, and merry glee: supposing the fame, either sickenes or end to be as neere me as him.

*Tam fueris, nec posse; unquam revocare t Aebeit.*

Now time would be, no more
You can this time restore.

I did no more trouble my selfe or frowne at such a conceite, then at any other. It is impossible, we should not apprehend or feel some motions or startings at such imaginations at the first, and comming sodainely vpon vs: but doubleffe, hee that shall manage and meditate vpon them with an impartiall eye, they will affuredly, in trueth of time, become familiar to him: Otherwise for my part, I should be in continuall fear and agonie, for no man did ever more distrust his life, nor make leffe account of his continuance: Neither can health, which I heretofore have so long enjoied, and which so seldom hath bin crazed, lengthen my hopes, nor any fickenesse shorten them of it. At every minute me thinks I make an escape. And I vnscannfully record vnto my selfe, that whatsoever may be done another day, may be effected this day. Truely hazards and dangers do little or nothing approach vs at our end: And if we consider, how many more there remaine, besides this accident, which in number more then millions seeme to threaten vs, and hang over vs, we shall find, that bee we found or sick, lufhie or weake, at sea or at land, abroad or at home, fighting or at rest, in the midst of a battell or in our beds, she is ever alike: neere vnto vs. *Nemo altera fragilis est, nec in crastinum sibi certior. No man is weaker then other, none safer of himselfes (to love) till to morrow.* Whatsoever I have to doe before death, all leasure to ende the fame, feemeth short vnto me, yea were it but of one houre. Some body, not long since turning over my writing tables, found by chance a memorial of something, I would have done after my death I told him (as in deed it was true), that being but a mile from my house, and in perfect health and lufhie, I had made haft to write it, because I could not affure my self I should ever come home in safety. As one that am ever hatching of mine owne thoughts, and place them in my selfe: I am ever prepared about that which I may be: nor can death (come when the pleasa) put me in mind of any new thing. A man should ever, as much as in him lieth, be ready booted to take his journey, and above all things, looke he have then nothing to do but with him selfe.

*Quid brevi fortis iaculumur aevos*  
*Multa? To aime why are we ever bold,  
At many things in so short hold?*  

For then we shal have worke sufficient, without any more accreafe. Some man complainteth more that death doth hinder him from the aflured course of an hoped-for victorie, than of death it selfe: another cries out, he shal give place to her, before he have married his daughter, or directed the course of his childrens bringing vp; an other bewailith he must forgoe.
The first Booke.

forget his wives company: another moaneth the losse of his children as the chiefest commodities of his being. I am now, by means of the mercy of God, in such a taking, that without regrett or grieving at anie worldly matters, I am prepared to dislodge, whensoever he shall please to call me: I am ever where free my farewell is, if one taken of all my friends, except of my felfe. No man did ever prepare himselfe to quit the world more finely, and fully, or more generally spake of all thoughts of it, then I am fully assured I shall doe. The deadeft deaths are the best.

Miser o miser (aitem) omnia ademit,
Vna dies infesti ambitus premia vitae:
O wretch, O wretch, (friends cry) one day,
All joies of life hath taken away:

And the builder,

—maneant (faith he) opera interrupta, miney,
Muriorem ingenis.
The workes vnfinishe lie,
And walls that threatenedtie.

A man should designe nothing so long afore hand, or at least with such an intent, as to passionate himselfe to see the end of it; we are all borne to be doing.

Commoriar, medium solius & inter opus.
When dying I my selfe shall spend,
Erere half my businesse come to end.

I would have a man to be dooing, and to prolong his lives offices, as much as lieth in him, and let death seize upon me, whilst I am setting my cabiges, carelesse of her darte, but more of my vnperfect gartun. I sawe one die, who being at his last gaspe, vnceffantly complained against his destine, and that death should so vnkindely cut him off in the midst of an historie which he had in hand, and was now come to the fifteenth or sixteenth of our Kings.

Illud in his rebus non addunt, ney tibi earn,
Iam desiderium rerum super insidet uia.
Friends adde not that in this case, now no more
Shalt thou desire or want things wisthe before.

A man should rid himselfe of these vulgar and hurtfull humours. Even as churchyards were first placed adjoyning unto churches, and in the most frequented places of the Cittie, to ensure (as Lycurgus faide) the common people, women and children, not to be skareed at the sight of a dead man, and to the end that continuall spectacles of bones, fculis, tomber, graves, and burials, should forewarne vs of our condition, and fatale end.

Quin etiam, exibularae viris convivia cede
Mos olis, & misere apulis spectacula diva
Certatum ferre, spece & super tis cadentum
Pecula, reperies non parce fangine mensis.
Nay more, the manner was to welcome guefts,
And with dire shews of slaughter to mixe safts
Of them that fought at shapre, and with boards tainted
Of them with much blood, who o're full cups tainteed.

And even as the Egyptians after their scallings and carowlings, cau'd a great image of death to be brought in and shewed to the guefts and by-standers, by one that cried aloud, Drinke and be merry, for such shall then be when thou art dead: So have I learned this custome or lesson, to have always death, not only in my imagination, but continually in my mouth. And there is nothing I desire more to be informed of, then of the death of men: that is to say, what words, what countenance, and what face they shew at their death; and in reading of histories, which I so attentively observe. It appeareth by the shuffling and huddling vp of my examples, I affest no subject fo particularly as this. Were I a composer of bookes, I would keepe a register, commented of the diverse deaths, which in teaching men to die, should after teach them to live. Diceramus made one of that title, but of an other and lesse profitable end. Some man will say to me, the effect excedeth the thought so farre, that there is no fenceto fure, or cunning to certaine, but a man shall either loose or forget,
The first Booke.

if he come once to that point; let them say what they lift: To premeditate on it, is to doubt of great advantage: and is it nothing, at the least to goe so farre without dismay, or alteration, or without an ague? There belongs more to it: Nature her selfe lends her hand, and gives courage. If it be a short and violent death, we have no leasure to fear it; if otherwife, I perceive that according as I engage my selfe in sicknesse, I doe naturally fall into some distaine, and contempt of life. I finde that I have more ado to disengage this resolution, that I shall die when I am in health, then I have, when I am troubled with a fever: for so much as I have no more fuch fmall hold on the commodities of life, whereof I beginne to loofe the vifte and pleasure, and view death within the face with a leffe unattendt looke, which makes me hope, that the further I goe from that, and the nearer I approch to this, so much more easily doe I enter in composition, for their exchange. Even as I have tried in many other occurrences, which Cesar affirmed, that often somethings seeme greater, being farre from vs, then if they bee neere at hand: I have found that being in perfect health, I have much more beene frighted with sickenesse, then when I have felt it. The jollitie wherein I live, the pleasure and the strength, make the other seeme fo disproportionate from that, that by imagination I amplify these commodities by one moytie, and apprehend them much more heavy and burthenforme, then I feel them when I have them upon my shoulders. Thence I hope will happen to me of death. Consider wee by the ordinary mutations, and dayly declinations, which we suffer, how Nature deprives vs of the sight of our lust and emparing: what hath an aged man left him of his yowthes rigor, and of his forepast life?

Hen. seniibus uta portio quanta manet!
‘Alas to men in yeares, how small
A parte of life is left in all?

Cesar to a tired and crazed Soldier of his guard, who in the open streee came to him, to beg leave, he might afe himselfe to be put to death; viewing his decrepit behaviour, answered pleafantly: ‘Doeth thou thinke to be alowe then? Were man all at once to fall into it, I doe not thinke we should be able to bear a change, but being faire and gently led on by her hand, in a flowe, and as it were vnperceived decent, by little and little, and step by step, the rules vs into that miserable state, and day by day seekes to acquaint vs with it. So that when youth failes in vs, we feele, nay we perceive no shaking or trancheare at all in our felves: which in effence and verite is a harder death, then that of a languishing and irksome life, or that of age. For so much as the leafe from an ill being, vnto a not beeing, is not fo dangerous or pleasanter, as it is from a delightfull and flowershine being, vnto a painfull and forrowfull condition. A weak bending, and faint flooping bodie hath leffe strength to bear and undergoe a heavy burden: So hath our foule. She must be rouzed and raised against the violence and force of this aduertifie. For, as it is impoffible, she should take any reft whilst fhe feareth: whereas if fhe be affuiron (which is a thing exceeding humane condition) she may boast that it is impoffible, vnquietnes, torment, and fear, much leffe the leafe displeasure should lodge in her.

Non uultus inftantit tyranni
Monte quattis salda, neque Aufler,
Dux inquieti turridus Adrie,
Nec subminantis magna lovis mentis.
No vrging tyrants threatning face,
Where minde is found can it displace,
No troublous wind the rough feas Maifler,
Nor lover great hand the thunder-cafter.

She is made Miftles of her passions, and concupiscence, Lady of indulgence, of shame of povertie, and of all fortunes injuries. Let him that can, attain to this advantage: Herein conflfs the true and Soveraigne libertie, that affords vs meanes wherewith to jealf and make a scorn of force and justice, and to deride imprisonment, gives, or fetters.

in muscis,

Compedus, favo te sub custode tenebo.
Ipse Deus simul aequam volam, me solus: opinor,
Hoc finetis moriar, moris ultima linea veris eff.

In
In gyues and fitters I will hamper thee, 
Vnder a laver that shall cruell be: 
Yet, when I will, God me deliver shall, 
He thinkes, I shall die: death is end of all.

Our religion hath had no furer humane foundation, then the contempt of life. Discourse of reason doth not only call and summon vs unto it. For why should wee feare to loose a thing, which being lost, cannot be moaned? but alfo, since wee are threatened by fo many kinds of death, there is no more inconvenience to feare them all, then to endure one: what matter is it when it commeth since it is unavoideable? Socrates answere one that told him, The thirty Tyrants have condemned thee to death, And Nature them, said he. What foundation is it to care and care so much, at that infall and passage from all exemption of paine and care? As our birth brought vs the birth of all things, so shall our death the end of all things. Therefore is it as great folle Weepe, we shall not live a hundred yeres hence, as to waile wee lived not a hundred yeres agoe. 

Death is the beginning of another life. So wept we, and so much did it cont vns to enter into this life; and so did wee spoile vs of our ancient vaile in entring into it. Nothing can be grievous that is but once. Is it reason so long to feare, a thing of so short time? Long life or short life is made all one by death. For long or short is not in things that are no more. Aristotle faith, there are certaine little bealest along the river Hispanis that live but one day; she which dieth at 8. a clocke in the morning, dieth in her youth, & the that dies at 9. in the afternoon, dieth in her decrepitude, who of vs doth not laugh, when we shall see this moment of continuance to be had in consideration of good or ill fortune? The most & the least in ours, if we compare it with eternitie, or equal it to the lasting of mountaines, rivers, stars, and trees, or any other living creature, is no leffe ridiculous. But nature compells vs to do it. Depart faith the, out of this world, even as you came into it. The same way you came from death, to death returne without passion or amazement, from life to death: your death is but a piece of the worlds order, and but a parcelf of the worlds life.

Shal I not change this goodly contexture of things for you? It is the condition of your creation: death is a part of your selves: you flee from your selves. The being you enjoy, is equally shared between life and death. The first day of your birth doth as well address you to the as to live.

Prima que vitam dedit, hortae carpitis. 
The first hour, that to men 
Gave life, plant, crop it then. 
Nam centes moriturus singulis ab origine pendet: 
As we are borne we die; the end 
Doth of th'original depend.

All the time you live, you fleale it from death; it is at his charge. The continual work of your life, is to contrive death you are in death, during the time you continue in life: for you are after death, when you are no longer living. Or if you had rather have it so, you are dead after life: but during life, you are till dying; and death doth more rudely touch the dying, then the dead, and more lively and essentially. If you have profited by life, you have also bin fed thereby, depart then satisfied.

You have not knowen how to make vs of it: if it were unprofitable to you, what neede you care to have loft it? to what end would you enjoy it longer?

If you have not knowen how to make vs of it: it were unprofitable to you, what neede you care to have loft it? to what end would you enjoy it longer? 

If you have not knowen how to make vs of it: it were unprofitable to you, what neede you care to have loft it? to what end would you enjoy it longer? 

Rerum quod pereat male, & ingratum occidat omne? 
Why seek you more to gaine, what must againe 
All perish ill, and passe with griefe or paine?

Life in it selfe is neither good nor evill: it is the place of good or evill, according as you prepare it for them. And if you have lived one day, you have seen all: one day is equal to all
all other dates: There is no other light, there is no other night. This Sunne, this Moone, these Starres, and this disposition, is the very same, which your forefathers enjoyed, and which shall also entertaine your posteritie.

Non alium videre patres: saluvm revocet

Afficent.

No other sawe our Sires of old,

No other shall their fonnes behold.

And if the worst happen, the distribution and variety of all the acts of my commodity, is performed in one yere. If you have observed the course of my foure seasons; they containe the infinitie, the youth, the virillitie, and the olde age of the world. He hath placed his parte: he knowes no other wilkes belonging to it, but to begin againe, it will ever be the same, and no other.

Lucr. 16. 1116.

—Veramur ibidem, atque insumus etque,

We still in one place turne about,

Still where we are, now in, now out.

Lucr. 10. 975.

Nam tibi praeter ea quod machinor, inventiamque

Quod placet, nihil est, eadem sunt omnia semper.

Else nothing, that I can devise or frame

Can please thee, for all things are still the same.

Make roome for others, as others have done for you. Equalitie is the chiefest ground-works of equitie, who can complaine to be comprehended where all are contained? So may you live longenough, youhall never diminish any thing from the time, youhave to die: it is booteless; so long shall you continue in that flate, which you feare, as if you had died being in your fwa-

thing-clothes, and when you were fying:

Lucr. 3. 341.

Mors eternam tamen, nihilamnissum simulamcebit.

Though yeares you live, as many as you will,

Death is eternall, death remaineth still.

And I will so please you, that you shall have no discontent.

In vera necis nullum for morte alium te,

Quo pessimi visus tibi sit angere peremptium,

Sichtque accentem.

Thou know fit not, there shall be no other thou,

When thou art dead indeed, that can tell how

Alike to waile thee dying, standing to waile thee lying.

Nor shall with for life, which you so much defiere.

Nee fioei enis qui quam tum se vitamque requirit,

Nee desiderium nostri nos afficit illum.

For then none for himselfe or life requires:

Nor are we of our selves affected with desires.

Death is leffe to be feared then nothing, if there were any thing leffe, then nothing.

—nulla morirn minus ad nos esse potuerim,

Si minus esse potessit quam quod nihil esset incidens,

Death is much leffe to vs, we ought etheme,

If leffe may be, then what doth nothing feeme.

Nor alive, nor dead, it doth concerne you nothing. Alive, because you are: Dead, because you are no more. Moreover, no man dies before his houres. The time you leave behinde was no more yours, then that which was before your birth, and concerneth you no more.

Responde enim quam nihil ad nos antea fvea veftefte.

Temporis aterni fuerit,

For marke how all antiquitie fore-gone

Of all time were we, to vs was none.
Where soever your life endeth, there is it all. The profit of life consisteth not in the space, but rather in the vse. Some man hath lived long, that hath had a short life. Follow it whilst you have time. It consisteth not in number of yeares, but in your will, that you have lived long enough. Did you think you should never come to the place, where you were full going? There is no way but hath an end. And if company may solace you, doth not the whole world walk to the same path?

"omnia te vita perfunt, sequantur."

Life past, all things at last
Shall follow thee as thou hast past.

Doeth not all things move as you doe, or keepe your course? Is there any thing grows not old eternely with your selfe? A thousand men, a thousand beastes, and a thousand other creatures die in the very influence that you live.

Num nov nulla dies, necque novetem aurora sequitur, etc.
Quae non auderit misit noxius aquis agrid.
Plorat mortis comites & funeris stirr.
No night enfued daje light : no morning followed night.
Which heard not moaning mixt with sick-mens groaning.
With death and funerelles joyned was that moaning.

To what end recoile you from it, if you cannot goe backe? You have seene many who have found good in death, ending thereby many many miseries. But have you seene any that hath receiv'd hurt thereby? Therefore is it more simplicity to condemn a thing you never proved, neither by your selfe nor any other. Why doest thou complain of me and of my life? Although thy age be not come to his period, thy life. A little man, is a whole man, as well as a great man. Neither men nor their lives are measured by the Ell. Chi- nor refused immortalitie, being informed of the conditions thereof, even by the God of time and of continuance, Saturne his father. Imagine truly how much an ever-during life would be leffe tolerable and more painfull to a man, then is the life which I have given him. Had you not death, you would then vnee-campely curst, and cry out against me, that I had deprived you of it. I have of purpose and withitly blended some bitternes amongst it, that so seeling the commoditie of it's vse, I might hinder you from over greedily embracing, or indifferently calling for it. To continue in this moderation, that is neither to flie from life, nor to runne to death (which I require of you) I have tempered both the one and other betweene sweetnes & sourenes. I first taught Theseis the chiefeft of your Sages and Wife men, that to live & die, were indifferent, which made him anfwere one very wilfully, who asked him, wherefore he died not; Because, faith he, it is indifferent. The water, the earth, the air, the fire, and other members of this my universe, are no more the instruments of thy life, then of thy death. Why fearest thou thy death? He is no more gucile, and conferreth no more to thy death, then any of the others. It is not the last step that causeth weariness: it only declares it. All dates march towards death, only the last comes to it. Beholde here the good precepts of our vniversall mother Nature.

I have oftentimes bethought my selfe whence it proceedeth, that in times of warr, the vifage of death (whether we feet in vs or in others) seemeth without all comparison much leffe dreadful and terrible vnto vs, then in our houses, or in our bedes, otherwise it should be an armie of Phiftians and winers, and the ever being one, there must needs bee much more assurance amongst contrie people, and of base condition, then in others. I very bravely threat, the fearfull looks, and abominable countenances wherewith we encompass it, are those that more amaze and terrify vs then death: a newe forme of life: the out-cries of mothers; the wailing of women and children; the visitation of dismaid and forsuing friends: the asfaltance of a number of pale-looking, distraffed, and whining seruants: a darke chamber: tapers burning round about; our couch befet round with Philosophers and Preachers; and to conclude, nothing but horror and abominishment on every side of vs: are we not already dead or buried? The very children are afraid of their friends, when they fee them masked; and so are we: The maske must as well be taken from things, as from men, which being removed, we shall finde nothing hid vnder it, but the very fame death, that a feely vall-let, or a simple made. servante, did lately suffer without amazement or feare. Happie is that death, which takes all leasure from the preparations of such an equipage.
The twentieh Chapter.

Of the force of imagination.

For his imagination generat caenum: A strong imagination begeteth chance, say learned clarkes.

I am one of those that seele a very great conflict and power of imagination. All men are shocked therewith, and some overthrown by it. The impression of it pierceth me, and for want of strength to resist his endeavours to avoid it, I could live with the onely asistance of holy and merie hearted men. The sight of others anguishes doth senfibly drive me into anguish; and my sense hath often vurped the sense of a third man.

If one cough continually, he provoketh my lungs and throat. I am more vnwillinge to vue the sickle dutie dooth engage me vnto, then those to whom I am little beholding, and regard least. I apprehend the evil which I studie, and place it in me. I deeeme it not strange that the brings both agues and death to such as give his scope to work his will, and applaud his. Simon Thomas was a great Phisitian in his daies. I remember upon a time comming by chance to visit a rich old man that dwelt in Tholofe, and who was troubled with the cough of the lungs, who discoursing with the said Simon Thomas of the meanes of his recoverie, he told him, that one of the brest was, to give me occasion to be delighted in his companie, and that fixing his eyes upon the livelines and freelines of my face, and setting his thoughts upon the joiefull and vigor, wherewith my youthfull age did then flourish, and filling all his senses with my florishing effate, his habitude might thereby be amended, and his health recovered. But he forgot to say, that mine might also be empaire and infecte. Galles Pelusis did so well enure his mind to comprehend the effance and motions of folly, that hee so transported his judgement from his feate, as he could never afterward bring it to his right place againe: and might rightly boast to have become a foole through wisdome. Some there are, that through feare anticipate the hang-mans hand; as he did, whose friends having obtained his pardon, and putting away the cloth with he was hood-winkt, that he might heare it read, was found straikel dead upon the scaffold, wounded only by the stroke of imagination. We sweate, we shake, we growe pale, and we blusht at the motions of our imagination; and wallowing in our beds we seeke our bodies agitated and turmoiled at their apprehensions, yea in such manner, as sometimes we are ready to yeeld vp the spirit. And burning youth (although asleep) is often therewith so possested and entouled, that dreaming it doth fatifie and enjoy her amorous desires.

Lur. lib.4.217.

Vi quaest transactis sapa omnibie rebus profundus
Fluminis ingentes fluvius, vesemens centument.

As if all things were done, they powre forth streames
And bloodie their night-garment in their dreams.

And although it be not strange to see certaine men have horses growing upon their head in one night, that had none when they went to bed: notwithstanding the fortune or success of Cypus King of Italy is memorable, who because the day before he had with earneft affection, aslitted and beene attentive at a bul-baiting, and having all night long dreamt of horses in his head, by the very force of imagination brought them forth the next morning in his forehead. An earneft passion gave the sone of Cypus his voice, which nature had denied him. And Automen got an ague, by the excellent beaute of Stratonicus so deeply imprinted in his minde. Phoebre reporteth to have seene Lucuis Coffius upon his marriage day to have beene transformed from a woman to a man. Pontanus and others recount the like Metamorphesies to have hapned in Italy these ages past: And through a vehement desire of him and his mother.

Quid. Metam.
Lib.8.704.

Venera soluit, que famina voverat Ipsis.

Iphis a boy, the vowes then payde,
Which he vow'd when he was a mayde.

My seile traveling on a time by Utirj in France, hapned to see a man, whom the Bishop of
of Saffon had in confirmation, named Germane, and all the inhabitants there about have both knowne and seene to be a woman-child, vntill she was two and twentye yeares of age, called by the name of Marie. He was, when I saw him, of good yeares, and had a long beard, and was yet unmarried. Hee faith, that vpon a time leaping, and straining himselfe to overleape an other, he wore not how, but where before he was a woman, he sodainely felt the instruments of a man to come out of him, and to this day themaids of that towne and country have a song in vfe, by which they warne one an other, when they are leaping, not to straine themselves overmuch, or open their legs too wide, for fear they should bee turned to boyes, as Marie Germane was. It is no great wonder, that such accidents doe of-
ten happen, for if imagination have power in such things, it is so continually annexed, and so forcibly fastned to this subiect, that least he shou'd so often fall into the relaps of the same thought, and sharpenesse of desire, it is better one time for all, to incorporate this vile parte into wenches. Some will not sticke to ascrib the stears of the King Dagobert, or the cicatrices of Saint Francis into the power of imagination. Other some will say, that by the force of it, bodies are sometimes removed from their places. And Celsus reports of a priet, whose soule was ravished into such an extasie, that for a long time the body re-
mained voyde of all expiration and sense. Saint Augustime speacheth of another, who if hie but heard any lamentable and waifefull cries, would sodainely fall into a fowme, and bee so forcibly carried from himselfe, that did any chide and braule never so loud, pinch and thumpe him never so much, he could not be made to stirre, vntill he came to himselfe againe. Then would he say, he had heard sundrie strange voyces, comming as it were from a farr, and perceiving his pinches and brufes, wonderd at them. And that it was not an obstinate conceit, or wilfull humour in him, or against his feeling sense, it plainly appeared by this, because during his extasie, he seemed to have neither pulse nor breath. It is very likely that the principal credit of vifions, or enchantments, and such extraordinary ef-
fects, proceedeth from the power of imaginations, working especially in the minds of the vulgare fort, as the weakest and feeleft, whose conceit and belief is so seized vpon, that they imagine to see what they fee not. I am yet in doubt, these pleafant bonds, wherewith our world is fettered, and France so peftered, that nothing elles is spoken of, are happily but the impressions of apprehension, and effects of feare. For I know by experience, that some one, for whom I may as well answere as for myselfe, and in whom no manner of ful-pition either of weakenesse or enchantment might fall, hearing a companion of his make reporte of an extraordinary faint fowning, wherein he was fallen, at such a time, as he left looke for it, and wrought him no small shame, whereupon the honour of his report did so strongly strike his imagination, as he ranne the faine fortune, and fell into a like droop-
ing: And was thence forward subjeft to fall into like fits: So did the fationate re-
membrance of his incorporate postfelle and tyrannize him; but his fond doting was in time remedied by an other kinde of raving. For himfelfe avowing and publishing afore hand the infirmite he was subjeft vnto, the contention of his soule was solaced vpon this, that bearing his evil as expected, his duty thereby diminished, and he grieved lesse threat. And when at his choice, he hath had law and power (his thought being cleared and un-
masked, his body finding itfelfe in his right due and place) to make the fame to bee fett, seized vpon, and apprehended by others knowledge: he hath fully and perfectly recovered himselfe. If a man have once beene capable, he can not afterward be incapable, except by a juft and absolute weakenesse. Such a mischief is not to be feared, but in the enterprizes, where our minde is beyond all measure bent with desire and respect; and chiefly where opportunite comes vnexpected and requires a sodaine dispatch. There is no means for a man to recover himselfe from this trouble; I know some, who have found to come vnto it with their bodies as it were halfe glutted elles where, thereby to stufipie or slay the hante of that furie, and who through age, finde themselves leffe vnable, by how much more they be leffe able: And another, who hath also found good, in that a friend of his affered him to bee provided with a counter-battery of forcible enchantments, to preferv him in any such conflict: It is not amifs I relate how it was. An Earle of very good place, with whom I was familiarly acquainted, being married to a very faire Lady, who had long bee solic-
tied for love, by our affilling at the weddind, did greatly trouble his friends, but most of all an olde Lady his kinswoman, who was chiefc at the marriage, and in whose houfe it was fo-
The first Booke.

lennized, as the that much feared such forceries and witches: which the gave mee to vnderstand, I comforted her as well as I could, and desired her to relieve upon me: I had by chance a piece of golden plate in my trunke, wherein were ingraven certaine celestiall figures, good against the funne-beames, and for the head-ach, being fity layde upon the future of the head: and that it might the better be kept there, it was fewed to a riband, to be fastened vnder the chinne. A fond doting conceit, and cofin-germane to that wee now speake of. James Peletier had whilft he lived in my house, bestowed that singular gift vpon mee; I advised my selfe to put it to some vfe, and tolde the Earle, he might happily be in danger, and come to some misfortune as others had done, the rather because some were present, that would not flique to procure him some ill lucke; and which was worse, some spifefull shame; but nevertheless I willed him boldly to goe to bed: For I would shew him the part of a true friend, and in his need, spare not for his good to employ a miracle, which was in my power; alwayes provided, that on his honour he would promise me faithfully to keepe it very secret; which was onely, that when about mid-night he should have his candle brought him, if he had not good successe in his businesse, hee should make such and such a figure to me. It fel out, his mind was so quajled, and his ears so dulled, that by reason of the bond wherewith the trouble of his imagination had tied him, hee could not runne on poste: and at the hourre appointed, made the figure agreed vpon betweene vs, I came and whispered him in the eare, that vnoder pretence to put vs all out of his chamber, he should rife out of his bed, and in jefting maner take my night gowne which I had on, and put it vpon himselfe (which he might well doe, because we were much of one stature) and keepe it on till he had performed my appoinment, which was, that when we should bee gone out of the Chamber, he should with-draw himselfe to make water, and vifing certaine jestures, I had shewed him, speake such worde thrice over. And every time he spake them he should girte the Ribbond, which I put into his handes, and very carefully place the plate thereto fastned, juft vpon his kidneyes, and the whole figure, in such a posture. All which when he had accordingly done, and the latter time so fastned the ribbond, that it might neither be vntide nor struck from his place, hee should then boldly and confidently returne to his charge, and not forget to spreade my night-gowne vpon his bed, but so as it might cover them both. These fopperies are the chiefe of the effect. Our thought being vnable to free it selfe, but some strange meanes will proceed from some abstruse learning: Their inanitie gives them weight and creede. To conclude, it is most certaine, my Characters prooved more vnerian than solare, more in action, than in prohibition. It was a ready and curious humour drew me to this effect, farre from my nature. I am an enemy to craftie and fained actions, and hate all futiletie in my handes, not onely recreative, but also profitable. If the action be not vices, the course vnto it, is facultie. Amenis king of Egit tooke to wife Laceda, a very beauteous yong virgine of Greece, and he that before had in every other place found and shewed himselfe a lustie gyllant, found himselfe so short, when he came to grapple with her, that he threatened to kill her, supposing it had bin some charme or forcerie. As in all things that consift in the fantasie, the addrest him to devotion. And having made his vowes and promises to Venus, he found himselfe dinely freed, even from the first night of his oblations and sacrifices. Now they wrong vs, to receive and admit vs with their wanton, squeamish, quarrellous countenances, which fetting vs a fire, extinguish vs.

Pythagoras his niece was wont to say, That a woman which lies with a man, ought, together with her pettie-coate, leave off all bashfulnesse, and with her pettie-coate, take the same againe. The minde of the assailant molleted with sundry different abrums, is easie dismaid. And he whom imagination hath once made to suffer this shame (and these hath causd the same to be felt but in the first acquaintance; because they are then burning and violent, and in the first acquaintance and comming together, or triall a man gives of himselfe, he is much more afraid and quaint to misse the mark he shoots at) having begunne ill he falls into an ague or spite of this accident, which afterward continueth in succeeding occasions. Married men, because time is at their command, and they may goe to it when they lift, ought never to presume or importune their enterprize, vnlesse they be ready. And it is better vnderstond to faile in hanneling the nuptiall bed, full of agitation and fits, by waiting for some or other fitter occasion; and more private opportunitie, lest fHONE and alarmed, then to fall into a perpe-
perpetual miserie, by apprehending an astonishment and desperation of the first. Before possession taken, a patient ought by fallacies, and divers times, lightly allay and offer him selfe without vexing or oppining himselfe, definitively to convince himselfe. Such as knowe their members docile and rattleable by nature, let them onely endeavour to counter-cozin their fantasie. Men have reason to checke the indecile libertie of this member, for so opportunistie intimating himselfe when we have no neede of him, and so importantly, or as I may say imperfectionely falling, at what time wee have most neede of him, and so imperiously controlling by his authority, with our will, refusing with such fiercenes and obstinacie our solicitations both mentall and manuall. Nevertheless if a man inasmuch as be dooth gormandize and devour his rebellion, and draws a trial by his condemnation, would pay me for to plead his caufe, I would peradventure make other of our members to be suspected to have in envy of his importance, and sweeteffe of his face, devised this imposture, and framed this fett quarrell against him, and by some malicious complot armed the world against him, enviously charging him alone with a fault common to them all. For I referre it to your thought, whether there be anie one particular part of our body, that doth not sometimes refuse his particular operation to our will and with, and that doth not often exercise and praftise against our will. All of them have their proper passions, which without any leave of ours doe either awaken or lull them asleep. How often doe the forced motions and changes of our faces, witness the secretelt and most lurking thoughts we have, and betray them to by-flanders? The fame cause that dooth animate this member, doth also, unwitting to vs, embolden our hart, our lungs, and our pulses. The sight of a pleasing object, reflecting imperceptibly on vs, the flame of a contagious or aguifh emotion. Is there nought besides these muscles and veines, that rise and fall without the consent, not onely of our will, but also of our thought? We cannot commande our haire to stand on end, nor our skime to startle for desire or fear. Our hands are often carried where we direct them not. Our tongue and voice are sometimes to sekke of their faculties, the one looeth her speach, the other her nimblenesse. Even when we have nothing to feede upon, wee would willingly forbid it; the appetites to eate, or hift to drinke, doe not leave to move the partes subject to them, even as this other appetite, and so, though it be out of seacon, forfaketh vs, when he thinks good. Those instruments that serve to discharge the belly, have their proper compressions and dilations, besides our intent, and against our meaning, as these are defined to discharge the kindnes. And that which, the better to authorize our willes power, an ancient Father alreadgeth, to have feene one, who could at all times command his posteriour, to let as many scape as he would, and which Uxor endeareth by the example of an other in his daies, who could let tunable and organized ones, following the tune of any voyce pronounced unto his ears, inferreth the pure obedience of that member: than which, none is commonly more indiscreete and tumultuous. Seeing my selfe knowe one fo skitith and mutinous, that these fortie yeerees keeps his maffier in such awe, that will he, or nill he, hee will with a continuall breath, constant and vntempered cufome breake winde at his pleasure, and so brings him to his grave. And would to God I knewe it but by Histories, how that many times our belly, being restrained thereof, brings vs even to the gates of a pining and languishing death: And that the Emperour, who gave vs free libertie to vent at all times, and every where, had also given vs the power to doe it. But our will, by whole priviledge wee advance this reproch, how much more likelie, and consonant to trueh may wee take it of rebellion, and accuse it of edification, by reason of its vnruineffe and disobedience? Will fhee at all times doe that, which we would have her willingly to doe? Is she not often willing to effect that, which we forbid her to defire? and that to our manifest prejudice and dammage? Doth the suffer herselfe to be directed by the conclusions of our reason? To conclude, I would verge in defence of my client, that it would please the Judges to consider, that concerning this matter, his caufe being inseperably conjoin'd to a comfort, and indifferently yet will not a man addresse himselfe but to him, both by the arguments and charges, which can no way appertaine to his faide comfort. For, his effect is indeede sometime importunately to invite, but to refuse never: and also to invite silently and quietly. Therefore is the faweineffe and illegallie of the accusers feene. Howsoever it be, protesting that advocates and judges may wrangle, contend, and give sentence, what, and how they please, Nature will in the same time follow her course: who, had she endued this member with a-
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my particular privilege, yet had the done but right, and shewed but reason. Author of
the only immortal worke, of mortall men. Divine worke according to Socrates, and
love, of immortality, and immortal Demon himselfe. Some man peradventure, by
the effects of imagination, leaveth the pox or Kings evil here, which his companion car-
rieth into Spauen againe: loe here why in such cases men are accustomed to require a prepa-
red minde, wherefore do Phisitians labour and præfite before hand the conceite and cre-
aire of their patients, with so many false promises of their recovery and health, vnleffe it be
that the effect of imagination may supple and prepare the impollure of their imposture?
They knew that one of their trades-master hath left written, how some men have bene
found, in whom the only sight of a potion hath wrought his due operation: All which
humor or caprice is now come into my mind, upon the report which an Apothecarie, whi-
lome a servant in my fathers house, was wont to tell me, a man by knowledge simple, and
by birth a Switzer: a nation little vainglorious, and not much given to lying, which was,
that for a long time he had known a merchant in Thoulouse, sickish, and much troubled with
the stone, and who often had neede of glisters, who according to the fits and occurrences
of his evil, caused them diversely to be prescribed by Phisitians. Which being brought him,
no accustomed forme to them belonging was omitted, and would often taste whether they
were too hote, and view them well, and lying along upon his bedde, on his belle, and all
complements performed, only injection excepted; which ceremonie ended, the Apothecarie
gone, and the patient lying in his bed, even as if he had received a glister indeede, he found
and felt the very same effect, which they doe that have effectually taken them. And if the
Phisitian saw it he wrought sufficiently, hee would accordingly give him two or three
more in the same manner. My witnessse protesteth, that the fische mens wife, to save charges
(for he paide for them as if he had received them) having sometimes afforded to make them
only with lucre warme water, the effect discovered the craft, and being found not to worke at
all, they were forced to returne to the former, & vfe the Apothecarie. A woman supposing
to have swallowed a pinne with her breade, cryed and vexed her selfe, even as if she had felt
an intolerable paine in her throat, where she imagined the name to stick; but because there
appeared neither swelling or alteration, a skillfull man deeming it to be but a fantifie concei-
ved or opinion, apprehended by eating of some pretty piece of bread, which happily might
pricke her in the swallow, made her to vomite, and vnknowne to him, a pinne in that
which she had vomited. Which the woman perceiving, & imagining the had caft the name,
was presently eafeed of hir paine. I have known one Gentleman, who having feasted a com-
pany of very honest Gentlemen and Gentlwomen, in his owne house, by way of sport, and
in jest, boasted two or three daies after (for there was no such thing) that he had made them
cate of a baken Carte; whereas a Gentlwoman of the company apprehended such horror,
that falling into a violent ague and distemper of hir flomacke, shee could by no meanes bee
recovered. Even smirre beastes, as well as we, are fencе to be subject to the power of im-
giration; witness some Dogges, who for sorrow of their Maiters death are fencе to die, &
whome we ordinarily fee to Hartle and barke in their sleep, and horses to neigh and fluggle.
But all this may be referred to the narrow future of the Spirit and the body, entercommu-
icating their fortunese one unto another. It is another thing, that imagination doth some-
times worke, not onely against hir owne body, but also against that of others. And even as
one body receieth a diseas to his neighbour, as doth evidently appeare by the plague, pox,
or fore eyes, that goe from one to another.

Dum spectant oculi labor, seduntur & ipsi:
Antæpsa corporibus transitœ nuncet.
Eyes become fore, while they looke on fore eyes:
By passagge many ills our limmes surprize.

Likewise the imagination moved, and tossed by some vhenemence, doth cast some darts,
that may offend a strange object. Antiquitie hath held, that certaine women of Scibes,
being provoked and vexed against some men, had the power to kill them, onely with their
looke. The Tortoises and the Eftriges hatch their egges with their lookes only, a signe that
they have some ejacular vertue. And concerning Witches they are saide to have offensive
and harme-working eyes.

Necio quia teneros oculos mei faschinat agnos.

My
Magicians are but ill respondents for me. So it is, that by experience we see women to transferre divers makes of their fantasies, unto children they beare in their wombes, witnesses that that brought forth a Blacke a more. There was also presented vnto Charles king of Bohemia, and Emperour, a young girl, borne about Paphl, all shagged and hairy over and over, which his mother saide, to have beene conceiv'd, by reason of an image of Saint John Baptist, that was so painted, & hung over her birde. That the like is in beasts, is witnessed by Iacob's Sheep, and also by partridge and hares, that grow white by the snowe vpon mountains.

There was lately seene a cat about my owne house, so earnestly eying a bird, sitting vpon a tree, that he seeing the Cat, they both so wisely fixed their looks one vpon another, so long, that at last, the bird fell downe as dead in the Cats paws, either drunken by his owne strong imagination, or drawne by some attractive power of the Cat. Those that love hawking, have haply heard the Falkeners tale, who earnestly fixing his sight vpon a Kite in the aire, laide a wager that with the onely force of his looke, he would make it come flouing downe to the ground, and as some report did it many times. The histories I borrow, I referre to the confidences of those I take them from. The discourses are mine, and holde together by the professe of reason, not of experiences: each man may addde his example to them: and who hath none, considering the number and varietye of accidents, let him not leave to thinke, there are store of them. If I come not well for my selfe, let another come for me. So in the study wherein I treate of our manerett and motions, the fabulouses testimonials, alwaies provided they be likely and possible, may serve to the purpose, as well as the true, whether it hapned or no, be it at Rome, or at Paris, to John or Peter, it is alwaies a tricke of humane capacitie, of which I am profitably advisd by this reporte. I see it and receave profit by it, as well in shadowes as in bodye. And in divers lefions that often histories affoord, I commonly make vse of that, which is most rare and memorable. Some writers there are, whose ende is but to relate the events. Mine, if I could attaine to it, should be to declare, what may come to passe, touching the same. It is justly allowed in schooles, to suppose similitudes, when they have none. Yet do not I so, and concerning that point, in superfetitious religion, I exceede all historiall credit. To the examples I here let downe, of what I have read, heard, done, or seen, I have forbid my selfe so much as to dare to change the least, or alter the idlest circumstances. My confidence doth not satisfy the least opinion, that it may well become a divine, a Philosopher, or other men of exquisite confidence, and exact wisdome, to write histories.

How can they otherwise engage their credite upon a popular reputation? How can they anfwere for the thoughts of unknowne persons? And make their bare conjectures passe for currant paiment? Of the actions of divers members, acted in their presence, they would refuse to bear witnesse of them, if by a judge they were put to their corporall oath. And there is no man so familiarly knowne to them, of whose inward intention they would vndertake to anfwere at all. I hold it lesse hazardous to write of things past, then present; forasmuch as the writer is not bound to give accompt but of a borrowed truth. Some perswade me to write the affiance of my time, imagining, I can see them with a light lesse blindned with passion, then other men, and perhaps nearer, by reason of the accent which fortune hath given me to the chiefest of divers factions: But they will not say, how for the glosie of Salute, I would not take the pains; as one that an avowed enemie to observance, to affidvite, and to confiance, and that there is nothing so contrary to my stile, as a continued narration. I doe so often for want of breath breake off, and interrupt my selfe. I have neither composition nor explication of any worth. I am as ignorant as a childe of the phrahes and vowels belonging to common things. And therefore have I attempted to say what I can, accomodating the matter to my power. Should I take any man for a guide, my nature might differ from his. For, my libertie being so farre, I might happily publish judgement, agreeing with me, and conformant to reason, yet vnlawfull and punishable. Pintarke would peradventure tell vs of that which he hath written, that it is the worke of others, that his examples are in all and every where true, that they are profitable to posteritie, and prefentted with a lustre, that lights and directes vs vnto vertue, and that is his worke. It is not dangerous, as in a medicinable drugg, whether in an old tale or report, it be thus or thus, fo or so.
The one and twentieh Chapter.

The profit of one man is the damage of another.

Demost the Athenian condemned a man of the Cattie, whose trade was to sell such necessaries as belonged to burials, under colour, he asked too much profit for them: and that such profit could not come unto him without the death of many people. This judgement seemeth to be ill taken, because no man profiteeth but by the loss of others: by which reason a man should condemn all manner of game. The Marchant thighs not but by the licentiousnesse of youth; the Husband man by death of cornes; the Architect but by the ruine of houses; the Lawyer by suits and controversies betweene men: Honour it selfe, and pratifice of religious Ministres, is drawne from our death and vices. No Phisitian delighteth in the health of his owne friend, faith the ancient Comike: nor no Souldier is pleased with the peace of his Cattie, and so of the rest. And which is worse, let every man found his owne confidence, he shall finde, that our inward desires are for the most part nourished and bred in us by the loss and hurt of others; which when I considered, I beganne to thinke, how Nature doth not gainsay her selfe concerning her generall policy: for Phisitians hold, that The birth, encreafe, and argumentation of every thing, is the alteration and corruption of another.

Nam quosdemque factum mutatum sinibus exit,
Continua hoc morte est illius, quod suum ante.
What ever from it's bounds doth changed paffle,
That trait is death of that, which erit it was.

The two and twentieh Chapter.

Of custome, and how a received law should not easily be changed.

My opinion is, that hee conceived aight of the force of custome, that first invented this tale, how a country woman having enured her selfe to cherish and bearre a young calfe in her armes, which continuing, shee got such a custome, that when he grew to be a great ox, shee carried him full in her armes. For truly, Custome is a violent and deceiving schoole-master. She by little and little, and as it were by stealth, establisheth the foote of her authoritie in vs, by which milde and gentle beginning, if once by the ayde of time, it have settled and planted the same in vs, it will soone discover a furious and tyrannicall countenance vnto vs, against which we have no more the libertie to lift so much as our eyes: wee may plainly see her vpon every occasion to force the rules of Nature; Usus efficacissimus rerum omnium magister. Vs is the most effectuall master of all things. I believe Plaees anchor in his common wealth, and the Phisitians that so often quit there arms reason to her authorities, and the same King who by means of her, ranged his stomacke to be nourished with poisons, and the mayden that Albert mentioneth to have accustomed her selfe to live vpon spiders: and now in the new found world of the Indias, there were found diverse populous nations, in farre differing climates, that lived vpon them; made provision of them, and carefully fed them, as also of graffe-hoppers, pistlemires, lizards, and night-bats; and a toade was solde for six crownes in a time that all such meats were scarce amongst them, which they boyle, roffe, bake, and drefse with diverse kinds of fawces. Others have bin found to whom our vifiall fleth and other meats were mortall and venomous. Confebendi-nim magna est vie, Pernicios venaotres in nive, in monibus vrisse patitemur: Fugiles, caelibus con-
The first Booke.

The force of custom: Fencers may watch all night in snow, and endure to be scorched on the hills: Fencers brusht with sword-bags or cudgels, do not so much as groan. These strange examples are not strange, if we but consider what we ordinarily find by travel, and how custom qualifieth and weakeneth our customary fences. We need no goe seeke what our neighbours reporte of the Cataractes of Nile: and what Philosophers doeme of the celestiall musick, which is, that the bodies of the circles being solid and smooth, and in their roving motion, touching and rubbing one against another, mult of necessity produce a wonderfull harmony: by the changes and enterprisings of which, the revolutions, motions, cadences, and carols of the after and planets are caused and transported. But that universally the hearing fencers of these lowe worlds creatures, dazzled and lulled asleep, as those of the Egyptians are, by the continuation of that sound, how loud and great forever it be, can not sensibly perceive or distinguish the same. Smiths, Millers, Forgers, Armorer, and such other, could not possibly endure the noyse that commonly rings in their ears, if it did pierce them as it doth vs. My perfumed jerkin serveth for my nose to finell vnto, but after I have wore it three or foure daies together, not I, but others have the benefite of it. This is more strange, that notwithstanding long intermissions, custom may jayne and atablith the effect of her impression upon our fenses; as they prove that dwell neere to bells or steeples. I have my lodging neere vnto a tower, where both evening and morning a very great bell doth chime Ave-marie and Cover-saw, which jangling doth even make the tower to shake; at first it troubled me much, but I was foon acquainted with it, so that now I am nothing offended with it, and many times it can not awaken me out of my sleepe. Plato did once chide a childe for playing with nuts, who answered him. Thou chdest me for a small matter. Custom repled Plato, is no small matter. I finde that our greatest vices, make their first habite in vs, from our infancy: and that our chiefest governement and education, lieth in our yunges hands. Some mothers thinke it good sporte to fee a childe wring off a chickens necke, and drive to beate a dog or cat. And some fathers are so fond-foolish, that they will confeder as a good Angur or fore-boding of a maritall mende to fee their sonnes misuse a poore peafant, or tug a lackey, that doth not defend himself; and impute it to a readie wit, when by some wily diisloyalty, or craftie deceit, they fee them confine and over-reach their fellowes: yet are they the true feeders or roots of cruelty, of tyramnie, and of treason. In youth they bud, and afterward grow to strength, and come to perfection by the meanes of custom.

And it is a very dangerous institution, to excuse so base and vile inductions, with the weakelessse of age, and lightnesse of the subject. First it is nature that speaketh, whose voice is then thrillett, purer, and more natyre, when it is tenderer, newer, and youngest. Secondly, the deformity of the crime confineth not in the difference betweene crownes and pinnes: it dependeth of itselfe. I finde it more just to conclude thus. Why should not he as well deceave one of a crowne, as he doth of a pinne? Then as commonly some doe, saying alas, it is but a pinne. I warrant you, he will not doe so with crownes. A man should carefully teach children to hate vices of their owne genuine, and to distinguish the deformity of them, that they may not only effew them in their actions, but above all, hate them in their hearts: and what colour soever they beare, the very conceit may seeme odious, vnto them. I know well, that because in my youth, I have ever accustomed my selfe to tread a plaine beaten path; and have ever hated to entermeddle any maner of deceipt of cofoning craft, even in my childish sportes (for truly it is to bee noted, that Childrens playes are not sportes, and should be deemed as their most pernicious actions.) There is no palitme so flight, that inwardly I have not a natural propagation, and serious care, yea extreme contradiction, not to vse any deceipt. I shuffle and handle the cardes, as earneftly for counters, and keepe as strict an accompl, as if they were double dukcets, when playing with my wife or children, it is indifferent to mee whether I win or looke, as I doe when I play in good earneft. How and where soever it be, mine owne eyes will suffice to kepe me in office: none else doe winne so narrowly; nor that I repect more. It is not long since mine owne house, I law a little man, who at Nantes was borne without armes, and hath so well fashioned his feete to those services, his hands should have done him, that in truth they have almost forgotten their natural office. In all his d'courses he nameth them his hands, he carveth any meate, heechargeth and shootes off a pistole, he threadeth a needle, he serveth, he writeth, putteth off his cappe, combeth
The first Booke.

cometh his head, playeth at cards and dice, shufflieth and handleth them with as great dexterity as any other man that hath the perfect use of his hands: the monie he has sometimes given him, he hath carried away with his feate, as well as any other could do with his hands. I saw another, being a Childe, that with the bending and winding of his necke, (because he had no hands) would brandish a two-hand Sword, & mannage a Hollard, as stembly as any man could do with his hands: he would call them in the aire, then receive them againe, he would throwe a Dagger, and make a whipple to yake and lath, as cunningly as any Carter in France. But his effects are much better discovered in the strange impreccions, which it worketh in our minde where it meetes not so much refilance. What cannot the bring to passe in our judgements, and in our conceits? Is there any opinion so fantastical or conceit so extravagant? I omit to speake of the grofe imposture of religions, wherewith so many great nations and so many worthy and sufficient men have been benefitted, and drunken: For, being a thing beyond the compass of our humane reason, it is more execuable if a man that is not extraordinarily illuminated therein by divine favour, do loose and mis-carie himself therein, or of other opinions. Is there any strange, that custome hath not planted and establish'd by lawes in what regions forever it hath thought good? And this ancient exclamation is most just: Non puder physicum, id est spectaculorum venatorumque nature, ab animis conscientiis imbutis querere testimonium veritatis? Is it not a shame for a natural Philosopher, that is the match-man and hunts-man of nature, to secke the testimony of truth, from minde's endued and double dyed with custome? I am of opinion, that no fantasiue mad man can fall into humane imagination, that meetes not with the example of some publique custome, and by consequence that our reason doth not ground and bring to a flay. There are certaine people, that turne their backs towards those they hate, and never looke him in the face whom they would honour or worshippe. There are others, who when their King spitteth, the most favoured Ladie in his court stretched forth his hand; and in another country, where the noblest about him, floupe to the ground to gather his ordure in some fine linnen cloth: Let vs here by the way invent a tale. A French Gentleman was ever wont to blow his nose in his hand, (a thing much against our fashion) maintaining his so doing; and who in witte jesting was very famous. He asked me on a time, what privilege this filthy excrrection had, that wee should have a dainty linnen cloth or handkercher to receive the same; and which is worse, so carefully fold it vp, and keepe the same about vs, which should be more loathsome to ones slomacke, than to see it cast away, as wee doe all our other excrerctes and filth. Me thought he spoke not altogether without reason: and custome had taken from me the discerning of this strange thing, which being reported of an other country we deeme so hideous. Miracles are according to the ignorance whereon we are by nature, and not according to natures essence: vs bring the light of our judgements alseep. The barbarous beaten are nothing more strange to vs, when we are to them: nor with more occasion, as every man would avow, if after he had traveled through these farre-fetcht examples, hee could flay himselfe upon the discourses, and soundly conferre them. Humane reason is a rineture in like weight and measure, infused into all our opinions and customes, what forme soever they be of: infinite in matter: infinite in diversitie. But I will returne to my theme. There are certaine people, where, except his wife and children, no man speake to the King, but through a trunke. Another nation, where virgins shew their secret partes openly, and married women diligently hide and cover them. To which custome this fashion vide in other places, hath some relation: where chastitie is nothing regarded but for marriage sake: and maidens may at their pleasure lie with whom they like; and being with childe, they may without fear of accustation, spoyle and caft their children, with certaine medicaments, which they have only for that purpose. And in another country, if a Marchant chance to marrie, all other Marchants that are bidden to the wedding, are bound to lie with the bride before her husband, and the more they are in number, the more honour and commendation is his, for constance and capacitie: the like if a gentleman or an officer marrie; and so of all others: except it be a day-labourer, or some other of base condition; for then must the Lord or Prince lie with the bride; amongst whom (notwithstanding this abusive custome) loyalty in married women is highly regarded, and held in speciall accept, during the time they are married. Others there are, where publicke brothel-houses of men are kept, and where open marte of marriages are ever to be had: where wom
men goe to the warres with their husbands, and have place, not onely in fight, but also in command, where they do not onely weare jewels at their noyes, in their lips, and cheekes, and in their toes, but also big wedges of golde through their pappes and buttocks, where when they eate, they wipe their fingers on their thighs, on the bladder of their genitalies, and the soles of their feete, where not children, but brethern and nephews inherite, and in some place, the nephews onely, except in the succession of the Prince. Where to order the communitie of goods, which amongst them is religiously observed, certaine Sovereaigne Majeftates have the general charge of husbandry and tilling of the landes, and of the distribution of the frutes, according to every mans neede, where they bowle and weep at their childrens deaths, and joy and feate at their olde mens deceafe. Where ten or twelve men lie all in one bed with all their wives, where such women as loose their husbands, by any violent death, may marrie againe, others not: where the condition of women is so detefted, that they kill all the maiden children, so foone as they are borne, and to supply their natural neede, they buy women of their neighbours. Where men may at their pleasure, without alledgeing any cause put away their wives, but they (what just reason ever they have) can never put away their husbands. Where husbands may lawfully fell their wives, if they be barren. Where they cause dead bodies first to be boyled, and then to be brayed in a morter, so long till it come to a kinde of pate, which afterward they mingle with their wine, and so drink it. Where the most defired felphem that some with for, is to be devoured of dogges, and in some places of birds. Where some thinke, that bleffed foules live in all liberty, in certaine pleafant fields flored with all commodities, and that from them proceeds that Eccle which we heare. Where they fight in the water, and thufe exceeding true with their bowes as they are swimming. Where in figure of subjection men must raise their shoulders, and ftope with their heads, and put off their shoes when they enter their kings houses. Where Eunukes that have religious women in keeping, because they shall not be loved, have also their noyes and lips cut off. And Priests, that they may the better acquaint themselves with their Demons, and take their Oracles, put out their eyes. Where every man makes himselfe a God of what the pleafteth: the hunter, of a Lion or a Fox; the fisher, of a certaine kinde of fish; and frame themselves Idols of every humane action or passion: the Sunne, the Moone, and the earth are their chiefest Gods: the forme of swearing, is to touch the ground, looking upon the Sunne, and when they eat both flesh and fift raw. Where the greatest oath is to swear by the name of some deceas’d man, that hath had in good reputation in the countrie, touching his grave with the hand. Where the new-yeares gifts that Kings send vnto Princes their vallies every yeare, is some fire, which when it is brought, all the olde fire is cleane put out: of which new fire all the neibouring people are bound vpon paine to make it, to fetch for their vses. Where, when the King (which often commeth to paflle) wholly to give himselfe vnto devotion, giveth over his charge, his next suuccesor is bound to doe the like, and conuaineth the right of the kingdome vnto the third heir. Where they diversifie the forme of policie, according as their affaires seeme to require: and where they depose their Kings, when they thinke good, and appoint them certaine ancient grave men to vndertake and weald the kingdoms government, which sometimeis is also committted to the communitie. Where both men and women are equally circumfced, and alike baptized. Where the Souldier, that in one or divers combats hath presented his King with heaven enemies heads, is made notable. Where some vnder that fo rare and vnfaciole opinion of the mortallitie of foules. Where women are brought a bed without paine of griefe. Where women on both their legs weare greaves of Copper: and if a loufe bite them, they are bound by duty of magnanimitie to bite it againe: and no maide dare marrie, except the have firft made offer of hir Virginitie to the King. Where they slute one another laying the forefinger on the ground, and then lifting it vp toward heaven: where all men beare burthen vp they head, and women on their shoulders. Where women piffe standing, and men cowring. Where in figure of true fondhippe they send one another some of their owne blood, and offer incence to men which they intend to honour, as they doe to their Gods: where not onely kindred and connunimitie in the fourth degree, but in any furtheft off, can by no meanes be tolerated in marriages: where children fucke till they be foure, and sometimes twelve yeares olde, in which place they deme it a dammall thing to give a childe. Fucke the firft day of his birth. Where fathers have the charge to punish
punish their male-children, and mothers only maide-children, and whose punishments to hang them vp by the eete, and so to smoke them. Where women are circumcision; where they eat all manner of heares, without other distinction, but to refuse those that have ill favour: where all things are open, and how faire and rich forever their houfes be, they have neither doores nor windowes, nor any chefts to locke; yet are all theevs much more severely punished there, than any where elifie where, as monkies doe, they kill lice with their teeth, and think it a horrible matter to see them cruft betweene their nailes, where men, so long as they live, never cut their haire, nor pare their nailes: another place where they onely pare the nailes of their right hand, & thoſe of the left are never cut, but very curiously maintained: where they indeavour to cherish all the haire growing on the right side, as long as it will grow; and very often shave away that of the left side: where in some Provinces beere vnto vs, some women cherish their haire before, and otherſome that behinde, and ſhave the contrarie: where fathers lend their children, and husbands their wives to their gueſte, to that they pay ready money: where men may lawfully get their mothers with childe: where fathers may lie with their daughters, and with their fomes: where, in solemnne afsemblies and banquers, without any distinction of blood or alliance, men will lend one another their children. In some places men fee de upon humane fefts: in other places fathers appoint what children shall live, and be preferred, and which die and bee cut out, whilst they are yet in their mothers wombe: where old husbands lend their wives to yong men, for what ſeever they please: In other places, where all women are common without faire or offence: ye: in some places, where for a badge of honour, they weare as many fringed taffels, fastened to the skirt of their garment as they have laime with severall men. Hath not ſomfe also made a ſeverall common wealthe of women: hath it not taught them to manage Armes? to leaue Armes, to marshall men, and to deliver battles? And that which strick-searching Philoſophie could never perſwade the wifeſt, doth she not of her owne natural infinſt teach it to the groffeſt-headed vagare? For we know whole nations, where death is not only conſtamed, but cherifhed: where children offeven yeares of age, without changing of countenance, or ſieving any ſigne of difmay endured to be whipt to death; where riches and wolrdly pelfe was so defpifed and held fo contemptible, that the miserableſt needleſt wretched of a Cittie would have fororne to flop for a purfe full of gold. Have we not heard of diverse moſt fertile regions, plenteouſly yeelding all manner of neceffarie virtualls, where nevertheleſſe the moſt ordinary caſtes and daintieſt diſhes, were but bread, water-creffe, and water? Did not ſomfe worke this wonder in Chios, that during the space of feaven hundred yeares it was never found or heard of, that any woman or maden had her honor or honeftie called in queſtion? And to conclude, there is nothing in mine opinion, that either he doth not, or can not: and with reaſon doth Pindaros, as I have heard say, Call her the Queene and Emprefle of all the world. Hee that was mette beating of his father, aſſuſned: it was the ſomfe of his houſe: that his father had fo beate his grandfather, and be his great-grandfather: and pointine to his ſome, ſaide, this child beſt all his beate me, when he ſhall come to my age. And the father, whom the ſomfe bale and dragged through thicke and thine in the streete, commanded him to ſtay at a certaine doore, fo himſelſe had dragged his father no further: which were the bounds of the heredarie and injurious demeanours the children of that family were wont to their fathers. By ſomfe, faith Ariflotle, as often as by fickenesse, doe we fewomen tug and tearre their haires, bite their nailes, and cane caules and earth: and moare by ſomfe then by nature doe men meddle and abuse themselves with men. The laws of conſcience, which we fay to procede from nature, rife and proceede of ſomfe: every man holding in speciall regarde, and inward veneration the opinions approved, and ſomfomes received about him, can not without remorse leave them, nor without applause apple himſelſe vnto them: when thofe of Crete would in former ages cure any man, they befough the Gods to engage him in some bad ſomfe. But the chiefeft effect of her power is to seize vpon vs, and to entangle vs, that it shall hardly he in vs, to free our selves from her holde-fall, and come into our wits againe, to discourfe and reaſon of her ordinances: verely, because wee fücke them with the milke of our birth, and forasmuch as the worlde vifage pretends it felle in that effate vnto our first view, iteemeth we are borne with a condition to follow that couſe. And the common imaginations we finde in crede in aboute vs, and by our fathers fecdfe infused in our foule, seeme
to be the general and natural. Whereupon it followeth, that whatsoever is beyond the compass of custom, we do decline likewise to bee beyond the compass of reason. God knows how for the most part, unreasonable. If as we, who study ourselves, have learned to doe, every man that heareth a just sentence, would presently consider, how it may in any force belong unto his private estate, each man should finde, that this is not so much a good word, as a good blow to the ordinary foolishnesse of his judgement. But men receive the admonitions of truth and her precepts, as directed to the vulgar, & never to themselves; and in few of applying them to their manners, most men most foolishly and unprofitably apply them to their memories. But let vs return to customes severaignetie, such as are brought vp to libertie, and to command themselves, esteem all other forms of pollicie, as monstrous and against nature. Tho those that are enuied to Monarchie doe the like. And what facility forever fortune affordeth them to change, even when with great difficulties they have shaken off the importunitie of a tutor, they runne to plant a new one with fomblable difficulties, because they can not resolve themselves to hate tutorship. It is by the mediation of custome, that every man is contented with the place, where nature hath settled him: and the savage people of Scotland have nought to doe with Touaine, nor the Scithians with Thesalia. Darius demanded of certaine Grecians, For what they would take upon them the Indians custome, to ense their deceased fathers: (For such was their manner, thinking they could not possibly give them a more noble and favourable tombe, then in their owne bowels) they answered him, That nothing in the world should ever bring them to embrace so inhuman a custome: But having also attempted to persuade the Indians to leave their fashion, and take the Grecians, which was to burne their bodies, they were much more affurmed thereat. Every man dooth so, forsoome such as custome dooth so bdare vs that we can not distinguish the true visage of things.

Nil adeo magnum, nec tan mirabile quaequam
Principia, quod non minvant mirari omnes
Paulatim.
Nothing at first so wonderous is, so great,
But all, f' admire, by little flake their heart.

Having other times gone about to endure, and make some one of our observations to be of force, and which was with refolute auroritie received in most parts about vs, and not defining, as most men doe, onlie to establish the same by the force of lawes and examples, but having ever bin from his beginning, I found the foundation of it so weak, that my selfe, who was to confirme it in others, had much ado to keepe my countenance. This is the receipte by which Plato undertaketh to banish the unnaturall and preposterous loves of his time, and which hee esteemeth Sovereigne and principall. To wit that publike opinion may con- demne them that Poets, and all men else may tell horrible tales of them. A recent by meanes whereof the fairest Daughters winne no more the love of their fathers, nor brethren most excellent in beautie, the love of their sisters. The very fables of Thyestes, of Oedipus and of Macareus, having with the pleasure of their songs infused this profitable opinion, in the tender conceit of children. Certes, chafitie is an excellent vertue, the commoditie whereof is very well knowne: but to vs it, and according to nature to prevale with it, is as hard as it is easy, to endear it and to prevale with it according to custome, to lawes and precepts. The first and vniuerfall reasons are of a hard preservacion. And our Masters passe them over in gleaning, or in not daring so much as to tatte them, at first sight cast themselves head-long into the liberty or sanctuarie of custome. Those that wil not suffer themselves to be drawn out of this original source, do also commit a greater error, and submit themselves to savage opinions, winne the Chrispupon, who in so many severall places of his compositions, inferred the small accumpt he made of conjunctions, how incessuous forever they were. Hee that will free himselfe from this violent prejudice of custome, shall find divers things received with an undoubted resolution, that have no other anker but the hoarie head, and frowning wrinkles of custome, which ever attendeth them: which maske being pulled off, & referring all matters to truth and reason, he shall perceive his judgement, as it were over-turne, and placed in a much safer state. As for example, I wil then ask him, what thing can be more strange, then to see a people bound to followe lawes, he never understand? Being in all his domesticall affairs, as marriages, donations, testaments, purchases, and sales, necessarily bounde to custo-
many rules, which forthwith as they were never written nor published in his own tongue, he cannot understand, and whereof he must of necessity purchase the interpretation and use. Not according to the ingenious opinion of Socrates, who counselled his King to make the Travelers and negotiations of his subjects free, enfranchised and gainful, and their debates, controversies, and quarrels burdensome, and charged with great subdues, and impositions: But according to a prodigious opinion, to make open sale, and trafficke of reason itself, and to give lawes a course of merchandize, is very strange. I commend fortune, for that (as our Historians report) it was a Gentleman of Galathea, and my Countryman that first opposed himself against Charles the great, at what time he went about to establish the Latina and Imperiall lawes amongst us. What is more barbarous then to see a nation, where by lawful custome the charge of judging is solde, and judgements are paid for with ready money; and where justice is lawfully denied him, that hath not wherewithall to pay for it; and that this merchandize hath so great credite, that in a politicall governement there should be set vp a fourth estate of Lawyers, breath-sellers, and pettifoggers, and joynd to the three ancients, to wit, the Clergie, the Nobilitie, and the Commons, whereof the lawes are sometimes authorized of goods and lives, should make a body, apart, and severall from that of Nobilitie, whose double lawes must follow; those of honour, and those of justice; in many things, very contrary do those as rigorously condemn a lie pocketed vp, as these a lie revenged: by the lawe and right of armes hee that putteth vp an injure fulbe degraded of honour and nobilitie, and he that revengeth himselfe of it, shall by the civil Lawe incurre a capital punishment? Hee that shall address himselfe to the Lawes to have reason for some offence done unto his honour, dishonor eth himself. And who doth not so is by the Lawes punisht and chastised. And of these so different partes, both nevertheless having reference to one head, those having peace, & these warre committed to their charge, those having the gaine, and these the honor; those knowledge, and these vertue; these reason, these strength: those the words, those action: those justice, those valour: those a long gowne, & these a short coat, in partage and share. Touching indifferent things, as clothes and garments, whatsoever will reducé them to their true end, which is the service & commodity of the bodie, wherewith dependeth their original grace & comeliness, for the most fancifull to my humour that may bee imagined, amongst others I will give them our square caps; that long hood of plaide velvet, that hangs over our womens heads, with his parti-coloured, and that vaine and vnprofitable modell of a member, which wee may not so much as name with modestie, whereof notwithstanding we make publicke shewe, and open demonstration. These considerations doe nevertheless never detract a man of understanding from following the common guide: Rather on the contrary, me seemeth; that all severall, strange, and particular fashions procede rather of follic, or ambitious effectations, then of true reason: and that a wife man ought inwardly to retire his minde from the commone preface, and holde the same libertie and power to judge freemie of all things, but for outward matters, he ought absolutely to follow the fashions and formes customary received. Publicke societie hath nought to doe with our thoughts; but for other things, as our actions, our travell, our fortune, and our life, that must be accommodated and left to it’s service and common opinion: as that good & great Socrates, who refused to save his life by disobeying the magistrate, yea a magistrate most wicked and vnjust. For that is the rule of rules, and generall lawe of lawes, for every man to observe those of the place wherein he liveth.

Lawes of the native place,
To follow, is a grace.

Lec here some of another kind. There risthagreat doubt, whether any so evident pro- fite may be found in the change of a received lawe, of what nature ever, as there is hurt in removing the same of much as a well settell policie, may be compared to a frame or building of divers partes joyned together with such ligaments as it is impossible to streere or displace one, but the whole body must needs be shaken, and have a feeling of it. The Thun- rians Law-giver instituted, that, whatsoever would doe about, either to abolish any one of the elde Lawes, or attempt to establish a new, should present himselfe before the people with a rope about his neck, to the end, that if his invention were not approved of all men, he should presently be strangled. And he of Lacedemon, laboured all his life to get an asured promise of his citizens, that they would
would never infringe any one of his ordinances. That Ephraim or Tribune, who so rudely cut off the two strings, that Phrynias had added unto musick, respected not whether musick be better or no with them, or whether the accordes of it be better filled, hee hath sufficient reason to condemne them, because it is an alteration of the old formes. It is that which the oldruffie fwoode of justice of Marselle did dignifie. I am dissatisfied with noveltie, what countenance foever it hew: and I have reason so to be, for I have seen very hurtful effects follow the same., That which so many yeares since doth so preffe vs,hath not yet exploited all: But some may alledge with appearance, that by accident, it hath produced and engendred all, yea both the mischieues and ruines, that since are committed without and against vs: it is that a man should blame and finde fault with.

Hen. patior teleis unumex saecula metis;
A lat I suffer smart
Procud by mine one dart.

Those which attempt to shake an Estate,are commonly the first overthrowne by the fall of it: he that is the first mover of the fame, reapeth not alwaies the fruite of such troubles: he beates and troublith the water for others to fish in. The contexture and combining of this monarchie, and great building, having bin dismifst and disolved by it, namely in his olde yeares,giveth as much overture and entrance as a man will to like injuries. Royall Majestie doth more hardly fall from the topppe to the middle,then it tumbles downe from the middle to the bottom. But if the inventors are more damageable, the imitators are more vicious, to cast themselves into examples, of which they have both felt and punished the horror and mischieue. And if there be any degree of honour, even in ill doing, these are indebted to others for the glorie of the invention, and courage of the first attempt. All fortes of new licentiousnesse doe happily drawe out of this originall and fruitefull souce, the images and patterns to trouble our common-wealth. We may read in our very lawes, made for the remedie of the first evil, the apprentices and exchute of all fortes of wicked enterprisef: And in favour of publike vices, they are named with new and more pleasing words for their excuses,baftardizing & allaying their true titles: yet it is to reforme our confences and our conscience, Eonelai oratio est. It is an honest speech and well said. But the bleft pretence of innovation or noveltie is most dangerous: Add not motum ex antiquo probabile eff. So nothing moved ou the first place is allowable: Yet me feemeth (if I may speake boldly) that it argueth a great self-love and presumpcion, for a man to esteeme his opinions so faire, that for to eftablish them, a man must be faire to subvert a publike peace, and introducfe so many inevitable mischieues, and so horribl a corruption of manners, as civil warres, and alterations of a state bring with them, in matters of such consequence, and to bring them into his owne countre. It is not ill husbanded to advance so many certaine, and knowne vices, for to comate contended and debatable errors? Is there any worse kinde of vices, then those which shocke a mans owne confence and naturall knowledge? The Senate durft give this defeate in payment about the controversies betweene it and the people for the mystenie of their religion: Addens, id magis quam ad pertinere: ipso visuros, ne sacrifica pollemur: That that did rather belong to the Gods then to them, and the Gods should looke to it, that their duties were not pollute. Agreeing with that, which the Oracle anfwered thofe of Delphos, in the Medean warre, fearing the inventions of the Periphetes. They demaunded of that God what to doe with the treasures confecrated to his Temple, whether to hide, or to carry away: who anfwered them, that they should remove nothing, but take care of themselues, for he was able to provide for all things that were fit for him. Christian religion hath all the markes of extreme justice and profite, but none more aparent then the exact commendation of obedience due vnto magistrates, and manutention of policies: what wonderfull example hath divine wisdome left vs, which to eftablish the well-fare of humane kinde, and to conduct this glorious victorie of hiring against death and finne, would not doe it but to the mercy of our politike order, and hath submitted the progresse of it, and the conduct of fo high and worthy effect, to the blindneff and injustice of our observations and cufromes, suffering the innocent blood of fo many his favored elect to ruine, and allowing a long loffe of yeares for the ripening of this ineftablable fruite? There is much difference betweene the caufe of him that followeth the formes and lawes of his countre, and him that undertaketh to governe and change them. The first alledge for his excuse, simplicitie, obedience, and example; what-
forever he doth cannot be malice, as the most it is but ill lucke. *Quis est enim quem non munere clarissima monumenta tenebit confignatae, antiquitatem?* For who is he whose antiquity will not move, being witness, & signed with former monuments? Besides that which heieres faith, that defect hath more part in moderation, than excellence. The other is in much worse case. For he that medleth with chusing and changing, usurpeth the authority of judging: and must resolve himselfe, to see the fault of what he hunteth for, and the good of what he bringeth in. This so vulgar consideration hath confirmed me in my state, and restrained my youth, that was more rash, from burthening my shoulders with so light a burden, as to make my selfe respondent of so important a science. And in this to dare, what in sound judgement I durst not in the easiest of those wherein I had been instructed, and wherein the raihnes of judging is of no prejudice. Seeming most impious to me, to go about to submit publicke confiruations and vnumerable observances, to the inabilitie of a private fantatie (private reason is but a private jurisdiction) and to undertake that on devine-lawes, which no policie would tolerate in civil lawe. Wherein although mans reason have much more commerce, yet are they severally judges of their judges: and their extreme sufficiency, serveth to expound customs and extend the vs, that of them is received, and not to divert and innovate the fame. If at any time devine providence hath gone beyond the rules, to which it hath necessarily constrained vs, it is not to give vs a dispensation of them. They are blowes of his divine hand, which we ought not imitate, but admire: and extraordinary examples, markes of an express and particular avoweing of the severall kindes of wonders, which for a testimonie of him omnipotentie it offereth vs, beyond our orders and forces, which it is folly and impietie to goe about to represent, and which we ought not follow but contemplate with admiration and meditate with astonishment. Acts of his perfonage, and not of ours. *Cotta proteteth very opportunely.* *Quum de religione agitur, T. Coruncanam, P. Scipionem, P. Scenalem, Pontificc maximos, Pan Zenoem, aut Cleanthem, aut Crysipsum sequor. When we talke of religion I follow Titus Coruncanam, Publius Scipio P. Scenale, and the professor of religion, not Zeno, Cleanman, or Crysippus.

May God know it in our present quarell, wherein are a hundred articles, yea great and deepe articles, to be removed and altered, although many there are, who may boast to have exactly suruad the reasones and foundations of one and other faction. It is a number, if it be a number, that should have no great mane to trouble vs. But whether goeth all this other throng? Under what colours doth it quarter it selfe? It followeth of theirs, as of other weake and ill applied medicines, the humors, that it would have purged in vs, it hath enflamed, exasperated, and sharpened, by his conflict, and still doth remaine in our bodies. It could not by reason of his weakenes purge it, but hath rather weakened it; so that we cannot now voide it, and by her operation we reape nothing but long, continual and intelline griefes and aches, yet is it, that fortune, ever refering her authority above our discourses, doth sometimes present vs the urgent necessitie, that lawes must needs yeeld him some place: And when a man refilthe the increas of an innovation, brought in by violence, to kepe himselfe each where and altogether in rule and bridle against those that have the keyes of fields, to whom all things are lawfull, that may in any force advance their designe, that have nor lawe nor order but to follow their advantage, it is a dangerous obligation and prejudicial inequa-

*Sen.Ged.affl.3.*

*Sec.1.*

**Aditus nocendi perfido praefat suis.*

**Truth in the ntrufle, may**

**To hurt make open way.**

For so much as the ordinarie discipline of an estate, that hath his perfect health, doth not provide for these extraordinarie accidents: it presupposeth a body houlding it selfe in his principal members and offices, and a common consent to observe and obey it. Lawfull proceeding, as a cold, dull, heaine, and forced proceeding: and is not like to hold out against a licentious and vnbridled proceeding. It is yet as all men knowe, a reproche to those two great personages, *Ottavius and Cato*, in their civil warres; the one of *Scilla*, the other of *Cesar*, because they rather suffered their countrie to incurre all extremities, then by hir lawes to aide hir, or to innovate any thing. For truely in these last necessities, where nothing is left to take hold by, it were peradventure better, to thrugue the shouldres, toope the head, and some what yeeld to the stroke, then beyond possibility to make head and refist, and be nothing the
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And the better, and give violence occasion to trample all under foot; and better were it, to force the lawes to define but what they may, since they may not what they would. So did he that ordained them to fleer journe and twenty hours; And he who for time removed one day from the Calender: And another who of the month of June made a second May. The Lacedemonians themselves, so strict observers of their countries ordinances, being viraged by their lawes, which precisely forbid and inhibited to chuse one man twice to be their Admiral, and on the other side their affairs necessarily requiring, that Lyfander should once more take that charge upon him, they created one Aratus Admiral, but insinuased Lyfander superintendant of all maritime causes. And with the same suitableness, one of their Ambassadors being sent to the Athenians for to obtaine the charge of some ordinance, Pericles alluding, that it was expressely forbid to remove the table, wherein a lawe had once beene set downe, perfwaded him but to turne it, for that was not forbidden. It is that whereof Plutarch commenedeth Philopomen, who being borne to command, could not onely commaund according to the lawes, but the lawes themselves, whensoever publicke necessitie required it.

The three and twentith Chapter.

Divers events from one felse same counsell.

I Ames Amiot, great Almoner of France, did once tell me this story, to the honour of one of our Princes. (And so he was indeede by very good tokens, albeit of proff, he were a stranger) that during our first troubles, at the siege of Rome, the said Prince being adverstified by the Queene mother of a conspiracie and enterprize, that should be attempted against his life, and by letters particularly informed him of the parte that should perfoorme it, who was a gentle-man of Amion, or Mane, and who to that purpose did ordinarily frequent the said Princes court; he never imparted that secret or communicated that warning to any man, but the next morrow walking upon Saint Catherine hill, whence our battery played against the towne (for it was, at what time we laid siege to Rome) with the said Lord great Almoner, and another Bishop by his side, he chanced to deferie the said gentleman, whom the Queene mother had described unto him, and cauased him to bee called, who being come before his presence, said thus vnto him, perceiving him alreadie to waxe pale, and tremble at the alturums of his confesse: Master, such a one, I am fully perswaded you fore-imagine what I will charge you with, and your constancy deth plainely showe it, you can conceale nothing from me: for I am so well instructed of your businesse, that would you goe about to hide it, you should but marre all, you have perfect knowledge of this and this thing (which were the chiefe props and deviles of the secretts drifts of his complott and conspiracie) facile not therefor as you render your life, to confess the truth of all your purpoe. When the silly man saw himselfe so surprized and convinced (for the whole matter had beene discovered vnto the Queene by one of the complices) he had no other way, but to lift vp his handes, and begge for grace and mercy at the Princes handes, at whose feete hee would have prostrated himselfe, but that he would not let him: thus followeth his discourse: Come hither my friend, saide he, Did ever doe you any dislesons? Have I ever through any particular hatred, wrong or offended any friend of yours? It is not yet three weeks since I knew you; what reason might move you to confirme and enterprize my death? The Gentleman with a faint-trembling voyce, and selfe-accusing looke answered him, that no particular occasion had ever moved him to that, but the interest of the generall caufe of his faction, and that some of them had perswaded him, that to roote out, and in what manner, to make away so great an enemy of their religion, would be an execution full of pietie, and a worke of superarogation. Then saide the Prince, I will shew you how much the religion which I profess is more mild, then that whereof you make profession: yours hath perswaded you to kill me, without hearing me, having never his offended by me: and mine, commandes me to pardon you, convinced as you are, that you would so treacherously and without cause have killed me. Go your way, subdow your selfe, let me never see you bee againe, and if you be wife, hence-forward in your enterprizes take boner men for
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your counsellors, than those of your religion. The Emperor Augustus being in Gaul, receiv'd certaine advertisement of a conspiracie, that L. Cinnas comploted against him, whereof he purposed to be avenged, and for that purpose sent to all his friends against the next morrow for advice and counsell, but pass'd the fore-going night with great anxietye and vnrest, considering that following his intent, he should bring a young Gentleman, well borne, of a noble house, and great Pompeys nephew, to his death: which perplexities produced diverse strange discourses and confiderations in him. What said he vnto himselfe, Shall it be ever reported, that I doe live in ease, and suffer mine enemies to walke at his pleasure and libertie? Shall they doe so free, that hath attempted and resolved to deprive me of my life, which both by sea and land I have sav'd from so many cruel wars, and from so many battells? And now that I have establisht an universal peace in the world, shall I be absoluted and gone unpunish'd, that hath, not only determined to murther, but to sacrifice me? (for, the complot of the conspiracie was to murther him, when he should be at fairifice.) After that, having taken some reft with himselfe, he with a lowder voyce beganne to exclaime and cry out against himselfe, saying, Why lest thou, if the lives of so many depend on thy death? Shall thy revenge and cruelties never have an end? Is thy life of that worth, as it may counterbalance the sundry mischiefes that are like to ensue, if it be preferred? Livia his wife being in bed with him, perceiving his agonie, and hearing his speeches, she thus spake vnto him: And may not women counsell be admitted? Doe as Physicians are wont, who when their ordinary receipts will not work, have recourse to the contrarie. Hitherto thou couldst never doe any good with feretie: Lepidus hath followed Savidienus, Murena Lepidus, Scipio Murena, Egnatius Scipio, beginne now to proove what good lenine and clemencye will doe thee. Cinnas is conciliated, pardon him: To annoy or hurt thee now, he is not able, and thou shalt thereby increase thy glory. Augustus seemed very glad to have found an Advocate of his humour, and having thanked his wife, and countermaundd his friends, whose he had commonndd to the Counsell, commanded Cinnas to be brought before him alone. Then sending all men out of his chamber, and a chaire prepared for Cinnas to sit in, he thus bespake him: First Cinnas, I require to have gentle audience, and that thou wilt not interrupt my speech, which ended, I will give thee time and liberty to answer me: Thou knowest (oh Cinnas) that when I had taken thee prisoner in mine enemies camps, who woule not only become, but borne my foe, I saved thee, then put thee in quiet possession of thy goods, and at last, hue enriche thee, and placed thee in so high a degree, that even the conquerors are become envious ouer the conquered. The Priestis office, which thou beggeft at my hands, I freely belov'd thee, having first refus'd the same to others, whose fathers and friends had in many battells expend their blood for me: After all which benefices, and that I had in dutie tied thee so fast vnto me, thou haft not with standing undertaken to kille me. To whom Cinnas replied, crying alowde, That he had never so much as conceived so wicked a thought, much lesse entertain'd the same. Ob Cinnas, this is not according to thy promise, answer'd then Augustus, which was, that thou wouleft not interrupt me: What I say is true, thou haft undertaken to murther me, in such a place, on such a day, in such a company, and in such manner: and seeing him so amazed in heart, and by his evidence frustrate, dombe, moved thereunto, not by the condition of his promise, but by the guilt of his selfe-accusing conscience, why wouleft thou doe it, reped he, is it because thou wouleft be Emperor? Truste the common wealth is but in hard condition, if none but my selfe hinder thee from the Empire. Thou canst not so much as defend thine own house, and dist not lately loose a proccese, only by the favor of a feely libertine, What haft thou no meanes or power in any other matter, but to attempt Cæsars life? I quityst, if there be no man but my selfe to embaste thy hopes. Suppofest thou that Paulus, that Fabius, that the Caesarians or the Servillians will ever permit thee? And so great a truount of noble men, noble, not onely in name, but such as by their vertues honour their nobilitie, will ever suffer it? After many other such like discourses (for he talkt with him more than two hours) he faide vnto him, Away, ob Cinnas, that life which once I gave thee, as to an enemie, I now give thee againe, as to a traut, and a patricide: let true friendship from this day forward beginne betwene vs, let us strive together, which of vs two with a better faith shall out-go the other, and whether I have given thy life, or thou haft receiv'd the same with greater confidence: and so left him. Shortly after he gave him the Consulship, blaming him that he durst not ask it of him. And ever after held him as his deere friend, and made him alone, heir and executor of his goods. Now after this accident, which hapned to Augustus in the xl. yeare of his age, there was never any conspiracie or enterprife attempted against him; and he receivt a just reward for
for his so great clemency. But the like succeeded not to our Prince, for his mildenesse and lenity, could not so warrant him, but that afterward he fell into the snares of the like treason: so varie and frivolous a thing is humane wisedome; and contrary to all projects, devices, coun-
sels, & precautions, fortune doth ever keep a full way, and poiffions of all events. We count those Phisitions happy and fortunate, that socefffully end a desperate cure, or come to a good difcouer: if there were no other art but theirs, that could not subfiit of it, felfe, and whose foundations were so fettle, as hand, and refe upon his owne strength; and as if there were none but it, that Etand in neede of fortunes helpe-affoording hand, for the efecting of his operations. My conceit of it, is both the worft and the belt a man may imagine: for thankes to God, there is no commerce betweene vs: I am contrary to others; for I ever defpife it, and when I am fick, in stead of entering into league or compofition with it, I then beginne to hate and feare it moft: and anfweres such as vrges mee to take Phififeke, that at leat they will tarde till fuch time as I have recovered my health and strength againe; that then I may the better be enabled to endure the violence and hazard of their potions. I let Nature worke, and prefuppofe vnto my felfe, that the hath provided it felfe, both of teeth and claves, to defend it felfe from fuch affaults as fhall befet it, and to maintaine this conftruction or frame, whose defolution is fo much hateh. In hew of bringing helpe vnto it, when thee most fhriueth, and is combated by fickenelle, I greatly feare left I bring fucce{Se vnto it aduerfarie, and fufcourage him with newe enemies. Now I conclude, that not only in phifeke, but likewise in fundry more certaine ares, fortune hath great fhaire in them. The Poetical furies, which ravith and transport their Author beyond himfelfe, why fhall we not afsenbe them to his good fortune, fince himfelfe confefeth, that they exceede his strength and fufficiencie, and acknowledged to proceede from elsewhere, then from himfelfe, and that they are not in his power, no more then Orators fay to have thofe strange motions and extraordinary agitations, that in their art transport them beyond their purpose? The like wee fee to bee in painting, for fometimes the Painters hand fhall draw curteine lines or draughts, fo farre exceeding his concepetion or skill, that himfelfe is forced to enter into admiration and amazement. But fortune yet doth much more evidently fhewe, the fhaire thee hath in all their worke, by the graces and beauties that often are found in them, not only beyond the intent, but besides the very knowledge of the workman. A beedy Reader fhall often difcover in other mens compofitions, perfecions farre-differing from the Authors meaning, and fuch as haply he never dreamed of, and ilufterate them with richer fenes, and more excellent conftuctions. As for military enterprifes, no man is fo blinde but fee the fhare fortune hath in them; even in our counsels and deliberations, fome chance or good lucke muft needs be joyned to them, for whatsoever our wisedome can effect, is no great matter. The sharp-
er and quicker it is, the more weakenelle findes it in it, and fo much the more dooth it dif-
truft it felfe. I am of Sullas opinion: and when I neareft confider the moft glorious ex-
poites of warre, me thinkes I fee, that thofe who have the conduct of them, employ ne-
ther counfell nor delibration about them, but for fation-fake, and leave the belt parte of the enterprife to fortune, and on the confidence they have in their aude, they fli do before the limits of all conuerge. Casual joyeings, and strange furies entite among their delib-
erations, which for the moft induce them to take the counfell leafe grounded vpon apperance or reafon, and which quaine their courage beyond reafon; wherefore it hath succeede vnto diverse great Captaines, by giving credite to fuch rash counsels, and aleging to their fould-
ders, that by fome divine inspiration, and other signes and prognoftications, they were encouraged to fuch and fuch enterprifes. Loc here wherfore in this uncertainty and perpe-
xitiue, which the impulfances and inabilitie dooth bring vs to fee and chufe what is moft commodious, for the difficulties which the devere accidents and circumftances of euerie thing drewe with them: the fureft way, if other confiderations did not invite vs thereto, is, in my conceit, to followe the partie, wherein is moft honefte and juftife; and fince a man dubteboth of the neareft way, ever to keepe the right. As in these two examples I have lately mentioned, there is no doubt, but that it was more commendable and generous in him, who had received the offence, to remit and pardon the fame, then to have done otherwife. If the fift had but ill fucceffe, his good intent is not to be blamed; and no man kneweth, had he taken the contrary way, whether he had escapes the end, to which his definate calleth him; and then had he loft the glorie and commendations, of fo feld-scene humane.
The \textit{first Booke}.

dry men possested with this feare, are-read of in ancien Histories; the greatest parts of which have followed the way offore-running the conspiracies, which were complotteda-gainst them, by revenge or tortures, but I see very few, that by this remedy have received any good wittness to many Romane Emperours. Hee that perceiveth himselfe to be in this danger, ought not much to rely upon his power, or hope in his vigilance. For, how hard a matter is it, for a man to warrant and safegarde himselfe from an enemie, that maskes under the vifage of the most officious and heartie-seeming friend we have? And to knowe the inward thoughts and minde-concealed meanings of such as daily attend, and are continually with vs? It will little availe him to have forrine nations to his garde, and ever to be encircled about with troupes of Armed men, whosoever he be that resolveth to contenme his owne life, may at any time become maister of other mens lives.

Moreover that continual suffution, which makes the Prince to mistrust every body, should be a wonderfull vexation to his minde. And therefore when \textit{Dion} was advertised that \textit{Callippus} watched to kill him, could never finde in his heart to informe against him: affirming, \textit{He had rather die once, then ever live in feare and miserie, and to garde himselfe not onely from his enemies, but from his very friends.} Which thing \textit{Alexander} preferred more lively and vndantedly by effect, who by a letter of \textit{Parmenie} having received advertisement, that \textit{Philip} his nearest and beft regarded Phisitian, had with mony beene subdued and corrupted by \textit{Darius}, to poyfon him, who at the very instante that he gave \textit{Philip} the letter to reade, swallowd downe a portion he had given him: was it not to expresse his resolution, that if his friends would kill him, he would not shunne them, but content to their treachery? This Prince is the Soveraigne patterne of hazardous attempts; yet know I not whether in all his life, he shewed an act of more refoleute constancie, than this, nor an ornament so many wayes famous. Those which dayly preach and buzzze in Princes ears, vnder colour of their fafetie a heandy defiance and ever-warie distrustfulnesse, doe nought but tell them of their ruine, and further their flame and downfall. No noble act is attched without danger. I know one by his owne compexion of a right martiaall courage, and readie for any resolution, whose good and hopeful fortune is daily corrupted by such verball persuafions; as first to keepe close with his friends; never to listen to any reconciliation with his old enemies: to hand vpom his owne garde; never to commit himselfe to any stronger then himselfe, what faire promife soever they make him, or whatsoever apparant profit they seeme to containe. I also know another, who becaus he did ever follow the contrary counsell, and would never listen to such hoole-reasons, hath beyond all hope raised his fortune above the common reach. That boldenesse wherewith they do greedily gape after glory, is always at hand, when ever neede shall be, as gloriously in a dublet as in an armor; in a cabinet as in a campe; the arme held downe, as lifted vp. A wifeforme to renderly-preserve, and so precisely-circumspect, is a mortall enemie to haughty executions. \textit{Scipio}, to found the depth of \textit{Sipho}x intent, and to discover his minde, leaving his arme, and abandoning the yet unsettled country of \textit{Spaine}, which vnder his new conquest of it, was likely to be suspected, he I say, could passe into \textit{Affrike} onely with two simple fishe or small barks, to commit himselfe in a strange and foe-coutrie, to engage his perfon, vnder the power of a barbarous King, vnder an unknowne faith, without either hollage, or letters of credence, yea without any body, but onely upon the assurance of the greatnesse of his course, of his successefull good fortune, and of the promife of his high-raifed hopes. \textit{Habita} \textit{fides ipsam ple-numque fidem obigat.} Most commonly trusting obligeth trustyfie. To an ambitious and fame-aspiring minde, contrariwise, a man must yeeld little, and carry a hard hand against suffpitions: Fear and distrust draw on offences and allure them. The most mistrustfull of our Kings esestablished his affaires, and settleth his estate, especially because he had voluntarily given over, abandoned and committed his life and libertie, to the hands and mercy of his enemies: Seemeth to put his whole confidence in them, that fo they might likewise conceive an undoubted affiance in him. \textit{Cesfar} did onely confront his mutinous legions, and oppose his hardly-ruled Armies, with the minde-quelling authoritie of his countenance, and awe-moving fiercenesse of his wordes: and did so much trust himselfe and his fortune, that he no what feared to abandon and commit himselfe to a fecidious and rebellious Armie.
True it is, that this undaunted assurance can not so fully and lively be represented; but by those in whom the imagination or apprehension of death, and of the worst that may happen, can strike no amazement at all: for, to represent it fearfully-trembling, doubtful and uncertain, for the service of an important reconciliation, is to effect no great matter: It is an excellent motive to gain the heart and good will of others, for a man to go and submit himselfe to them, provided it be done freely, and without constraint of any necessity, and in such sorte, that a man bring a pure and unspotted confidence with him, and at least his countenance void of all scruple. Being yet a childe, I saw a gentleman, who had the command of a great Citie, and by a communion of seditionious furious people greatly put to his plagues, who to suppress the rising-fire of this tumult, resolved to fully out from a strongly-afforded place, where he was safe, and yelded himselfe to that many-headed-monster mutinous rau:; thrived fo ill by it, that he was miserably shame amongst them: yet deeme I not his oversight to have beene so great in affuing out, his memorie being of most men condemned, as because he tooke a way of submission, and remoteness, and attempted to extinguisht that rage and hurly-burly, rather by way of following, then of guiding, and by requiring fute, then by demonstrative resolution: and I deeme a gravously-milde severity, with a military commandement, full of confidence and securitie, besembling his ranke, and the dignitie of his charge, had better availed him, had beene more sucessfull, at leaft with more honour, and well seeming conline: There is nothing left to bee expected or hoped for at the hands of this monstrous-faced-multitude, thus agitated by fume, than humanitie and gentleness; it will much sooner receive reverence, and admit feare. I might also blame him, that having undertaken a resolution (in my judgement, rather brave then rash) to cast himselfe inconsiderately, weak and vnarmed, amidst a tempestuous Ocean of fcrencelie and mad men, he should have gone through-fitch with it, and not leave the perfon he represented in the briers, whereas after he had perceived the danger at hand, he chance to bleede at the nofe; and then to change that demifi and flattering countenance hee had undertaken, into a dismiade and drooping looke, filling both voice and eyes with astonishment and repentance: and seeking to flatter himselfe, hee the more enflamed, and called them uppon him. It was determined, ther should be a generall mustee made of diverse troupes of armed man (a place fitfor fecret revenges, and where they may fafely beachieved): there were most apparant reasons, that the place was very vntrusty, or at leaft, to be suspected by such as were to have the principall and necessary charge to survay them. Diverse counells were proposed, sundry opinions hearde, as in a subiect of great difficulty, and on which depended so many weightie conquence. My advice was, they should carefully avoyde to give any testimonie of fupposition, or shew of doubt, and that our troupes should be as full as might be, and the Fyles orderly ranked, and every Soultier shew some undaunted carriage, and vnmiared countenance, and in stead of keeping fome of our forces backe (which thing most opinions aymed at) all Captaines shoule be put in mind to admonifie their Soultiers to make their fallies as orderly and as strong as might bee, in honour of the affiftance; and spare no powder, which would serve as a gratification to these sucessfull troupes, which afterward caufed a mutual and profitable content. I finde the course that Julius Cesar held to be the best a man may take: First he affayed by clemencie to purchase the love of his very enemies, containing himfelfe in the conspiracies that were discovered unto him, simly to shew he were not vnknown to him, but had perfect notice of them. That done, he tooke a most noble resolution, which was, without dread or distay, or any care-taking, to attend whatsoever might betide him, wholly abandoning and remitting himfelfe into the hands of the Gods and of fortune. For certeinly, it is the fate wherein he was, when he was murthered in the Senate. A stranger having published every where, that he could teach Dionysius the tyrant of Siracusa, a way to vnderstand and discover the very certainty of all the praffices his subiects or any else should pratticke, or to him, if he would bestowe a good summe of money vpon him: Dionysius being thereof advertised, sent for him, to discover the secrete and vnderstand the truth of so necessarie an arte for his preservation: the stranger tolde him, there was no other skill in his arte, but that
The first Booke.

he should deliver him a talent, and then boast he had learned the use of so invaluable a secret of him. Dionysius allowed of his invention, and forthwith caused six hundred crowns to be delivered him. It is not likely that ever he would have given so great a summe of monie to an unknowne man, but in reward of a most profitable instruction; for by way of this reputation he kept his enemies still in awe. And therefore doe Princes wisely publish such advertisements as they receive of the plots confpiried, and treasons, practised against their lives and states, thereby to make men believe, that nothing can be attempted against them, but they shall have knowledge of it. The Duke of Athens committed many fond overblights in the establishing of his late tyrannie upon the Florentines, but this the chiefeft, that having received the first advertisement of the Monopolies; & Complots the Florentines contrived against him, by Mathew, furnamed Allurto, one of the complexes, thinking to surprize this warning, and conceale that any in the Cittie were offended at him, or grudged at his rule, caused him immediately to be put to death. I remember to have heretofore read the storie of a Roman (a man of speciall dignitie) who flying the tyrannie of the Triumuirate, had many times by the furteltie of his invention, escaped those who pursu'd him. It fortuned upon a day, that a troupe of horse-men, who had the charge to apprehend him, paffing alongft a hedge, under which he lay lurking, had well nigh discovered him; which he perceiveing, and considering the dangers and difficulties he had so long endured, thinking to save himselfe from the continuall and daily searches that every where were made after him, and calling to minde the small pleasure he might hope of such a life, and how much better it were for him to die once, then live in such continuall feare and agonie, himselfe called them, and voluntarilie discovered his lurking hole, and that he might ridde them and himselfe from further pursuite and care, did willingly yeeld unto their crueltie. For a man to call his enemies to aide him, is a counsell somewhat rash, yet thinke I, it were better to embrace it, then remaine still in the continuall fit of such a feaver that hath no remedie. But since the provisions a man may apply unto it, are full of vnquietnes and vncertainty, much better is it with a full assurance to prepare himselfe, patiently to endure whatsoever may happen, and drawe some comfort from that, which a man is never sure shall come to passe.

The foure and twentieth Chapter.

Of Pedantisme.

I have in my youth oftestines beene vexed, to see a Pedant brought in, in most of Italian Comedies, for a vice or sporte-maker, and the nick-name of Magister to be of no bet- ter signification amongst vs. For, my selfe being committed to their tuition, how could I chuse but be somewhat jealous of their reputation? In deed I sought to excute them by reason of the natural disproportion, that is betweene the vulgar forte, and rare and excellent men, both in judgement and knowledge: for somuch as they take a clean contrarie course one from another. But when I considered, the choyseft men were they, that most contemned them, I was far to seeke, and as it were loft my selfe, witness our good Bellye:

Mais ie bloy par far tont sumoar pedanefque.

A pedant knowledge, I

Detest out of all cry.

Yet is this custome very ancient for Plutarch saith, that Grecians and Scholer, were amongst the Romans, words of reproach and imputation. And comming afterwards to yeares of more discretion, I have found they had great reason, and that, magis magni clericis, non sunt magia magni sapientes. The greatest Clarkes are not the wisest men. But whence it may proceed, that a minde rich in knowledge, and of so many things, becometh thereby never livelier nor more quicke-fighted; and a grofe-headed, and vulgare spirit, may without amendement, containe the discouer and judgement of the most excellent wits, the world ever produced, I trust remaine doubtfull. To receive so many, so strange, yea and so great wits, it must needs followe (saide once a Lady vnto me, yea one of our chiefest Princes, speaking of some bo-
that a man owne wis, force, drope, and hit were diminu'd it selfe, to make roomes for others. I might say, that as plants are choked by over-much moisture, and lamps damm'd with too much oyle, so are the actions of the mind over-whelmed by over-abundance of matter and study; which occupied and intangled with so great a diversitie of things, looseth the mean to spread and cleare it selfe, and that forward keepeth it lowe-dropping and faine. But it is otherwise, for our mind firsteth the more by how much more it is replenish'd. And in examples of former times, the contrary is seen, of sufficient men in the managing of publike affaires, of great Captaines, and notable Counsellours in matters of estate, to have bin therewith all excellently wise. And concerning Philosophers, retir'd from all publike negotiations, they have indeede sometime beene visit'd, by the comite liberie of their times, their opinions and demaners yeelding them ridiculous. Will you make them judges of the right of a proceffe, or of the actions of a man? They are ready for it. They enquire whether there be any life yet remaining, whether any motion. Whether man be any thing then an Ox, what working or suffering is; what strange beastes law and justice are. Speake they of the Magistrat, or speake they vnto it? They do it with an vnreverent and vncivill liberty. Hear they a Prince or a King commended? Hee is but a shepheard to them, as idle as a Swaine advis'd of milking of his cattell, or hearing of his sheepe: but yet more Rudy. Effecte you any man the greater for posseffing two hundred acres of land? They scoffe at him, as men accustomed to embrace all the world, as their possession. Do you boast of your Nobilitie, because you can blazon your decent of heaven or eight rich Grandfathers? They will but little regard you, as men that conceite not the univerisall image of nature, and howe many predecessors every one of you hath had, both rich and poore, kings & groomes, Greeks and Barbarians. And were you lineally descend'd in the fiftieth degree from Hercules, they deeme it a vanity to vaunt or allledge this gift of fortune. So did the vulgar for disdaine them as ignorant of the first and common things, and as presumptuous and insolent. But this Platonick lustre is farre from that which our men stand in need of. They were enuied as being beyond the common fort, as defpising publike actions, as having propos'd vnto themselves a particular and inmutuble life, aiming and directed at certaine high discourses, and from the common vie: these are disdain'd as men beyond the ordinary fashions, as incapable of publike charges, as leading an vnfaciable life, and professing base and abject curiosomes, after the vulgar kind. 

Odi homines ignavos opera, Philosophos sententia. 
I hate men that are fools in working, and Philosophers in speaking. 

As for those Philosophers, I say, that as they were great in knowledge, so were they greater in all action. And even as they reporte of that Synecdoch Geometrician, who being taken from his bookish contemplation, to shew some practice of his skill; for the defence of his countrie, readed sodainely certaine terror-moving engines, & shewed effects farre exceeding all mens conceite himselfe notwithstanding disdaining all his handie-worke, supposing he had thereby corrupted the dignitie of his art; his engines and manuall worke being but the apprenticeship, and trials of his skill inforte. So they, at any time they have beene put to the trial of any action, they have beene seen to fly so high a pitch; and with so loffe a flight: that men might apparently fee their minds and spirits were through the intelligence of things, become wonderfully rich and great. But some perceiving the state of politike government posseffed by vnworthy and incapable men, have withdrawne themselfes from it. And hee who demanded of Crete, how long men should Philosophize, received this enfore, vntill such time as they who have the conduct of our armes be no longer blockish assy. Herculestus resigned the royalty vnto his brother. And to the Ephesians, who reproved him for spending his time in playing with children before the temple: hee answered, And is it not better to doe so, then to governe the publike affaires in your company? Others having their imagination placed beyond fortune and the world, found the states of justice; and the thrones of Kings, to be but base and vile. And Empedocles refused the royalty, which the Agrigentines offered him. Thales sometimes accuizing the carke and care men tooke about good husbandry, and how to grow rich; some replied vnto him, that he did as the fox, because he could not attaine vnto it himselfe: which hearing, by way of sporte he would needes shew by experience how he could at his pleasure become both thrifty and rich; and bending his wits to gain and profit, creatted a traffice, which within one yeare brought him suche riches, as the skilfullest in the trade of thriving, could hardly in all their life devise how to get the like. That
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which Aristote reporteth of some, called both him, Anaxagoras, and such like men, wife, and not prudent,because they cared not for things more profitable : besides, I do not very well diggest this nice difference of words, that leaveth my find-fault people for no excuse: and to see the bafe and needy fortune, wherewith they are content, we might rather have just cause to pronounce them, neither wife nor prudent. I quit this first reason, and think it better to say, that this evil proceedeth from the bad course they take to follow sciences; and that respecting the manner we are instructed in them, it is no wonder if neither Schollers nor Maulators,howbeit they prove more learned, become no whit more sufficient. Verily the dayly care, and continuall charges of our fathers, symeth at nothing so much, as to store our heads with knowledge and learning; as for judgement and vertue, that is never spoken of. If a man passe by, cry out to our people; Oh what wise man goeth yonder? And of another: Oh what a good man is yonder? He will not fail to cast his eyes and respect toward the former. A third cryer were needfull, to say, Oh what blocke-heads are those! We are ever ready to ask, Hath he any skill in the Greek and Latin tongue? can he write well? doe he write in prose or verse? But whether hee bee growne better or worse, which should bee the chiefeft of his drift, that is never spoken of, we should rather enquire who is better wife, then who is more wife. We labour, and toyle, and plod to fill the memorie, and leave both understanding and confidence emptie. Even as birds flutter and skip from field to field to pecke vp corn or any graine, and without tainting the same, carry it in their bills, therewith to feede their little ones; so doe our pedants gleane and picke learning from bookes, and never lodge it further then their lips, onely to degorge and cast-it to the wind. It is strange how fittly lottineffe takes holde of mine example. Is not that which I doe in the greatest parte of this composition, all one and felle same thing? I am ever here and there picking and culling, from this and that booke, the fentences that please me, not to keepe them (for I have no store-house to receife them in) but to transport them into this: where, to say truth, they are no more mine, then in their first place: we are (in mine opinion) never wife, but by prefent learning, not by that which is paft, and as little by that which is to come. But which is worfe, their Schollers, and their little ones are never a whit the more fed or better nourished: but paffeth from hand to hand, to this end onely, thereby to make a glorious shew, therewith to entertaine others, and with it's helpe to frame some quaint stornes or pretty tales, as of a light and counterfeite coyne, vnprofitable for any vfe or employment, but to reckon and cast acompts. Apud alios logiqui discorant, non ipsi secum. Non est loquendum, sed gubernandum. They have learned to speake with others, not with themselves; speaking is not to requisite as government. Nature, to shew that nothing is savage in whatsoever the produce, causeth oftentimes, even in rudeft and moft vnarted nations, productions offpirits to arise, that confront and wrestle with the moft artifit productions. As concerning my discourse, is not the Gaskonie proverbe, drawne from a bag-pipe, pretty and quaint? Bonba pro bonba, mas vremuda lous ditt qemu. You may blow long enough, but if once you flreu your figners, you may goe seek. Wee can talke and prate, Cicero fayeth thus, These are Platone customes, These are the very words of Aristoteles: but what say we our selves? What doe we? what judge we? A Perot would say as much. This fashion puts me in minde of that rich Romane, who to his exceeding great charge had beene very industrious to finde out the moft sufficient men in all sciences, which he continually kept about him, that if at any time, occasion should bee moved amongst his friends to speake of any matter pertaining to Schollerhip, they might supple his place, and be ready to affit him: some with discourse, some with a verfe of Homer, other some with a fentence, eachone according to his skill or profession; which perudied himselfe that all such learning was his owne, because it was contained in his servants minde. As they doe whose sufficiency is placed in their sumptuous libraries. I know some, whom if I ask what he knoweth, hee will require a booke to demonstrate the same, and durft not dare to tell me that his posteriors are scabious, except he turns over his Lexicon to see what posterious and scabious is, we take the opinions and knowledge of others into our protection, and that is all: I tell you they must bee eneoffred in vs, and made our owne. Wee may very well be compar'd unto him, who having neede of fire, shoulde goe fetch some at his neighbours chimney, where finding a good fire, should there stay to warme himselfe, forgetting to carry some home, what availe it vs to have our bellies full of meat, if it be not digested? if it bee not
transchanged in vs? except it nouristh, augment and strengthen vs? May we imagine that
Luculentus, whom learning made and framed to great a Captaine without experience, would
have taken it after our manner? We reliefo much upon other mens armes, that we disamull
our owne strenght. Will Iarme my selfe against the fear of death? Is it at Senecios cost? will
I draw comfort either for my selfe or any other? I borrow the fame of Cicero. I would have
taken it in my selfe, had I beene exercized vnto it, I love not this relative and begd-for suf-
ficiency. Suppose we may be learned by other mens learning. Sure I am, wee can never
be wise, but by our owne wifedome.

That wise man I cannot abide,
That for himseflf cannot provide,

Ex quo Emisis: Nequidquam sapere sapientem, qui ipsi sibi prodessc non quiet. Whereupon faith
Emins. That wife man is vainly wife, who could not profit himselfe.

Proverb.Jamb.

Vonius, & Euganea quantumvis viler agit.

If covetous, if vaie (not wife)

Then any lambe more safe, more nice.

Non enim pernuda nobis feminine, sed粒子 sapientem esse. For, we must not onely purchase
wifedome, but eniof and employ the fame. Diomnius scoffeth at those Gramarians, who plod-
dingly labour to know the miseries of Ulysses, and are ignorant of their owne; mocketh
those Mutians, that fo attentively tune their instrumenfs, and never accord their manners;
derideth those Orators, that (body to speake of justice, and never put it in execution. Except
our minde be the better, vulesse our judgement be the founder, I had rather my scholler
had employed his time in playing at Tennis; I am sure his body would be the nimbler. See
but one of these our university men or bookeifh schollers returne from schoole, after he hath
there spent ten or twelve years under a Pedants charge: who is so vnaught for any matter?
who so vnfitte for any company? who so to beleeke if hee come into the world? all the advan-
tage you discover in him, is, that his Latin and Greeke, have made him more fastifh, more
fripide, and more presumptuous, then before he went from home. Whereas hee should
returne with a minde full fraught, he returns with a winde-puff conceiue: instead of
plum-feeding the fame, hee lieth onely bunged it vp with vanitie. These Masters, as
Plato speaketh of Sophisters (their cofin germanes) of all men, are thoroe, that promise to
be most profitable, vnto men, and alone, amongst all, that not onely amend not what is
committed to their charge, but enpaire and destroy the fame, and yet they mustfull dearly
be payed. If the lawe which Protagoras proposeth to his discipes, were followed, which
was, that either they should pay him according to his word, or swear in the temple, how
much they effecteth the profit they had received by his discipline, and accordingly satisfies
him for his paines, my Pedagogues would be accounted, especially if they would stand to
the end of my experience. My vulgar Perigordin-speech doth very pleafantly terme such
selfe-concited wizards, Letter-ferus, as if they would lay letter stucken men, to whom (as
the common faying is) letters have given a blow with a mallet. Verily for the most part
they feeme to be disstracted even from commone fame. Note but the plaine husbandman, or
the wynily shoemaker, and you fee them simply and naturally plod on their course, spea-
ing onely of what they know, and no further whereas these letter-puff pedants, because
they would faine raife themselves aloft, and with their litterall doctrine which floteeth vp
and downe, the superficies of their braine, arme themselves beyond other men: they vncle-
fantly intricate and entangle themselves: they utter lofty words, and speake golden sen-
tences, fo that another man, place, fort, and apply them. They are acquainted with Galen,
but know not the disafe. They will stuffe your head with lawes, when God wot they have
done not conceived the ground of the cafe. They knowe the Theorie of all things, but you
must feeke who shall put it in practive. I have feene a friend of mine, in mine owne house,
who by way of porte talketh with one of these pedanticall gulls, counterfeited a kinde of
futian tongue, and made a certaine gibrefh, without time or reason, fans head or foote, a
hotch-pot of diverse things, but that he did often enterlce it with inke-pot terms; incident
to their disputations, to ammuse the bookifh for a whole day long with debating and con-
tending; ever thinking he anfwered the Objections made vnto him; yet was hee a man of

G 2

letters,
letters, and reputation, a graduate, and wore a goodly formall long gowne.

"Oui o patritius fanguis quos uovere per eft"

Occipi ece, poftica occurrit e fane.

You noble bloods, who with a nodde blinde,
Should live meet with the mocke that's made behind.

Whoever shall narrowly looke into this kind of people, which far and wide hath spread itselfe, he shall finde (as I have done,) that for the most part, they neither vnderstand themselves, nor others, and that their memorie is many times sufficiently full fraught, but their judgement ever hollow & emptie except their natural inclination have of it selfe otherwise fashioned them. As I have seene Adriam~ Tunnellus, who having never proffed any thing but fludie and letters, wherein he was, in mine opinion, the worthieth man that lived these thousand yeeres; and who notwithstanding had no Pedanticall thing about him, but the wearing of his gowne, and some externall fashions, that could not well be reduced, and indi"
as beggarly and needy, and as much vilified as ever they were. And what hurt I pray you, since they neither teach vs to think well, nor do well? *Póstquam doli profèrrunt, boni defunt.* Since men became learned, good men failed. Each other science is prejudicial unto him, that hath not the science of good-nature. But may not the reason I whilome sought for, also proceede thence? That our study in France, having as it were no other aine but profit, but those leffe whom nature hath produced to more generous offices, then lucrative, giving themselves unto learning, or fo briefly (before they have apprehended any liking of them), retired unto a profession that hath no communitie with bookes) there are then none left, altogether to en-
gage themselves to study & Bookes, but the meaner kind of people, and such as are borne to
hale fortune, and who by learning & letters seeke someforme to live, and enrich themselves.

The munders of which people being both by natural inclination, by example, and familiar
institution, of the baseft flampe, doe faffleffe reap the fruitre of learning. For it is not in his
power to give light unto the mind, that hath none, nor to make a blind man to see. The m-
stery of it is not to affoord him fight, but to direct it for him, to address his goings, alwayes
provided he have feete of his owne, and good, strait, and capable legges. Knowledge is an
excellent drujse, but no drujse is sufficiently strong to preserve it felle without alteration or
corruption, according to the fault of the veffell, that contains it. Some man hath a cleare
fight, that is not right-lighted; and by consequence feeth what good is, and doth not follow it;
and feeth knowledge, but makes no fe of it. The chiefeft ordinance of Plate in his com-
mon wealth, is, to give vnto his Citizens their charge, according to their nature. Nature can
do all, and dooth all. The crookeft backt or deformed, are vnfit for any exercice of the body,
and crooked, and misapplied minde vnproper for exercices of the minde. The baftard and
vugare forte are vnworthy of Philosphie. When we fee a man ill fhodde, if he chance to
be a thoomaker, wee fay; it is no wonder, for commonly none goes worfe fhodde then they.

Even fo it femeis, that experience doth often feew vs, a Phuffian leffe healthy, a Divine leffe
reformed, and most commonly a Wiseman leffe sufficient then an other. *Arefo Chus* had
heereforefore reafon to fay, that Philofophers did much hurt to their auditors, forasmuch as
the gretest number of minde are not apt to profite by fuch instructions, which, if they take
not a good, they will follow a bad course: ωὐγάμος ἐκ Ἀριστερῆς, ἀκροβοῦς ἐκ Ζενωνίδος ἐκβάλε
ἐκεῖνος. They proccede licentious out of the Schoole of Aristippus, but bitter out of the Schoole
of Zeno. In that excellent institution which Xenophon giveth the Persians, we finde, that as o-
ther Nations teach their children Letters, fo they taught theirs vertue. *Plato* faith the eldste
borne fonne, in their royall succeffion, was thus taught. As foone as he was borne, he was
delivered, not to women, but to fuch Eunuches, as by reafon of their vertue were in chiefeft
authoritie about the King. Their speciall charge was first to shapen his limmes and bodie,
goodly, and healthie; and at feaven yeares of age, they instructed and inured him to fitte on
horfebacke, and to ride a hunting: when hee came to the age of foureteene, they delivered
him into the handes of foure men, that is to fay, the wifeft, the juifieft, the moft temperate,
and the moft valiant of all the nation. The first taught him religion; the second, to be ever
vpright and true; the third, to become Maifter of his owne defires; and the fourth, to feare
nothing. It is a thing worthy great conderation, that in that excellt, and as I may terme
it, matchedelle pollicie of Lycurgus, and in truth, by reafon of her perfection, monftrous, yet
notwithstanding, so carefull, for the education of children, as of her principall charge, and
even in the Mufes bosome and refting-place, there is fo little mention made of learning: as if
that generous youth dislauling all other yokes, but of vertue, ought onely to be furnifhed, in
lawe of tutors of learning, with maifters of valoure, of justice, of wifedom, and of temper-
ance. An example which Plato hath imitated in his Lawes. The manner of their disci-
pline was, to propound questions vnto them, teaching the judgement of men and of their
actions: and if by way of reafon or difcourfe, they-condemned or praiife, either this man,
or that decede, they must be told the true and beft: by which means at once they sharp-
ned their wittes, and learned the right. *Aflages* in Xenophon calleth Cyrus to an accompt
of his last leffon: Itis (faith he) that a great lad in our Schoole, having a little coate, gave it
to one of his fellows, that was of lefser stature than himselfe, and tooke his coate from him,
which was too big for him: our Maifter having made me judge of that difference, I judged
that things must be left in the state they were in, and that both seemd to be better fitted as
they were; whereupon he shewed me, I had done ill; because I had onely considered the
comeliness, where I should chiefly have respected justice, which required, that none should be forced in any thing which properly belonged to him, and saide, he was whipt for it, as we are in our country-townes, when we have forgotten the first preterperfect tense or Apo-
riph of το γενέσεως. My Regent might long enough make mee a proclixs and cunning Oratior in
gende demonstrative, in oratorie kindes of praife or displaife, before ever he should per-
wade me his School is worth that. They have gone about to make the way shorter : and
since Sciences (even when they are right taken) can teach vs nothing but wifedome, hone-
sifie, integritie and resolution; they have at first sight, attempted to put their children to the
proper of effects, and instruct them, not by heare-fay, but by a fay of action, lively modell-
ing and framing them, not onely by precepts and wordes, but principally by examples
and woorkes, that it might not be a Science in their minde, but rather his complection and
habitue; not a purchase, but a natural inheritance.

To this purpose when Aegislaus was demaunded, what his opinion was, children should
learn: anfwered, What they shoule doe being men. It is no marvell, if such an infitution
have produced fo admirable effects. Some fay, that in other Citties of Greece they went to
feke for Rhetorichs, for Painters and for Muficians; whereas in Lacedemon, they fought
for Lawe-givers, for Magiftrates, and Emperors of armies: In Athens men learned to fay
well, but here, to doe well: there to resolve a sophifticall argument, and to confound the
impofture and ambivlophie of words, captioufly enterlaced together; here to fhafe off
the allurements of voluntuoufnes, and with an undaunted courage to contemne the threats
of fortune, and reject the menaces of death: those buffed andlaboured themselves about idle
wordes, they after materiall things: there the tongue was ever in continuall exerccife of
speaking, here the minde in an vnceifant practive of well-doing. And therefore was it not
strange, if Aristator requiring fitte of their children for hostages, they anfwered cleane
contrary to that we would doe, that they would rather deliver him twice as many men; fo
much did they value and efteeme the loss of their countries education. When Aegislaus in-
viteh Xenophon to fend his children to Sparta, there to be brought vp: it is not, because they
should learnt Rhetorike or Logike, but, as himfelfe faith, to the ende they may learne the
worthifte and beft science that may bee, to wítte, the knowledge how to obey, and the skilf how
to command. It is a fport to fee Socrates, after his blunt manner, to mocke Hippias, who re-
porteth vnto him, what great fummes of monie he hath gained, especially in certaine little
Citties, and small towne of Sicily, by keeping Schoole, and teaching letters, and that at Sparta
he could not get a fhillng. That they were but Idiots and foolish people, who can neither
maffe nor efteeme; nor make no accompt of grammer or of rythmes; and who onely
amufe themselves to knowe the flucccription of Kings, the eftablifhing and declination of
eftates, and fuch like trafs offhim-flam tales. Which done, Socrates ftronge him particularly
to allow the excellency of their forme of publike government, the happyne and vertue of
their private life, remits vnto him to guffe the conclufion of the vnprofitableenefse of his
ares. Examples teach vs both in this martiall policie, and in all fuch like, that the fludie of
Sciences doth more weaken and efeminate mens minde, then corroborate and adapt them
to warre. The mightieft, yea the beft fettle estate, that is now in the world, is that of the
Turkes, a nation equall instructed to the efteeme of armes, and diffeleeme of letters. I finde
Rome to have beene most valiant, when it was leal learned. The moft warlike nations of
our daies, are the rudeft and moft ignorant. The Scithians, the Parthians, and Tamberlaine,
serve to vefeifie my faying. When the Gothes over-ramne and raved Grecses; that which
faved all their Libraries from the fire, was, that one amongst them, fattered this opinion, that
such trafs of bookes and papers muft be left vntoucht and whole for their enemies, as the
only meane, and proper influent to divert them from all militarie exercizes, and ammufe
them to idle, secure, and fecondaria occupations. When our King Charles the eight, in a
manner; without vnheathing his swords, fawe himselfe absolute Lord of the whole king-
dome of Naples, and of a great part of Thyscanie, the Princes and Lords of his traine, ac-
ribed this foddaine, and vnhooped for victorie, and facilite of fo noble and prodigious a con-
quett, only to this, that moft of the Princes and nobilitie of France ammused themselves
rather to become ingenuous and wife by learning, then vigorous and warres by militarie ex-
cercizes.
The fine and twentieth Chapter.

Of the institution and education of children, to the Lady Diana of Foix, Countesse of Gurton.

I Never knew father, how crooked and deformed for ever his sonne were, that would either altogether cast him off, or not acknowledge him for his owne: and yet (unlesse he be meerely belotted or blinded in his affection) it may not be said, but he plainly perceived his defects, and had a feeling of his imperfections. But so it is, he is his owne. So is it in my selfe. I see better then any man else, that what I have set downe, is nought but the fond imaginations of him, who in his youth had nothing but the parsing, and forese the superficialities of true learning: whereas he hath retained but a generall and shapely forme: a simake of every thing in generall, but nothing to the purpose in particular: After the French manner. To be shorte, I know there is an arte of Phisicke; a course of lawes; four partes of the Mathematikes; and I am not altogether ignorant, what they tend unto. And perhaps I also knowe the scope and drift of sciences in generall, to befor the service of our life. But to waide further, or that ever I tired my selfe with plodding vpon Aristotle (the Monarch of our moderne doctrine) or obstinately continued in the search of any one science: I confess I never did it. Nor is there any one arte, whereof I am able so much as to drawe the first lineaments. And there is no chollear (be he of the lowest forme) that may not repuse himselfe wiser then I, who am not able to appose him in his first lesson; and if I be forced to it, I am constrained very imper tinently to draw in matter from some generall discourse, whereby I examine, and give a guesse at his naturall judgement: a lesson as much unknowne to them as theirs is to me. I have not dealt or had commerce with any excellent booke, except Plutarch or Seneca, from whom (as the Damaites) I drawe my water, vnceasendly filling, and as fast empting: something whereof I thinke to this paper, but to my selfe nothing at all. And touching booke: Historie is my chiefe studie, Poetrie my onely delight, to which I am particularly affected: for as Cleanthes said, that as the voice being forcibly pent in the narrow gullet of a trumper, at last sufseth more strong and thriller, so me seemes, that a sentence cunningly and closely couched in measure keeping, Poetrie doth it selfe forth more furiously, and woundes me even to the quickte. And concerning the naturall faculties that are in me, (whereof behold here an essay) I perceiue them to faint under their owne burthen; my conceites, and my judgement march but vncertaine, and as it were grooping, staggering, and tumbling in everie rach: And when I have gone as farre as I can, I have no what pleaded my selfe: for the farther I faile, the more hind I defery, and that so dimmed with fogges, and over-caft with clouds, that my sight is so weakened, I cannot distinguish the fame. And then vndertaking to speake indifferentely of all that pretends it selfe unto my fantasie, and having nothing but mine owne naturall means to employ therein, if it be my hap (as commonly it is) amongst good Authors, to light upon those very places which I have vndertaken to treat of, even now I did in Plutarch, reading his discourse of the power of imagination, wherein in regard of those wise men, I acknowledge my selfe so weake and so poore, so dull and grosse-headed, as I am forced both to pittie and dislike my selfe, yet am I pleased with this, that my opinions have often the grace to tumpe with theirs, and that I followe them a loose off, and thereby possesse at least, that which all other men have not; which is, that I knowe the vmoft difference betweene them and my selfe: all which notwithstanding I suffer my inventions to runne abroade, as weake and faint, as I have produced them, without bunging and botching the faults, which this comparison hath discovered to me in them. A man had neede have a strong backe, to vndertake to marche foote to foote with these kindes of men. The indifferecte writers of our age, amidst their trivall compositions, entermingle and wret in whole sentences taken from ancient Authors, supposing by such sifting theft to purchase honour and reputation to themselves, doe cleane contrarie. For, this infinit variety and dissemblance of lultres, makes a face, so wan, so ill-favored and so ugly, in respect of theirs, that they loose much more then gain thereby. These were two contr.
The first Booke.

tragic humors: The Philosopher Chrysippus was wont to foitfe-in amongst his bookes, not onlye whole sentences, and other long-long discourses, but whole bookes of other Authors, as in one, he brought in Euripides his Medea. And Appolodorus was wont to say of him, that if one should dravve from out his bookes, what he had stolen from others, his paper would remaine blanke. Whereas Epicurus cleane contrarie to him in three hundred volumes, he left behinde him, had not made ve of one allegation. It was my fortune not long since to light upon such a place: I had languishingly traced after some French words, so naked and shallow, and so void of either of sense or matter, that at last I found them to be nought but mere French words; and after a tedious and wearisome travell I chanced to stumble upon an high, rich, and even to the cloudes-raied piece, the defcendent whereof hadde it bene somewhat more pleasant or easie, or the ascendent reaching a little further, it had bene execuable, and to be borne-withall; but it was such a sloppie downe-fall, and by meere strength hewn out of the maine rocke, that by reading of the first sixe words, I thought I was carr'd into another world: whereby I perceived the bottom whence I came to see so lowe and deep, as I durst never more adventure to goethrough it; for, if I did fluffe any one of my discourses with those rich spoilts, it would manifestly cause the forteshine of others to appeare. To reproove mine owne faultes in others, seemes to me no more vnufferable, then to reprehend (as I doe often)those of others in my selfe. They ought to be accused everywhere, and have all places of Sanctuaries taken from them: yet doe I knowe how overboulidly, at all times I adventuour to equall my fellowes with my infallings and to march hand in hand with them; not without a fond-hardie hope, that I may perhaps be able to blear the eyes of the judges from discerning them. But it is as much for the benefit of my application, as for the good of mine invention and force. And I doe not furiously front, and body to body wrestle with those oldie champions: it is but by slights, advantiges, and falsfe-offers I feake to come within them, and if I can, to give them a fall. I doe not rashly take them about the necke, nor doe I goe so farre as by my bargain I would seeme to doe; could I but keape even with them, I should then be an honest man; for I seeke not to venture on them, but where they are strongest. To doe as I have seene some, that is to shroud themselves under other armes, not daring so much as to shew their fingers endes unwarmed, and to both vp all their worke (as it is an easie matter in a common subject, namely for the wiser sorts) with ancient inventions, here and there huddled vp together. And in those who endeavored to hide what they have filched from others, and make it their owne, it is first a manifest note of injustice, then a plaine argument of cowardlines; who having nothing of any worth in them-felves to make showe of, will yet vnder the countenance of others sufficiencie goe about to make a faire offer: Moreover (oh great foolishnes) to seake by such cozening tricks to forestall the ignorant approbation of the common sorte, nothing fearing to discover their ignorance to men of vnderstanding (whose praise onely is of value) who will soone trace out such borrowed wares. So for me, there is nothing I will doe leffe. I never spake of others, but that I may the more speake of my selfe. This concerneth not those mingled-mangles of many kinds of fluffe, or as the Grecians call them Rapsodies, that for such are publiished, of which kinde I have (since I came to yeares of discretion) seene divers most ingenious and witty; amongst others, one vnder the name of Catiphus; besides many of the ancient fames. These are wits of such excellencie, as both here and elsewhere they will soonebe perceived, as our late famous writer Lucian, in his learned and laborious worke of the Politikes; yet whatsoever come of it, so much as they are but folies, my intent is not to smother them, no more then a bald and hoarie picture of mine, where a painter hath drawne not a perfect viage, but mine owne. For, howsoever, there are but my humors and opinions, and I deliver them to be shewed what my conceit is, and not what ought to be believed. Wherein I amme at nothing but to display my selfe, who peradventure (if a new pretension change me) shall be another to morrow. I have no authoritie to purchase belief, neither do I desire it; knowing well that I am not sufficiently taught to instruct others. Some having read my precedent Chapter, tolde me not long since in mine owne house, I should somewhat more have extended my selfe in the discourse concerning the institution of children. Now (Madam) if there were any sufficiencie in me, touching that subiect, I could not better imploy the fame, then to beftowe it as a present upon that little lad, which ere long threatens to make a happy issue from out your honorable wombe: for (Madam) you are too generous to beginne with
The first Booke.

with other then a man childe. And having had so great a part in the conduct of your successfull marriage, I may challenge some right and interest in the greatness and prosperity of all that shall proceed from it: moreover the ancient and rightfull possession, which you from time to time have ever had, and still have over my service, verges mee with more then ordinarie respectes, to with all honour, well-fare and advantage to whatsoever may in any sorte concerne you and yours. And truly, my meaning is, but to shew, that the greatest difficulty, and importing all humane knowledge, fecmeth to be in this point, where the nurture and institution of young children is in question. For, as in matters of husbandrie, the labor that must be veld before sowing, setting, and planting; so in planting it selfe, is most certaine and easie. But when that which was lowen, set and planted, commeth to take life; before it come to ripenes, much ado, and great variety of proceeding belongeth to it. So in men, it is no great matter to get them, but being borne, what continual cares, what diligent attendance, what doubts and fears, doe daily waite on their parents and tutors, before they can be nurtured and brought to any good? The fore-shew of their inclination whilst they are young is so uncertaine, their humours so variable, their promises so changing, their hopes so full, and their proceedings so doubtful, that it is very hard, (yea for the wife) to ground any certaine judgement, or assured success upon them. Behold Gemon, viewe Themselves, and a thousand others, how they have degenerated, and faine from themselves, and deceived the expectation of such as knew them. The young wheles both of Dogges and Beares, at first sight shew their natural disposition, but men headlong imbracing this custome or fashion, following that humor or opinion, admittin this or that passion, allowing of that or this hawe, are easly changed, and oneone disguifed; yet it is hard to force the natural propension or readings of the mind, whereby it foloweth that for want of heedle fore-sight in those that could not guide their course well, they often employ much time in vain, to adtrerfe young chil- dren in those sciences, wherunto they are not naturally addicted. All which difficulties notwithstanding, mine opinion is, to bring them vp in the best and profitablest studies, and that a child should slightly passe over those fond preges, and deceiving prognostikes, which wee over-precisely gather in their infancy, and (without offence be it said) me thinks, that Plato in his commonwealth allowed them too too much authority.

Madam, Learning joyned with true knowledge is an especiall and gracefull ornament, and an implement of wonderful vis and conference, namely in persons raised to that degree of fortune, wherein you are. And in good truth, learning hath not her owne true forme, nor can she make shew of her beautifull lineaments, if she fall into the hands of base and vile persons. For, as famous Torquato Tasso saith; Philofophie being a rich and noble Queene, and knowing her owne worth, graciously smileth upon, and lovingly embraces Princes and noble men, if they become tutors to her, admitting them as her minions, and gently affording them all the favours she can; whereas upon the contrarie, if she be woode, and fued into by clownes, mechanical fellows, and such base kindes of people, she holds her selfe disparaged and disgraced, as holding no proportion with them. And therefore see we by experience, that if a true Gentleman or nobleman followe her with any attention and love her with importunity, hee shall learne and knowe more of her, and prove a better scholler in one yeere, then an ungentle, or base fellow shall in seven, though he pursueth her never so attentively. She is much more ready and fierce to lend her furtherance and direction in the conduct of a war, to attempt honoroble actions, to command a people, to create a peace with a prince or forraɪmation, then she is to form an argument in Logick, to devise a Sillogifme, to canave a cafe at the barre, or to preferbe a receit of pills. So (noble Lady) for as much as I cannot perswade my felle, that you will either forget or neglect this point, concerning the institution of yours, especially having tafted the sweetnesse thereof, and being defended of so noble and learned a race. For we yet postlefe the learned compositions of the ancient and noble Earles of Poit, from out whom heroicke layenes your husband and you take your off-spring. And Francis Lord of Cadeate your worthie vnclere, doth daily bring forth such fruites thereof, as the knowledge of the matchlesse qualitie of your house shall hereafter extend it selfe to many ages; I will therefore make you acquainted with one conceit of mine, which contrarie to the common vs I holde, and that is all I am able to afforde you, concerning that matter. The charge of the tutor, which you shall appoint your fonne, in the choyce of whom confieth the whole substance of his education and bringing
The first Booke.

bringinc-apon which are many branches depending, which (forasmuch as I can addle nothing of any moment to it) I wil not touch at all. And for that point, w hern I preferve to advise him, he may so farre forth give credite unto it, as he shall see just cause. To a gentlem-an borne of noble parentage, and heire of a house, that symeth at true learning, and it would be discipled, not so much for gaine or commoditie to hisselfe (because so object an end is farre unworthy the grace and favour of the Muses, and besides, hast a regardre or dependency of others) nor for externall shew and ornament, but to adornne and enrich his inward minde, desiring rather to shapre and infrincte an able and sufficient man, then a bare learned man. My defire is therefore, that the parents or overseers of such a gentleman be very circumspeet, and carefull in chusing his director, whom I would rather commend for having a well composed and temperate braine, then a full stuff head, yet both will doe well. And I would rather preffewseadome, judgement, civill customs, and modest beha-vour, then bare and meere literall learning, and that in his charge he hold a new course. Some never cease brawling in ther schollers ears (as if they were full powrving in a tonell) to follow their booke, yet is ther charge nothing else, but to repeate, what hath beene told them before. I would have a tutor to correct this parte, and that at first entrance, according to the capacite of the with he hath in hand, he should beginne to make shew of it, making him to have afmacke of all things, and how to chufe and distingüish them, without helpe of oth-ers, sometimes opening him the way, other times allowing him to open-it by him-selxe. I would not have him to invent and speake alone, but suffer his disciple to speake when his turne commeth. Socrates, and after him Arcesippus, made their schollers to speake first, and then would speake themselves. Obelix plenamque iui qui dicerent volam, authenticae esse omnes, qui docent. Most commonly the authoritie of them that teach, biders them that would learne.

It is therefore meete, that he make him first trot-on before him, whereby he may the better judge of his pace, and so gueffe how long he will hold out, that accordingly hee may fit his strength: for want of which proportion, we often mare-all. And to know how to make a good choyce, and how farre forth one may proccede (full keeping due measure) is one of the hardest labours I know. It is a signe of a noble, and effect of an undainted spirit, to know how to second, and how farre forth he shall condicende to his childsh proccedings, and howe to guide them. As for my self, I can better and with more strength walke vp, then done a hill. Thosea which according to our common fashon, vndertake with one selfe-same leffon, and like manner of education, to direct many spirits of diverse forms and different humours, it is no marvell if among a multitude of children, they scarce meete with two or three, that reape any good fruite by their discipline, or that come to any perfection. I would not onely have him to demand an accompt of the words containd in his leffon, but of the fensé and substancce thereof, and judge of the profit he hath made of it, not by the teemphonie of his memorie, but by the winneffe of his life. That what he lately learned, he cause him to set forth and pour tray the fame into fundry shapes, and then to accommodate-it to as many different and severall subiects; whereby he shall perceive, whethe-r he have yet apprehended the fame, and therein enfeoffed him-selfe, at due times taking his instrucion from the institution given by Plato. It is a signe of crudite and indigellion for a man to yeeld-vp his meate, even as he swallowed the fame: the stomache hath not wrought his full operation, vnlesse it have changed forme, and altered fashion of that which was given him to boyle and decoct. We see men gape after no reputation but learning, and when they say, such one is a learned man, they thinke they have said enough; our minde doth move at others pleature, as tied and forced to serve the fantasies of others, being brought vnder by authoritie, and forced to floope to the tere of their bare leffon; we have beene fo subjected to harpe vpon one string, that we have no way left-vs to decent vpon voluntarie: our vigor and libertie is cleane extinct. Nuncquam tutea sive sitiunt. They never come to their owne tuition. It was my hap to bee familiarly acquainted with an honnest man at Peå, but such an Aristoteles, as he held this infallible position; that a conformitie to Aristotles doctrine was the true touchstone and squire of all olde imaginations, and per-fect veritie; for, whatsoever had no cohereonce with it, was but fond Chimeraes, and idle humours; in affmuch as he had knowne-all, scene-all, and faide-all. This proposition of his, being somewhat over-amply and injuriously interpreted by some, made him a long time after to be troubled in the inquisition of Rome, I would have him make his scholler nar-rowly
rowly to sift all things with discretion, and harbour nothing in his head by mere authority, or upon truth. Aristotelian principles shall be no more axioms vnto him, then the Stoikes or Epicurians. Let this diversitie of judgements be proposed vnto him, if he can, he shall be able to distinguiish the truth from falsehood, if not, he will remaine doubtfull.

Che non men che faper dubbiar mi aggrad. 
No leffe ir pleafeth me,
To doubt, then wife to be.

For if by his owne discourse he embrace the opinions of Xenophon, or of Plato, they shall be no longer theirs, but his. Hee that meereely followeth another, traceth nothing, and feeketh nothing : Non sumus ub rege, fibi qui quem fo vindicet: Wee are not under a Kings command; everie one may challenge himselfe for himselfe: It is requisite he indeavor as much to feeke himselfe with their conceits, as labour to learne their precepts; which, so hee know how to apply, let him hardly forget, or whence he had them. Truth and reason are common to all, and are no more proper vnto him that speake them heretofore, then vnto him that shall speake them hereafter. And it is no more according to Platoes opinion, than to mine, since both he and I vnderstand and see alike. The bees do heere and there fucke this, and cull that flower, but afterward they produce the honey, which is peculiarly their owne, then is it no more Thyme or Marjoram. So of pecces borrowed of others, he may lawfully alter, transforme, and confound them, to shape out of them a perfect piece of worke, altogether: his owne; always provided, his judgement, his travel, study, and institution tend to nothing, but to frame the same perfect. Let him hardly conceive, where, or whence hee hath had any helpe, and make no shew of any thing, but of that which hee hath made himselfe. Pirates, filchers, and borrowers, make a shew of their purchases and buildings, but not of that which they have taken from others: you see not the secerer fees or bribes Lawyers take of their Clients, but you ral manifestly discover the alliances they make, the honours they get for their children, and the goodly houses they build. No man makes open shew of his receites, but every one of his gettings. The good that comes of study ( or at leaft should come) is to prove better, wiser, and honester. It is the vnderstanding power (said Epicharmus) that feeth and heareth, it isit, that profeth all, and disprofeth all, that moveth, swayeth and muleth all: things else are but blinde, fencedeffe, and without spirit. And truely in baring him of libertie to doe any thing of him selfe, we make him thereby more feruile and more coward. Who would ever enquire of his scholler what he thinketh of Rethorike, of Grammar, of this, or of that sentence of Cicer? Which things throughely fethered (as if they were oracles) are let flie into our memorie, in which both letters and syllables are substantive parts of the subiect. To knowe by roate is no perfect knowledge, but to keepe what one hath committed to his memores charge, is commendable: what a man directly knoweth, that will he dispoze of, without turning still to his booke, or looking to his pattern. A mere booke and sufficiencie is unpleasant. All I except of, is an imblending of my actions, and not a foundation of them, according to Platoes minde, who faith, constancie, faith, and sincrity, are true Philosophie; as for other Sciences, and tendering else-where, they are but garish paintings. I would faine have Palus ore Pompy, those two excellent dauncers of our time, with all their nimblenesse, teach any man to doe their loftie trickes, and high capers, onely with seeing them done, and without fluring out of his place, as some Pedanticall fellows would infruct our minde without moving or putting it in practife. And glad would I be to finde one, that woulde teach vs how to manage a horse, to toffe a pike, to shoote-off a piece, to play vpon the lute, or to warble with the voyce, without any exercife, as thefe kinds of men would teach vs to judge, and how to speake well, without any exercife of speakeing or judging. In which kinde of life, or as I may terme it, Prenchipit, what action or objecte foreremts it selfe vnto our eyes, may serve vs instead of a sufficient booke. A pretty pranke of a boy, a knavish tricke of a page, a foolish part of a lackey, an idle tale or any discourse-else, spoken either in jeaft or earnest, at the table or in company, are as new subjects for vs to worke vpon: for furtherance whereof, of commerce or common societie amont men, vifiting of foraine countries, and observing of strange fashions, are very necessary, not only to be able (after the maner of our yong gallants of France) to report how many paces the Church of Santa Rongoda is in length or breadth, or what rich garments the curtezan Signora Lewis weareth, and the worth of her hosen; or as some do, nicely to dispute how
how much longer or broader the face of Nero is, which they have seen in some old manuscripts of it, than that which is made for him in other old monuments else-where. But they should principally observe, and be able to make certaine relation of the humours and fashions of those countries they have seen, that they may the better know, how to correct and prepare their witty by those of others. I would therefore have him beginne even from his infancy to travell abroad; and first, that at one shot hee may hitte two marks, he should see neighbour-countrees, namely where languages are most different from ours; for, vnleffe a mans tongue be fashioned unto them in his youth, hee shall never attaine to the true pronunciation of them, if he once growe in yeares. Moreover, we see it received as a common opinion of the wiser force, that it agreeeth not with reason, that a childe be always muzled, cocketed, dandel, and brought vp in his parents happe or right, for so much as their natural kindenesse, or as I may call it tender fondnesse causeth often, even the wickeft, to proove fo idle, fo over-nice, and fo base-mindede. For parents are not capable, neyther can they finde in their hearts to see them checkt, corrected, or chastified, nor indure to see them brought vp so meaneely, and so farre from daintinesse, and many times so dangerously, as they must needs be. And it would grieve to see their children come home from those exercises, that a Gentleman must necessarily acquaint him selfe with, sometimes all wet and benemyed, other times sweate and full of dust, and to drinke being either extreme herte, or exceeding cold; and it would trouble them to see him ride a rough-vintamed horse, or with his weapon furiousely encounter a skilfull Fencer, or to handle and shooote-off a musket, against which there is no remedy, if he will make him prove a sufficient, complete, or honest man: he must not be spared in his youth, and it will come to passe, that he shall many times have occasion and be forced to shocke the rules of Phyficke.

\[Vitam\, sub dio \& trepidis agat\]
\[In rebus.\]
Leade he his life in open aire,
And in affaires full of desire.

It is not sufficient to make his minde strong, his muskles must also be strengthened: the minde is ever-born if it be not seconded: and it is too much for him alone to discharge two offices. I have a feeling howe mine panterh, being joyned to so tender and finable a body, and that lyeth so heavy on it. And in my lecture, I often perceive howe my Authors in their writings sometimes commend examples for magannimitie and force, that rather proceed from a thicke skinne and hardnes of the bones. I have knowne men, women and children borne of so hard a constitution, that a blow with a cudgell would lesse hurt them, than a jilp would doe me, and so dull and blockish, that they will neither shooote tongue nor eie-browes, beate them never so much. When wrestlers goe about to counterfeit the Philosophers patience, they rather shew the viser of their finnesse, then of their hart. For the custody to beare travell, is to tolerate griefe: Labor colium obtusit dolor. Labour worketh a hardnesse upon sorrow. Hee must be endure to suffer the paine and hardnesse of exercices, that so he may be induced to endure the paine of the colicke, of soifenes, of falls, of sprains, and other diseases incident to mans body: yea if neede require, patiently to beare imprisonment, and other tortures, by which sufferance hee shall come to be had in more esteeme and accounting for, according to time and place, the good as well as the bad man may happily fall in to them, we have seen it by experience. Who so ever finoves against the laws, threats good men with mischief and extortion. Moreover, the authors of the tutor (who should be severer over him,) is by the cocketing and presence of the parents, hindered and interrupted: besides the awe and respect, which the householde beares him, and the knowledge of the mannes, possibilities, and greatnesse of his house, are in my judgment, no smallletts in a yong Gentleman. In this Schoole of commerce, and society among men, I have often noted this vice, that in lieu of taking acquaintance of others, we only indevore to make our selves known to them and weare more ready to utter such marchandize as we have, then to engrose and purchase new commodities. Silence and modestie are qualities very convenient to civil conversation. It is also necessary, that a yong man be rather taught to be discretely-sparing, and close-handed, then prodigially-wasteful & lavish in his expens, and moderate in husbanding his wealth when he shall come to possess it. And not to take pepper in the nofe for every foolish tale that shall be spoken in his presence, because it is an vnseasonable, to
to contradict, whatsoever is not agreeable to our humour; let him be pleased to correct himself. And let him not feeme to blame that in others, which he refuseth to doe himself; nor go about to withstand common fashions. *Licit sare fine pomps, fine eritidis. A man may be wise without censure, without envy. Let him avoid those Prophoysall images of the world, whose vnkind behaviour, and childih ambition, wherewith God-wot, too-too many are possed: that is, to make a faire showe of that, which is not in him; endeavouring to be reputed other than indeed he is; and as if representation and new devises were hard to come by; he would by that means acquire unto himselfe, the name of some peculiar vertue. As it pertaineth but to great Poets to vie the libertie of arts: so is it tolerable but in noble minds, and great spirits to have a preeminence above ordinary fashions. *Si quid Socrates & Aristippus contra morum & confuetudines sectabant, idem siti ne arduetur licet: Magnis enim illis & divinis bonis hanc licentiam affigebantur. If Socrates and Aristippus have done so much against customs or good manner, let not a man think he may doe the same; for they obtained this licence by their great and excellent good parts: He shall be taught, not to enter rashly into discoure or contending, but when he shall encounter with a Champion, worthy his strength: And then would I not have him imploy all the tricks that may fit his turne, but only such as may stand him in most stead. That he be taught to be curious in making choice of his reasons, loving pertinency, and by consequence brevity. That above all, he be instructed to yeeld, yea to quitt his weapons vntrue, as soone as he shall discerne the same, whether it proceed from his adversaire, or upon better advice from himselfe; for, he shall not be preferred to any place of eminencie above others, for repeating of a precept part; and he is not engaged to defend any cause, further then he may approove in or shall he be of that trade, where the libertie for a man to repent and re-advice himselfe is solde for ready monie. *Neque, ut omnino, quae praescripta & imperata sunt, defendant, necesse sit ut tolla coGITN. Nor is he enforced by any necessitie to defend and make good all that is prescribed and commanded him. If his tutor agree with his humor, hee shall frame his affection, to be a most loyal and true subject to his Prince, and a most affectionate and courageous Gentleman, in all that may concern the honor of his Sovereigne, and the good of his country. And endevour to suppress in him all manner of affection to undertake any action, otherwise then for a publick good and duty. Besides many inconveniences, which greatly prejudice our libertie, by reason of these particular bonds; the judgement of a man that is waged and bought, either it be free and honest, or else it be bleffed both with oversight and ingratitude. A meere and precise Courtier, can neither have lawe nor will to speake or thinke, otherwise then favourably of his matter, who among so many thousands of his subjects, hath made choice of him alone, to intituate and bring him vp with his owne hand. These favours, with the commodities that follow minion-courtiers, corrupt (not without some colour of reazon) his libertie, and dazzle his judgement. It is therefore commonly feene, that the Courtiers language differs from other mens, in the fame farte, and to be of no great credite in such matters. Let therefore his conscience and vertue shine in his speach, and reazon be his chiefe direction. Let him be taught to confeize such faultes as he shall discover in his owne discoures, albeit none other perceive them but himselfe; for it is an evident shew of judgement, and effect of sincerity, which are the chiefe qualities he asmeth at. That willfully to strive, and obliquely to contest in words, are common qualities, most apparent in baseft minde: That to re-advice and correct himselfe, and when one is most earnest, to leave an ill opinion; are rare, noble, and philosophical conditions. Being in company, he shall be put in minde, to cast his eyes round about, and everywhere: For I note, that the chiefe places are vially seazed upon the most vnworthy, and leffe capable; and that height of fortune is seldomjoyned with sufficiency. I have seene, that whist they at the upper end of a boardre were busily entertaining themselves, with talking of the beautie of the hangings about a chamber, or of the taffle of some good cup of wine, many good discoures at the lower end, have viterby beene left. He shall weigh the carriage of every man in his calling, a Heardsman, a Mafon, a Stranger, or a Traveller; all must be employed; every one according to his worth; for all helps to make vp households; yea the folly and the simplicitie of others, shall bee as instructions to him. By controlling the graces and manners of others, he shall acquire unto himselfe envy of the good, and contempt of the bad. Let him hardly be possed with an honest curiosity to search-out the nature and caufes of all things: let him survy what soever is rare and singu-
lare about him; a building, a fountain, a man, a place where any battell hath beene fought or the passages of Cesar or Charlemagne.

*Qua tellus sit lenta gelis, qua putris ab aspis,*


*Venus in Italiam quis bene vita serat.*

What land is pacht with heate, what dog'd with frost,

What winde drives kindly to th' Italian coast.

He shall endeavour to be familiarly acquainted with the cuffomes, with the manners, with the state, with the dependances and alliances of all Princes; they are things soone and pleasant to bee learned, and most profitable to be knowne. In this acquaintance of men, my meaning is, that hee chiefly comprehend them, that live but by the memoe of booke. He shall, by the help of Histories, informe himselfe of the worthiest minds that were in the beate ages. It is a frivolous study, if a man lift, but of unvalueable worth, to such as can make vs of it. And as Plato faith, the onely study the Lacedemonians reserved for themselves. What profit shall he not reap, touching this point, reading the lives of our Plutarch? Alwayses conditioned, the maister bethinke himselfe whereto his charge tendeth, and that he imprint not so much in his schollers minde the date of the nine.

He should, by the help of Histories, informe himselfe of the worthyst minds that were in the best ages. It is a frivolous study, if a man lift, but of unvalueable worth, to such as can make vs of it. And as Plato faith, the onely study the Lacedemonians reserved for themselves. What profit shall he not reap, touching this point, reading the lives of our Plutarch? Alwayses conditioned, the master bethinke himselfe whereto his charge tendeth, and that he imprint not so much in his schooler's minde the date of the Nine.

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There are in Plutarch many ample discourses most worthy to be knowne: for in my judgement, he is the chiefe worke-master of such worke, whereof there are a thousand, whereat he hath but slightly glanced; for with his fingers he doth but point vs out a way to walke in, if we lift: and is sometimes pleased to give but a touch at the quickest and maine point of a discourse, from whence they are by diligent study to be drawn, and so brought into open market. As that saying of his: That the inhabitants of Asia, served but one alone, because they could not pronounce one onely fillable, which is Non, gave perhaps both subject and occasion to my friend Boetius to compose his booke of voluntarie servitude. If it were no more but to see Plutarch wrest a flight action to mans life; or a word that seemeth to be are no such fence, it will serve for a whole discourse. It is pitie men of understanding should so much love brevity, without doubt their reputation is thereby better; but we the worse. Plutarch had rather we should commend him for his judgement, then for his knowledge, he loveth better to leave a kind of longing-desire in vs of him, then a facete. He knew very well, that even in good things, too much may be said: and that Alexander did justly reproame his, those very good sentences to the Ephores, but they were over tedious. Oh stranger, quoth he, thou speakest wha thou oughtest, otherwise then thou shouldest. Those that have leane and thinne bodies stuffe them vp with bumbering. And such as have but poore matter will puffe it vp with loftie words. There is a marvelous cleareness, or as I may terme it an enlightenment of mans judgement drawn from the commerce of men, and by frequenting abroad in the world: we are all so contrived and compact in ourselves, that our sight is made shorter by the length of our note. When Socrates was demanded whence he was, he answered, not of Athens, but of the world: for hee, who had his imagination more full, and farther stretching, embraced all the world for his native City, and extended his acquaintance, his facete, and affections to al mankind: and not as we do, that looke no further then our feete. If the frost chance to nip the vines about my village, my Priest doth presently argue, that the wrath of God hangs over our heads, and threateneth all mankind: and judgeth that the reueme is already faine upon the Caniballs.

In viewing thes intelleine and civill broiles of ours, who doth not exclaime, that this worlds waft-frame is neere vnto a disolution, and that the day of judgement is ready to fall on vs? never rememring that many worse revolutions have bin seene, and that whilest we are plunged in grieue, and overwhelmed in sorrowe, a thousand other partes of the world besides, are blessed with all happinesse, and wallow in pleasures, and never thinke on vs?
whereas, when I beheld our lives, our licence, and impunitie, I wonder to see them fo milde and eafe. He on whose head it sileth, thinks all the Hemisphere besides to be in a storme and tempest. And as that dull-pated Savoyard faide, that if the seely king of France could cunningly have managed his fortune, he might very well have made himselfe chiefe Steward of his Lords household, whose imagination conceived no other greatnesse than his Matters; we are all insensible of this kind of errour: an errour of great consequnce and prejudice. But whosoever shall present into his inward eyes, as it were in a Table, the Idea of the great image of our universal mother Nature, attired in her richest robes, sitting in the throne of her Majestie, and in her vinage shall reade, so generally, and so constant a variety; he that therein shall view himselfe, not himselfe alone, but a whole kingdom, to be in respect of a great circle; but the smallest point that can be imagined, he oneley can value things according to their essentiall greatnesse and proportion. This great vniverfe (which some multiply as Species under one Genus) is the true looking-glass wherein we must looke, if we will know what we be at a good stamp, or in the right byrse. To conclude, I would have this worldes-frame to be my Schollers choise-booke: So many strange humours, sundry fects, varying judgements, diverse opinions, different laws, and fantastical customs teach vs to judge rightely of ours, and instruct our judgement to acknowledge his imperfections and naturall weake-nesse, which is no eafe an apprenticeship: So many innovations of estates, so many falles of Princes, and changes of publicke fortune, may, and ought to teach vs, not to make so great accompl of ours: So many names, so many victories, and so many conquests buried in darke oblivion, makes the hope to perpetuate our names, but ridiculous, by the surprizing of tenne Argo-letters, or of a small cottage, which is knowne but by his fall. The pride and fierce-nesse of so many strange and gorgeous fewes: the pride-puffe matylfe of so many courtes, and of their greatnesse, ought to confirme and affurre our sight, vndauntedly to bearre the affronts and thunder-clappes of ours, without seeing our eyes: So many thousands of men, love-layde in their graves afore- vs, may encourage vs, not to feare, or be dissaymed to goe meere fo good company in the other world; and so of all things else. Our life (faide Platagoras) draws-neeare vnto the great and populousаемблии of the Olympike games, wherein some, to get the glory, and to winne the goll of the games, exercise their bodies with all industrie; others, for greiddinesse of gaine, bring thinner merchandize to sell; others there are (and thoef be not the worlft) that seake after no other good, but to marke, how, wherefore, and to what end, all things are done: and to be spectators or observers of other mens lives and actions, that so they may the better judge and direct their owne. Vnto examples may all the most profitable Discourses of Philosophic bee forted, which ought to be the touch-floane of humane actions, and a rule to square them by, to whomse may be saide,  

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**The first Booke.**  

**75**  

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**Pres. 3.69**  

**Et quo quecumque modo fugitique reratique laborem.**  

**How evry labour he may ple,**  

**And beare, or evry labour file.**  

What warden or springs move-us, and the causes of so many motions in-us: For me see-
meth, that the first discourses, wherewith his conceit should be sprinkled, ought to be those, that rule his manners, and direct his sense; which will both teach him to know himself, and how to live, and how to die well. Among the liberal Sciences, let vs beginne with that which makes vs free: Indeed he may all in some sorte steadee-vs, as an instruction to our life, and vse of it, as all other things else serve the same to some purpose or other. But let vs make especiall choyce of that, which may directly and pertinently serve the same. If we could refine & adapt the appurtenances of our life to their right byas and naturall limits, we should finde the best parte of the sciences that now are in vse, cleanse out of fashion with vs: yea and in those that are most in vse, there are certaine by-waies and deep-flows most profitable, which we should doe-well to leave, and according to the inclination of Socrates, limit the course of our studies in those where profit is wanting: 

--- supra ante, 

Incipie: vivendi qui recte praeferat horum, 
Ruticum exspectat dum desinat ammis, at ille 
Labitur, & labetur in omne volubilis astra. 

Be bold to be wise: to beginne, be strong. 
He that to live well doth the time pro'ong, 
Clowne-like expect, till downe the ftreeme beonne; 
That runnes, and will runne; till the world be done. 

It is more simplicitie to teach our children, 

Quid movat piffer, animosque signa leonis, 
Lani & Hefteria quid Capricornus aqua. 

What Piffes move, or hot-breath'd Leo, beames, 
Or Capricornus bath'd in wetherne ftreemes. 

The knowlege of the ftares, and the motion of the eightspharie, before their owne. 

What longs it to the heaven fvares, and me, 
Or those about Boetes be. 

Anaximenes writing to Pithagoras, faith, with what fence can I amuse my self to the secrets of the fvares, having continually death or bondage before mine eyes? For at that time the Kings of Perfi were making preparations to warre against his coutrie. All men ought to say to. 

Beeing beaten, with avarice, with raffineffe, and with superstition, and having such other enemies vnto life within him. Wherefore shall I stude and take care about the inhabity and variation of the world? When hee is once taught what is fit to make him better and wiuer, he shall be entertained with Logick, Muflicke, Geometrie, and Rhetoricke, then having fetted his judgement, look what science he doth moft addift him-felde vnto, he shall in fhort time attaine to the perfection of it. His lefure shall be sometimes by way of talk, and sometines by booke; his tutor may now and then supplie-him with the fame Author, as an ende and motive of his inclination; sometimes giving him the pith and substance of it readerie chewed. And if of him-felde he be not so throughly acquainted with booke, that he may readily find so manie notable discourses as are in them to effect his purpose; that not beames, 

that some learned man being appointed to keepe him company, who at any time of neede, may furnish him with such munition, as he shall stand in neede of: that he may afterwards distribute and dispence them to his best vse. And that this kind of leffon be more easie and natural than that of Gaza, who will make question? Those are but hars, thornie, and vn-pleaftant preceptes; vaine, idle and immateriall words, on which final hold may be taken; herein is nothing to quicken the minde. In this, the spirite findeth substance to bite and feed vp-on. A fruit without all comparison much better, and that will foone bee ripe. It is a thing worthy consideration, to see what flate things are brought vnto in this our age; and howe Philosophy, even to the wiuer, and men of beft understanding, is but an idle, vaine and fantaffical name, of small vse, and lefse worth, both in opinion and effect. I think these Sophi- 

fities are the caufe of it, which have forestalled the ways to come-vnto-it: They doe very ill, that goe about to make-it fume as it were inaccessible for children to come vnto, let- 

ting it forth with a wrimpled, gafflie, and frowning viage; who hath marked him with fo counterfeft, pale, and hideous a countenance? There is nothing more beauteous, nothing more delightfull, nothing more gamefome; and as I may say, nothing more fondly wanten: 

for:
The first Booke.

for the presenteth nothing to our eyes, and preacheth nothing to our ears, but sporte and patience. A fadde and lowring looke plainlye declareth, that that is not his haunt. Demosthenes the Gramanian, finding a company of Philosophers fitting close together in the Temple of Delphi, said vnto them, either I am deceived, or by your plainable and piteous lookes, you are not in any serious and earnest discourse amongst your selves; to whom one of them named Heracleon the Gramanian answered, that belonging to them, who buffet themselves in seeking, whether the future course of the worke sheweth a double 1, or that labour to find the derivations of the comparatives, χαίρων βαλτον, & of the superlatives χαίρων βαλτον it is they, that must chace in entertaining themselves with their sciences, as discoveres of Philosophie they are wont to glad reve-
ye, and not to vexe and molest those that use them.

Dependens animi tormenta latetis in agro,
Corpora dependens & gaudia sunt utrumque
Inde habitum facies.
You may perceive the tormentes of the minde,
Hidde in sicke body,you the joyes may finde,
The face such habite takes in either kinde.

That minde which harboureth Philosophie, ought by reason of his found health, make that body also found and healthie: it ought to make his contentment to through-shine in all exteriour partes: it ought to shapen and modell all outward demeanours to the modell of it; and by consequence arme him that doth possesse it, with a gracious countenance, and live in audacie, with an active and pleasing gesture, and with a felted and cheerfull countenance. The most evident token, and apparant signe of true wisedome, is a constant, and vnconstraited rejoicing, whose effaye is vnto all things above the Moone, that is, ever cleere, aways bright. It is Barocc and Baralipton, that makes their followers prove so base and idle, and not Philosophers: they know him not, but by hearc-say: what? Is it not fhee, that cleereth all flormes of the minde? And teacheth miserie, famine, and sickness to laugh? Not by reason of some imaginarie Epiphanies, but by natural and palpable reasons. Shee may the thing but vertue: it is vertue fhee seekes after, which as the schoole saith, is not pitch on the top of an high, steepie, or inaccessible hill, for they that have come vnto him, affhime, that cleane-contrarie, shee keepes his fland, and holds his mansion, in a faire, flourishing and pleasant plaine, whence as from an high watch Tower, the sunsvieth all things, to be subject vnto him, to whom any man may with great facility come; he but knoweth the way or entrance to his palacie, for the pathes that lead vnto him, are certaine, and shadie, and sleepe, and flowery wayes, whose ascent is even, easie, and nothing wearisome, like vnto that of heavens-vaultes. For so much as they have not frequented this vertue, who gloriously, as in a throne of Majestie sits sovereign, goodly, triumphant, lovely, equally delicious, and courageous, testifie her-sells to be a profected and irrecconcilieable enemy to all sharpenesse, austerity, fear and compulsion; having nature for his guide, fortune and volupitousnesse for her companions; they according to their weakenesse have imaginarily fained him, to have a foolish, sadde, grimme, quarelous, fitfulfull, threaerous, and disdainfull vialge, with an horror and vnpleasent looke; and have placed her, vpon a raggy, sharp, and vnrequited rocce, amidst defart chifes, and vncount chags, as a skarre crowe, or Bugge-beare, to affright the common people with. Now the tutour, which ought to know, that hee should rather seake to fill the minde, and for the will of his diycle as much or rather more, with love and affection, than with awe, and reverence vnto vertue, may swewe and tell him: that Poets followe common humour, making him plainlye to perceave, and as it were palpable to see, that the Gods have rather placed labour and sweate at the entrances, which leadeth to Venus chambers then at the dores, that directeth to Pallace cabinets.

And when he shall perceive his scholler to have a sensible feeling of himselfe, presenting Bradamant, or Angelt before him, as a Milthrefe to enjoy, embellished with a natural,active, generous, and vnimported beautie, not vglie or Giant-like, but livie and livie, in respect of a wanton, softe, affected, and artificiall-flaring beautie; the one attired like vnto a young man, covered with a bright-shining helme, the other disguised and drest about the head like vnto an impudent harlot, with embroweries, frizelings, and carcanets of pearls: he will no doubt deeme his owne love to be a man and no woman, if in his choice he differ from that effeminat the hearde of Phrigia. In this new kindes of eftion, he shall declare vnto him, that the
prize, the glory, & height of true vertue, consisting in the facility, profit & pleasure of his exercise; so fare from difficulty, and encombrances, that children as well as men, the simple as the wise, may come vnto hir. Difcretion and temperance, not force or waywardness are the instruments to bring him vnto hir. Socrates (vertues chiefest favorite) that he might the better walke in the pleasant, natural, and open path, of his projectes, doth voluntarily and in good earnest, quit all compulsion. She is the nurse and helpe-mother of all humane pleasures, who in making them just and vpright, she also makes them sure and sincere. By moderating them, she keepeth them in vre and breath. Inimiting and cutting them off, whom she refuseth; the whets vs & vt vnto those the leaves vnto vs; and plentiful leaves vs them, which Nature pleath, and like a kinde mother giveth vs over vnto facietie, if not vnto wearisomenesse; unless we will peradventure say, that the rule and bridile, which stayeth the drunkard before drunkenness, the glutton before surfeiting, and the letter before the loosing of his haires, be the enemies of our pleasures. If common fortune faille-hir, it cleerely sapes hir; or she cares not for hir, or she frames another vnto hir-self; altogether hir owne, not so fleeting nor so roiling. She knoweth the way how to be rich, mighty, and wise, and how to lie in sweete-perfumed beds. She loveth life, the delights in beauty, in glory, & in health. But hir proper and particular office is, first to knowe how to vse such goodes temperately, and how to looke them constantly. An office much more noble, then fevere, without which, all course of life is vnnatural, turbulent and deformed, to which one may lawfully joyne those rocks, those encombrances, and those hideous monstres. If so it happen, that his Disciple proove of so different a condition, that he rather love to give-eare to an idle fable, then vnto the report of some noble voyage, or other notable and wise discourse, when he shal hear-it: that at the found of a drumme or clang of a Trumpet, which are wont to rouse and arme the youthful heat of his companions, turneth to another that calleth him to see a play, tumbling, jugging tricks, or other idle loose-time sports, and who for pleasures-fake doth not deeme it more delightome to returne all weares and wearie from a victorious combate, from wreasting or riding of a horse, than from a Tennis-court, or dancing schoole, with the prize or honor of such exercices; The best remedie I know for such a one, is, to put him presente to some base occupation, in some good towne or other, yea were he the sonne of a Duke; according to Platoes rule, who faieith, that children must be placed, not according to their fathers conditions, but the facielties of their mind. Since it is Philosophie that teacheth vs to live, and that infancy as well as other ages, may plainly rehear hir leffons in the same, why should it not be imparted vnto yong schollers?

*Volum & molle Iutum est, nume nume properandus, & acris*

Fingendas sive sine rota.

He's moist and soft mould; and must by and by

Be caft, made vp, while wheele whirl's readily.

We are taught to live, when our life is well-nigh spent. Many schollers have beene infected with that lothome and narrow-walting diseafe, before ever they came to read Aristole's treatise of Temperance. Cicero was wont to say, That could be out-live the lives of two men, he should never finde leisure to study the Lyric Poets. And I finde these Sophisters both worse and more vnprofitable. Our childe is engaged in greater matters; But the first fifteen or sixeeone yeares of his life, are due vnto Pedantisme, the rest vnto action: let vs therefore employ so short time, as we have to live in more necessarie instructions. It is an abufe; remove these thorny quiddities of Logike, whereby our life can no white be amended, and breake our selves to the simple discourses of Philosophie; know how to chufe and fitly to make use of them: they are much more easie to be conceived then one of Bocace his tales. A childe comming from nurse is more capable of them, then he is to learn to reade or write. Philosophie hath discourses, whereof infancy as well as decaying old-age may make good use. I am of Plutarkes minde, which is, that Aristole did not so much ammune his great Disciple about the arts how to frame Sillogismes, or the principles of Geome-trie, as he endeavoured to instruct-him with good precepts, concerning valor, proweell, magnanimity and temperance, and an vndainted assurance not to feare any thing; and with such munition he sent him, being yet very yong, to subdue the Empire of the world, onely with 30000. footemen, 4000. horsemens, and 42000. crownes in monie. As for other arts and sciences, he shal Alexander honored them, and commended their excellencie and combines; but
The first Booke.

but for any pleasure he took in them, his affections could not easily be drawne to exercise them.

--- petit hinc inveniremus senescere
Finem animo certum, ni ferique vaticina canis.

Young men and old, drawe hence (in your affaires)
Your minde set marke, provision for grave haires.

It is that which Epicurus laid in the beginning of his letter to Menecius: Neither let the youngest sonne, nor the oldest wearie himselfe in philosophy, for who doth otherwise seemeth so say, that either the season to live happily is not yet come, or is already past. Yet would I not have this young gentleman pent vp, nor carelessly cast-off to the headles choller, or melancholic humor of the hafty schoole-maister. I would not have his budding spirit corrupted with keeping-him fast-tide, and as it were labouring foureteene or fifteene hours a day poring on his booke, as some doe, as if he were a day-labouring man; neither doe I thinke-it fit, if at any time, by reason of some solitarie or melancholic complexion, he should be seene with an over-indifferete application given to his booke, it should be chenished in him; for, that doth often make him both vnapt for civil conversation, and disstrachts him from better employments. How many have I seene in my daies, by an over-greedy desire of knowledge, become as it were foolish? Carneades was so deeply plunged, and as I may say befotted in it, that he could never have leasure to cut his haire, or pare his nails: nor would I have his noble maners obscured by the incivilitie and barbarisme of others. The French wisedome hath long since proverbially beene spoken-off, as very apt to conceive studie in hir youth, but most vnapt to keepe it long. In good truth, we fee at this day, that there is nothing lovelier to beholde, then the young children of France; but for the most part, they deceave the hope which was fore-apprehended of them: for when they once become men, there is no excellencie at all in them. I have heard men of understanding holde this opinion, that the colledges to which they are sent (of which there are floure) doe thus before-them. Where-as to their schoeller, a cabinet, a gardin, the table, the bed, a solitarie, a companie, morning and evening, and all houres shall be alike unto him, all places shall be a studie for him: for Philosophie (as a former of judgements, and modeler of customes) shall be his principal leffon, having the privilege to entermedle his selfe with all things, and in all places. Socrates the orator, being once requested at the great bankeft to speake of his arte, when all thought he had res-fen to answer, said, It is not now time to doe what I can, and what should now be done, I cannot doe it. For, to present orations, or to enter into disputation of Rhetorike, before a company assembled together to be merrie, and make good cheere, would be but a medly of hastie and jarring musick. Thelike may be faid of all other sciences. But touching Philosophie, namely in that point where it treateth of man, and of his duties, and offices, it hath beene the common judgement of the wifest, that in regard of the plesantnesse of his conversation, the ought not to be rejefted, neither at banquets, nor at sportes. And Plato having invited him to his somber feast, we see how kindely the entertaine the companie with a milde behaviour, softely putting his selfe to time and place, notwithstanding it be one of his learnedst and profitable discourses.

Æquæ pauperibus prodeff, lacpletibus æque,
Et neglegita æquæ pueris senibusque nasciét.

Poore men alike, alike rich men it easeth,
Alike it cometh old, and yong displeaseth.

So doubleth he shall leffe be idle then others; for even as the paces we beftow walking in a gallery, although they be twice as many more, weary vs not so much as those we spend in going a fet journey: So our leffon being past over, as it were, by chance, or way of encounter, without strict observance of time or place, being applied to all our actions, shall be digested, and never felt. All sportes and exercitse shall be a part of his studie; running, wrestling, musick, dancing, hunting, and managing of armes, and horses. I would have the exterior demeanor or decentie, and the disposition of his person to be fashioned together with his minde: for, it is not a minde, it is not a body that we erect, but it is a man, and we must not make two partes of him. And as Plato saith, they must not be erected one without another, but equally be directed, no otherwise than a couple of horses matched to drawe in one selfe-same teeme. And to heare-him, doth he not seemeto employ more time and care in the exercitse
of his body: and to think that the minde is together with the same exercised, and not the contrary? As for other matters, this inclination ought to be dirccted by a sweet-severe mildness; Not as some doe, who in liew of gently-bidding children to the banquet of letters, present them with nothing but horror and crueltie. Let me have this violence and compulsion removed, there is nothing that, in me seeming, doth more bastardize and dizzie a well-borne, and gentele nature. If you would have him stand in awe of thame and punishment, doe not so much ensure him to it: accustom him patiently to endure sweate and colde, the sharpnes of the wound, the heate of the sunne, and how to despise all hazards: Remove from him all niceness and quaintness in clothing, in lying, in eating, & in drinking: fashion him to all things; that he prove not a faire and wanton-pulling boy, but a lusty & vigorous boy: When I was a child, being a man, & now I am old, I have ever judged & beleved the same. But amongst other things, I could never away with this kind of discipline vfed in most of our Colledges. It had peradventure bin lesse-hurtfull, if they had somewhat ennized to mildenes or gentle enteretie. It is a very prison of captivated youth, and proves diffolute, in punishing it before it be so. Come upon them when they are going to their lesson, & you heare nothing, but whipping and brawling, both of children tormentfed, & maisters befotted with anger & chafing. How wide are they, which goe about to allure a childes minde to goe to his booke, being yet but tender and fearefull, with a stearene-frowning countenance, and with hands-foll of rodles? Oh wicked and pernicious manner of teaching! which Quinlinian hath very well noted, that this impensious kind of authorite, namely this way of punishing of children, draws many dangerous inconveniences with it. How many more decent were it, to fee their schoole-houses and formes streewed with greene boughs and flowers, then with bloody burchen twigges? If it lay in me, I would doe as the Philosopher Spenser did, who causd the pictures of Gladnes and Joy, of Flora and of the Graces to be set vp round about his schoole-house. Where their profit lieth, there should also be their recreation. Those meates ought to bee sugged-over, that are healthfull for children stomakes, and those made better that are hurtfull for them. It is strange to see how carefull Platonethemselfe in framing of his lawes about the recreation and pastime of the youth of his Citie, and how farre he extends himselfe about their exercices, sports, fongs, leaping, and dancing, whereof he faith, that severe antinque, give theke and patronage vnto the Gods themselves, namely to Apollo, to the Mules, and to Minerva. Marke but how farre-forth he endeavoreth to give a thousand precepts to be kept in his places of exercices both of body and minde. As for learned Sciences, he standes not much vpon them, and feemeth in particular to commend Poetie, but for Musickes-fake. All stranges and selfe-particularitie in our manners, and conditions, is to be shunned, as an enemie to societie and civil conversation. Who would not be afointhed at Demophoons complexion, chiefest Reward of Alexanders housshold, who was wont to sweare in the shadowe, and quiver for cold in the sunne? I have seen some to starte at the smell of an apple, more then at the snotte of a piece, some to be frighted with a moue, some ready to cast their gorge at the sight of a melle of creame, and others to be feared with seeing a father-bed shaken: As Germans could not abide to see a cock, or hear his crowing. There may happily be some hidden propriety of nature, which in my judgement might easily be removed, if it were taken in time. Instructio hath gotten this vpon me (I must confess with much a doe) for, except beeare, all things else that are mans food agree indifferently with my taste. The body being yet souple, ought to be accommodated to all fashions and customes; and (always provided his appetites & desises be kept vnder) let a yong man boldly be made fit for all nations and companies, ye if neede be for, all disorders and futfetings: let him acquaint himselfe with all fashions; That he may be able to doe all things, and love to doe none but those that are commendable. Some strift Philosophers commend not, but rather blame Cathibenes, for losing the good favoure of his Maister Alexander, only because he would not pledge him as much as he had drinke to him. He thal laugh, jeft, daily, and debauch himselfe with his Prince. And in his debauching, I would have him out-go all his fellows in vigor and contenance, and that he overhe despite not to doe evil, neither for want of strength or knowledge, but for lacke of will, Mutium interest, quis pecare quis nolet, aut refeiat. I thought to have honored a gentleman (as great a stranger, and as farre from such riotous disorders as any is in France) by enquiring of him in very good companie, how many times in all his life he had beene drinke in Germanie,
The first Book.

omie, during the time of his abode there, about the necessarie affairs of our King; who took it even as I ment it, and answered, three times, telling the time and manner how. I know some, who for want of that qualitie, have beene much perplexed when they have had occasion to converse with that nation. I have often noted with great admiration, that wonderfull nature of Aesbiades, to see how easily he could suite himselfe to so divers fashions, and different humors, without prejudice vnto his health; sometimes exceeding the fumptuousnes and pompe of the Perians, and now and then furpassing the austeritie and frugalitie of the Lacedemonians, as reformed in Sparta, as voluptuous in Ionia.

Omnis Arifippus delect color, & status, & res.
All colours, itates, and things are fit
For carefully Arifippus writ.
Such a one would I frame my Disciple,
—— quem duplici parvo patientia velat,
Mitarbor, uita visa in convertera decibus,
Whom patience clothes with futes of double kind,
I mufe if he another way will finde.
Personamque fetet non inconciumus utravmag.
He not vnfitly may,
Both parts and persons play.

Loe here my lesions, wherein he that acteth them, profitheth more, then he that knoweth them, whome if you fee, you heare, and if you heare him, you see him. God forbid, sayeth some body in Plato, that to Philosophie, be to learne many things, and to exercise the artes. Hunc amplissimam omnium arsiam bene vivendi disciplinam, sit uti magis quiem litteris persequantur sunt; This discipline of living well, which is the ampest of all other artes, they followed rather in their lives, then in their learning or writing. Leo Prince of the Philiatis, enquiring of Heraclides Ponticus, what are the profession, answerid, Sir, I profess not other art nor science; but I am a Philosopher. Some reproved Diogenes, that being an ignorant man, he did nevertheless meddle with Philosophie, to whom he replied, so much the more reason have I, and to greater purpose doe I meddle with it. Hecqrais paid him upon a time to reade some booke vnto him; You are a merry man, said he; As you chuse naturall and not painted, right and not counterfeit figures to eate, why doe you not likewise chuse, not the painted and written, but the true and naturall exercises? He shall not so much repeate, as acte his lesion. In his actions shall he make repetition of the fame. We must obseve, whether there be wisedome in his enterprises, integritie in his demeanor, modestie in his jeftures, justice in his actions, judgement and grace in his speech, courage in his fickenes, moderation in his sports, temperance in his pleasures, order in the government of his house, and indifferencie in his tate, whether he be flesh, fith, wine, or water, or what so ever he feedeth upon. Qui discipliham fuerunt obfervationem scientiae, fed legem uita putet: quiue obtenter ipsi se, & decrevit patient. Who thinks his learning not an obseruation of knowledge, but a law of life, and himselfe obays himselfe, and doth what is decreed.

The true mirrour of our discourses, is the course of our lives. Xenudiamus answerid one that demaundid of him, why the Lacedemonians did not drave into a booke, the ordinances of proweffe, that so their yong men might reade them; it is, faith he, because they would rather accustome them to deeds and actions, then to books and writings. Compare at the end of fifteene or sixtene yeares one of these collegiall Latinizers, who hath employed all that while solely in learning how to speake, to such a one as I ment. The world is nothing but babbling and words, and I never saw man, that doth not rather speake more then he ought, then leffe. Notwithstanding halfe our age is consumed that way. We are kept foure or five yeares learning to understand bare words, and to joynie them into clauzes, then as long in proportioning a great body extended into foure or five parts; and five more at leaft, ere we can succintely know how to mingle, joynie & interlace them handomcly into a subtil fashion, and into one coherent orbe. Let vs leave it to those, whose profession is doe nothing else. Being once on my journey toward Orleans, it was my chance to meete vpon that plaine that lieth on this side Clery, with two Maisters of Arts, traveling toward Bordeaux, about fiftie paces one from another, farre off behinde them, I descrie a troupe of horsemen, their Maisters riding formost, who was the Earl of Rochefoul; one of my servants enquiring of
of the first of those Master of arts, who gentleman he was that followed him; he supposing my servant had meant this fellow-scholler, for he had not yet scente the Earles traine, answered pleasantly, He is no gentleman, nor, but a Gramarion, and I am a Logitian. Now we that contrasnewife feekte not to frame a Gramarion, but a Logitian, but a compleate gentleman, let vs give them leave to mispend their time; we have elle-where, and somewhat else of more import to doe. So that our Disciple be well and sufficiently stored with matter; words will follow apace, and if they will not follow gently, he shall make them-on perfone. I hear some excuse themselves, that they cannot express their meaning, and make a semblance that their heads are fo full-blind with many goodly things, but for want of eloquence they can neither utter nor make shewe of them. It is a meere fopperie. And will you knowe what? They are shadowes and Chimerices, proceeding of some formelle concepions, which they cannot distinguish or resolve within, and by consequence are not able to produce them, inasmuch as they understand not themselves: And if you but make their earnestfelle, and how they fammer and labor at the point of their delivery, you would deeme that what they go withall, is but a conceiving, and therefore nothing mere downelying; and that they doe but like that imperfect and shapefle lump of matter. As for me, I am of opinion, and Socrates would have it so, that he who hath a clear and lively imagination in his mind, may easily produce and utter the same, although it be in Beraghauk, or Welves, and if he be dome, by figne and tokens.

Vrbqog prendam rem non invult sequentur.
When matter we fore-knowe,
Words voluntary flowe.
As one faide, as poetically in his profe, ciam res minimam occupavere, verba ambient. When matter hath posset their minds, they knowe after words; and another; ipse tres verba rapiunt. Things themselves will catch and carry words: He knowes neither Ablative, Conjunctive, Substantive, nor Gramar, nor dooth other his Lackey, nor any Olyfer-wife about the freeates, and yetif you have a mind to it, he will entertaine you your fill, and peradventure stumble as little and as feldome against the rules of his tongue, as the best master of arts in France. Hee hath no skill in Rhetoricke, nor can he with a preface fore-flall and captivate the Gentle Readers good will: nor careth he greatly to knowe it. In good faith all this garish painting is easly defaced, by the lisse of an in-bred, and fimple truthly; for these dainties and quaint devises, serve but to amuse the vulgar farce, and incapable to taste the most solide, and firm meatest. After very plainly declared in Cornelian Taticus. The Ambassadors of Samoa being come to Cleomenes, King of Sparta, prepared with a long prolix Oration to flirre him vp to war against the tyrant Podesrates, after he had lifted a good while vnto them, his answer was: Teaching your Exordium or beginning I have forgotten at the middle I remember not, and for your conclusion I will do nothing in it: A fit, and (to my thinking) a very good answer: and the Orators were put to such a flask, as they knew not what to reply. And what said another? the Athenians from out two of their cunning Architecets, were to chuse one to erect a notable great frame: the one of them more affected and selfe-premising, presented himfelfe before them, with a smooth foremeditated discourse, about the subject of that piece of worke, and thereby drew the judgements of the common people vnto his liking; but the other in fewe words, spake thus: Lords of Athens, what this man hath faide, I will performe. In the greatest earnestfelle of Ciceroes eloquence many were drawne into a kinde of admiration; but Cato jealously at it, said, have we not a pleasant Consell? A quicker cunning Argument, and a witty laying, whether it go before, or come after, it is never out of reason. If it have no coherence with that which goeth before, nor with what commeth after; it is good and commendable in it selfe. I am none of those that think a good time, to make a good Poeme; let him hardly (if so he please) make a short fillable long, it is no great matter; if the invention bee rare and good, and his wit and judgement have cunningly plaide their part. I will say to such a one, he is a good Poet, but an ill Versifier.

Emundem maris durum componere verba.
A man whose sense could finely perceive,
But harsh and hard to make a verfe.

Let a man (saith Horace) make his worke loose all fames, measures, and joynts.

Tempora certa modoque, et quod primum ordine verbam off.
The first Booke.

Posterius facias, praeponet, ultima primie,
Invenias etiam desidera membra Poete.

Set times and moods, make you the first word last,
The last word first, as if they were new cast:
Yet find this unjoynted Poets joynts stand fast.

He shall for all that, nothing gaine-way himselfe, every piece will make a good strow. To this purpose answered Messener shofe that chide him, the day being at hand, in which he had promiséd a Comedy, and had not begunne the name, Tut-tut, said he, it is already finished, there wanteth nothing but to adde the verse unto it: for, having ranged and cast the plot in his minde, he made small account of feete, of measures, or cadences of verses, which indeed are but of small import in regard of the rest. Since great Renearde and learned Belay, have raised our French Poeties unto that height of honor, where it now is: I see not one of these petty-ballad-makers, or prentize-dogrell-rymers, doth not bumble his labors with high dwelling and heaven-dimbowing wordes, and that doth not marshall his cadences vere neere as they doe. Plus sonat quia nomnes. The sound is more then the weight or worth. And for the vulgar fort, there were never so many Poets, and so fewe good; but as it hath bin easy for them to represent their rymer, so come they faire short in imitating the rich descriptions of the one, and rare inventions of the other. But what shall he doe, if he bee verged with phallicall subtilties about a Syllogisme? A gammon of Bacon makes a man drink, drinking quencheth a mans thirst, Ergo a gammon of B icon quencheth a mans thirst. Let him mock at it, it is more witty to be mockt at, then to be aunswered. Let him borrow this pleasant counter-craft of Aristippus, Why shal I undoubt that which is bound doth so much trouble me? Some one proposed certain Logickal quiddities against Cleanthes, to whom Christo- phus faide, why such jugling tricks to pleye with children, and divert not the seruous thoughts of an aged man to such idle matters. If such foolish wiles, constant & ambassa sophismata, intricate & flinged sophismes, must perfade a lie, it is dangerous; but if they prove void of any effect, and move him but to laughter, I see not why he shall beware of them. Some there are so foolish that will go a quarter of a mile out of the way to hunt after a quaint new word, if they once get in chace; As qui non verba rebus aptus, sed veris inexcusum accessit, quibus verba conveniant. Or such as fit not wordes to matter, but fetch matter from abroad, where words may be fitted. And another, Qui alicuni verbi decoro placere, vocentur additum non propositionum scribere. Who are allowed by the grace of some pleasing word, so write that they intended not to write. I doe more willingly winde vp a witty notable sentence, that so I may see it upon me, then vsing my thread to goe fetch it. Contrariwise, it is for words to serue and waits upon the matter, and not for matter to attend upon words, and if the French tongue cannot reach unto it, let the Gaskonie, or any other. I would have the matters to surmount, and so fill the imagination of him that harkeneth, that he have no remembrance at all of the wordes. It is a natural, simple, and unaffected speech that I love, so written as it is spoken, & such as spoken on the paper, as its in the mouth, a pithy, sniowfull, full, strong, compendious, and material speech, not so delicate and affected, as vehement and piercing.

Hic demum sapit dishe, quae feriet.
In fine, that word is wisely fit,
Which strikes the sense, the marke doth hit.

Rather difficult then tedious, voyde of affectation, free, loose and bolde, that every member of it seeme to make a bodie; not Pedanticall, not Frierlike, nor Lawyerlike, but rather downe-right, Souldier-like. As Suetonius calleth that of Julius Caesar, which I see no reason that some should goe about to disgrace. I have sometimes pleased my selfe in imitating that licentiousse or wanton humour of our youths, in wearing of their garments; as carelessly to let their cloakes hang downe over one shoulder; to weare their cloakes scarfe or bawdrickewife, and their flockings loose-hanging about their legs. It represents a kind of disdainfull fiercenessse of these foraine embelishments, and neglect carelesnessse of arte: But I commend-it more being employed in the course and forme of speech. All manner of affectation, namely in the liveliness and libertie of France, is unlawfully in a Courtier. And in a Monarchie every gentleman ought to address himselfe vnto a Courtiers carriage. Therefore doe we well to aver what to encline to a native and carelesse behaviour. I like not a contexture, where the frames and pieces may be seene: As in a well compact body, what neede
The first Booke.

neede a man distinguishe and number all the bones and veins severally? Qua verutus operates dat oratores, incomposita fit & simplex. Qua accuratè loguttur, nisi quival probe logitt? He speach that understand truth must be plane and unpollish: Who speacheth elaborately, but he that means to speake unpolesively? That eloquence offereth injury vnto things, which altogether draise versus to observe it. As in apparel it is a signe of puliflinimitie for one to marke him- selfe, in some particular and vnuniall fashion: so likewise in common speach, for one to hunt after new phrazees, and vnaccommoded quaint words, proceeded of a scholasticall and childish ambition. Let me vs none other then are spoken in the halls of Paris, Aristophanes the Gramian was somewhat out of the way, when he reproved Epictetus, for the simplicitie of his words, and the end of his arte oratorie, which was onely perpyticuf in Speach. The imitation of speach, by reason of the felicetie of it, followeth prettily a whole nation. The imitation of judging and inventing, comes more flow. The greater number of Readers, because they have found one felle lame kind of gowne, fuppose most falsly to holde one like body. Outward garments and cloakes may be borrowed, but never the finews and strength of the body. Most of those that converse with me, speake like unto these Effayes; but I know not whether they thinke alike. The Athenians (as Plato averreth) have for their parte great care to be fluent and eloquent in their speach; The Lacedemonians ende- vouour to be short and compendious; And those of Grec labour more to be plentiful in conceites, then in Language. And these are the best. Zeno was wont to say, That hee had two fortes of disciples, the one hee called logolists, curious to learn things, and those were his darlings, the other he termed logophiles, who respected nothing more then the language. Yet can no man say, but that to speake well, is most gracious and commendable, but not so excellent as some make it: and I am grieved to see how we employ most parte of our time about that one. I would first knowe mine owne tongue perfectly, then my neighbours with whom I have most commerce. I must needs acknowledge, that the Grecke and Latin tongues, are great ornaments in a gentleman, but they are purchas'd at over-high a rate. Vrs it who list, I will tell you how they may be gotten better cheape, and much soonner then is ordinarily vset, which was tried in my felle. My late father, having by all the meanes and industrie, that is possible for man, sought amongst the wiseft, and men of best vnderstanding, to finde a most exquisite and ready way of teaching, being advis'd of the in-conveniences then in vfe; was given to vnderstanding, that the lingeringe while, and best parte of our youth, that we employ in learning the tongues, which coft them nothing, is the only cause wee can never attaine to that absolute perfection of skill and knowledge, of the Grecke, and Romanes, I doe not believe that to be the onely caufe. But fo it is, the expedient my father found-out, was this; that being yet a naturle, and before the first loosing of my tongue, I was delivered to a Germaine (who died since, a most excellent Philifitan in France) he being then altogether ignorant of the French tongue, but exquisitely ready and skillfull in the Latine. This man, whom my father had snt for of purpose, and to whom he gave very great entertainment, had me continually in his armes, and was mine onely overfeer. There were also joynd vnto him two of his countremen, but not so learned; whose charge was to attend, and now and then, to play with me; and alle these together did never entertaine me with other then the Latine tongue. As for others of his household, it was an inviolable rule, that neither himfelfe, nor my mother, nor man, nor maide-servant, were sufferd to speake one worde in my company, except such Latin words, as every one had learned to chatter and prattle with mee. It were strange to tell how everie one in the house profited therein. My father and my mother learned so much Latine, that for a neede they could vnderstand it, when they heard it spoken, even so did all the householde servants, namely such as were servet and most about me. To be short, we were all so Latinized, that the towns round about vs had their share of it; in somuch as even at this day, many Latine names both of workemen and of their cooles, are yet in vfe among them. And as for my felle, I was above fix yeares olde, and could vnderstand no more French or Perigordine, then Arabike, and that without art, without booke, rules, or gramer, without whipping or whining. I had gotten as pure a Latine tongue as my master could speake the rather because I could neither mingle or confound the same with other tongues. If for an Essay they would give me a Theame, whereas the fashion in Colledges is, to give it in French, I had it in bad Latine, to reduce the same into good. And Nicolaus Gerbelli, who
The first Booke.

who hath written De comitijs Romanorum, William Guerenti, who hath commented Ari-

stoile : George Buchaman, that famous Scottifh Poet, and Mark-Antoaine Murct, whom
(while he lived) both France and Italy to this day, acknowledge to have bene the beft Ora-
tor : all which have have bene my familiar tutors, have often told me, that in mine infan-
cie I had the Latine tongue fo ready and fo perfect, that themselves feared to take mee in
hand. And Buchman, whom afterward I saw attending on the Marshall of Briflack, told me,
he was about to write a treatyse of the institution of children, and that he tóke the modell and
pattern from mine : for, at that time he had the charge and bringing vp of the yong Earle of
Brisfack, whom since we have seenne prove so worthy and so valiant a Captaine. As for
the Greeke, wherein I have but small understanding, my father purposed to make mee
learn it by arte; But by new and vnclauned meanes, that is, by way of recreation and
exercise. We did toofe our declinations, and conjugations to and fro, as they doe, who by
way of a certaine game at tables learme both Arithmetike and Geometrie. For, amongst oth-
er things he had especiallly bene persuaded to make me taste and apprehend the fruits of
dutie and science by an vnforced kinde of will, and of mine owne choyce; and without any
compulsion or rigor to bring me vp in all mildenesse and libertie: yea with such kinde of
superfition, that, whereas some are of opinion, that fondainly to awake yong children,
and as it were by violence to startle and fright them out of their dead sleepe in a morning
(wherein they are more heauie and deeper plunged then we) dooth greatly trouble and
dismember their braines, he would every morning cause me to be awakened by the sound of
some instrument; and I was never without a servant. Who to that purpose attended upon
me. This example may serve to judge of the rest; as also to commend the judgement and
tender affection of so careful and loving a father: who is not to bee blamed, though hee
reaped not the frutes answerable to his exquisite toyle, and painfull manuring. Two
things hindered the same: firft the barrenesse and vnfit toyle: for howbeit I were of a
found and strong constitution, and of a tractable and yelding condition, yet was I so heav-
ly, so sluggisht, and so dull, that I could not be rous’d (yea were-it to goe play) from out
mine idle drowzie. What I saw, I saw it perfectly; and vnder this heavy, and as it were
Leche-complexion did I breede hardie imaginations, and opinions farre-above my yeares.
My spirit was very flow, and would go no further then it was led by others; my apprehen-
sion blockish, my invention poore; and besides, I had a marvelous defect in my weak me-
memorie: it is therefore no wonder, if my father could never bring me to any perfection.
Secoondly, as those that in some dangerous sicknesse, moved with a kinde of hopefull and gre-
edy desire of perfect health againe, gave care to every Leache or Emperike, and follow all
counsells, the good-man being exceedingly fearfull to commit any over-sight, in a matter he
tooke so to harte, suffered himselfe at leafe to be led away by the common opinion, which
like vnto the Cranes, followeth ever those that doe before, and yeelded to custome: Having
those no longer about him, that had given him his first directions, and which they had
brought out of Italy. Being but six yeares olde I was sent to the Colledge of Guinene, then
most flourishing and reputed the beft in France, where it is impossible to adde any thing to
the great care he had, both to chuse the beft and most sufficient Masters, that could bee
found, to reade vnto mee, as also for all other circumstances pertaining to my education;
wherein contrary to vsual customes of Collegees, he observed many particular rules. But fo
it is, it was ever a Colledge. My Latin tongue was forthwith corrupted, whereof by reason
of discontinuance, I afterward lost all manner of vfe: which new kinde of institution, stooed
me in no other stead, but that at my first admittance, it made me to overskip some of the
lower forms, and to be placed in the highest. For at thirtene yeares of age, that I left the
Colledge, I had read over the whole course of Philofophie (as they call it) but with fo small
profit, that I can now make no accompt of it. The first table or feeling I had of booke,
was of the pleasure I tooke in reading the vable of Ovide Metamorphoses, for, being but
seven or eight yeares olde. I would steele and fequefter my selfe from all other delights,
onely to read them: Forso mucch as the tongue wherein they were written was to me natur-
ally, and it was the eafelel booke I knew, and by reason of the matter therein contained,
moue agreeing with my vong age. For of King Arthur, of Lancelot dus-Lake, of Amadis, of
Huon of Burdeua, and such idle time-consuming, and wit-befotting trash of booke
wherein youth doth commonly amuse itselfe, I was not so much as acquainted with their
names,
names, and to this day know not their bodies, nor what they contain: So exact was my discipline, whereby I became more careful to study my other prescript lessons. And well did it fall out for my purpose, that I had to deal with a very disreputable master, who out of his judgement could with such desultune winke-at, and second my vontoward diligence, and such other faults that were in me. For by that means, I read-over Virgil's Æneides, Terence, Plato, and other Italian Comedies, allowed thereunto by the pleasantries of their several subjects: Had he been so foolishly-fervile; or so severely-froward as to croffe this course of mine, I think verily I had never brought any thing from the College, but the hate and contempt of Bookes, as both the greatest part of our Nobilitie. Such was his disrepons, and so wrongly did he handle himselfe, that he saw and would not see, he would fatter and encreafe my longing: suffering me but by feath, and by snatches to glut my selfe with those books: holding ever a gentle hand over me, concerning other regular studies. For, the chiefeft thing my father required at their hands (vnto whose charge he had committed me) was a kind of well-conditioned mildenesse, and facultie of complexion. And, to say truth, mine had no other fault, but a certaine dull-languishing, and heavie flouthfulness. The danger was not, I should do ill, but that I should doe nothing.

No man did ever supeft; I would prove a bad, but an vnprofitable man; foregoing in me rather a kind of mildenesse, then a voluntary craftinesse. I am not so fellee-conceited but I perceive what hath followed. The complaints that daily are buzzed in mine ears are thefte; that I am idle, colde, and negligent in offices of frindfhip, and dutie to my parents, and kin-sfolkes; and touching publike offices, that I am over-fingular and disdainfull. And thofe that are moft injurious cannot aske, wherefore I have taken, and why I have not paide: but may rather demand, why I doe not quit, and wherefore I doe not give? I would take it as a faviour, they shold with such effects of superarrogation in me. But they are vnjuft and over-partiall, that will goe about to exact that from me, which I owe not, with more rigor then they will exact from themselves which that they owet wherein if they commend me, they utterly cancelf, both the grasing of the action, and the gratitude, which thereby would be due to me. Whereas the active well-doing should be of more consequence, proceeding from my hand, in regard I have no passive atall. Wherefore I may fo much the more freely dispose of my fortune, by how much more it is mine, and of my felle that am moft mine owne. Notwithstanding, I was a great blazoner of mine owne actions, I might peradventure barre such reproches, and jufly vpbraid fome, that they are not fo much offended, because I doe not enough, as for that I may, and it lies in my power to doe much more then I doe. Yet my minde ceafed not at the fame time to have peculiar vnto it felle well-setted motions, true and open judgements, concerning the objects, which it knewe; which alone, and without any helpe or communication it would digeet.

And amongst other things I verily believe, it would have proved altogether incapable, and vnfit to yeeld vnto force, or floope vnto violence. Shall I accompt or relate this qualitative of my infancie, which was, a kinde of boldenesse in my looks, and gentle softnesse in my voyce, and affabilitie in my gestures, and a dexterrite in conforming my felle to the parts I undertooke? for before the age of the

Paging. Exc. 18. 39.  
Alter ab undecimo tum me vixi corpora annis: Yeares had I (to make even.)  
Scarce two above eleuen.

I have vnder-gone and reprefented the chiefeft parts in the Latine Tragedies of Buchan, Guerenti, and of Muret; which in great state were acted and plaid in our collidge of Guienne: wherein Andreas Goveanus our Rektor principal; who as in all other partes belonging to his charge, was without comparison the chiefeft Rektor of France, and my felle (withoutottenation be it spoken)was reputed, if not a chiefe master, yet a principal Author in them. 
It is an exercize I rather commend than disallow in young gentlemen: and have feene some of our Princes (in imitation of some of former ages) both commendably and honestly, in their proper persons acte and play some parts in Tragedies. It hath heretofore been esteemed a lawfull exercize, and a tolerable profession in men of honor, namely in Greece. And fostragico adiutor rem aperit: hunc & genus & fortune benefarum: nec ari qua nihil tale apud Grceos pudori est, ca deformabat. He imparts the matter to Ariflon a Player of tragedies, who's progenie
The first Booke.

and fortune were both honest; nor did his profession disgrace them, because such matter is a disparagement among the Greeks.

And I have ever accused them of impertinence, that condemn and disallow such kinds of recreations, and blamed those of injustice, that refuse good and honest Comedians, (or as we call them) Players, to enter our good townes, and grudge the common people such publick sportes. Politike and well-ordered commonwealths endeavor rather carefully to vitiate and assemble their citizens together; as in furious offices of devotion, so in honest exercises of recreation. Common societie and loving friendship is thereby cherisht and increas

The sixe and twentieth Chapter.

It is sollic to referre Truth or Falsehood to our sufficiency.

It is not peradventure without reason, that we ascribe the facility of believing, and easines of perswasion, unto simplicitie and ignorance: For me seemeth to have learnt heretofore, that belief was, as it were an impression conceived in our minde, and according as the same was found either more soft, or of lesse resistence, it was easier to imprint any thing therein. Ut necesse est luccem in libris ponderibus impostitis deprimitur: sic animum perspicus cedet. As it is necessarie a scale must goe downe in the balance when weights are put into it, so must a minde yeeld to things that are manifest. Forasmuch therefore, as the minde being most empirie and without counterfeit, so much the more easily doth it yeeld under the burden of perswasion. And that's the reason why children, those of the common sort, women, and fickle-folkes, are so subject to be mis-led, and so gullible to swallow gudgeons. Yet on the other side it is a foolish perswasion to disdaigne and condemn those that for false, which vont voe semeth to beare no fiew of likelyhoode or truth: which is an ordinarie fault in those who perswade themselves to be of more sufficiency then the vulgar sorte. So was I sometimes wont to doe, and if I heard any body speake, either of ghosts walking, of foretelling future things, of enchantments, of witcheratts, or any other thing reported, which I could not well conceiue, or that was beyond my reach,

Somnia terrae magicae, miracula, fagas,
Nominiexestremis, portentosae Thesaliae:
Dreames, magike terrors, witches, yncouth-wonders,
Night-walking spirites, Thessalian conjur'd-thunders.

I could not but seele a kind of compasion to seethe poore and feely people abused with such follies. And now I perceiue,that I was as much to be moaned my-selfe: Not that experience hath since made me to discerne any thing beyond my former opinions; yet was not my curiositie the cause of it, but reason hath taught me, that so resolutely to condemn a thing for false, and impossible, is to aumone vnto him selfe the advantage, to have the bounds and limits of Gods will, and of the power of our common mother Nature, tied to his fleuoe: And that there is no greater folly in the world, then to reduce them to the measure of our capacitie, and bounds of our sufficiency. If we term those things monsters or miracles, to
which our reason cannot attaine, how many such doe daily present themselves vnto our
fright? Let vs confider through what clowdes, and how blinde-folde we are led to the
knowledge of most things, that passe our hands: verily we shal finde, it is rather Cutfome,
than Science that removeth the strangenes of them from vs:

---iam nemo seiuus aufusique videndi,
Subiecere in celi dignatur lucida tempta.
Now no man tir'd with glut of contemplation
Deignes to have heavens bright Church in admiration.

And that those things, were they newly presented vnto vs, we should doubles dece
them,as much,or more unlikely, and incredible, then any other.

---sumne primum mortalibus adjint
Ex improviso, ceu sint obiecta repenti,
Nil magis his rebus poterat mirabile dici,
Aut minus ante quod auderent fore credere gentes.
If now first on a fodaine they were here
Mongst mortal men, object to eye or ear,
'Nothing,than these things, would more wondrous bee,
Or that, men durft leffe thinke, ever to see.

He who had never scene a river before, the first he saw, he thought it to be the Ocean: and
things that are the greatest in our knowledge, we judge to be the extremest that nature
worketh in that kinde.

Scicut & flaurus qui non est maximus, ei est
Quis non ante alignem maiores vidit, & ingent
Arbor homaque videtur, & omma de genero omni
Maxima quae vidit quique, nec ingentia singit.
A streame none of the greatest, may so scene
To him, that never fawe a greater streame.
Trees, men scene huge, and all things of all fortes,
The greatest one hath scene, he huge reports.

Consequentudine ocularum afficiunt animi, neque admiratur, neque requirunt rationes exrum
verum, quas semper vident. Mundus are acquainted by custome of their eyes, nor doe they admire,
or enquire the reasons of those things, which they continually behold. The novelie of things doth
more incite vs to search-out the caufes, than their greatnes: we must judge of this infinite
power of nature, with more reverence, and with more acknowledgement of our owne igno-
rance and weaknesses. How many things of small likely hooe are there, winnefled by men,
worthie of credit, whereof if we cannot be preswaid, we shoulde at leaft leave them in su-
fppence? For, to deeme them impossible, is by raʃh presupposition to presume and knowe how
fure possibility reacheth. If a man did well understand, what difference there is betwene
impossibilitie, and that which is vnwonted, and betwene which is against the course of
nature, and the common opinion of men, in not beleieving raʃhly, and in not disbeleiving
eafily, the rule of Nothing too-much, commanded by Chilion, shoulde be observed. When we
find in Prouard, that the Earle of Poyx, (being in Bearne) had knowledge of the defeat at
Iberoth, of king John of Capslie, the morrow next it hapned, and the meane he alleageth for
it, a man may well laugh at it: And of that which our Annales report, that Pope Honorius,
the very same day, that King Philip Augustus died at Mantes, caused his publike funerals
be to solemnized, and commanded them to be celebrated through-out all Italie. For, the
authoritie of the witnsses hath peradventure no sufficient warrant to reftraine vs. But
what! if Plutarke, besides divers examples which he alleageth of antiquitie, fathie to have
certainly knowen, that in Domitianis time, the newes of the battle loft by Antonius in Germanie
many daies iournies thence, was published at Rome, and drownde through the world, the very same
day it succeeded: And if Caesar holde, that it hath many times happened, that reporte hath
fore-gone the accident: Shall we not saie, that these simple people have suffred themselves
to be confonned and seduced by the vulgar fortes, because they were not as cleare-fighted as
we? Is there any thing more dainty, more vpntoed, and more lively then Plinies judgement,
whensoever it pleafeth him to make shewe of it? Is there any farther from va-
nity? I omitte the excellency of his learning and knowledge, whereas I make but small rec-
kening

Lib.6.674.
The first Book.

The seven and twentieth Chapter.

Of Friendship.

Considering the proceeding of a Painters worke I have; a desire hath possest me to imitate him: Hee maketh choise of the most convenient place and middle of every wall, there to place a picture, laboured with all his skill and sufficiencie: and all vovde places aboit it, he filleth vp with antiquke Boscage or Croesko worke: which are fantastical pictures, having no grace, but in the varietie and strangenes of them. And what are these my composi-
The firft Booke.

fions in truth, other then antique workes, and monftrous bodies, patched and huddled vp together of divers members, without any certaine or well ordered figure, having neither order, dependence, or proportion, but casuall and framed by chance?

Definat m pifcem muter formosus perpet.

A woman faire for parts superior,
Endes in a fifth for parts inferior.

Touching this second point I go as faire as my Painter, but for the other and better part I am faire behind: for my sufficiency reacheth not to faire, as that I dare vndertake, a rich, a polished, and according to true skill, and arte-like table. I have advis’d my selfe to borrow one of Steven de la Boyle, who with this kind of workes shall honour all the worlde. It is a discourse he entituled, Voluntary Servitude, but those who have not known him, have since very properly rechristized the name. The Agenfth one. In his first youth he write, by way of Efferie, in honour of liberty against Tyrants. It hath long since beene dispersed amongst men of vnderstanding, not without great and well deserved commendations: for it is full of witte, and contained as much learning as may yet doth it differ much from the best he can do. And if in the age I knew him in, he would have vnder-gone my defigne, to fet his fantasies downe in writing; we should doubtlesse fee many rare things, and which would very neerely approach the honour of antiquity: for espessially touching that parte of natures gifts, I know none may be compared to him. But it was not long of him, that ever this Treatizie, came to mans viewe, and I believe he never sawe it since it first escaped his handes: with certaine other notes concerning the edit of Januare, famous by reason of our intelligne warres, which haply may in other places finde their deserved praise. It is all I could ever recover of his reliques (whome when death seiz’d, he by his last will and testament, left with fo kind a remembrance, heire and executor of his librarie and writings) besides the little booke, I since caus’d to be published: To which his pamphlet I am particularly most bounden, forso much as it was the instrumentall meane of our first acquaintance. For, it was shewed me long time before I sawe him; and gave me the first knowledge of his name, addreffing, and thus nourishing that vnpoited friendship, which we (fo long as it pleased God) have so sincerely, so entire and inviolably maintained between vs, that truly a man shall not commonly heare of the like; and amongst our moderne men no signe of any such is feene. So many partes are required to the erecting of such a one, that it may be count’d a wonder, if fortune once in threes ages contract the like. There is nothing to which Nature hath more addresed vs than to societie. And Arisftote faith, that perfect Law giveth have had more regardfull care of friendship then of justice. And the utmost drift of it’s perfection is this. For generally, all those amours which are forged and nourished by voluptuousnes or profit, publicke or private neede, are thereby so much the lesse faire and generous, and so much the lesse true amities, in that they intermeddle other causes, scope, and fruite with friendship, then it selfe alone: Nor doe those foure ancient kindes of naturalfriendships; Naturall, sociall, hospitable, and generous, either particularly or conjointly becomse the fame. That from children to parents may rather be termed respect: Friendship is nourish’d by communion, which by reason of the over-great disparitie cannot be found in them, and would happily offend the duties of nature: for neither all the secret thoughts of parents can be communicat’d vnto children, left it might engender an vnbecoming familiaritie betwene them, nor the admonitions and corrections (which are the chiefeft offices of friendship) could be exercis’d from children to parents. There have nations bene found, where, by custome, children killed their parents, and others, where parents slew their children, thereby to avoyde the hindrance of enter-bearing one another in after-times: for naturally one dependeth from the same of another. There have Philosophers bene found disclaiming this natural conjunction, witnesse Arisftippus, who being vrged with the affection he ought his children, as proceeding from his loyne, began to speake and spitt:lying, That alfo that excrement proceeded from him, and that alfo we engendred wormes and lice. And that other man, whom Plutarke would have persuad’d to agree with his brother, answered, I care not a strawe the more for him, though he came out of the fame wombe I did. Verily the name of Brother is a glorious name, and full of loving kindness, and therefore did he and I terme one another sworne brother: but this commixture,dividence, and sharings of goods, this joyning wealth to wealth, and that the riches of one shall be the povertie of another, doth exceedingly distemper and distract all brotherly alliance;
The first Booke.

aliance, and lovely conjunction: If brothers should conduct the progresse of their advancement and thrift in one fame path and course, they must necessarily oftentimes hinder and croffe one another. Moreover, the corrspondencie and relation that begetteth these true and mutually-perfect amities, why shull it be found in these? The father and the sonne may very well be of a faire-differing complexion, and so may brothers: He is my sonne, he is my kinman; but hee may be a boole, a bad, or a peevish-minded man. And then accor- ding as they are friendships, which the law and duty of nature doth commande vs, so much the lesse of our owne voluntarie choice and libertie is there required vnto it: And our genuine libertie hath no production more properly hit owne, then that of affection and amiti. Sure I am, that concerning the fame I have affayed all that might be, having had the belt and most indulgent father that ever was; even vnto his extreme age and who from father to sonne was descended of a famous house, and touching this rare-seeued vertue of brotherly concord very exemplarce:

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Notus infrares animi paterni,
To his brothers knowne so kinde,
As to beare a fathers minde.

To compare the affection toward women vnto-it, although it proceede from our owne free choise, a man cannot, nor may-it be placed in this ranke: Hir fire, I confesse it

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As soon as it creepeth into the terme of friendhip, that is to say, in the agreement of wills, it languiseth, and vanisheth away: Enjoying doth loose-it, as having a corporall end, and subject to facyt. On the other side, friendhippe is enjoyed according as it is desired, it is neither brede, nor nourished, nor encreaseth, but in jovissance, as being spiritual, and the mind being refined by yse and custome. Under this chiefe amiti, these fading affections have sometimes found place in me, left I should speake of him, who in his verbes speakes but too much of-it. So are these two passions entred into mee in knowledge one of another, but in comparion never: The first flying a high, and keeping a prowde pitch, disdainfully beholding the other to passe his points faire ynder-it. Concerning marriage, besides that it is a covenant which hath nothing free but the entrance, the continuance being forced and constrained, depending else-where then from our will; and a match ordinarily concluded to other ends: A thousand strange knots are therein commonly to be vaunvit, able to break the web, & trouble the whole course of a lively affection; whereas in friendship, there is no commerce or busines depending on the fame, but it selfe. Seeing (to speake truly) that the ordinary sufficiency of women, cannot answer this conference and communication, the nurse of this facred bond; nor feeme their mindes strong enough to endure the pulling of a knott so hard, so fast, and durable. And truely, if without that, such a genuine and voluntarie acquaintance might be contracted, where not onely mindes had this entire jovissance, but also bodies, a share of the alliance, and where man might wholly be engaged: It is certain, that friendship would

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Hor. lib. 2 ed. 2.

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thereby
thereby be more compleat and full: But this fesse could never yet by any example attaine unto it, and is by ancient schooles rejected thence. And this other Greeke licence is justly abhorred by our customes, which notwithstanding, because according to vs it had so necessarie a duplication of ages, and difference of offices betweene lovers, did no more sufficiently anfwere the perfect vmbon and agreement, which here we require: Quis eft enim amor amicitiae? cui neque deformaem adolescentem quisquam amat, neque formam fenent? For, what love is this of friendship? why doth no man love either a deformed young man, or a beautiful oldman? For even the picture the Academie makes of it, will not, (as I suppose) difvowe me, to say thus in his behalf: That this first fury, inspired by the sonne of Venus in the lovers hart, vpon the object of tender youths flower, to which they allow all inflent and passionate violences, an unmoderate heat may produce, was simply grounded vpon an extrnall beauty; a falf image of corporall imagination: for in the prirt it had no power, the fight whereof was yet concealed, which was but in his infinace, and before the age of budding. For, if this fury did feize vpon a base-minded courage, the means of it's purfituе, were riches, gifts, favour to the advancement of dignities, and fuch like vile merchandize, which they reprow. It fit fell into a more generous minde, the interpositions were likewise generous: Philiophical instructions, documents to reverence religion, to obey the lawes, to die for the good of his country: examples of valour, widdome and justice. The lover endeavoring and studying to make himselfe acceptable by the good grace and beauty of his mind, (that of his bodie being long since decayed) hoping by this mentall societe to eftablish a more firme and permanent bargain. When this purfituе attainted the effect in his due feacon, (for by not requiring in a lover, he should bring leasure and discretion in his endeff) they require it exactly in the beloved; forasmuch as he was to judge of an internall beautie, of a difficult knowledge, & abstrue discovery, then by the interposition of a spiritual beauty was the desire of a spiritually conception engendered in the beloved. The latter was here chiefest, the corporall, accidentall and second: altogether contrary to the lover. And therefore doe they preferre the beloved, and verifie that the Gods likewise preferre the fame: and greatly blame the Poet Eфchylus, who in the love betweenе Аchilles and Paracdot REFERETH the lovers part vnto Achilles, who was in the first and beaftie youth of his adofcendence, and the faireft of the Gracians. After this general communie, the minifris and worstheft part of it, predominant & exercifying her offices (they say the moft awfull commodite did thereby redound both to the private & publice.) That it was the force of countries received the vforc of it, and the principall defence of equitie and libertie: witnesse the comfortable loves of Hermodion and Ariflogion. Therefore name they it, sacr'd and divine, and it concerns not them whether the violence of tyrants, or the demifhe of the people be against them: To conclude, all can be allledged in favour of the Academie, is to say, that it was a love ending in friendship, a thing which hath no bad reference vnto the Stoical definition of love: Amorem conatum esse amicitiae faciendae ex pudebrinundis societatis. That love is an endeavor of making friendship by the liew of beautie. I returne to my description in a more equall & equall maner. Omnino amicitiae corroborationem confirmabatur ingenii et artis, indicanda sunt. Clearly friendships are to be judged by wis, and ages already strengthened and confirmed. As for the ref, those we ordinarily call friends and amities, are but acquaintances and familiarities, tied together by some occasion or commodities, by means whereof our minde are entertained. In the amite I speake of, they entermixe and confound themselves one in the other, with fo vniverall a commixture, that they wear-eout, and can no more finde the fame that hath conjoined them together. If a man vrge me to tell wherefore I loved him, I feele it can not be expressed, but by answering: Because it was he, because it was my felle. There is beyond all my discours, and besides what I can particularly reporte of it, I know not what inexplicable and fatal power, a maine and Mediatrix of this indiffolvable vmbon. Wee fought one another, before ever we had beene one another, and by the reportes we heard one of another; which wrought a greater violence in vs, then the reason of reportes may well beare: I thinke by some secret ordinance of the heavens, we embraced one another by our names. And at our first meeting, which was by chance at a great feast, and solemn meeting of a whole townehip, we found our selves so surpriz'd, so knowne, so acquainted, and so combinedly-bound together, that from thence-forward; nothing was so more vnto vs, as one vnto another. He write an excellent Latine Satyre; since published; by which he excuseth and expoundeth the precipitation of
of our acquaintance, so suddenly come to her perfection; Sillence must continue so short a time, and beginne so late (for we were both growne men, and he some years older then my selfe) there was no time to be lost. And it was not to bee modelled or directed by the pattern of regular and remissible friendship, wherein so many precautions of a long and prealliable conversation, are required. This hath no other idea, than of it selfe, and can have no reference but to it selfe. It is not one especiall consideration, nor two, nor three, nor four, nor a thousand: it is I wot not what kind of quittance of all this commixture, which having seized all my will, induced the fame to plunge and lose it selfe in his, which likewise having seized all his will, brought it to loose and plunge it selfe in mine, with a mutual greediness, and with a femeblable concurrence. I may truly say, loose, referring nothing vnto vs, that might properly be called our owne, nor that was either his, or mine.

When Leitus in the presence of the Roman Consuls, who after the condemnation of Tiberius Gracchus, purfied all those that had beene of his acquaintance, came to enquire of Caius Blosus (who was one of his chiefest friends) what he would have done for him; and that he answered: All things. What? All things? replied he: And what if bee had willed thees to burne our Temple? Blosus answered, He would never have commanded such a thing. But what if hee had done it? replied Leitus: The other answered, I would have obeyed him. If he were so perfect a friend to Gracchus, as Histories report, he needed not offend the Consuls with this laft and bold defection, and should not have departed from the assurance hee had of Gracchus his minde. But yet thef, who accuse this answer as feditious, vnderstand not well this mySTERIE: and doe not presuppofe in what terms he flood, and that he held Gracchus his will in his sleeve, both by power and knowledge. They were rather friends than citi- zens, rather friends then enemies of their country, or friends of ambition and trouble.

Having absolutely committed themselves one to another, they perfectly held the raines of one anothers inclination; and let this yoke be guided by vertue and conduct of reason (because without them it is altogether impossible to combine and proportion the fame.) The answer of Blosus was fuch as it should be. If their actions miscarried, according to my meaning, they were neither friends one to another, nor friends to themselves. As for the reft, this answer foundes no more than mine would doe, to him that would in fuch fort enquire of me; if your will shoulde command you to kill your daughter, would you doe it? and that I should consent vnto it: for, that beareth no witness of confent to doe it: because I am not in doubt of my will, and as little of fuch a friends will. It is not in the power of the worldes dif- course to remoue me from the certaintie I have of his intentions and judgements of mine: no one of it's actions might be preferred vnto me, vnder what shape forever, but I would presently find the spring and motion of it. Our mindees have jumped so unitedly together, they have with fo fervent an affection considered of each other, and with like affection so discovered and founded, even to the very bottome of each others heart and entrails, that I did, not onely know his, as well as mine owne, but I would (verily) rather have truified him concerning any matter of mine, then my selfe. Let no man compare any of the other com- mon friendships to this. I have as much knowledge of them as another, yea of the perfectef of their kind: yet will I not perwaide any manto confound their rules for fo a man might be deceived. In these other strict friendships a man must march with the bridle of wisdom and precaution in his hand: the bond is not so strictly tied, but a man may in some fome forre diftruct the fame. Love him (faide Chiton) as if you would one day hate him again. Hate him, as if you should love him, again. This precept, so abominable in this foereign and mutris Amitie, is necessary and wholome in the vfe of vulgar and customarie friendships: toward which a man must employ the saying Aristotle was wont so often to repeat. Oh you my friends, there is no perfect friend.

In this noble commerce, offices and benefits (nurses of other amities) deserve not so much as to be accomplisht: this confusion so full of our willes is cause of it: for, even as the friendship I bear vnto my selfe, admits no acreafe, by any succour I give my selfe in any time of neede, whatsoever the Stoicks alleadge; and as I acknowledget no thanks vnto my selfe for any service I doe vnto my selfe, so the union of such friends, being truly perfect, makes them loose the feeling of such duties, and hate, and expell from one another these words of division, and difference, benefit, good deed, dutie, obligation, acknowledgement, prayer, thanks, and such their like. All things being by effect common betweene them;
them; wills, thoughts, judgments, goods, wives, children, honour, and life; and their mutual agreement, being no other than one soul in two bodies, according to the first definition of Aristotle, they can neither lend or give ought to each other. See here the reason why Law-makers, to honour marriage with some imaginary resemblance of this divine bond, inhibit donations between husband and wife; meaning thereby to inferre, that all things should peculiarly be proper to each of them, and that they have nothing to divide and share together. If in the friendship whereof I speak, one might give unto another, the receiver of the benefit should bind his fellow. For, each seeking, more then any other thing, to doe each other good, who yeelds both matter and occasion, is the man sheweth himselfe liberal, giving his friend that contentment, to effect towards him what he desires most. When the Philosopher Diogenes wanted money, he was wont to say, That he re-de-demanded the same of his friends, and not that he demanded it: And to shew how that is practised by effect, I will relate an ancient singular example. Endamidas the Corinthian had two friends, Charsixen a Sycionian, and Aretheus a Corinthian; being upon his death-bed, and very poore, and his two friends very rich, thus made his last will and testament. To Aretheus, I bequeath the keeping of my mother, and to mainainte her when she shall be old; To Charsixen the marrying of my daughter, and to give her as a dowrie as he may: and in case one of them shall chance to die before, I appoint shee forever to subtitute his charge, and supply his place. Those that first gave this testament, laughed and mocked at the same; but his heirs being advertised thereof, were very well pleased, and received it with singular contentment. And Charsixen one of them, dying five days after Endamidas, the substitution being declared in favor of Aretheus, he carefully and very kindly kept and maintained his mother, and of five talents that he was worth, he gave two & a halfe in marriage to one only daughter he had, and the other two & a halfe to the daughter of Endamidas, whom he married both in one day. This example is very ample, if one thing were not, which is the multitude of friends: For, this perfect amity I speake of, is indivisibl; each man death so wholly give himselfe vnto his friend, that he hath nothing left him to divide else-where: moreover he is grieved that he is double, triple, or quadruple, and hath not many foules, or sundry wils, that he might conferre them all vpon this subject. Common friendships may bee divided; a man may love beauty in one, facility of estates in another, liberality in one, and wisdom in another, paternity in this, fraternity in that man, and so forth: but this amity which possesteth the soule, and swayes it in all soveraignety, it is impossible it should be double. If two at one instant should require help, to which would you runne? Should they crave contrary offices of you, what order would you follow? Should one commit a matter to your filence, which if the other knew would greatly profite him, what course would you take? Or how would you discharge your selfe? A singular and principall friendship dissolveth all other duties, and frees all other obligations. The secret I have sworne not to reveale to another, I may without perjuria impart it vnto him, who is no other but my selfe. It is a great and strange wonder for a man to double himselfe, and those that talke of tripling, know not, nor cannot reach vnto the height of it. Nothing is extreme, but hath his like. And he who shall presuppose, that of two I love the one as well as the other, and that they enter-love one another, and love me as much as I love them: he multiplieth in brother-hood, a thing most singular, and alone one, and then which one alone is also the rarest to be found in the world. The remainder of this History appeareth very well with what I said; for, Endamidas giveth as a grace and favor to his friends to employ them in his neede; he leaveth them as his heirs of his liberality, which consisteth in putting the meanes into their handes, to doe him good. And doubleffe, the force of friendship is much more richly shewn in his deed, then in Aretheus. To conclude, they are unimaginable effects, to him that hath not tasted them: and which makes me wonderfullie to honor the answer of that yong Soullidor to Coryn, who enquiring of him what he would take for a horse, with which he had lately gained the prize of a race, and whether hee would change him for a Kingdome? No prayse, my Liege (saide he) yet would I willingly forgoe him to give a true friend, could I but finde a man worthy of so precious an alliance. He saide not ill, in saying, coulde I but finde. For, a man shall easilie finde men fit for a superficillie acquaintance; but in this, wherein men negotiate from the very centre of their hearts, and make no spare of anything, it is most requisite, all the wares and springes be sincerely wrought, and perfectly true. In confederacies, which holde but by one end, men have nothing to pro-
The first Booke.

Vide for, but for the imperfections, which particularly doe interest and concern that end and respect. It is no great matter what religion my Physician and Lawyer is of: this consideration hath nothing common with the offices of that friendship they owe mee. So doe I in the familiar acquainstences, that those who serve mee contract with mee. I am nothing inquisitive whether a Lackey be chaste or no; but whether he be diligent: I scarce not a gaming Muleter, so much as if he be weak or a hot swearing Cooke, as one that is ignorant and vnskilfull; I never meddle with saying what a man should do in the world; there are over many others that do it; but what my selfe doe in the world.

Mibi sic ovus est: Tibi, vis opus est fallito face.
So is it requisite for me;

Doe thou as needesfull is for thee.

Concerning familiar table-talte, I rather acquaint my selfe with, and follow a merry conceited humour; then a wise man: And in bed I rather prefer beauty, then goodnesse; and in society or conversation of familiar discourse, I respect rather sufficiency, though without Pround homnie, and so of all things else. Even as he that was found riding upon an hobby-horse, playing with his children, befought him, who thus surprized him, not to speake of it, until he were a father himselfe, supposing, the tender fondnesse, and fatherly passion, which then would possesse his minde, should make him an impartial judge of such an action. So would I wish to speake to such as had tried what I speake of: but knowing how farre such an amitie is from the common vfe, & how feld-mee and rarely-found, I look not to find a competent judge. For, even the discourses, which Sterne antiques hath left vs concerning this subject, I feme to me but faint and forcelle in respect of the feeling I have of it: And in that point the effects exceede the very precepts of Philosophie.

Nil ego consulerim incundo fanus amico.
For mee, be I well in my wit,
Nought, as a merry friend, so fitt.

Auncient Menander accompted him happy, that had but mette the shadowe of a true friend; verlie he had reason to say so, especially if he had tasted of any: For truly, if I compare all the rest of my fore-passed life, which although I have by the meere mercy of God, past at rest and cafe, except the losse of so deare a friend, free from all grievous afflituons, with an ever-quietnes of mind, as one that have taken my natural and original commoditues in good payment, without searchings any others: if, as I fay, I compare it all vnto the foure yerers, I so happily enjoyed the sweet company, and deare-society of that worthy man, it is nought but a vapour, nought but a darke and yker some light. Since the time I lost him,

quis semper acer-bum,
Semper honoratum (sic Dij veluitis) habeo,
Which I shall ever hold a bitter day,
Yet ever honor'd, (so my God t'obey)

I doe but languih, I doe but sorrow: and even those pleasures, all things present-me with, in stead of yeelding me comfort, doe but redouble the griefe of his losse. Wee were copartners in all things. All things were with vs at halfe; mee thinkes I have ftole his parte from him.

Nec fas esse villama voluptate hic frui
Decevvi, taniifer dum mille adbst mens particeps.
I have fett downe, no joy enjoy I may,
As long as he my partner is away.

I was so accusstomed to be ever two, and so enured to be never sngle, that mee thinkes I am but halfe my selfe.

Ille mea f partem anime tuit,
Maturior vis, quid moror altera,
Nec charis aequi nec superiores,
Integer? Ile dies utramque
Duxit ruinam.
Since that parte of my soule riuer sevred mee.
Why thy I heare the other parte he left mee?

Nor
Nor so deere, nor entire, while heere I rest:
That day hath in one ruine both oppreft.

There is no action can betide me, or imagination postfesse me, but I hear him saying, as indeede he would have done to mee: for even as he did excell me by an infinite distance in all other sufficiencies and vertues, so did he in all offices and duties of friendship.

The first Booke.

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modest,
Tarn chari capitis?
What modesty or measure may I beare,
In want and with of him that was so deare?

O mihi fratres adempte mihi!

Omnia semper perierunt quaudia nostra,
Quos tibi in vita dulcis desit amor.

Te meaus morientis freglinit commoda frater,

Cuius ego interius tota de menti fugans

Hae studia quae omnes deliciar animi.

Alloquar audier unquam tua verba loquentem?

Ningam ego te vita frater amabilior,

Aptiam posthac? at certe semper amabo.

O brother rest from miserable me,
All our delight's are perished with thee,
Which thy sweete love did nourish in thy breath,
Thou all my good hast spoiled in thy death:
With thee my soule is all and whole enshrinde,
At whose death I have cast out of minde.
All my minds sweete meates, studies of this kinde,

Never shall I heare thee speake, speake with thee?
Thee brother then life dearer never see?
Yet that thou ever be belou'd of mee.

but let vs a little heare this yong man speake, being but sixtene yeares of age.

Because I have found this worke to have since bin published (and to an ill end) by such as seek to trouble and subvert the state of our commonwealth, not caring whether they shall reforme it or no; which they have fondly infected among other writings of their invention, I have revok'd my intent which was to place it here. And left the Authors memory shoulde any way be interfred with those that could not thoroughly knowe his opinions and actions, they shall understand, that this subject was by him treated of in his infancy, only by way of exercise, as a subject, common, bare worne, and wyer drawne in a thousand bookees. I will never doubt but he believed what he wrote, and writ as he thought: for he was so conscientious, that no lie did ever passe his lips, yea were it but in matters of sport or play: and I know, that had it bin in his choyce, he would rather have bin borne at Venice, then at Sarlos; and good reason why: But he had an other Maxime deeply imprinited in his minde, which was, carefully to obey, and religiously to submit himselfe to the lawes, vnder which he was borne. There was never a better Citizen, nor more affected to the welfare and quietnesse of his country, nor a sharper enemy of the changes, innovations, newfangles, and hurly burlies of his time: He would more willingly have employed the vnoof his endeavours to extinguishe and suppreffe, than to favour or further them: His minde was modelled to the pattern of other biff ages. But yet in exchange of his serious treatise, I will here set you downe another, more pitie, matterall, and of more conquence, by him likewise produced in that tender age.
The first Booke.

The eight and twentieth Chapter.

Nine and twentie Sonnets of Steven de la Boetie, to the Ladie of Grammont, Countesse of Guiffen.

Madame, I present you with nothing that is mine, either because it is already yours, or because I find nothing therein worthy of you. But wheresoever these verses shall be seen, for the honor which thereby shall redound to them, by having this glorious Corinna of Andromas for their guide, I thought it good to adorn them with your worthy name. I have deemed this present fit for your Ladyship, for so much as there are few Ladys in France, that either can better judge of Poetic, or fitter apply the use of it, then your worthy selfe: and since in these her drooping days, none can give it more life, or vigorous spirit, then you, by those rich and high-tuned accords, wherewith amongst a million of other rare beauties, nature hath richly graced you. Madame, these verses deserve to be cherished by you: and I am persuaded you will be of mine opinion, which is, that none have come out of Gakashia, that either had more wit, or better invention, and that witnesse have proceeded from a richer vaine. And let no jealousy poiffe you, insomuch as you have but the remainder of that, which whilome I causeth to be printed under the name of my Lord of Feix, your worthy, noble and deare kinman: For truly, these have a kinde of livelynesse, and more piercing Emphasis then any other, and which I cannot well expresse: as heet that made them in his Aprils youth, and when he was enflamed with a noble-glorious flame, as I will one day tell your Honour in your care. The other were afterward made by him in favour of his wife, at what time hee wooed and solicited her for marriage, and beganne to feele I wot not what marital-chainesse, and husbands-coldnesse. And I am one of those, whose opinion is, that divine Poetic doth no where judge so well, and do effectually applaudeth, as in a youthsfull, wanton, and unbridled subject. The above-mentioned nine and twentie Sonnets of Boetie, and that in the former impressions of this booke were here set downe, have since beene printed with his other worke.

The nine and twentieth Chapter.

Of Moderation.

As if our sense of feeling were infected, we corrupt by our touching, things that in themselves are faire and good. We may so seize on vertue, that if we embrace it with an over-greedie and violent desire, it may become vitious. Those who say, There is never excess in vertue, because it is no longer vertue if any excess be in it, doe but jecst at words. Hor. lib. I. op. 6.15.

Infant sapientia nomen serat, agens iniqui.
Vita quaeque fatis est, virtutem spectat ipsum.
A wife man mad, just vnjust, may I name,
More then is meete, ev'n vertue if he claime.

Philosophie is a subtile consideration. A man may love vertue too much, and excessively demane himselfe in a just action. Gods holy word doth apply itselfe to this byafe. Be not wiser then you should, and be soberly wise. I have seene some great men, blemish the reputation of their religion, by shewing themselves religious beyond the example of men of their qualitie. I love temperate and indifferent natures. Immoderation towards good, if it offend me not, it amazeth, and troubleth me how I should call it. Neither Pausanias his mother, who gave the first instruction, and at her sonnes death threw the first stone: Nor Posthumus the Dictator, that brought his owne sonne to his end, whom the heate and forwardnisse
wardness of youth, had haply before his ranke, made to charge his enemies, see me so just as strange vnto me. And I neither love to perswade or follow so savage and so deare a vertue. The Archer that over-shoots his marke, doth no other wise then he that shooteth short. Mine eyes trouble me as much in climbing vp toward a great light, as to goe downe in the darke. Callives in Plato satheth, The extremity of Philosophie to be hurtfull: and perswades no man to wade further into it, then the bounds of prof: And that taken with moderation, it is pleasant and commodious, but in the end it makes a man wise and vicious, diftant full of religion and of common loves: an enemy of civill conversation: a foe to humane affection, and worldly pleasures: incapable of all politicke administration; and unfit to assist others or to help himselfe: apt to be left free, buffeted, and baffled. He faith true: for in her excelle, the entural-


ty of our natural libertie, and by an important wise, divers-vs from the faire and plaine path, which nature traceath out of vs. The love we beare to women, is very lawfull; yet deth Divinite brideth and restraine the fame. I remember to have read in Saint Thomas, in a place where he condemneth marriages of kin-sfolkes in forbidden degrees, this one reason amongst others: that the love a man beareth to such a woman may be immoderate: for, if the wedlocke, or husband-like affection be found and perfect, as it ought to be, and also surcharged with that a man oweth to alliance and kindred, there is no doubt, but that forCrete may easily transporte a husband beyond the bounds of reason. Those Sciences that direct the manners of men, as Divinite and Philosophie, meddle with all things. There is no action to private and secret may be concealed from their knowledge and juridiction. Well do they learn that search and censure their libertie. It is womane communicate their parts as much as a man lift to wantonize with them: but to plucke them baihfulllye forbids them. I will then in their behalf teach husbands this, if yeter there be any too much flesh upon them: which is, that the very pleasures they have by the familiaritie of their wives, except moderately yfed; they are reproved: and not only in that, but in any other unlawful subjects, a man may trespass in licentioinelle and offend in excess. Those shamelesse endeavours, which the first heat suggesteth vnto vs in that sportfull delight, are not onely vndecently, but hurtfully employed towards our wives. Let them at leaft learne impudence from another hand. They are ever broade-waking when we neede them. I have yfed no means but natural and simple instruction. Marriage is a religious and devout bond: and that is the reason the pleasure a man hath of, should be a moderate, fitted, and serius pleasure, and mixed with severitie: it ought to bee a voluptuouselle somewhat circumpept and confentious. And because it is the chiefest of generation, there are that make a question, whether it be lawfull to require them of copulation, as well when we have no hope of children, as when they are over-aged, or bigge with childe. It is an hoc-


homicide, according to Plato. Certaine nations (and amongst otheres, the Mahometa) abhorre Conjunction with women great with childe. Many also with those that have their monethly disease. Zemanus received his husband but for one charge, which done, all the time of his conception, let him goe at randon, and that past, shee gave him leave to beginne againe: a notable and generous example of marriage.

Plato borroweth the narration (of some needy and hunger-staruen Poet) of this sporte. That Iphiter one daie gave his wife to hote a charge, impatient to stiaile till she came to bed, he lade her alonge vpon the floore, and by the vehement of his pleasure forgot the vrgent and weightie resolutions lately concluded-vpon with the other Gods of his calethall court; boasteth he found it as sweete that time, as he had done, when first he spoiled of his virginity, by stealth and unknowne to their parents. The Kings of Persia, called for their wives, when they went to any solemn feast, but when much drinking and wine beganne to beate them in good earnest, they sent them to their chambers, feeting they could no longer restraine, but must needs yeeld to sensualitie, left they should be partakers of their immode-rate lusts and in their steadie sent for other women, whom this due of respect might not concern.

All pleasures and gratifications are not well placed in all sorte of people. Epaminondas had caused a diffolute young man to be imprisoned: Pelopidas entreated him, that for his sake he would set him at libertie, but he refused him, and yelded to free him at the request of an harlot of his, whiche Likewise for his enlargements saying, it was a gratification due unto a Courtesan, and not to a Captaine. Sophocles being partner with Pericles in the Pretorship, sacry by chance a faire boy to passe by: Oh what a beauteous boy goeth yonder! guide he to Pericles: That
which they verily he not fbtriftly not it and All But becaufe that added declaring almes, they be otherfome, yea and some, in mafTare the redberry he take Reubarb he have more to have, fafting, hairie-fhirteSjfarre and the nnumber, and thecnumber, and incompeate, entire and naturall inemperance is not reproachfull into-vo. But to speake in good footh, is not man a miserable creature? He is faerce come to his owne flrength by his naturall condition, to take one only complete, entire and pure pleafaure, but he laboreth by discourse to cut it off: he is not wretched enough, except by arte and study he augment his miserie.

Fortune miseris anciuus arte, vis.
Fortunes vnhappy ill,
We amplify by our skill.

Humane wifedom doth foolishly fecke to be ingenious in exercing hir felfe to abate the number, and diminish the pleafure of lenfualities, that pertaine to vs, as it doth favourably and indifferently in employing hir devices, to paint and let a lifter on evils, before our eyes, and therewith to recreate our fefte. Had I bin chiefe of a faction, I wold have followed a more natural course, which to fay true, is both commodious and fcribed, and shoule peradventure have made my felle ftrong enough to limite the fame. Although our spirifuall and corporall Phylfians, as by covenant agreed upon betweene them, finde no way of recovery, nor remedie for defeaces of body and minde, but by torment, griefe and paine, watching, faying, fake, faires, farre and solitary exile, perpetuall prifon, roddes and other affllictinges, have therefore beene invented: But fo, that they be truly affluctions, and that there bee some flinging, fharpenelle in them: And that the fuccelle be not as Gallior was, who having beene confined to the ile of Leybus, newes came to Rome, that there he lived a merry life; and what the Senate had laide upon him for a punishment, had added to his commoditie: whereupon they agreed to revokke him home to his owne house and wife, strictly enjoyning him to keep the fame, thereby to accommodate their punishment to his fence and fefing. For he to whom faying should procure health and a merry heart, or he to whom poiion fhould be more healthie then meate, it would be no longer a wholesome receipt, no more then drugs in other medicines, are of no effect to him that takes them with appetite and pleafaure. Bitterneffe and diftref fe are circumftances fittine their operation. That nature which should take Reubarb as familiar, shoulde no doubt corrupt the vfe of it; it must bee a thing that hurts the flomacke, it fhall cure it and there the common rulefaile, that infirmities are cured by their contraries: for one ill curer another. This impreffion hath fome reference to this other fo ancient, where some think they gratifie both heaven and earth by killing and maffacring themselves, which was univerfally embraced in all religions. Even in our fathers age; Amuraath at the taking of Hierosolyma facrificed fix hundred young Gracians to his fathers foul: to the end their blood might serve as a propitiation to expiate the fines of the defecuated. And in the newe countries discovered in our dayes yet vncorrupted, and virginis, in regard of ours, it is a custome well right received ev ery where. All their idolles are sprinkled with humane blood, are of no divers examples of horrible crueltie. Some are burnt alive, and halfe roasted drawne from the fire, that fo they may pull out their hart and entrailes; others, some women are fpearbe quick alive, and with the yet bleeding skins, they infet and cover others. And no leffe of examples of constant resolution. For these wretched facrifiable people, old men, women and children, some dayes before, goe themselves begging their almes, for the offering of their facrifice, and all ful of gleefing, and dancing with the reft, they prefent themselves to the flaughter. The Ambaffadors of the kings of Mexico, in declaring and magnifying the greatneffe of their Maifter to Fernando Cortez, after they had tolde him, that he had thirty vallafs, whereof eache one was able to leyv a hundred thoufand combattants, and that he had his residence in the fairest and strongest Cittie under heaven, added moreover, that he had fifty thoufand to facrifice for every yeere: verily fome affirme that they maintaine continual warres with certaine mighty neighbouring Nations, not fo much for the exercif and training of their youth, as that they may have faire of prisoners taken in warre to fupply their facrifices. In another province, to welcome the faide Cortez,
they sacrifice five men at one clappe. I will tell this one storie more: Some of these people having beene beaten by him, sent to knowe him, and to intreate him of friendship. The messengers prefented him with three kinds of Prefents, in this manner: Lord, if thou be a fierce God, that lovest to feede on flesh and bloud, here are five flaves, take them, and we will bring thee more: if thou bee a gentle-milde God, here be isenece and feathers; but if thou be a man, take these birds and finites; that beere we present and offer unto thee.

The thirtieth Chapter.

Of the Caniballes.

AT what time King Pirrhus came into Italy, after he had survaide the marshalling of the Armie, which the Romanes sent against him: I wot not, said he, what barbarous men these are (for so were the Gracians went to call all strangers) but the disposicion of this Armine, which I see, is nothing barbarous. So said the Gracians of that which Flaminius sent into their country: And Phillip viewing from a Tower the order and distribution of the Romaine campes, in his kingdome unde Publius Sulpius Galba. Loe how a man ought to take heed, lest he over-weeningly follow vulgar opinions, which should be measured by the rule of reason, and not by the common report. I have had long time dwelling with mee a man, who for the space of tenne or twelve yeares had dwelt in that other world, which in our age was lately discovered in those partes where Willegaignon first landed, and surnamed Antarique France. This discoverie of so infinite and vaft a countrey, seemeth worthie great consideration. I wot not whether I can warrant my selfe, that some other be not discoverd hereafter, thence so many worthie men, and better learned then we are, have so many ages beene deceived in this. I fear me our eyes be greater then our bellies, and that we have more curiosity then capacitie. We embrace all, but we fasten nothing but winde. Plato maketh Sotom to report, that he had learnt of the Priests of the Cittie of Sais in Egypt, that while, and before the generall Deluge, there was a great Iland called Atlantides, situate at the mouth of the strait of Gibraltar, which contained more firme land then Affrike and Asia together. And that the Kings of that country, who did not only possess that Iland, but had so farre entred into the maine-land, that of the breadth of Affrike, they held as farre as Egypt, and of Europe's length, as farre as Tuscanie: and that they rnettooke to invade Affike, and to subdue all the nations that compassed the Mediterranean Sea, to the gulf of Mare-Maggiore, and to that end they traversed all Spaine, France and Italy, so farre as Greece, where the Athenians made head against them; but that a while after, both the Athenians themselves, and that great Iland, were swallowed vp by the Deluge. It is very likely this extreme ruine of waters wrought strange alterations in the habitations of the earth: as some holde that the Sea hath divided Sicile from Italy.

Virg. Aen. lib. 3
414. 415.

Hac loca viqquadam, & vasta convuls a ruina
Diffils spprent, cum proximus utraque tellus
Vina foret.
Men sity, sometmes this land by that forsaken,
And that by this, were split, and ruine-shaken,
Whereas till then both lands as one were taken.

Cypres from Soria, the Iland of Negroquan from the maine land of Beotia, and in other places joyned landes that were fundred by the Sea, filling with mudde and sand the chanes betweene them.

—sterilisque dixtus aptaque remis
Vincum orbis altis, & grave fertis aurum.
The fenne long barren, to be rowd in, nowe
Both feedes the neighbour towns, and feedes the plowe.

But there is no great apperance, the said Iland should be the new world; we have lately discovered; for, it well-nigh touched Spaine, and it were an incredible effect of inundation,
to have removed the same more then twelve hundred leagues, as we fee it is. Besides, our moderne Navigations have now almost discovered, that it is not an Island, but rather firm land, and a continent, with the East Indies on one side, and the countries lying under the two Poles on the other; from which if it be divided, it is with so narrowe a strait, and intervall, that it no way delivereth to be named an Island: For, it seemeth there are certain motions in these vast bodies, some natural, and other false fructuant, as well as in ours. When I consider the impression my river of Dordaigne worketh in my time, toward the right shore of his defcent, and how much it hath gained in twenty yeares, and how many foundations of divers houses it hath overwhelmed and violently carried away; I confesse it to be an extraordinary agitation: for, should it always keepe one course, or had it ever kept the fame, the figure of the world had ere this beene overthrown: But they are subject to changes and alterations. Sometimes they over-flowe and spreded themselves on one side, sometimmes on another; and other times they containe themselves in their natural beds or channels. I speake not of sodaine inundations, whereof we now treat the caufes. In Medoc alongeth the Sea-coast, my brother the Lord of Artois, may see a towne of his buried under the lands, which the Sea gulleth vp before it: The toppes of some buildings are yet to be discerned. His Rents and Demaines have bin changed into barren pastures. The inhabitants thereabouts affurne, that some yeares since, the Sea encroacheth so much upon them, that they have lost foure leagues of firme land: These fandes are his fore-runners. And we fee great hilikes of gravelly moving, which march halfe a league before it, and vpurpe on the firme land. The other testimonie of antiquite, to which some will refcrue this discoverie, is in Aristotele (if at leaft that little booke of vnheard of wonders be his) where he reporteth that certaine Carthaginians having failed athwart the Atlantic Sea, without the Straite of Gibrartar, after long time, they at leaft discovered a great fyllill land and replained with goodly woods, and watred with great and deeppe rivers, faire-distant from all land, and that both they and others, allured by the goodnes and fertilitie of the foyle, went thither with their wives, children, and housefoold, and there began to habituate and settle themselves. The Lords of Carthage feeing their country by little and little to be depopulated, made a lawe, and ex preffe prohibition, that ypon paire of death no more men should goe thither, and banished all that were gone thither to dwell, fearing (as they faid) that in continuance of time, they would so multiply, as they might one day supplant them, and overthrow their owne efate. This narration of Aristotele hath no reference vnto our new found countries. This servand I had, was a simple and rough-hewn fellow: a condition fit to yeeld a true testimonie. For, subtile people may indede marke more curiously, and observe things more exactly, but they amplifie and glode them: and the better to perfwade, and make their interpretations of more validitie, they cannot chufe but somewhat alter the florie. They never represenre things truly, but fashion and maske them according to the vifage they saw them in; and to purchase credit to their judgement, and drawe you on to beleive them, they commonly, adorne, enlarge, ye, and Hyperbolise the matter. Wherein is required either a most sincere Reporter, or a man so simple, that he may have no invention to build uppon, and to give a true likelyhoodo vnto false devises, and be not wedded to his owne will. Such a one was my man who beides his owne reporte, hath many times kisse me divers Manners, and Marchants, whom he had knowne in that voyage. So am I pleas'd with his information, that I never enquire what Cofmographers say of it. We had neede of Topographers to make vs particular narrations of the places they have bee in. For some of them, if they have the advantage of vs, that they have seene Palaetine, will challenge a priviledge, to tell vs news of all the world besides. I would have every man write what he knowes, and no more: not onely in that, but in all other subjets. For one may have particular knowledge of the nature of one river, and experience of the quality of one fountain, that in other things knowes no more then another man: who notwithstanding to publish this little scathing, wil undertake to write of all the Phefickes. From which vice proceede divers greatest inconveniences. Now (to returne to my purpose) I finde (as farre as I have been informed) there is nothing in that nation, that is either barbarous or savage, vnlike men call that barbarisme, which is not common to them. As indeede, we have no other ayme of truth and reason, then the example and Iidea of the opinions and customes of the countrey we live in. Where is ever perfect religion, perfect poletie, perfect and compleate vse of all things. They are even savage, as we call those
The first Book.

fuites wilde, which nature of his selte, and of his ordinarye progress hath produced: whereas in deed, they are those which our selves have altered by our artificiall devices, and diversed from their common order, we should rather terme savage. In those are the true and most profitable vertues, and naturall properties most hewell and vigorously, which in these we have battardized, applying them to the pleasure of our corrupted taste. And if notwithstanding, in divers fuites of those countries that were never tilled, we shall finde, that in respect of ours they are most excellent, and as delicate unto our taste; there is no reason, arte should gains the point of honour of our great and pufiant mother Nature. We have so much by our inventions, surcharged the beauties and riches of hir works, that we have altogether over-choaked hir: yet where-ever hir puritie thineth, the makes our vaine, and frivolous enterprizes wonderfully ashamed.

Et venient hederae sponte sua melinus,
Surtit & in folis formas for artemis antris,
Et volutres nulla dulcis arte cantunt.
Ivies spring better of their owne accord,
Vn-hanted plots much fairer trees afford,
Birdes by no arte much sweeter notes record.

All our endeavours or wit, cannot so much as reach to represent the naft of the least birdlet: it's contexture, beaute, profit and fiae, no more the webbe of a feeble spider. All things (faith Plato) are produced, either by nature, by fortune, or by arte. The greatest and fairest by one or other of the two first, the least and imperfect by the last. Those nations seeme therefore so barbarous unto me, because they have received very-little fashion from humane wit, and are yet neere their original naturall. The lawes of nature do yet command them, which are but little battardized by ours. And that with fuch puritie, as I am sometimes grieved the knowledge of it came no sooner to light, at what time ther were men, that better than we could have judged of it. I am forie, Licurgus and Plato had it not: for me seemeth that what in those nations were fee by experience, doth not onely exceed all the pictures wherewith licentious Poets hath proudly imbellifh'd the golden age, & all hir quaint inventions to faine a happy condition of man, but also the conception & defire of Philosophie. They could not imagine a genuine fo pure and simple, as we fee it by experience; nor ever beleue our societie might be maintained with so little arte and humane combination. It is a nation, would I answere Plato, that hath no kinde of trafficke, no knowledge of Letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike superonite, no vse of service, of riches, or of poverty, no contracts, no successes, no divisive, no occupation but idle; no respect of kyned, but common, no apparrell but naturall, no manuring of lands, no vse of wine, corne, or mettle. The very words that import lying, falshood, treason, diffimulation, covetousnes, envy, detraction, and pardon, were never heard of amongst them. How different would he finde his imaginary common-wealth from this perfection?

Hon natura modos primus dedit,
Nature at first vphie,
Thece manners did devise.

Furthermore, they live in a country of so exceeding pleasant and temperate situation, that as my testimonies have tolde me, it is very rare to fee a sickle-bodied amongst them; and they have further assur'd me, they never saw any man there, either shaking with the palfie, tooth-lease, with eyes dropping, or crooked and sloothing through age. They are seated alongst the sea-coast, encompassed toward the land with huge and steepie mountaines, having betweene both, a hundred leagues or thence abouts of open and champagne ground. They have great abundance of fish and flesh, that have no resemblance at all with ours, and eat them without any fawces, or skill of Cookerie, but plaine boiled or broyled. The first man that brought a horse thither, although he had in many other voyages converted with them, bred so great a horror in the land, that before they could take notice of him, they flew him with arrows. Their buildings are very long, and able to containe two or three hundred foules, covered with barkes of great trees, fastned in the ground at one end, enterlaced and joyned dofe together by the toppes, after the manner of some of our Granges; the covering wherein hangs doone to the ground, and steadeth them as a flancke. They have a kinde of wood so hard, that ryving and cleaving the same, they make blades, swords, and grid-yrons, to boroile their
their meate with. Their beddes are of a kind of cotton cloth, fastened to the house-rooffe, as our shippes-cabbines: every one hath his several couch; for the women lie from their husbands. They rise with the Sunne, and feede for all day, as soone as they are vp; and make no more meales after that. They drinke not at meate, as Sinodas reporteth of some other people of the East, which dranke after meales, but drinke manie times a day, and are much given to pledge carowles. Their drinke is made of a certaine roote, and of the colour of our Claret wines, which lasteth but two or three dayes; they drinke it warme: It hath somewhat a sharp taste, wholsome for the stomack, nothing headie, but laxative for such as are not vsed vnto it, yet very pleasing to such as are accustomed vnto it. Instead of bread, they vs their certain white composition, like vnto Corinthers consecrated. I have eaten some, the taste whereof is somewhat sweete and wallowith. They spend the whole day in dancing. Their young men goe a hunting after wild beasts with bowes and arrows. Their women busie themselves therewith, with warming of their drinke, which is their chiefest office. Some of their old men, in the morning before they goe to eating, preach in common to all the householde, walking from one end of the house to the other, repeating one selfe-same sentence many times, till he have ended his turne: (for their buildings are a hundred paces in length) hee commends but two things vnto his auditors: First, valoure against their enemies, then lovingness vnto their wives. They never misse (for their restraint) to put men in minde of this dutie, that it is their wives which keepe their drinke like-warme, and well-sealed. The form of their beddes, cordes, swordes, blades, and woorden bracelets, wherewith they cover their hands-writhe when they fight, and great Canees open at one end, by the bound of which they keepe time and cadence in their dancing, are in many places to bee seen, and namely in mine own house. They are shaven all-over, much more close and cleaner than we are, with no other Razors than of wood or stone. They believe their soules to be eternall, and those that have deferred well of their Gods, to be placed in that part of heaven where the Sunne riseth; and the cursed toward the West in opposition. They have certaine Prophets and Priests, which commonly abide in the mountaines, & very seldomly they them-selves vnto the people: but when they come downe, there is a great feast prepared, and a solemn assembly of manie townships together (each Grange as I haue described, maketh a village, and they are about a French league one from another.) The Prophet speaketh to the people in publique, exhorting them to embrace vertue, and follow their dutie. All their morall discipline containeth but these two articles: first an undisseamed resolution to warre, then an inviolable affection to their wives. Hee dooth also prognosticate of things to come, and what succee he shall hope-for in their enterprises: hee either perfwadeth or dissuadeth them from warres, but if hee chance to mislike of his divination, and that it succede other-wise than he fore-toldle them, if hee be taken, hee is hwen in a thousand pecces, and condemned for a false Prophet. And therefore hee that hath once mis-reckoned him selfe is never seene againe. Divination is the gift of Gods; the abusing whereof should be a punifiable imposture. When the Divines amongst the Scithians had foretoldle an untruth, they were couched along vp-on hurlels full of heath or brushes-wood, and so mangled hand and foote, burned to death. Those which manage matters subject to the conduct of men sufficiencie, are execuables, although they shew the vertmoft of their skill. But those that gull and cons-catch vs with the assurance of an extraordinary facultie, and which is beyond our knowledge, ought to be double punisshed: first because they performe not the effect of their promise, then for the ratherness of their imposture and vnadvisednes of their fraud. They warre against the nations, that lye beyond their mountaines, to which they goe naked, having no other weapons, then bowes, or woorden swordes, sharp at one ende, as our broaches are. It is an admirable thing to see the constant resolution of their combates, which never ende but by effusion of blood & murtherfor they know not what feare or routs are. Every Victor brings home the head of the enimie he hath slain, as a Trophe of his victorie, and fasteneth the same at the entrance of his dwelling-place. After they have long time vsed and entertained their prisoner well, and with all commoditie they can devise, hee that is the Master of them, summoning a great assemblie of his acquaintance; tieith a corde to one of the prisoners armes, by the end whereof hee holds him fast, with some distance from him, for feare he might offend him, and giveth the other armes, bound in like manner, to the dearest friend he hath, and both in the presence of all the assemblie kill him with swordes: which doone, they roole, and then cate
him in common, and send some slices of him to such of their friends as are absent. It is not, as some imagine, to nourish themselves with it, (as ancienly the Scithians wont to do,) but to represent an extreme, and inexpiable revenge. Which we prove thus; some of them perceiving the Portugales, who had confederated themselves with their adversaries, to use another kind of death, when they took them prisoners; which was, to burn them up to the middle, and against the upper part of the body to shoot arrows, and then being almost dead, to hang them up; they supposed, that these people of the other world (as they who had fowed the knowledge of many vices amongst their neighbours, and were much more cunning in all kinds of eviles and mischief then they) ynder-tooke not this manner of revenge without caufe, and that consequently it was more finfull, and cruel then theirs, and thereupon began to leave their oldes fashion to folowe this. I am not sure we note the barbarous horror of such an action, but grieved, that prying so narrowly into their faults, we are so blinded in ours. I think there is more barbarifme in eating men alive, then to feede upon them being dead; to mangle by tortures and torments a body full of lively fence, to roft him in pieces, to make dogges and swine to gnave and teare him in mambocles (as we have not onely read, but seen very lately, yea and in our owne memorie, not amongst ancient enemies, but our neighbours and fellow-citizens; and which is worfe, ynder pretence of piety and religion) then to roft and teare him after he is dead. Chryfippus and Zenos, Arch-pil-"lers of the Stoicke fect, have supposed that it was no hurt at all, in time of neede, and to what end foever, to make vfe of the carrion bodies, and to feede upon them, as did our forefathers, who being besieged by Cesar in the Citie of Alexia, resolved to suffaine the famine of the fiege, with the bodies of old men, women, and other persons vnerviceable & vnsift to fight.

Vafcomes (fama eff) alimentis tabibus vfi
Producere animas.
Gageones (as fatius reportes)
Liv'd with meates of such fortes.

And Phisitians fear not, in all kinds of compositions availlefull to our health, to make vfe of it, be it for outward or inward applications: But there was never any opinion found to vnnatural and immodest, that would excuse treason, treachery, disyloyalty, tyrannie, cruelte, and fuch like, which are our ordinary faults. We may then well call them barbarous, in regard of reafons rules, but not in repect of vse, that exceed them in all kinds of barbara-fme. Their warres are noble and generous, and have as much excuse and beautie, as this humane infirmite may admit: they ayme at nought fo much, and have no other foundation amongst them, but the mere jealofie of vertue. They contend not for the gaining of new landes; for to this day they yet enjoy that naturall vbertie and fruitfulneffe, which without labouring-toyle, doth in fuch plenteous abundance furnish them with all necelfary things, that they neede not enlarge their limits. They are yet in that happy estate, as they desire no more, then what their natural necelfaries direct them: whatsoever is beyond it, is to them superfluous. Those that are much about one age, doe generally enter-call one another brethren, and fuch as are yonger, they call children, and the aged are esteemed as fathers to all the rest. These leave this full possreffion of goods in common, and without indi-viduall to their heires, without other claime or title, but that which nature doth plainly impart unto all creatures, even as she brings them into the world. If their neighbours chance to come over the mountains to affaille or invade them, and that they get the victorie over them, the Victors conquest is glorie, and the advantage to be and remaine superfluous in valoure and vertue: else have they nothing to doe with the goods and spoyes of the van-quiished, and so returne into their country, where they neither want any necelfary thing, nor lacke this great portion, to know how to enjoy their condition happily, and are con-tented with that nature affordeth them. So doe these when their turne commeth. They require no other ranfome of their prisoners, but an acknowledgement and confession that they are vanquished. And in a whole age, a man shall not finde one, that doth not rather embrace death, then either by word or countenance remiffly to yeld one jot of an invin-cible courage. There is none fene that would not rather be slaine and devoured, then sue for life, or shew any feare: They vse their prisoners with all libertie, that they may so much the more holde their lives deare and precious, and commonly entertain them with threates of future death, with the torments they shall endure, with the preparations intended for
The first Booke.

that purpose, with mangling and slicing of their members, and with the shaft that shall be kept at their charge. All which is done, to wrest some remiss, and exact some faint-yelling speech of submission from them, or to possess them with a desire to escape or runne away; that so they may have the advantage to have danted and made them afraine, and to have forced their constancie. For certainly true victory consisteth in that onely point.

-- Victoria nulla eH

Quodque conquestus animo quoque subingat hostes.
No conquest such, as to suppress
Foes hearts, the conquest to confess.

The Hungarians, a most warre-like nation, were whilome wooned to pursue their pray no longer then they had forced their enemy to yeeld vnto their mercie. For, having wrested this confiscation from them, they set him at libertie without offence or ransom, except it were to make-him sweare, never after to bear arms against them. Wee get many advantages of our enemies, that are but borrowed and not ours: It is the qualitie of a porterly-racall, and not of vertue, to have stronger armes, and sturdier legs: Disposition is a dead and corporall qualitie. It is a tricke of fortune to make our enemy swoope, and to bleare his eyes with the Sunnes-light: It is a pranke of skill and knowledge to be cunning in the arte of fencing, and which may happen vnto a base and worthless man. The reputation and worth of a man consisteth in his heart and will: therein consisteth true honour: Constancie is valour, not of armes and legs, but of minde and courage: it consisteth not in the spirit and courage of our horse, not of our armes, but in our slee. Hee that oblimately faileth in his courage, Si succiderit, de genu pugnat, if he fall or fail, he fights upon his knee. Hee that in danger of imminent death, is no whitt danted in his afferednesse, he that in yeelding vp his ghost beholdeth his enemy with a scornewulf and fierce looke, he is vanquished, not by vs, but by fortune: he is flaie, but not conquered. The most valiant, are often the most vnfortunate. So are there triumphes lostes in envie of victories. Not those fourie sister-victories, the fairest that ever the Sunne beheld with his all-seeing eye, of Salamine, of Platea, of Mycale, and of Sicile, durst ever dare to oppose all their glorie together, to the glory of the King Leonidas his discomfiture and of his men, at the passaige of Thermopyles: what man did ever runne with so glorious an envie, or more ambitious defitie to the goale of a combat, then Captaine Ithibas to an evident losse and overthrow: who so ingeniously or more politicly did ever affure him-selfe of his wel-fare, then he of his ruine? He was appointed to defend a certaine passaige of Peloponnesus against the Arcadians, which finding himselfe altogether vnable to performe, seeing the nature of the place, and the qualitie of the forces, and resoluing, that whatsoever should present itselfe vnto his enemy, must necessarily be utterly defeated: On the other side, deeming it unworthy either his vertue and magnanimimity, and the Lacedemonian name, to faile or faint in his charge, betweene these two extremities he resolved upon a meane and indifferent course, which was this. The yongest and best disposed of his troope, he reserved for the service and defence of their country, to which hee sent them back; and with those whose losse was lesse, and who might best be spared, hee determined to maintaine that passaige, and by their death to force the enemy, to purchase the entrance of it as deare as possible he could; as in deed it followed. For being sodainely environed round about the Arcadians: After a great slaughter made of them, both himselfe and all his were put to the sword. Is any Trophys attainted for conquerours, that is not more duly due vnto these conquerers? A true conquest respecteth rather an vnbeaten resolution, and honourable end, then a faire escape, and the honour of vertue doth more consit in combating then in beating. But to returne to our History, these prisoners, howsoever they are dealt withall, are so farre from yeelding, that contrariwise during two or three moneths that they are kept, they ever carry a cheerful countenance, and urge their keepers to hasten their trial, they outrageously deifie, and injure them. They vpbray them with their cowardinesse, and with the numbers of battells, they have lost against theirs. I have a song made by a prisoner, wherein is this cloue, Let them boldly come altogether, and flock in multitude, to feede on him; for, with him they shall feede upon their fathers, and grandfathers, that heretofore have served his body for foode and nourishment: These mufles, (faith he) this fleth, and these veins, are your owne fond men as you are, know you not that the substance of your forefathers limbs is yet tied vnto ours? Taue them well, for in them
them shall you finde the relish of your owne flesh: An invention, that hath no shew of barbaritie. Those that paint them dying, and that represent this action, when they are put to execution, delineate the prisoners spitting in their executioner's faces, and making mowes at them. Verily, so long as breath is in their bodie, they never cease to brave and defie them, both in speech and countenance. Surely, in respect of vs these are very savage men: for either they must be in good sooth, or we must bee so indecde: There is a wondrous distance betweene their forme and ours. Their men have many wives, and by how much more they are reputed valiant, so much the greater is their number. The maner and beauteie in their marriages is woordenous strange and remarkable: For, the same jealousie our wives have to keepe vs from the love and affection of other women, the fame have theirs to procure-it. Being more carefull for their husbands honour and content, then of any thing else: They endeavour and apply all their industry, to have as many rivalls as possibly they can, forasmuch as it is a testimonie of their husbands vertue. Our women would count-it a wonder, but it is not so: It is a vertue properly Monomaniack, but of the highest kinde. And in the Bible, Lea, Rachel, Sara, and Jacobs wives, brought their fairest maiden-vaunts unto their husbands beds. And Livia seconded the lustfull appetites of Augustus to her great prejudice. And Stratonice the wife of King Deiotarust did not only bring a most beauteous chamber-maide, that served her to her husbands bed, but very carefully brought vp the children he begot on her, and by all possible means ayded and furthered them to succeede in their fathers royaltie. And leat a man shoulde thinke, that all this is done by a simple, and servile, or awefull dutie vnto their custome, and by the impression of their ancient customes authentick, without discoure or judgement, and because they are so blockish, and dull-spirited, that they cantake no other resolution, it is not amisse, wee alladge some evidence of their sufficiency. Besides what I have faide of one of their warlike fongs, I have another amorous canzonet, which beginneth in this fence: Adder-fly, fly good adder, that my fitter may by the patterne of thy parti-coloured coue drawe the fashion and worke of a rich face, for me to give unto my love, so may thy beauty, thy nimblenesse or disposition be ever preferred before another serpent. This first couplet is the burden of the song. I am so converfant with Poeie, that I may judge, this invention hath no barbaritie at all in it, but is altogether Anacondite. Their language is a kinde of pleasant speeche, and hath a pleasing found, and some affinitie with the Greeke terminations. Three of that nation ignoring how dear the knowledge of our corruptions will one day cost their repose, securitie, and happinesse, and how their ruine shall proceede from this commerce, which I imagine is already well advanced, (miserable as they are to have suffered themselves to be so cofoned by a desire of new-fangled novelties, and to have quit the calmeneffe of their climate, to come and see ours) were at Rome in the time of our late King Charles the ninth, who talked with them a great while. They were shewed our fashions, our pompe, and the forme of a faire Cityes; afterward some demanded their advise, and would needs knowe of them what things of note and admirable they had observed amongst vs: they answered three things, the last of which I have forgotten, and am very forie for it, the other two I yet remember. They faide, First, they found it very strange, that so many tall men with long beardes, strong and wellformed, as were about the Kings person (it is very likely they mean the swizers of his guard) would/submit themselves to obey a beardless child, and that we did not rather chuse one amongst them to command the rest. Secondly (they have a manner of phrase whereby they call men but a mytie of men from others.) They had perceived, there were men amongst vs full gorged with all sortes of commoditie, and others which, hunger-flavoured, and bare with neede and povvertie, begged at their gates: and found it strange, these myties so neede could endure such an indiffore, and that they took nor the others by the throte, or set fire on their houses. I talked a good while with one of them, but I had fo bad an interpreter: and who did fo ill apprehend my meaning, and who through his foothlnesse was so troubled to conceive my imaginations, that I could drawe no great matter from him. Touching that point, wherein I demanded of him, what good he received by the superioritie hee had amongst his countreymen (for he was a Captaine and our Mariners called him King) he told me, it was to march formost in any charge of warre: further, I asked him, how many men did follow him: he shewed me a distance of place, to signifie, they were as many as might be contained in so much ground, which I gaues to be about 4. or 5. thousand men: moreover I demanded, if
The first Booke.

when warres were ended, all his authoritie expired: he answered, that hee had onely this left him, which was, that when he went on progresse, and visited the villages depending of him, the inhabitants prepared paths and high-ways athwart the hedges of their woodes, for him to passe through at ease. All that is not very ill; but what of that? They weare no kinde of breches or hosen.

The one and thirtieth Chapter.

That a man ought soberly to meddle with judging of divine lawes.

Things unknowne are the true scope of imposture, and subject of Legerdemaine: forasmuch as straungenes it self longe first give credite vnto matters, and not being subject to our ordinarie discourses, they deprive vs of meanes to withstand them. To this purpose, said Plato, it is an easier matter to please, speaking of the nature of the Gods, then of men: For the Auditors ignorance lends a faire and large carie, and free libertie, to the handling of secret-hidden matters. Whence it followeth, that nothing is so firmly beleived, as that which a man knoweth leaft; nor are their people more assured in their reportes, then such as tell vs fables, as Alchemists, Prognosticators, Fortune-tellers, Palmeflers, Phifitians, id genus omne, and such like. To which, if I durst, I would joyn a rable of men, that are ordinarie interpreters and controllers of Gods secret desseignes, presuming to finde out the caufes of every accident, and to pru into the secrets of Gods divine will, the incomprehensible motives of his worke. And howbeit, the cunniuall vareine and discordance of events drive them from one corner to another, and from East to West, they will not leave to follow their bowle, and with one small penfell drawe both white and blacke. There is this commendable observance in a certaine Indian nation, who, if they chance to bee discoconfirmed in any skirmish or battle, they publicly beg pardon of the Sunne, who is their God, as for an vnjust action, referring their good or ill fortune to divine reason, submitting their judgement and discourses vnto it. It suffieth a Christian to beleive, that all things come from God, to receive them from his divine, and infcrutable wisedome with thanksgiving, and in what manner soever they are sent him, to take them in good parte. But I telerly disallow a common custome amongst vs, which is to ground and eftablish our religion vpon the prospicitie of our enterprises. Our beleefe hath other sufficient foundations, and need not be authorized by events. For the people accustomed to these plausible arguments, and agreeing with his taffe, when events fort contrarie and dis-advantageous to their expectation, they are in hazard to waver in their faith: As in the civill warres, wherein we are now for religions-fake, those which got the advantage, at the conflict of Rechelabelle, making great joy and bone-fires for that accident, and vling that fortune, as an eulogised approbation of their faction: when afterward they come to execuse their distaff of Mont-contour and Larnac, which are scourges and fatherly chaflizements: if they have not a people wholly, at their mercy, they will easilie make him perceiue, what it is to take two kindes of come out of one facke: and from one & the same mouth to blow both hote and cold. It were better to entertaine it with the true foundations of verity. It was a notable Seabattle, which was lately gained against the Turkes, vnder the conduct of Don John of Almeria. But it hath pleased God to make vs at other times both fee and feele other fuch, to our no small losse and dreeriment. To conclude, it is no easie matter to reduce divine things vnto our ballance, so they suffer no empeachment: And the that would yeele a reaason, why Arrius and Leo his Pope, &c. Principalles, and maine supporters of this heresie, dyed both at severall times, of fo semblable and fo strange deaths (for being forced through a violent belle-ache) to go from their disputations to their cloafe-stoole, both solaineely yelded vp their gofts on them) & exagerate that divine vengeance by the circumdance of the place, might also adde the death of Heligabalu vnto it, who likewise was flaine vpon a privie. But what? Trenus is found to be engaged in like fortune: Gods intent being to teach vs, that the good have some thing els to hope-for, and the wicked somewhat els to feare, then the good
or bad fortune of this world: He manageth and applieth them according to his secret disposition: and depriveth vs of the meaneys, thereby foolishly to make our profit. And thofe, that according to humane reason will thereby prevail, doe but mocke them-selves. They never give one touch of it, that they receive not two for it. S. Augufline giveth an notable triall of it vpon his adverfaries. It is a conflict, no more decided by the armes of memory, then by the weapons of reason. A man shoold be satisfied with the light, which it pleafeth the Sunne to communicate vnto vs by vertue of his beacones; and he that shall lift vp his eyes to take a greater within his bodie, let him not thinkes it strange, if for a reward of his over-weening and arroganccie he looche his light. Quis hominum potest feire confidium Dei? aut quis potent cognature, quid velis dominus? Who amongst men can know Gods counfel, or who can think what God will doe?

The two and thirtieth Chapter.

To avoyde voluptuoufesse in regarde of life.

I have noted the greatest parte of ancient opinions to agree in this: That when our life affords more evil then good, it is then time to die: and to preferre our life to our torment and incommodie, is to foure and fchoke the vcrie rules of nature: as fay the olde rules,}

\[ \text{In temperam, in sano sano.} \]

\[ \text{Or live without diffreffe,} \]

\[ \text{Or die with happinesse.} \]

\[ \text{Kanem homines esse, te eum vivere.} \]

\[ \text{Tis good for them to die,} \]

\[ \text{Whom life brings insame.} \]

\[ \text{Quis homine vivere, u eum vivere.} \]

\[ \text{Tis better not to live,} \]

\[ \text{Than wretchedly not to thrive.} \]

But to drive-off the contempt of death to such a degree, as to imploy it to diftracft and remove himselfe from honours, riches, greates, and other goodes and favours, which we call the goodes of fortune: as if reason had not enough to doe, to perfwade vs to forgive and leave them, without adding this new furcharge vnto it. I had neither feene the fame com-manded nor praftifed vnuil such time as one place of Seneca came to my hands, wherein counselling Lucius (a man mightie and in great authoritie about the Emperour) to change this voluptuous and pompos life, and to with-draw himfelfe from this ambition of the world, to some folittarte, quiet and philofophicall life: about which Lucius alleged some difficulties: My advice is (faith he) that either thou leave and quit that courfe, or thy life al-gether: But I perfwade thee to followe the gentler way, and rather to retire than break what thou hast so ill knit; always provided thou breaks it, if thou canft not otherwife vanue the fame. There is no man so base-minded, that loveth not rather to fall once, then ever to remaine in feare of falling, I should have deemed this counfel agreeing with the Stoickes raude: But it is more strange it should be borrowed of Epicurus, who to that purpose wrote this confonant unto Idomenes. Yet thinke I to have noted some foule like thing among fome our owne people, but with christiau moderation. Saint Eilarie Bishop of Poitiers, a famous enemie of Arrius heresie, being in Syria, was advertised that Abra his only daughter whom he had left at home with his mother, was by the greattest Lords of the countrie solicited and fued-vnto marriage, as a damoffel very well brought-vp, faire,rich, and in the prime of his age: he writ vnto him (as we fee) that he shoold remove his affections, from all the pleasures and ad-vantages might be prefentent him: for, in his voyage hee had found a greater and worthier match or husband of faire higher power and magnificence, who should prefent and en-dow him with roabes and jewels of vnualuable price. His purpose was to make his loode the appetite and vs of worldly pleasures, and whole to wed him vnto God. To which, deeming his daughters death, the shortest and most assured way, he never ceased by vowes, prayers, and
and orious, humbly to beseech God to take her out of this world, and to call her to his mercy; as it came to pass; for she deceased soon after his return: whereof he shewed manifest tokens of singular gladness. This man seemeth to endear himself above others, in that first sight he addresst himself to this meanes, which they never embrace but subsidiarily, and thence it is towards his only daughter. But I will omit the success of this historie, although it be not to my purpose. Saint Hilaries wife, having underworld by him, how her daughters death succeeded with his intent and will, and how much more happier it was for her to be dislodged from out this world, then still to abide therein, conceived so lively an apprehension of the eternall and heavenly blessedness, that with imprudent instancy she solicited her husband, to doe as much for her. And God, at their earnest entreatie, and joynt-commone prayers, having foone after taken her unto himselfe: it was a death embraced with singular and mutuall contentment to both.

The three and thirtieth Chapter.

That fortune is often times met withal in pursuite of reason.

The inconstancy of Fortunes diverse wavering, is the cause she should present vs with all fortes of vigors. Is there any action of justice more manifest then this? Cesar Borghis Duke of Valentinois, having resolted to poison Adrian cardinall of Cornette, with whom Pope Alexander the sixt, his father and he were to sup that night in Faticane, sent certaine bottles of empoysoned wine before, and gave his Butler great charge to have especiall care of it. The Pope comming thither before his sonne, and calling for some drinkes; the butler supposing the wine had bee eno carefully commended vnto him for the goodnesse of it, immediately presented some vnto the Pope, who whilst he was drinking, his sonne came in, and immediately his bottles had bee ene tought, tooke the cup and pledged his father, so that the Pope died presently; and the son, after he had long time bin tormented with sickness, recovered to another worse fortune. It sometimes seemeth, that when we least thinke on her, she is pleased to sporte with vs. The Lord of Effree, then gunion to the Lord of Ulandes, and the Lord of Liques, Lieuentant to the Duke of Afric, both fervants to the Lord of Fougueselles sister, albeit of contrary factions (as it hapned among neighboring bordurers) the Lord of Liques got her to wife: But even vpon his wedding day, and which is worse, before his going to bed, the bridegrome desiring to breake a flaffe in favour of his new Bride and Miftris, went out to skirmish neere to quaint Omer, where the Lord of Effree being the stronger, tooke him prisoner, and to endeare his advantage, the Lady her selfe was faine

Conjungis ante coelis novi dimittere collem,
Quam venienis una atque altera varfus hymen
Nolitis in longis uidium apprasset amorem;
Her new feeres necke for it was she to forgoe,
Ere winters one and two returning floe,
In long nights had ful-fild
Her love to eager wil'd.

in courtesie, to fue vnto him for the delivery of his prisoner, which he granted; the French Nobilitie never refusing Ladies any kindenenesse. Seemeth she not to be a right artist? Constantine the sonne of Helen founded the Empire of Constantiopole, and so, many ages after, Constantine the sonne of Helen ended the fame. She is sometimes pleased to envie our miracles: we hold an opinion, that Clovis besieging Angoulême, the walles by a divine favour fell of themselues. And Boucher borrowed of some author, that King Robert besieging a Cutiie, and having secretly florne away from the siege to Orleans, there to solemnize the featts of Saint Aignan, as he was in his earnest devotion, upon a certaine paillage of the Maffe, the walles of the towne besieged, without any battery, fell flat to the ground. She did altogether contrary in our warres of Millane: For, Captaine Renfe, besieging the Cuttie of

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driev or flavor of his mouth, vexed against his own: worke, took his spunge, and moyfi as it was with divers colours, threw it at the picture, with purpose to blot and deface all he had done: fortune did so fitly and rightly carry the same toward the dogges chaps, that there it perfectly finished, what his arte could never attaine unto. Dooth fie sometimes address and correct our counsels? Isabell Queene of England, being to repaflc from Zeland into her kingdom with an armie, in favour of her fonne against her husband, had vterly beene cast away, had shee come vnto the Port intended, being there expected by her enemies: But fortune, against her will, brought her to another place, where she safely landed. And that ancient fellow, who hurling a flone at a dog, mist him, and there-with all hit and flew his stepdame, had he not reason to pronounce this verse:

CfuicneHou<~w~W~ua11~,11,
Fate oft it selfe, than wee, Doveh better say and see?

Fortune hath better advise then wee. Icetes had practised and suborne two souIdiers to kill Timoleon, then refiding at Adrian in Sicily. They apponted a time to doe it, as he should be affilting at some sacrifice, and scattering themselves amongst the multitude, as they were winking one vpon another, to shewe how they had a very fit opportunity to doe the deed: Loe here a third man, that with a huge blow of a fword, strikeh one of them over the head and falls him dead to the ground, and ro runs away. His fellow, supposing himselfe discovered, and vndone, runs to the altar, fuing for sanctuary, with promise to confesse the truth; Even as he was declaring the conspiracie, beholde the third man, who had likewise beene taken, whome as a murderer the people tugged and haled through the throng toward Timoleon and the chiefift of the assemblie, where he humbly calleth for merie, alluding that hee had jullifie murdered the murdered of his father, whom his good chance was to finde there, averring by good wittnes, before them all, that in the Cittie of the Leontines, his father had bin proditorouflie flaine by him, on whom hee had now revenged him-felhe. In meede whereof, because he had bin so fortunate (in seeking to right his fathers vnmithe death) to save the common father of the Sicilians from so imminent a danger, hee had terme Attike mines awarded him. His fortune in his directions exceeded all the rules of humane wise-
dome. But to conclude, is not an expresslie application of his favour, goodnesse, and singular pitie manifestly discovered in this action? Ignatius the Father and the Senee, both bannished by prorocution by the Triumvirs of Rome, resolved on this generous act, to yield their lives one into others hands, and thereby diannull the Tyrants cruelty. They famonous with their keene Rapiers drawne, ranne one against another: Fortune so directed their points, that each received his mortall stroke; adding to the honour of so feld-seen an amity; that they had all so much strength left them, to drawe their armed and bloody hands from out their goa-
ed woumdes, in that plight, so fast to embrace, and so hard to claife one another, that the hangmen were forced, at one stroke, & together, to cut-off both their heades, leaing their bod-
ies for ever tied into considerable a knot, and their woumdes so joyned, that they lovingly
drew and stuck each others blood, breath, and life.
The foure and thirtieth Chapter.

Of a Defell in our policies.

My whilome-father, a man who had no helpe but from experience, and his owne nature, yet of an unspotted judgement, hath heer-tofore told me, that he much desired to bring in this custome, which is, that in all cities there should be a certayne appointed place, to which, whosoever shoulde have neede of any thing, might come and cause his busines to be registred by some officer appointed for that purpose: As for example, if one have pearls to sell, he should say, I seek to sell some pearls: and another, I seek to buy some pearls: Such a man would faine have companie to travell to Paris; Such a one enquirith for a servant of this, or that qualitie; Such a one seeketh for a Master; another a workman; Some this, some that, every man as he needed. And it seemeth that this means of enter-waring one another, would bring no small commodite vnto common commerce and societie: For there are ever conditions that enter-seeke one another, and because they understand not one another, they leave men in great necessitie. I vnderstand, to the infamous reproach of our age, that even in our sight, two most excellent men in knowledge, have miserably perished for want of food and other necessitie: Lucas Gregorius Giraldus in Italie, and Sebastianus Castallo in Germany: And I verily believe there are many thousands who had they knowne or vsuerfood their wants, would either have sent for them, and with large stipends entertained them, or would have conduite them succour, where ever they had bene. The world is not fo generally corrupted, but I know some, that would earnestly wish, and with hearty affection desire, the goods which their forefathers have left them, might, so long as it shall please fortune they may enjoy them, be employed for the reliefe of rare, and supply of excellent mens necessitie, & such as for any kind of worth & vertue are remarkable, many of which are dayly seen to be purifed by ill fortune even to the vnprofit extremity, and that would take such order for them, as had they not their safe and content, it might onelie be imputed to their want of reason or lack of discretion. In this Oeconomicke or houhould order my father had this order, which I can commend, but no way follow: which was, that besides the day-booke of houhould affaires, wherein are registredall least expences, payments, gifts, bargains & tale, that require not a Notaries hand to them, which booke a receiver had the keeping, of he appointed another jourmall-booke to one of his servants, who was his clarke, wherein he should insert & orderly set downe all accidents worthy the noting, & day by day registre the memories of the history of his house: A thing very pleasant to reade, when time began to weare out the remembrance of them, and fit for vs to passe the time withall, and to resolve some doubts: when such a worke was begunne, when ended, what way or course was taken, what accidents hapned, how long it continued; all our voyages, where, and how long we were from home; our marriages, who died, and when: the receiving of good or badde tidings, who came, who went, changing or removing of houhould officers, taking of new, or discharging of old servants, and such-like matters. An ancient custome, and which I would have all men use, and bring into fashion againe in their several homes: and I repent myself, I have so foolishly neglected the same.

The five and thirtieth Chapter.

Of the use of Apparell.

Woeever I layme-at, I must needs force some of customes contradictions, so carefully hath she barred all our entrances. I was dividing in this chil-cold season, whether
The first Booke.

Other the fashion of these late discovered Nations to goe naked, be a custome forced by the hoare temperature of the ayre, as we say of the Indians and Moors, or whether it be an original manner of mankind. Men of vnder standing, forasmuch as whatsoever is contained vnder heaven (as faith the holy Writ) is subject to the same laws, are wont in such-like considerations, where natural laws are to be distinguished from those invented by man, to have recourse to the general policie of the world, where nothing that is counterfeft can be admitted. Now all things being exactly furnished else-where with all necessaries to maintain this being, it is not to bee imagined that wee alone should be produced in a defective and indigent estate, yea, and in such a one, as cannot be maintained without forraine help. My opinion is, that even as all plants, trees, living creatures, and whatsoever hath life, is naturally seene furnished with sufficient furniture to defend it selfe from the injurie of all weathers:

Properedque feri res omnes, ant coris sunt, Ant seta, ant conchis, ant cello, ant corice tecla. Therefore all things almost we cover'd marke, With hide, or hair, or fhelles, or brawne, or baile.

Even so were wee: But as those who by an artificiall light extinguifh the brightness of the day, we have quenched our proper means, by such as we have borrowed. And we may eaily discern, that onlye custome makes that seeme impossible unto vs, which is not so: For, of these Nations that have no knowledge of clothes, theirse are found situated vnder the fame heaven, and climate, or parcell all that we are in, and more colde and sharper then ours. Moreover, the tenderest parts of vs are ever bare and naked, as our eyes, face, mouth, nose, and eares; and our countrie-swains (as our forfathers wont) most of them at this day, goe bare-breasted downe to the navill. Had wee beene borne needing petti-coats and breechess, there is no doubt, but nature would have armed that which thee hast left to the batterie of feaons and fury of wethers with some thicker skinne or hide, as thee hast done our fingers endes, and the foales of our feete. Why seems this hard to be believed? Betweene my fashion of apparel, & that of one of my country-clowns, I finde much more difference between him and mee, then betwixte his fashion, and that of a man who is cloathed but with his bare skinne. How many men (especially in Turkie,) go ever naked for devotions fake? A certain man demanded of one of our loyting rogues, whom in the deep of frosty Winter, hee saw wandering vp and downe with nothing but his shirt about-him, and yet as blithe and lusty as another that keeps himselfe muffled and wrapt in warme furrres vp to the careses how he could have patience to goe so. And have not you, good sir, (anwered he) your face all bare? Imagine I am as face. The Italians reporte (as farre as I remember) of the Duke of Florence his foole, who when his Lord asked him, how beeinge so fitt cladde, hee could endure the colde, which hee hardly was able to doe himselfe: To whom the foole replied: Maffier, sowe but my receipt, and put all the cloathers you have upon you, as I doe all mine, you shall feele no more colde then I doe. King Maffinna, even in his eldest days, were it never so colde, so frostly, so stormy, or soharpe wether, could never be induced, to put somthing on his head, but went alwayes bare-headed. The like is reported of the Emperor Severus. In the battels that passed betweene the Egyptians and the Perisians, Herodotus faith, that both himselfe and divers others tooke speciall notice, that of such as lay slaine on the ground, the Egyptians feele without compassion much harder then the Perisians: by reason that these goe ever with their heads covered with coifs and turbants, and those from their infancy ever hauen and bare-headed. And King Agellus, even in his decrepite age, was ever wont to weare his clothes both Winter and Summer alike. Suetonius affirmeth, that Cæsar did ever march formost before his troops, and most commonly bare-headed, and on foot, whether the famine thonne, or it rained. The like is reported of Hamblet,

--- tum vertex nude. Excipere in coenos imbras, calique ruinam. Bare-headed then he did endure, Heav'n's ruine and madde-raging shouwre. A Venetian that hath long dwelt amongst them, and who is but late returned thence, writeth, that in the Kingdome of Pegu, both men and women, having all other partes clad, goe ever bare-footed, yea, and on horse-back also. And Plato for the better health and pref-
servation of the body doth earnestly persuade, that no man should ever give the feet and the
head other cover, than Nature hath allotted them. He whom the Polonians chose for their
king next to ours, who may worthily be esteemed one of the greatest Princes of our age, doth
never wear gloves, nor what wether foreer it bee, winter or summer, other bonnet abroad
than in the warme house. As I cannot endure to see vnbrowned or vntrussed, so the hus-
bond-men next to the husbandfolk of them, would be, & fett themselves as frett or hand-bound,
with going fo. Carro is of opinion, that when we were appointed to stand bare-headed
before the Gods, or in presence of the Magistrates, it was rather done for our health, and to
emulate and arm-s against the injuries of the wether, than in respect of reverence. And since
we are speaking of clothes, and are Frenchmen, accustomed so strangely to array ourselves
in party-colored futes (not I, because I seldom wear any other then blacke or white, imita-
tion of my father) let us add this one thing more, which Captain Martyn du Bellay relateth in
the voyage of Luxemburg, where hee fayeth to have seene fo hard frosts, that their
mination-wines were faine to be cut and broken with hatchets and wedges, and shared vnto
the Soultiers by weight, which they carried away in baskets; and Ovid.
Nundaque consilium formam servianta te
Vina, nec banja meri, sed data frusta bibunt.
Barre wines, still keeping forme of cask, stand fast,
Nor gulpes, but gobbeets of their vine they raffe.
The frosts are so hard and sharp, as in the emboguing of the Meotis fennes, that in the
very place where Mithridates his Lieutenant had delivered a battle to his enemies, on hard
ground, and drie-footed, and ther defeated them, the next summer, he there obtained an-
other sea-battle against them. The Romanes suffered a great disadvantage in the fight they
had with the Carthaginians near unto Placentia, forsoomuch as they went to their charge
with their blood congealed, and limbs benumbed, through extreme colde: whereas Hon-
niard, had caused many fires to be made through-out his camp, to warme his soldiers by,
and a quantity of oile to be distributed amongst them, that therwith anointing themselves,
they might make their finewes more supple and nimble, and harden their pores against the
bitter blasts of the colde winde, which then blew, and nipping piercing of the aire. The
Gracians retreated from Babylon into their country, is renowned, by reason of the many
difficulties and encumberances they encountered withall, and were to surmount: whereof
this was one, that in the mountains of Armenia, being surprized and encircled with fo hor-
rible, and great quantity of snow, that they lost both the knowledge of the country, and
the ways: wherewith they were so ftraitly befer, that they continued a day and a night
without eating or drinking: and most of their horses and carrell died: of their men a great
number also decafed; many with the girbling and whitennesse of the snow, were stucker
blinde: diverse through the extremity were lamed, and their limbs drunken-vo, many
starke stiff, and frozen with colde, although their fences were yet whole. Alexander saw a
nation, where in winter they bury their fruite-bearing trees vnder the ground, to defend
them from the froit: a thing also vied amongst some of our neighbours. Touching the sub-
ject of apparel: the King of Mexico was wont to change and shiff his clothes foure times
a day, and never wore them againe, employing his leavings and cast-futes for his continu-
all liberalities and rewards: as also neither pot nor dish, nor any implement of his kitchin
or table were twice brought before him.

The six and thirtieth Chapter.

Of Cato the younger.

I am not poketted with this common error, to judge of others according to what I am
my selfe. I am eafe to beleev things differing from my selfe. Though I be engaged to
one forme, I do not tie the world vnto it, as every man doth: And I beleve and conceive a
thousand manners of life, contrary to the common sorte: I more easily admit and receive dif-
ference
verse, then resemblance in vs. I discharge as much as a man will, another being of my condition and principles, and simply consider of it in my selfe, without relation, framing it upon it's owne model. Though my selfe be not continent, yet doe I sincerely commend and allow the continuence of the Capuchines, and Theatines, and highly praise their course of life. I doe, by imagination, intimate my selfe into their place: and by how much more they be other than my selfe, so much the more doe I love and honour them. I would gladly have every man judged aparte, and not be drawn my selfe in consequence by others examples. My weakenesse doth no way alter the opinions I shoulde have of the force and vigor of thofe that deserve it. Sumt. qui nihil student, quim quod e immarsi poiffe confidint. There bee such as adoe to nothing, but what they trust themselves can imitate. Crawling on the face of the earth, I cease not to make, even into the clowdes, the inimitable height of some heroick minds. It is much for me to have a formall and prescript judgement, if the effectes be not so, and at least to maintaine this chiesfe part exempted from corruption. It is something to have a good minde, when my forces fail me. The age we live in (at least our climate) is so dull and leaden, that not onely the execution, but the very imagination of vertue is faire to fecke, and seemes to be no other thing than a College-supposition, and a gibbish-words.

—vtriuem verba putant,vs

Lucum bona:

Vertue seemes nought to these,
As trees are wood,or woods are trees.

Quam vereri debentur, etiam se percipere non potest. Which yet they should reverence, though they could not reach unto. It is an earre-ring or pendent to hang in a cabinet, or at the tongues end, as well as at an earre for an ornament. There are no more vertuous actions knowne; thofe that beeare a thou of vertue, have no essence of it: for profit, glorie, custome, feare, and other like strange caufes direct vs to produce them. Justice, valoure, integritie, which we then exercife, may by others confideration, and by the countenance they publikely beeare, determined so: but with the true worke-man, it is no vertue at all. There is another end propos'd; another efficient cause. Vertue alloweth of nothing, but what is done by him, and for his alone. In that great battell which the Grecians vnder Tiniums gained of Mardianvs and the Persians, the visitors following their custome, comming to share the glorie and prife of the victory betweene them, ascribed the pre-excellencie of valors in that conflict to the Spar-tan nation. The Spartanes imparciall judges of vertue, when they came to decide, to what particular man of their country, the honour to have done best in that daie, shoulde of right belong; they found that Arieledemus had most courageously engaged and hazarded himselfe: Yet gave him not the prife or honour of it, because his vertue had beene thereunto incited, by an earnest desire to purge himselfe from the reproach and infamous, wherein he had incurred in the action of the Thermopiles, and from an all-daring ambition to die courageously, thereby to warrant his former imputation. Our judgements are yet fickle, and follow the depravation of our customes. I see the greatest parte of our spirtites to affect wit, and to shew themselves ingenious, by obfuscating and detrafting from the glorie of famous and generall ancient actions, giving them some base and malicious interpretation, fondly and enviously charging them with vaine caufes, and frivolous occasions. A subtill invention no doubt. Let any man present me, with the most excellent and blame-lesse action, and I will oppose it with fitter vicious and bad intentions, all which shal carie a face of likely-hooide. God knowes (to him that will extend them) what d vertifie of images our internall will doth suffer: They doe not so maliciously as grofely and rudely endevoure to be ingenious with all their railing and detraftion. The fame paine a man taketh to detraft from these noble and famous names, and the very same libertie, would I as willingly take to lend them my shou- ders to extoll and magnifie them. I would endevoure to charge these rare and choysie-figures, selected by the consent of wise men, for the worldes example, as much, and as high, as my invention would give me leave with honour, in a plauflible interpretation, and favourable circumfance. And a man must thinke, that the diligent labours of our invention, are farre beyond their merit. It is the parte of honest-minded men to pourtray vertue, as faire as possible faire may-be. A thing which would no whit be mis-seeming or vndecent, if passion should transporte-vs to the favour and purfuite of so faire vertues, what thefe doe contrarie, they either doe-it through malice or knavetie, with purpoe to reduce and fute their belief to their
The first Booke.

their capacitie, whereof I lately spake: or rather as I thinkke, because their sight is not of sufficient power or clearenes, or addressed to conceive or apprehend the faire-shining brightness of vertue in her natural and genuine purrue: As Plutarche faith, in that his time, some imputed the cause of Cato the yongers death to the faire he had conceived of Cæsar: whereat he hath some reason to bee moved: by which a man may judge, how much more he would have beene offended with those that have ascribed the same vnto ambition. Oh foolish people! He would no doubt have performed a faire action, so generous and so just, rather with ignominy, then for glory. This man was truly a patterne, whom nature chose to shew how faire humane vertue may reach, and mans confiance attaine vnto. But my purpose is not here to treat this rich argument: I will onely confront together the sayings of five Latin Poets vpon Cæsars commendations, and for the current of Cato, and by incidencie for theirs also. Now ough a gentleman well-bred, in respect of others, finde the two former somewhat languishing. The third more vigorous, but suppressed by the extravagance of force. He will judge there were yet place for one or two degrees of invention, to reach vnto the fourth, in consideration of which he will through admiration ofyne hands. For the last (yet first in some degree and space, but which space he will sweare, can by no humane spirit be filled vp) he will be much amazed, he will be much amazed. Loe here are wonders, we have more Poets then judges and interpreters of Poesie. It is an easier matter to frame it, then to knowe it: Being base and humble, it may be judged by the precepts and art of it: But the good and loftie, the supreme & divine, is beyond rules, and aboe reason. Who euer discerneth his beauty, with a constant, quicke-seeing, and feeld eye, he can no more see and comprehend the same then the splendor of a lightning flash. It hath no communie with our judgement; but rancaketh and ravineth the same. The furie which prickes and moves him that can penetrate his, doth also strike and wound a third man, if he heare it either handled or recited. As the Adamant stone drawes, not onely a needle, but infuseth some of his facultie in the same to drawe others: And it is more apparantly seene in theaters, that the fiercest inspiration of the Muses, having first flirred vp the Poet with a kind of agitation vnto choler, vnto griefe, vnto hatred, yea and beyond himselfe, whether and howsoever they please, doth also by the Poet strike and enter into the Actor, and consecutively by the Actor, a whole auditorie or multitude. It is the ligament of our fences depending one of another. Even from my infancia, Poesie hath had the vertue to tranpierce and transport me. But that lively and feeling-moving that is naturally in me, hath diversely beene handled, by the diversitie of forms, not so much higher or lower (for they were ever the highest in every kind) as different in colour. First a blithie and ingenious fluiditate, then a quaint-wittie, and loftie conceit. To conclude, a ripe and constant force. Ovid, Lucane, and Virgil, will better declare it. But here our Gallants are in their full cariere.

Su Cato dim sum vini sani vel Cæsare maior.
Let Cato iunior, while he doth live, greater then Cæsar be.

Saith one.

--- CæsaresdemortemdeviillamorteCatonetem,
Cato vnconquered, death being vanquished.

Saith another: And the third speaking of the civil waeres betweene Cæsar and Pompey,
Vitrix camfagiis placat sed viuë Catoni.
The cause that overcame with Gods was greater;
But the cause our course pleased Cato better.

And the fourth vpon Cæsars commendations:
Et cum la terrarum subdicta,
Prater atrocer animen Catonis.
Of all the earth all partes inthralled,
Cæsar mind onely vnnapalled.

And the fames-maister, after he hath enstalled the names of the greatest Romans in his picture, endeth thus:

--- his demum inre Catenem.
Chief justice Cato doe decree
Laws that for righteous soules should be.
The seuen and thirtieth Chapter.

How we wepe and laugh at one selfe-same thing.

When we read in Histories, that Antigonus was highly displeased with his sonne, at what time he presented the head of King Pericles his enemy vnto him, whom he at that instant had slaine in single combat; which he no sooner saw, but he burst forth a weeping. And that Renate Duke of Loraine, wept for the death of Charles Duke of Burgundy, whom he had effonnes discomfited, and was as an affilant mourner at his funerailles: And that in the battle of Aurey (which the Earl of Montfort had gained against the faction of Charles de Blois, for the Dutchie of Britaine) the victorious conqueror met with the bodie of his enemy decafeed, mourned very grievously for him; a man must not sodainly exclaime.

 Ecce autem, che l'animó ciascuna
Suá passione fato contrario manto
Ricopre, con la visita hor chiara, hor bruna.
So happens it, the minde covers each passion
Vnder a cloak of colours opposite,
To sight now cleare, now darke, in divers fashion.

When Cesar was presented with Pompeys head, Histories report that he turnd his looke a side, as from a ghastly and vnpleasing spectacle. There had bene so long a correspondence and societie in the managing of publike affaires, mutually betweene them, such a communitie of fortunes, so many reciprocal offices and bondes of alliance, that a man cannot thinke his countenance to have beene forced, false, and wisely, as this other supposeth.

— susimque putavit
Jam bonus esse fiorc, lacrymas non fponse cadentes
Effudit geminisque expreffit pellore lato.
Now to be kinde indede he did not doubt
Father in lawe, teares, which came hardly out
He shed, and grones expreft
From inward-pleased breft.

For certainly, howbeit the greatest number of our actions be but masked and painted over with dissimulation, and that it may sometimes be true,

Heradis fletos sub persona vifus eft.
The weeping of an heire is laughing vnder a visard or disguise.

Yet must a man consider, by judging of his accidents, how our minde are often agitated by divers passions; for (as they say) there is a certaine assembly of divers humors in our bodies, whereof the is soveraigne mistress, who most ordinarily, according to our complexion doth command vs: so in our minde, although it containe severall motions that agitate the saime, yet must one chiefly be predominant. But it is not with so full an advantage, but for the volubilitie and supplenes of our minde, the weakest may by occasion reobtain the place againe, and when their turne commeth, make a new change, whence we see, not onely children, who simply and naturally follow nature, often to wepe and laugh at one selfe-same thing; but none of vs all can vaunt himselfe, what witheld-for, or pleasant voyage foever he undertake, but that taking leave of his familie and friends, he shall feel a chilling and panting of the heart: and if he shed not teares, at least he put his foote in the flatter with a sad and heavie cheere. And what gentle flame foever doth warme the heart of yong virgins, yet are they hardly drawne to leave and forgoe their mothers, to betake them to their husbands: what soever this good fellow say:

Si ne nobis nuptis odio Venus, inene parentum
Prostrantes falsis gaudia lacrymata,
Vlvertim thalami quis intra limina fundat?
Non, jam me devi, vera gement, inveristi.

Do
Doyong Brides hate indefiately Venus toys,
Or with false tears delude their parents joyes,
Which in their chambers they powre out amaine?
So help me God, they do not true complaine.

So is it not strange to mourne for him dead, whom a man would by no means have alive againe. When I chide my boy, I doe it with the bест heart I have: They are true and not fained imprecaotions: but that past over, let him have neede of me, I will gladly doe him all the good I can: and by and by I turne over another leafe. If I chance to call one knave or affe, my purpose is not, for ever to encoffe him with those nick-names; nor doe I thinke to say, tongue thou leeff, immediately after I call him an honest man. No qualitie doth embrace vs purely and universally. If it were not the countenance of a foole to speake alone, or to himselfe, there would scarce be day, or houre, wherein some body should not heare me mutter and grumble to my selfe, and against my selfe. A ( ) in the foole's teeth, yet do not I thinke it to be my definition. He that feareth me sometimes to call a frowning looke upon my wife, or sometimes a looking countenance, and thinks, that either of them is but fained, he is a foole. 

Nero taking leave of his mother, whom he sent to be drowned, felt notwithstanding the emotion that motherly farewell, and at one instant was strucken with horror and pitie. It is saied, that the Sunnes-light is not of one continued piece, but that it vacancyly, and without intermission doth call to thicke new raiues, one in the necke of another upon vs, that we cannot perceive the space between them.

Largus enim liquidos fons luminis atberint sol
Jugat affinque calum candore recenti,
Suppedatique novo confetum lumine lumen.

Heavns furnce the plenteous spring of liquid light
Still heav'n bedewes with splendor fresh and bright,
Still light supplies with light of fresher light.

So doth oure minde call his points diversly and imperceptibly. Artabamus surprized Xerxes his nephew, and chid him for the sodaine changing of his countenance. He was to consider the vnmeasurable greatness of his forces at the passaige of Helle, for the enterprise of Greece. First he was sodainly assailed by an exceeffive joy, to see so many thousands of men at his service, and witnessed the fame by the alacrity and cheerefulness of his countenance: And immediately at that very moment, his thoughts suggesting, how so many lives were to be consumed, and should come to nothing (at the further, within one age) he gaue to frowne his bровue, and grew so penfive, that he wept. We have with a resolute and inexorable mind purfied the revenge of an injure, and felt a singular content for the victorie; yet upon better advice doe we weepe: it is not that we weepe-for: the thing is, as it was, there is nothing changed: But that our minde beholde the thing with another eye, and under another shape it pretends its felfe unto vs. For every thing hath divers faces, and dittrie by dittes, and severall lustres. Alliance, kinred, olde acquaintances, and long friendship feize on our imaginacon, and at that instant, passionate the fame according to their qualitie; but the turne or change of it, is so violent, that it escapes vs.

And therefore, intending to continue one body of all this purfuite, we receive our selves. When Timoleon weepeth the mother he hath perpetrated with so mature and generous a determination, he weepe not the liberty reftored to his country, nor the Tyrant, but hee weepe for his brother. One part of his duerie is acted, let vs permit him to play the other.
The eight and thirtieth Chapter.

Of Solitariness.

Let vs leave aparte this out-worne comparison, betwene a solitarie and an active life: And touching that goodly saying, vnder which ambition and avarice throwd themselves, that we are not borne for our particular, but for the publike good: Let vs boldly refere our selves to those that are engaged; and let them beare their charge, if on the contrary, the states, the charges, and the traff of the world, are not rather fought and sued-for to draw a private commodite from the publike. The bad and indirect means where-through in our age men can safe and toyle to attaine the fame, doe manifeftely declare the end thereof to be of no great conuenience. Let vs anfwere ambition, that her selfe gives vs the taste of solitariness. For, what doth the thumme so much as company? What seeketh free more then elbow-rooms? There is no place, but there are meanes and ways to doe well or ill: Nevertheless, if the saying of Bias be true; That the worst parte is the greatest: Or that which Ecclesiastes faith, That of a thousand there is not one good.

1 Sam. 15. 26

Rari quippe boni numero visim tota, quos
Thebarum porte, vel divitis ofius Nis:
Good men are rare, so many fear: (I fear)
As gates of Thebes, mouths of rich Nisus were.

Contagion is very dangerous in a throng. A man must imitate the vicious, or hate them: Both are dangerous: For to re semble them is perilous, because they are many, and to hate many is hazardous, because they are dissemblable. And Marchants that travelled by sea, have reason to take heed, that those which go in the same ship, be not dissolute, blashphemers, and wicked, judging such companie unfortunate. Therefore bias said pleasantly to those, that together with him pass'd the danger of a great storme, & called to the Gods for help: Peace my masters, lest they should hear, that you are here with me. And of a more militarie example, Albuquerque Viceroy in India for Emannell King of Portugal, in an extreme danger of a tempest, took a young boy upon his shoulders, for this onely end, that in the common peril his innocencie might be his warrant, and recommending to Gods favour, to set him on shore. Yet may a wise man live every where contented, yea and alone, in the throng of a Palace: But if he may chuse, he will (faith he) Aryste the sight of it. If neede require, he will endure the first: But if he may have his choyse, he will chuse the latter. He thinkes he hath not sufficiently rid him selfe from vices, if he must also contet with other mens faults. Charondas punished thofe for wicked, that were convicted to have frequented lewd companies. There is nothing to dis-fociable, and fociable as man: the one for his vices, the other for his nature. And I think Antifhenes did not satisfy him, that upbraided him with his conversation with the wicked, saying, That Physitians live amongst the sick. Who if they fleede sicke-mens healths, they empare their owne, by the infection, continuall visiting, touching and frequenting of diseases. Now (as I suppose) the end is both one, thereby to live more at leisure, and better at ease. But man doth not always secke the best way to come vnto it, who often supposeth to have quit aires, when he hath but changed them. There is not much lesse vexation in the government of a private familie, then in the managing of an entire state: Wherever the mind is buffet, there it is al. And though domestical occupations be lesse important, they are as importunate. Moreover, though we have freed our selves from the court, and from the market, we are not free from the principall torments of our life.

Mor. li. cap. 35.

ratio & prudensia curas,
Non locus effusitate maris arbiter ansert.
Reason and wisedome may set cares aside,
Not place the Arbiter of seas so wide.

Shift we, or change we places never so often, ambition, avarice, irresolution, fear, and concupiscences never leave vs.
The first Booke.

Et post equestem sedet atra cura.
Care looking grim and blacke, doth sit
Behind his backe that rides from it.

They often follow vs, even into immured cloysters, and into Schooles of Philosophie; nor
doe hollow rocks, nor wearing of haire-thirts, nor continual fallings rid vs from them.

but with Stilpon. Heret lato, lethites armis.
The shaft that death implode
Sticks by the flying side.

It was told Socrates, that one was no whit amended by his travell: I believe it well (saide he) for he carried himselfe with him.

Quid terras altera calcantes
Sole mutamiss? patria quis exul
Se quaque fugit?

Why change we soyles warm'd with another Sunne,
Who from home baniish hath himselfe out-runne?

If a man do not first discharge both himselfe and his minde from the burthen that pres-
feth her, removing from place to place will strive and preffe her the more, as in a ship, wares
well flowed, and closely piled, take vp least room, you doe a sickke-man more hurt then
good, to make him change place, you settle an evil in removing the same; as stakes or
poles, the more they are tripped and shaken, the fatter they flike, and sinke deeper into the
ground. Therefore is it not enough, for a man to have quested himselfe from the con-
course of people: it is not sufficient to shift place, a man must also sever him-selfe from
the popular conditions, that are in vs. A man must sequester and recover himselfe from
himself.

--- rapi iam vincula, dicas,
Nam in catis cunctis nodum arrisit, attamen illa
Cittis fugis, a collo trabantur pares longa catena.
You will say haply I my bonds have quit,
Why fo the thriving dog the knot hath bit;
Yet when he flies, much chaine doth follow it.

We carry our fetters with vs: it is not an absolute libertie; we still cant backe our lookes to-
wards that we have left behinde: our minde doth still runne on it; our fasie is full of it.

--- nisi purgatum est pelitus, que praelia nobis
Atque pericula tunc ingratissimum erunt?
Quanta concidunt hominum cupiditas acres
Solutus cura, quantique perinde imores?
Quidve superbus, sparcitiae, ac petulantiae, quantas
Efficiunt clades, quid luxus defideique?

Vnlesse our breath be purged, what wares must wee,
What perills then, though much displeased, fee?
How great feares, how great cares of Sharpe defiere
Doe carefull man disstraet, torment, enfire?
Vndeannecesse, wanconnesse, slouth, riot, pride,
How great calamities have chefe implide?

Our evil is rooted in our minde: and it cannot escape from it-selfe.

In culpa est animus, quidse non efficit unquam,
The minde in greatest fault must lie,
Which from it selfe can never flie.

Therefore must-it be reduced and brought into it selfe: It is the true solitariness, and
which may be enjoyed even in the frequence of peopled Citties, and Kinges courtes: but it
is more commodiously enjoyed aparte. Now if this weue vnder-take to live solitarie, and
without company, let vs cause our contentment to depend from our selves: let vs shake off
all bondes, that tie vs vnto others: Gaine we that victorie over vs, that in good earnest
we may live solitarie, and therein live at our ease. Stilpon having escaped the combustion of
his Cittie, wherein he had loft, both wife, and children, and all his goods; Demetrius Poliorce-
etes seeing him in so great a ruine of his Country, with an vn-affrighted countenance, de-

Hor. l:3. ed. 16. 10.
Vir. Enl. 1:4. 73.
Pers. Sat. 5: 158.
Lurib. 5. 44.

--- therefore}

--- manu-
maund of him, whether he had received ane losse; he answered, No, and that (thanks given to God) he had lost nothing of his own. It is that, which Anisthenes the Philosopher said very pleasantly: That man ought to provide himselfe with munitions, that might float upon the water, and by swimming escape the danger of shipwacke with him. Verily, a man of understanding hath lost nothing if he yet have himselfe. When the Cittie of Noctis was over-run by the Barbarians, Paulinus Bishop thereof having lost all he had there, and being their prisoner, prayed thus unto God: O Lord deliver me from seeing of this losse: for thou knowest as yet they have touched nothing that is mine. The riches that made him rich, and the goods which made him good, were yet absolutely whole. Behold what it is to chufe treasures well, that may be freed from injuries, and to hide them in a place, where no man may enter, and which cannot bee betrayed but by our selues. A man that is able, may have wives, children, goods, and chiefly health, but not so tie himselfe vnto them, that his felicetie depend on them. Wee should reserve a store-house for our selues, what neede for ever chance; altogether ours, and wholly free, wherein we may hoarde vp, and establishe our true libertie, and principal retrete and solitaries, wherein wee must alone to our selues, take our ordinary entertainement, and fo private, that no acquaintance or communication of any strange thing may therein find place: there to discourse, to meditate and laugh, as, without wife, without children, and goods, without trouble, or care, that if by any occasion they be lost, it seeme not strange to vs to passe it overswe have a mind moving and turning in itselfe: it may keepe it selfe companie, sit where to offend and defend, wherewith to receive, and wherewith to give. Let vs not feare that we shal faint and droop through tedious and mind-tyring idlenes in this solitarineffe.

In solis si sitibus terrae locis,
Be thou, when with thee is not any,
As good unto thy selfe as manie.

Virtue is contented with it selfe, without discipline, without words, & without effects: In our accustomed actions, of a thousand there is not one found that regards vs, whom thou feest so furiously, & as it were besides himselfe, to clamber or crawle vp the citie walls, or breach, as a point-blank to a whole volce of shot, & another all wounded & scarred, crazed and faint, & wel-nie hunger-returned, resolved rather to die, then to open his enemy the gate, and give him entrance, dooth thou think he is there for himselfe? No verifie, It is peradventure for such a one, whom neither hee, nor so many of his fellows ever saw, and who hapy takes no care at all for them, but is there-whilel wallowing vp to the cares in sensuality, sloth, and all manner of carnall delights. This man, whom about mid-night, when others take their rest, thou feest come out of his studie meagre-looking, with eyes-trilling, fqualide, and fpualing, doost thou thinke, that plodding on his booke he doth seek how he shall become an homelss man; or more wife, or more content? There is no such matter. Hee will either die in his purpuse, or teach poffibility the meare of Plautus verses, and the true Orthography of a Latin words. Who doth not willinglie choppe and counterchange his health, his cafe, yea, and his life for glory, and for reputation? The most unprofitable, vaine, and counter-fet coineth, that is in view with vs. Our death is not sufficient to make vs afraide, let vs also charge our selues with that of our wives, of our children, and of our friends, and people. Our owne aires does not sufficiently trouble and vex vs. Let vs also drudge, toile, vex, and torment our selues with our neighbours and friends matters.

Tert. Adel. 9.5

Vab quemquis honinem in minimis instituere neut
Parare, quid sit charitas, quam ipse est fals?
Tie, that a man should cast, that aught, then hee,
Himselfe of himselfe more below should bee.

Solitarianesse mee feemeth hath more appearance and reason in those which have given their most active and flourishing age vnto the world, in imitation of Thales. We have lived long enough for others: live we the remained of our life vnto our selues: let vs bring home our cogitations and intentions vnto our selues, and vnto our cafe. It is no easie matter to make a faste retrete: it dooth over-much trouble vs with joyning other enterpises vnto it. Since God gives vs leasure to dispole of our dislodging. Let vs prepare our selues vnto it, packe wee vp our baggage. Let vs betimes bid our companie farewell. Shalke wee off these violent hold-faits, which els where engage vs, and effrange vs from our selues. These fo strong bonds must be vntied, and a man may easilie love this or that, but wedde nothing but
but himselfe. That is to say, let the rest be our owne: yet not so combined and glued together, that it may not be funderd, without detaching versus, and with all, pull away some piece of our owne. The greatest thing of the world, is for a man to know how to be his owne. It is his high time to shake off societie, since we can bring nothing to it. And he that can not lend, let him take heed of borrowing. Our forces yeale versus: retire we them, and shut them vp into our selves. He that can suppress and confound in himselfe the offices of so many aminities, and of the company, let him doe it. In this fall, which makes vs, intule, erksome, and importunate to others; let him take heed he be not importunate, intule, and vpnotable to himselfe. Let him flutter, court and cherish himselfe, and above all, let him governe himselfe, respecting his reason, and fearing his confidence, so that he may not without shame stumble or trip in their presence. For us to be taken, vs. satiis quequis, vererat. For it is a rare matter, that every man sufficiently should stand in awe reverence of himselfe. Socrates saith, that young men ought to be instructed, and men exercised in well-doing; and old men withdraw themselves from all civil and military negociations, living at their owne discretion, without obligation to any certaine office. There are some complexions, more proper for these precepts of retirite than others. Those which have a tender and dimmed apprehension, a question with affection, a delicate will, and which can not easily subiect or employ it selve (of which both by natural condition and propenye difcourse, I am one) will better apply themselves into this counself, then active minds, and buife spirits; which embrace every, where every engage, and in all things passionate themselves; that offer, that present, and yeald themselves to all occasions. A man must make vfe of all these accidental commodities, and which are without vs, so long as they be pleasing to vs: but not make them our principal foundation: It is not so, nor reason nor nature permit it. Why should we against their lawes subiect our contentment to the power of others? Moreover, to anticipate the accidents of fortune; for a man to deprive himselfe of the commodities he hath in possession, as many have done for devotion, and some Philosophers by discouer; to serve themselves, to lie upon the hard ground, to pull out their owne eyes, to cast their riches into the sea, to feeke for paine and want (some by tormenting this life, for the happinesse of another) others for me placing themselves on the lowest step, thereby to warrant themselves from a new fall is the action of an excessive vice. Let lerner and more vigorous complexions make their lurking glorious and exemplar.

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Mulieb. libri, 15. 42.

There is worke enough for me to doe without going to farre. It sufficeth me ynder fortunes favour, to prepare my selfe for her disfavour, and being at ease, as fare as imagination may attaine vnto, to come vnto my selfe: Even as wee enuie our selves to tilts and tourneys, and counterfeit warre in time of peace. I relieve not Arcadia the Philosopher lefle reformed, because I know him to have vsed household implementations of gold and silver, according as the condition of his fortune gave him leave, I rather value him the more, then if he had not done it, forsoomuch as hee both moderately and liberally mad, vfe of them. I know vnto what limits natural necessity goeth; and I consider the poor almes-man begging at my doore, to be often more plumb cheekt, in better health and liking then I am: Then doe I enter into his eftate, and affay to frame and fute my mind vnto his byfaye. And so over-running other examples, albeit I imagine death, povetie, contempt, and fickensus to bee at my heels, I easily resolve my selfe, not to apprehend any feare of that, which one of lefle worth then my selfe doth tolerate and undergo with such patience: And I can not beleive, that the basenese or shalownese of ynderlanding, can doe more then vigor and fare-seeing, or that the effects and reason of discretion, cannot reach to the effects of customs and vice. And knowing what flender hold-fait there accep-
some commodities have, I omit not in full joyfull of them, humbly to beseech God of his mercie (as a loveraigne requel) to make me contented with my felle, and with the goods proceeding from me. I fee some gallantly disposed yong men, who notwithstanding their faire-seeming thew, have many boxes full of pills in their coffers at home, to take when the rheume shall affale them; which so much the leffe they feare, when they thinke the remedy to be at hand. So much a man doe: as also if he feele himselfe subject to some greater infa-mite, to store himselfe with medicaments that may allwayse, Supply, and suppie the parte grieved. The occupation a man should chuse for such a life, must neither be painfull nor tedious, otherwise, in vaine should we attempt to have fought our abiding there, which depends from the particular taste of every man. Mine doth no way accommodate it selfe to husbandry. I hope that love it, must with moderation apply themselves vnto it.

Epif. 1.19.

Comenur fibile, non fe submissete rebus,
Endeavour they things to them to submit
Not them to things (if they have Horace wir)

Husbandry is otherwife a servile office, as Salust termeth it: It hath more excurable parts, as the care of gardening, which Xenophon ascribeth to Cyrus: A meane or mediocre may be found, betwixt this base and vile carking care, extended and full of toiling labor, which we see in men that wholly plunge themselves therein, and that profound and extreme rest-leffe to let all things goe at six and seaven, which is seene in others.

Epif. 12.12.

Democriti pector edit apellas
Cunctaque, dam peregris est animus fine corpore velax.
Cattle deflroyde Democritus-his fets,
While his minde bodiliffe vagaries fets.

But let-vs heare the counsell, which Plutie the youngre giveth to his friend Cornelius Rufus, touching this point of Solitarinesse: I peruse thee in this full-gorged and fat retrite, where-in thou art, to remit this base and obseile care of husbands re thoy servants, and give thy selfe to the studie of letters, whence thou must gather something, that may altogether be thine owne. He meaneth reputation-like vnto Cicerons humor, who faith, That he will employ his solitarinesse and residence from publice affaires, to purchase unto himeselfe by his writings an immortal life.

Per. 117.

Seire tuum nullum, nisi te seire hoc scias alter?
Is it then nothing-worth: that thou dost know,
Vnlesse what thou dost know, thou others show.

It seemeth to be reason, when a man speakest to withdraw himselfe from the world, that one should looke beyond him. Thefe doe it-but by halves. Indeede they set their march against the time they shalt be no more: but pretend to reap the fruit of their desigines, when they shallbe absent from the world, by a ridiculous contradiction. The imagination of those, who through devotion seke solitarinesse, filling their minds with the certaintie of heavenly promisses, in the other life, is much more soundly conforted. They propose God as an object infinite in goodnesse, and incomprehensible in power, vnto themselves. The foule hath therein, in all free libertie, wherewith to glut her-selfe. Afflictions and sorrowes, redound to their profite, being employed for the purchace and attaining of health and eternal gladnesse. Death, according to ones with, is a pasage to fop prefect an eftate. The sharpnesse of their rules, is presently made smoothe and easie by cottle; and carnall con-cupiscences, rejected, abated, and fullled alleepe by refusing them for nothing entertaineth them but vse and exercise. This onely end of another life, blessedly immortal, doth rightly me-rite we should abandon the pleasures and commoditie of this our life. And he that can enlighten his foule with the flame of a liveful faith and hope, readily and confantly, in his solitarinesse, doth build vnto himeselfe a voluptuous and delicious life, farre surmounting all other ones. Therefore doth neither the end nor middle of this counsell please me. We are even falling into a relaps, from an ague to a burning feaver. This plodding occupation of booke, is as painfull as any other, and as great an enemie vnto health, which ought principally to be considerd. And a man should not suffer himeselfe to be enveigled by the pleasures he takes in them: It is the same pleasure, that looseth the thriving husband-man, the greedy covetous, the finning-voluptuous, and the puff-vp-ambitious. The wifeft men teach vs sufficiently to beware and shield- vs from the treasons of our appetites, and to determine true and perfect pleasures, from delights.
The first Booke.

delights, blended and entemmingled with more paine. For, most pleasures, (by they) tickle, fawne upon, and embrace vs, with purpose to strangle vs, as did the theever whom the Egyptians term'd Phisias: And if the head-ach would seize upon vs before drunkenesse, we would then beware of too much drinking: but fentiment the better to entrap vs, mar- cheth before, and hideth her tracke from vs. Bookes are delightfull; but if by continual frequenting them, we in the end loose both health and cheerfullnesse (our best parts) let vs leave them. I am one of those who thinke their fruites can no way countervaile this loffe. As men that have long time felt themselves enfeebled through some indisposition, doe in the end yeeld to the merrie of physick, and by arte have certaine rules of life preferred them, which they will not transgress: So he that withdrawes himselfe, as distafted and over-tired with the common life, ought likewise to frame and prescribe this vnto the rules of reaon; direct and range the same by premeditation, and discouer. He must bid all maner of travell farewell, what shew foever it beare; and in general shumneall passions that any way empeche the tranquility of minde and body, and follow the course best agreeing with his humour.

Vnuguique sua novuris ira visa.

His own way every man
Tread out directly can.

A man must give to thriving husbandrie, to laborious studie, to toylesome hunting, and to every other exercise, the utmost bounds of pleasure: and beware he engage himselfe no further, if one paine begin to entermend it selfe with it, we should reserve busines and nego- tiations, only for so much as is behoofeful to keepe vs in breath, and to warrant vs from the inconveniences which the other extremitie of a bafe, faint-hearted idlenes draws after it. There are certaine barren and thornie sciences, which for the most part are forged for the multitude: they should be left for those, who are for the service of the world. As for my selfe, I love no bookes, but such as are pleasant, and saie, and which tickle me, or such as comfort and counsell me, to direct my life and death.

— tacium silvas inter repatae falsubes
Carum contigit dignum sapienti bonique est.
Silently creeping midst the wholesome wood
With care what's for a wife-man and a good.

The wiser sorte of men, having a strong and vigorous minde may frame vnto themselves an altogether spiritual life. But mine being but common, I must help to vpholde my selfe by corporall commodities: And age having efficions dispoiled me of those that were most fitable to my fantastie. I instruct and sharpen my appetite to those remaining, most fortale this other seision. We must tooth-and-nail retaine the use of this lives pleasures, which our yeares snatch from vs, one after another:

Carpus mulierum, postremum est,
Quod erat, omnes & manes & fabulae. 
Plucke we sweete pleasures: we thy life give thee.
Thou shalt a tale, a ghost, and ashes be.

Now concerning the end of glorie, which Plutie, and Cicero propoese vnto vs, it is farre from my discouer: The most opposit humor to solitarie retiring, is ambition. Glory and reft,
aretwood, that cannot signet in one fambe formas: as farre as I see, these have sought but their arms and legges out of the thron, their minde and intent is further and more engaged in them than ever it was.

Tum vetula auricles alienis collegis escas?
Gatherst thou doatard at these yeares,
Fresh bates, fine foode, for others cares?

They have gone-baccke that they might leape the better, and with a stronger motion make a nimble offer amidst the multitude. Will you see how they shooe-shoet by a cornes breadth? let vs but counterpoise the advise of two Philosophers, and of two most different saets: The one writing to Laomenus, the other to Lucilius their friends, to divert them from the managing of affaires and greatness vs a solitarie kinde of life. Thou hast (say they) lived hither to swimming and floating adrift, come and die in the haven; you have given the past of your life vnto light, give the remainder vnto darkenes. It is impossible to give over occupations, if you do

not
not also give over the fruits of them: Therefore cleare your selfe from all care and glorie. There is great danger, lest the glittering of your past actions should ever much dazzle you, and follow you even to your deme. Together with other concepces, shake off that which commeth from the approbation of others. And touching your knowledge and sufficiency, take you no care of them, they will lose no what of their effect; if your selfe be nothing the better for them. Remem-ber but him, who being demanded, to what purpose he bestowed so much about an Art, which could by no means come to the knowledge of many: Few are ever for mee: one will suffice, yeallese than one will content me, anwetered he. He said true: you and another are a sufficient theatre one for another; or you to your selfe alone. Let the people be one unto you, and one be all the people to your selfe: It is a base ambition to goe about to draw glorie from ones idlenes, and from ones lurking-hole. A man must doe as some wilde beasts, which at the entrance of their caves, will have no manner of footing scene. You must no longer seeke what the world faiceth of you, but how you must speake vnto your selfe: withdraw your selfe into your selfe; but first prepare your selfe to receive your selfe: it were folly to trust to your selfe, if you cannot governe your selfe. A man may as well faile in solitaires, as in company, there are waies for it, untill such time as you have framed your selfe such, that you dare not halte before your selfe, & that you shall be ashamed of, and bear a kind of respect vnto your selfe, Observerntur species bonitatis animo: Let honest Ideas still represent themselves before your minde: Ever present Cato, Phocion, and Aristides vnto your imagination, in whose presence even fools would hide their faults, and establish them as contoulers of all your intentions. If they be disordered and untuned, their reverence will order and tune them againe: they will contain you in a way, to be contented with your selfe; to borrow nothing but from your selfe, to settle and hy your minde in assured and limited cogitations, wherein it may best please it selfe, and having gotten knowledge of true felicities, which according to the measure a man understands them, he shall accordingly enjoy, and with them rest satisfied, without wishing a further continuance, either of life or name. Lo! here the counsel of true: pure and purely true philosophie, not of a vaine-glorious, boastling, and prating philosophie, as is that of the two first.

The nine and thirtieth Chapter.

A consideration upon Cicero.

One word more in comparison of these two. There are gathered out of Ciceroes writings and from Plutarches (in mine opinion little agreeing with his vnkle) infinit testimonies of a nature beyond measure ambitious. Amongst others, that they openly sollicite the historians of their times, not to forget them in their writings: and fortune, as it were in spight, hath made the vanitie of their request to continue even to our daies, and long since the histories were lost. But this exceedeth all hearts-bafenes in persons of that stamp, to have gone about to draw some principal glorie from prating and speaking, even to employ their private epistles written to their friends: in such sort, as some miffle the oppertunite to be sent, they notwithstanding cause them to be published, with this worthy excuse, that they would not lose their travell and lugubrations. Is it not a seemely thing in two Romanes Consuls, chiefest magistrates of the common-wealth, Empresse of the world, to spend their time in witty devising, and closly hudding vp of a quaint mislive or wittie epistle, thereby to attain the reputation, that they perfectly understand their mother-tongue? What could a feele schoolmaster, who gets his living by such trash, doe worke? If the acts of Xenophon or of Cesar had not by much exceeded their eloquence, I cannot beleue, they would ever have written them. They have endeavored to recommend vnto posteritie, not their sayings, but their doings. And if the perfection of well-speakings might bring any glorie usable vnto a great perfonage, Scipio and Lelius would never have resigned the honor of their Comedies, and the elegancies, and smooth-sportfull conceits of the Latin tongue, vnto an Africke servante: For, to prove this labor to be theirs, the exquisit eloquence, and excellent invention thereof doth
The first Booke.

dothe sufficiently declare it: and Terence himself doth avouch it: and I could hardly be removed from this opinion. It is a kind of mockery and injustice, to raise a man to worth, by
qualities mis-understanding his place, and unfitting his calling, although for some other respects praise-worthy; and also by qualities that ought not to be his principal object. As he that would commend a King to be an cunning painter, or a skillfull architect, or an excellent harp-whistler, or a never-missing runner at the Ring. These commendations acquire a man no honour, if they be not prefixed altogether with those that are proper and convenient vnto him, that is to say, justice, and the skill to govern, and knowledge to direct his people both in peace & warre. In this sort doth Agriculture honor Cyrus, and Eloquence Charlemaine, together with his knowledge in good letters. I have in my time seen some, who by writing did earnestly get both their titles and living, to disfavor their aportentia, marre their pen, & affect the ignorance of fo vulgar a quality; and which our people holds, to be feldome found amongst wife-men, endeavoring to be commended for better qualities. Demosthenes his companions in their ambaflage to Philip, praved their Prince to be faire, eloquent, and a good speaker. Demosthenes said, they were commendations rather fitting a woman, an advocate, and a新形势下, then a

Imperat bellane prior, jacucentem
— Leo in hofem.

Better he rule, who mercifull will rve
His foe subdued,then he that can subdue.

It is not his profession to knowe, either how to hunt cunningly, or to dance nimbly,

Oratum canfas aliq. celebri metus
Desuritam radio, & fulgentia fidera dicit;
His regere impera populos fiet.

Others shall caufes please, describe the skies
Motion by instrument, say how starres rife;
But let him knowe to rule(just, valiant, wife.)

That the faith moreover, that to appeare fo absolutely excellent in these fewer-necessarie parts, as to produce a witness against himselfe, to have all spent his houres, and fondly bestowed his studie, which might better have beeene employed to more behoofeful and profitable use. So that Philip King of Macedon, having heard great Alexander his fonne sing at a feast in vie of the best Musitians : Art thou not alsoe (said he vnto him) to sing so well? And to the same Philip, said a Musitian, gainst whom he contended about his Art, God forbid, my Sovereigne, that ever so much hurt should befal thee, that you should understand these things better than my selfe. A King ought to be able to answer, as did Iphicrates the Orator, who in his invective urg'd him in this manner. And what arte thou thou shouldst so brave it? Art thou a man at Armes? Art thou an Archer? Art thou a Pike-man? I am none of all these, but I am he who command all these. And Antiphenes made it as an argument of little valor in Iphonius, when some commended him to be an excellent Flutift. Well I wot, that when I heare some give themselues to imitate the phrase of my Essayes, I would rather have them holde their peace: They do not so much rafe the words, as depreffe the fenses so much the more sharply, by how much more obliquely. Yetam I deceived if others take not more holde on the matter, and how well or illsoever, if any writer hath feattred the fame, either more material, or at least thicker on his paper: That I may collect the more, I doe but huddle vp the arguments or chiefe heads. Let me but add all what follows them, I shall daily encrease this volume. And how many forses have I glanced-at therein, that speake not a word, which whosoever shall vnfolde, may from them draw infint Essayes? Nor they, nor my allegations doe ever finde simply for examples, authoritie, or ornament. I doe not onely respect them for the vfe I draw from them. They often (beyond my purpose) produce the leafe of a richer fubject, and bolder matter, and often collaterally, a more harmonious tune, both for me, that will exprefse no more in this place, and for them that shall hit upon my tune.

But returning to vertue, I finde no great choice, betwene him that can speak nothing but evil, and one that can talke nothing but well. Non est ornamentum virile concinnitatis. Finemesse is no great grace for a man. Wise men say, that in respect of knowledge, there is nothing but Philosophie, and in regard of effets, but Vertue, which is generally fit for all degrees, and for all orders. Some-thing there is alike in these two other Philosophers; for they also promife eternity to the E-

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pifles,
pistles, they write to their friends. But after another fashion, and to a good purpose, accommodating themselves to others vanity; for they send them word, that if care to make themselves knowne vnto future ages, and respect of renowne, doth yet retaining them in the managing of affairs, and makes them feare solitariness, and a retired life, to which they would call them, that they take no more pains for it; for as much as they have sufficient credite with potentie, by answering them: and were it but by the Epistles they write vnto them, they will make their names as famous, and as farre knowne, as all their publicke actions might do. Besides this difference, they are not frivolous, idle, and trivial Epistles, and one he compact and held together with exquifit choise words, huddled- vp and ranged to a just-smoothe cadence, but fluent and full of notable sayings, and wise sentences by which a man doth not onely become more eloquent, but more wise, and that teach- vs, not to say well, but to doe well. Fie on that eloquence, which leaves vs with a designde of it, and not of things: vnlesse a man will say, that Cesare being so exceedingly perfect, doth frame it selfe a body of perfection. I will further allege a story, which to this purpose we reade of him, to make vs palpably feele his natural condition. He was to make an Oration in publicke, and being urged betimes to prepare himselfe for it, Ere one of his servantes came to tell him, The Auditorie was deferred till the morrow next: he was so glad of it, that for so good newes he gave him his liberty. Touching this subject of Epistles, teach III I will say: It is a work where my friends are of opinion I can doe some-thing: And should more willingly have undertaken to publish my gifts, had I who to speake vnto. It had bin requisite (as I have had other times) to have had a certaine commerce to draw me on, to encourage me, and to vhold me. For, to go about to catch the winde in a net, as others doe, I cannot; and it is but a dreame. I am a sworne enemie to all falsifications. I should have bin more attentive, and more affured, having a friendly and strong direction, then to behold the divers images of a whole multitude: and I am deceived, if it had not better succeeded with me. I have naturally a comical and familiar file: But after a maner peculiar vnto my selfe, inept to all publicke Negotiations, answering my speach, which is altogether, close, broken, and particular: I have no skill in ceremonious letters which have no other substance, but a faire contexture of complementall phrases and cursive words: I have not taste nor faculty of these tedious offers, of service and affection. I believe not so much as is said, and am nothing pleas'd to say more then I believe. It is faire from that which is vied now-aadays: For, there was never so abject and servile a profutation of presentations, life, soul, devotion, adoration, fervant, flaye; all these words are so generally vied, that when they would express, a more emphaticall intent and respective will, they have no means left them to express-if. I deadly hate to hear a flatterer which is the cause: I naturally effect a pitty, simnovie, dry, round, and harsh kinds of speach; which of such as have no further acquaintance with me, is judged to encline to disdain. I honor them most, whom I esteem to regard me: And where my mind marcheth most cheerfully, I often forget the steps of gravitie: And I offer my selfe but faintly and rudely to those whose I am indeede, and present my selfe least, to such as I have most given my selfe. Me thinkes they should reade it in my heart, and that the exprefion of my words, wrongeth my conception. To welcome, to take leave, to bid farewell, to give thanks, to salute, to present my service, and such verbal complements of the ceremoniell laws of our civilitie, I knowe no man so fottishly-barren of speach, as my selfe. And I was never employed to induce Letters of favour or commendatorie, but he for whom they were, judged them drie, barren, and faint. The Italians are great Printers of Epistles, whereof I thinke I have a hundred severall Volumes. I desse thofe of Hannibal Caro to be the best. If all the paper I have heretofore cried for Ladies were extant, at what time my hand was truly transported by my passion, a man shoulde haply finde some page worthy to be communicated unto idle and fond-doting youth, embabunized with this furie. I ever wrote my letters in post-haste, and so rashly-head-long, that howbeit I write intolerably ill, I had rather write with mine owne hand, than employ another: for I finde none that can followe me, and I never copie them over againe. I have accustomed those great persones that know mee, to endure blotts, blures, dafties, and botches, in my letters, and a sheete without folding or margine. Thofe that cost me, either most labour or fludr, are they that are least worth. When I once beginne to traile them, it is a signe my minde is not vpone them. I commonlie begin without project: the first word begetts the second. Our moderne letters are more fraught with borders,
The first Booke.

The fortieuth Chapter.

That the taste of goods or evill doth greatly depend on the opinion we have of them.

En (faith an ancient Greeke) sentence are tormented by the opinions they have of things, and not by things themselves. It were a great conquest for the ease of our miserable humane condition, if any man could esstablish every where this true proposition. For if evill have no entrance into vs, but by our judgement, it seemeth that it lieth in our power, either to contemne or turne them to our good. If things yelde themselves vs into our mercie, why should we not have the fruition of them, or apply them to our advantage? If that which wee call evill and torment, be neither torment, nor evil, but that our facie only gives it that quality, it is in vs to change it: and having the choice of it, if none compell vs, wee are very fools, to bandie for that parte, which is iske some vs to: and to give inimicities, indigence and contempt, a sharpe and ill taste, if we may give them a good: And if fortune simply affoord vs the matter, it lieth in vs to give it the forme. Now that that which wee term evill, is not so of it felfe, or at least, such as it is, that it depends of vs to give it another taste, and another countenonce (for all comes to one) let vs see whether it can be maintaine. If the original being of those things we feare, had the credite of it's owne authority to lodge it felf in vs, alike and semblable would it lodge in all: For men be all of one kinde, and except the most or leaft, they are furnished with like means to judge, and instruments to conceive. But the diversitie of opinions, which we have of those things, doth evidently shew, that by composition they never enter into vs. Some one peradventure doth lodge them in himselfe, as they are in essence, but a thousand others give them a new being, and a contrary. Woe accompl of death, of povertie, and of sorrowe, as of our chiefest parts. Now death, which some of all horrible things call the most horrible, who knowes not, how others call it, the onely haven of this lives-torments? the fovereigne good of nature? the onely fhae of our libertie? and the ready and common receit of our evils? And as some doe, fearfully trembling, and fentimentally affrighted, expect her comming, others endure it more easily then life: And one complaineth of her facilities.

Lucan. i. 580

Mors omnis pavides vitâ subducere nolens,
Sed virtus te sola daret!

O death! would thou would'lt let coward's live,
That resolv'd valour might thee only give!

But let vs leave these glorious minds: Theodorus answered Lyphmachus, who threatened to kill him: Thou shalt do a great exploit to come to the strength of a Gymnast. The greatest number of Philosophers are found to have either by designe prevented, or hastned and furthered their deaths. How many popular persons are scene brought vs doth death, and not to a simple death, but entermixt with shame, & sometimess with grievous torments, to embrace it with such an undaunted assurance? some through stubborne willfulness, others through a natural simplicite, in whomse is nothing scene changed from their ordinarie condition.
The first Booke.

ling their domesticall affairs, recommending themselves vnto their friends, preaching, singing, and entertaining the people; ye and sometimes vtering words of jesting and laughter, and drinking to their acquaintance, as well as Socrates. One who was ledde to the gallows, deified it might not be through such a streete, for, if one a Merchant should set a Serjant on his backe, for an old debt. Another whilfed the hang-man not to touch his throat, left he should make him swoone with laughing, because he was so ticklish. Another answered his confessour, who promised him he should suppe that night with our Saviour in heaven, Goe thither yourself to supper, for I vfe to fast a nightes: Another upon the Gibbet calling for drinke, and the hang-man drinking first, said, he would not drink after him, for feare he should take the poxe of him. Everie man hath heard the tale of the Piccarde, who being vpon the ladder ready to be throwne downe, there was a wench presentd vnto him, with this offer (as in some cases our law doth sometimes tolerate) that if he would marry her, his life should be saved, who after he had awhile beheld her, & perceiving that she halted, said hastily. Away, away, good hang-man, make an end of thy busines, the lampes. The like is reported of a man in Denmarke, who being adjudged to have his head cut-off, and being vpon the scaffold, had the like condition offered him, but refused it, because the wench offered him was jawe-false, long cheek, and sharp-nosed. A young ladde at Tholouse, being accused of herefie, in all points touching his belief, referred himselfe wholly to his Maitfers faith, (a yong scholler that was in prifon with him) and rather chose to die, then he would be perwelad his Maitfer could erre. We reade of those of the Towne of Arras, at what time king Lewis the eleventh tooke it, that amongst the common people manie were found, who rather then they would say, God save the King, suffered themselves to be hanged. And of those base-minded jeffers or buffons, some have bin seene, that even at the point of death, would never leave their jesting and scoffing. He whom the head-man threw-off from the Gallows, cried out, Rowe the Gally, which was his ordinary by-word. An other, who being at his last gaspe, his friends had lade him vpon a pallet alongst the fire-side, there to breathe his last, the Phitian demanding where his griefe pained him? Answered, betweene the bench and the fire: And the Priest to give him the last vocation, seeking for his feetes, which by reason of his stickeffe were thruncken vp, he told him, My good friend you shall find them at my legges ends, if you look well: To another that exhorted him to recommend himself to God, he asked, Who is going to him? And the fellowe answering, your selfe shortly: If it be his good pleasure, I would to God it might be to morrow night, replied he: Recommend but your selfe to him, said the other, and you shall quickly be there: It is befeth, answered he, that my selfe carry mine owne commendations to him. In the Kingdome of Narfnga, even at this day their Prieftes wives, are buned alive with the bodies of their dead husbands. All other wives are burnt at their husbands funerals, not only confluently, but cheerfully. When their king dieth, his wife, his concubines, his minions, together with all his officers and servants, which make a whole people, present themselves merrily vnto the fire, wherein his body is burned, that they manifestly leeme to themese, it as a great honour, to accompany their deceased master to his ashes. During our last warres of Malien, and so many takings, loffes, miseries and calamities of that Citie, the people impatient of so manie changes of fortune, took such a resolution vnto death, that I have heard my father say, hee kept accout of fifty and twenty chiefes householders, that in one week made themselves away: An accident which hath some affinitie with that of the Xanthians, who being besieged by Bruttas, did fell-mell-headlong, men, women, and children precipitate themselves into so furious a desire of death, that nothing can be performed to avoid death, which these did not accomplish to avoid life: So that Bruttas had much ado, to save a very small number of them. Every opinion is of sufficient power to take holde of a man in respect of life. The first Article of that courageous oathe, which the Countrie of Greece did sweare, and kepe, in the Medofian warre was, that everie particular man should rather change his life vnto death, than the Perian lawes for theirs. What a world of people are daily leene in the Turkishe warres and the Gracians, more willing to embrace a sharpe, a bitter, and violent death then to be vnchristianised and baptized? An example whereof no religion is incapable. The Kings of Castille having banished the Iewes out of their Country, king John of Portugal for eight crownes a man told them a retreate in his dominion, for a certaine time, vpon condition (the time expired) they should a-void, and he finde them shippers to transport them into Affrike. The day of their departure come,
come, which past it was expressed, that such as had not obeyed, should for ever remaine bond-slaves, if it were provided they, but very scarce and sparingly: And those which were embarked, were so rude, and wantonly, and villainously used, by the passengers and mariners, who besides infinite other indignities, bought so long as the seas, now forward, now backward, that in the end, they had consumed all their victuals, and were forced, if they would keep themselves alive, to purchase some of them, at so excessive a rate, and so long, that they were never set a shore, till they had brought them so bare, that they had nothing left them but their shirts. The news of this barbarous inhumanitie being reported to those that were yet on land, most of them resolved to yeeld and continue bond-slaves; whereof some made a semblance to change their condition. Emanuel immediately succeeded John, being come to the Crowne, first set them at liberty, then changing his minde, commanded them to depart out of his dominions, and for their pillage affigned them three parts. He hoped, as Bishop Ofarius reporteth, (a Latine Historian of our ages, not to be despised,) that the favour of the liberty, to which he had restored them, having failed to convert them vnto Christianity, the difficulty to commit themselves vnto mariners and pyrates robberies, to leave a Country where they were feeld with great riches, for to go seeke unknowne and strange regions, would bring them into Portugal againe. But seeing all his hopes frustrate, & that they purposed to passe away, he cutte-off two of the three partes he had promised them, so the tedious distance and incommoditie of the passage might retaine some, or rather that hee might have the meane to assemble them all together in one place, for a fitter opportunity of the execution he intended, which was this. He appointed that all their children under fourteen yeares of age, should be taken from out the hands of their parents, and removed from their fight and conversation, to some place where they might be brought vp, and instructed in our religion. He saith that this effect caused an horrible spectacle: The natural affection between the fathers and the children; moreover the zeal that attended their ancient faith, striving against this violent ordnance. Diverse fathers and mothers were ordinarily seene to kill themselves, and with a more cruel example through compassion and love, to throw their yong children into pittes and welles, whereby to shunne the lawe. The terme which he had prefixed them being expired, for want of other meanes, they yielded vnto thralldome. Some became Christians, from whose faith and race, even at this day (for it is a hundred yeares since) few Portuguese asserue themselves; although sufficient, and length of time be much more forcible counsellors vnto such mutations, than any other compulsion. In the Towne of Caftelhaw Dary, more than fiftie Albigoys, all heretikes, at one time, with a determined corage, suffred themselves to be burned alive, all in onefame fire, before they would recant and disfavour their opinions. Quotis non modo duteres nostri, sed universitatem exerciss, ad non dubium mortem concurrentis? How often have, not only our Leaders(both True) but also our whole armies runndly together, to an undoubted death? I have seene one of my familiar friends runne furiously on death, with such, and so deeply in his heart rooted affection, by diverse visages of discourse, which I could never suppress in him, and to the first that offered it selfe masked with a lustre of honour, without apprehending any sharpe or violent end, therein to precipitate himselfe. We have many examples in our days: yea in very children of such as for fear of some flight incommodite have yeelded vnto death. And to this purpose saith an ancient Writer, what shall we not feare, if we feare that, which afterwards itselfe hath choosen for her retreated? Here to huddle vp a long head-rowle of those of all sexes, conditions, and sects, in most happy ages, which either have expected death most contemptly, or fought for it voluntarily, and not onely fought it to avoid the evils of this life, but some, onely to shunne the facietie of living any longer: and some, for the hope of a better condition else-where, I should never have done. The number is so infinit, that verily it would be an easier matter for me to reckon vp those that have feared the fame. Otey this more. Purr the philosophier, finding himselfe upon a very tempestuous day in a boat, shewed them whom he perceived to be most affrighted through fear, and encouraged them by the example of an hog, that was amongst them, and seemed to take no care at all for the storm: Shall wee then dare to say, that the advantage of reason, whereat we feeme so much to rejoice, and for whose respect we accompt our selves Lords and Emperours of all other creatures, hath beene infused into vs for our torment? What availleth the knowledge of things, of through them we become more demisse? Ifthereby we loose the rest and tranquility where-
in we should be without them? and if it makes vs of worse condition then was Pithos hog? Shall we employ the intelligence, heaven hath bestowed upon vs for our greatest good, to our ruine: repugning natures desseigne and the univerfal order and vicifitude of things, which impleth that every man should vs his instruments and means for his owne commodiety? We'l (wil some tel me) let your rule fit you against death, but what will you lay of indigence and necessitie? what will you also lay of minde, grieved sorrow, which Aristippus, Hieroines, and moft of the wisest have judged the laft evil? and those which denied the fame in words, confessed the fame in effect? Poffidoneus being extremely torment with a sharpe and painefull sickness, Pompey came to see him, and excused himselfe hee had chosen to visit an house to hear him discourse of Philosophie: God forbid (answered Poffidoneus) that ever paine should so farre usurpe upon me, as to bind me from discoursing so worthy a subject. And thereupon beganne to speake of the contempt of paine. But there whilft the plaied her parte, and unaffectedly pinched and urged him; gainst whom he exclaimed: Paine, do what thou list, I shall never be drawn to say, that thou art an evil. That laying which they would make of such confuence, what doth it inferre against the contempt of paine? it contends but for the word. And if the pangs thereof move him not there-while, why breakes he off his discourse for it? Why thinkes hee to worke a great exploit, not to call it an evil? All doth not confit in imagination. Here we judge of the reft. It is aflured learning that heere doth play her part, our owne fences are judges of it:

Qui mis sunt veri, ratio quaque falsa sit omnis.
Which fences if they be not true,
All reason's falsé, it must ensue.

Shall we make our skin belewe, the stripes of a whip doe tielde it and perswade our taste, that Aloes be wine of Graves Pithos hog is here in our predicament. He is nothing danted at death, but if you beat him, he will grunt, cry, and torment himselfe. Shall we force the generall law of nature, which in all living creatures vnder heaven is feene to tremble at paine? The very trees feeme to gote to at offences. Death is but felt by discourse, because it is the motion of an infant.

Ovid, epif. Ars.
Ant finit, aut veniet, nihil est presentis illius.
Death hath come, or it will not misse;
But in it nothing present is.
Nimirum minus pax, quam moris habet.
Death pains leafe roundly acted,
Then when death is protracted.

A thousand beafts, a thousand men, are sooner dead then threatned. Besides, what we principally call feare in death, it is paine her customary fore-runner. Nevertheless if we must give credit unto an ancient father, Malmet mortem non facit, nisi quod sequitur mortem. Nothing but what follows death, makes death to be evil. And I might more truly say, that neither that which goeth before, nor that which commeth after, is no appurtenance of death, we falsely excuse our selves. And I find by experience, that it is rather the impatience of the imagination of death, that makes vs impatient of the paine, & that we feele it two-fold grievous, forasmuch as it threatens vs to die. But reason accuuing our weakennesse, to feare so fodeaine a thing, so unavoidable, so insensible; we take this other more excuable pretence. All evils that have no other danger, but of the evil, we count them dangerlesse. The tooth-ach, the paine of the gout, how grievous forever, because they kill not, who recketh them in the number of maladies? Well, suppose that in death we especialy regard the paine: As also, poverty hath nothing to be feared-for, but what the eath-vpon vs through famine, thirst, colde, heat, and other miseries, it makes vs feele and endure. So have we nothing to doe but with paine. I will willingly grant them, that it is the worst accident of our being. For, I am the man that hate and fhunne-it as much as possible may be; because hitherto (thanks be vnto God) I have no commerce or dealing with her: But it is in our power, if not to diffanull, at least to diminish the fame, through patience: And though the body shoulde be moved threaf, yet to keepe the minde and reason in good temper. And if it were not fo, who then hath brought verue, valor, force, magnanimity, and resolution into credite, Where shall they play their parte, if there be no more paine defyled? Axis est periculis virtus, Vertus is deifrons of danger. If a man must not lie on the hard ground, armed at all afayes, to endure
endure the heat of the scorching Sunne, to feehe hungerly vpone a horse or an ass, to see him felle mangled and cut in pieces, to have a buller pluckt out of his bones, to suffer incisions, his flesh to be bitte vp, cauturzed, and searchd, all incident vnto a martiall man; how shall we purchase the advantage and preeminence, which we fo greedily seeke-after, over the vulgar fort? It is far from avoiding the evil and pains of it, as wife men say, that of actions equallly good, one should be withed to be done, wherein is moft paine and grieffe.

*Non enim hilaritate nec inferius nec rifi aut toco comite levitatis, sed fipe etiam strictes furmitate & constantia sunt beat.* For men are not happy by mirthfulness, or wantonness, or laughing, or icking, which is the companion of lightnesse, but often, even those that are sorrowfull, through their strong heartes, and thenofe obtained in all securitie by practices and stratagens.

*Latvs est, quotes magni fiti confat bonefum.*

Honestie makes chiefft cheare,
When it doth cost it felle moft deare.

Moreover, this ought to comfort vs, that naturally, if paine be violent, it is alfo short; if long, it is easie: *si gravis, breus; si longus, levis. If it be grievous, it is short; if it be long, it is light.*

Thou shalt not feele it over long; if thou feele it over much, it will either end it felle, or end thee; All comes to one: If thou beare notit, it will beare thee away. *

*Memonieus maximos morte fimu, parvos multa habere intervalla requietis; mediumrionum esse dominos: vs fit tolerabili fist feramunm: quos muni, e vulta, quonerat non placet, tangam e theatru eceamus.* Remember the greatest are ended with death, the lesser have many pains of rift; we are masters of the meanes one: *fo as if they be tolerable, we may beare them; if not, we may make an Exit from our life which doth not please, as from a stage.* That which makes vs endure paine with such impatience, is, that we are not accustomed to take our cheife contentment in the foule, and that we do not sufficiently receive on who is the onely, and sovereigne mistress of our condition. The body hath, except the leaff or molt but one course, and one byafe. The foule is variable in all manner of formes, and rangeth to herelfe, and to her state, whatsoever it be, the fenses of the body, and all other accidents. Therefore must she be studied, enquired, and sought-afterand her powerfull springs and worde should be rozed vp. There is neither reafion, nor prrefcription, nor force can vaile against her inclination and choife. Of fo infinte byafes, that fire hath in her disposition, let vs allow hire one fuitable and fit to our reft and prefervation: Then shall we not onely be sheltered from all offence, but if it pleafe her, alfo gratified and flattered of all grievances and evils. She indifferently makes profit of all: even errors and dreams, doe profitably beftead her, as a loyal matter, to bring vs into fafetie and contentment. It may fally be feene, that the point of our sprirte, is that which sharpeneth both paine and pleafure in vs. Beafles wanting the fame, leave their free and natural fenses vnto their bodies: and by confequencee, fingle well-nigh in every kinde, as they fwe be the fimblable application of their moovings. If in our members we did not trouble the jurifdiction, which in that belongs vnto them; it may be thought, we should be the better for it, and that nature hath given them a juft and moderate temperature towards pleafure and toward paine. And it can not choose but be good and jell, being eual and commoon. But since we have freed and alienated our felves from her rules, to abandon our felves vnto the vagabond libertie of our fantacies: let vs at leaft help to bend them to the molt agreeing fide. *Plato feareth our sharp engaging vnto paine and voluptuounes, forfomuch as he over-fightly teeth and bindeth the foule vnto the body: I am rather oppofite vnto him, becaufe it is fundred and loofed from it. Even as an enemie becommeth more furious when we flie from him, fo doth paine grow more proued if it fee vnto tremble vnder it. It will floopo and yeld vpon better compositions to him that shall make head againft it.*

*A man must oppofe and bandy againft it.* In recouying and giving ground, we call and draw on, the ruine threatening, vs. Even as the body is more steady and strong to a charge, if it stand fliffely to it, so is the soule. But lette vs come to examples properly belonging vnto weaker-back men, as I am, where we shall find, that it is with paine, as with ftones, which take either a higher or deeper colour, according to the foyle that is laide vnder them, and holdeth no other place in vs then we give it. *Tantum dotuimus, quantum doloribus: sine inferuent.* So much they grieved, as they interceded themselves in griefes. We feele a dash of a chirurgions razor.
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razor more then ten blows with a sword in the heat of fight. The painful throwes of child-bearing, deemed both by Phisitans, and by the word of God to be very great, and which our women pale with so many ceremonies.

There are whole nations that make no reckoning of them. I omitte to speake of the Lacedemonian women; but come we to the Swiss of our Infanterie, what change do you perceive in them? But that trudging and trotting after their husbands, to day you see them carne the childe about their neckes, which but yesterday they bare in their wombe. And those counterfeiting Gypitians, whereof so many are daily feene amongst vs, doe they not wash their children to fooone as they are borne? And in the next river that comes to hand? Besides to many harlots, which daily itale their children in the generation as in the conception. That beauteous and noble Ladie of Sabine a Roman Patriarch, for the interest of others, did alone, without any bodies helpe or assistance, and without noyse or groning endure the bearing, and deliverie of two twinnnes. A simple lad of Lacedemon, having stoln a Foxe(for they more feared the shame of their foolishnes in stealing, then we feare the paine or punishment of mis-deedes) and hiding the same vnder his cloake, endured rather to have his guts grawe out by hir, then to discover himselfe. An other who offering incense at a facrifice, suffered his flesh to burne to the bone, by a coale faine into his slege, rather then he would trouble that fainted myflicie. And a great number have beene sene, for the onely eflay of vertue, following their infution, that at the age of heaven yeares, without so much as changing their countenance, have inured to be whippd to death. And Cicero hath sene, whole troupes, to bee one another so long, with their fifs, with their feet, and with their teeth, till they have fainte and fall downe halfe dead, before ever they would confesse to be overcome. Neuros naturam nos sinceret, est enim in semper invita, sed nos vivemus, deturpem, etcia, fanguiore, desidia, animam infeciunm; opiniones muliebre, malaque moribus deliciam multum. Custome should never overcome nature, for sies is full irrevocable: but we have infected our minds with fondom, damatines, idenes, fain-tertiones, fustifalades, and have effeminated it, invaded with opinions and evil custome. Every man knows the florice of Servile, who being entred the enemies campe, with a full resolution to kill their Chieftane, and having mifled of his purpose, to checke his effect with a stranger invention, and to cleare his countrie, confessed viso Perseus,(who was the King he intended to kill) not only his deffigne, but added more- over, that in his campe there were a great many Romanes, who had undertaken and sworn the very same enterprise, and were confederates with him. And to make shew of his dread-leffe magnanimitie, having caufed a panne of burning coales to bee brought, hee fawe and suffred his right arme(with penance that it had not effectd his project) to be parched and wel me neigh rolld off: vntill such time as his enimie himselfe, feeling a kind of remorse-ful horor, commundai the fire to bee caried away. What shall we lay of him, that would not vouchsafe to leave, or so much as to interrupt the reading of his booke, whilst he had an incification made into him? And of him who resolved to skoffle and laugh, even in spight and contempt of the tortures, which were inflicted upon him, so that the raging crueltie of the hangmen, that held him, and all the inventions of torments that could be devised, being redoubled upon him, one in the necke of another, gave him over? But he was a Philosopher. What of one of Caelari gladiators, who with a cheerfull and smiling countenance endured his woundes to be flitte andounded? Quis medicus gladiator impunctus? Quis viro mutatit unquam? Quis non modo flare, verum etiam decumbit turpiter? Quis eum decumbisset, ferum recipere hujus, colitam contraxit? What made fencer hath once grown? Which of them hath once changed his countenance? Which of them not onely hath stood up, but even faune with shame? Which of them when he was downe, and was willed to take his death, did once shrinke in his necke? But let vs joyne some women vnto them. Who hath not heard of hir at Paris, which onely to get a fether hew of a new skine, endured to have his face flead all over? There are some, who being found, and in perfect health, have had some teeth pulled out, thereby toframe a daintier and more pleasing veincy, or to fet them in better order. How many examples of contempt of paine or fmart have we of that kinde and fex? What can they not doe? What wil they not doe? What feare they to doe? So they may but hope for some amendment of their beautie?

Velleu queis cura est alios a stirpe capitol, Et subicere dempe pelle referre novum.
Who take great care to root out their gray hair,
And skimmie heade off a new face to repair.

I have seen some swallow gravel, ashes, coles, dust, tallow, candles, and for the nonce, labour and toyle themselves to poule their stomake, only to get a pale bleake colour. To become slender in the waffe, and to have a straight spangled body, what pinching, what guirding, what cingling will they not endure? Yes sometimes with yron plates, with whalebones, and other such trash, that their very skinne, and quicke flesh is eaten in and consume to the bones? Whereby they sometimes workes their owne death. It is common to divers nations of our times, to hurt and gash themselves in good earnest, to give credit to their words. And our King reporteth sundrie examples, of what himselfe faue in Polonia, and towards himselfe. But besides what I know to have by some bene imitated in France, when I came from the famous Parliament of Blois; I had a little before seen a wench in Picardie, to witness the vehementie of hir promises, and alo hir confidence, with the bodkin she wore in hir hair, to give hir-selves foure or five thrusts in hir arme, which made hir skinne to cracke and gash out blood. The Turkes are wont to wound and feare themselves for their Ladies takes, and that the marke may the better appeare, and continue the longer, they will presently lay fire upon the cutteth, and to flanch the blood, and better to forme the cicatrice, they will keepe on, an incredible while. Honest men that have seen it, have written the fame, and sworne it unto me. And for ten Apsers you shall daily finde some amongst them, that will give them selues a deep gash with a Scimitaire, either in their armes or thighs. I am very glad witnesses are so ready at hand, where we have most need of them: For Christendome doth oftendt many. And after the example of our holy guide, there have bene divers, who for devotion needes beate the croffe. We learne by a worthy testimonie of religion, that Saint Lewis the King wore a hairie shirt, vntill such time as he was so aged, that his confessor gave him a dispensation for it; and that every Friday he causd his priests to beate his shoulders with five little yron chains, which to that purpose were ever caried with his nightgear. William our last Duke of Glouc, father to that Eleonore, who transferred that Dutchie unto the house of France and England, the last ten or twelve years of his life, for penance-wake wore continually a corset, vnnder a religious habit. Fouker Earle of Anjou went to Jerusalem, there with a rope about his necke, to be whipped by two of his servants, before our Saviours sepulchre. Doe we not upon every good-friday, in sundrie places, see a great number of men and women, scourge and beate themselves so long till they bruise and teare their flesh, even to the bones? I have often seene it myselfe, and that without enchantment. And some say (for they are masked) there were some amongst them, who for monie would undertake thereby to warrant other mens religion, by a contempt of heart-full paine, so much the greater, by how much the sighs of devotions are of more force, then those of covetoues.

Q. Maximus buried his sonne being Consull: Marcus Cato his, being elected Pretor: and L. Paulus both his, within fewe daies, with so cheerful and feated a countenance, and without any shew of sorrowe. I have sometimes by way of jesting tolde one, that he had confronted divine justice: For, the violent death of three small children of his, comming into his cares all upon one day, and lent-him, as it may be imagined, as a great scourge: He was so farre from mourning, that he rather cooke it as a favour and singular gratification at God’s hand. I do not follow these monstrous humours. Yet have I lost two or three my selves, whilst they were young and at nurce, if not without apprehension of sorrowe, yet without continuance of griefe. And there is no accident wondrobus or newer, or goeth so near the heart, as the losse of children. I fee divers other common occasions of affliction, which were I affaided by them, I should fearfully feel. And I have notigne and neglectede some, when it hath pleased God to visite me with them, on which the world setteh to vglie and bealeful a countenance, that I hardly dare boast of them without blushing. Ex quo intelligitur, non in natura, sed in opine esse agriusdem. Whereby it is understood, that griefe consisteth not in nature, but in opinion. Opinion is a powerfull, bold, and unmeasurable party. Who doth ever so greedily search after heat-full cares and quietenes, as Alexander and Cæsar have done after difficulties & vnquietnesse. Terez, the father of Simeon, was wont to say, that when bee bad no warres he thought there was no difference betweene him and his horse-keeper. Cato the Consull, to allure himselfe of certaine townes in Spaine, having onely interdicted some of their inhabitants to weare armes, many of them killed themselves: Ferex gens nihil uimam rati sine armis esse. A
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fierce kind of people, that thought there was no life without arms. How many knowe wee who have abandoned and forsaken the pleasure of an easefull and quiet life in their houses, and do live with their friends & acquaintance; to follow the toying-horrors of unfrequented deserts, and that yeilded and call themselves into the abjectmefte, contempt and vilifying of the world, where they have pleased themselves, as nothing more? Cardinal Barberius, who dyed lately at Aulume, in the midst of the pleasures and debauches to which his Nobility, and the great riches he possessed, enticed him; and the yere of Italie afforded him, and his youth aliened him; did ever keep himself in so an asre and form of life, that the same gowme which served him in Summer he wore in Winter. He never lay but upon straw: the hours which he might conveniently spare from his charge, he bestowed in continual solitude, ever kneeling, and having a large quantite of bread and water by his bookes side, which was all the provision for his repast, and time he employed in study. I know some who writtingly have drawn both profit and preterest from cuckoldrie, the only name whereof is so yirdome & bailfull to so many men. If sight be not the most necessary of our senses, at least is it the most pleasing: tho the most plausible and profitable of our members, seeming those that serve to begget vntill not withstanding divers have mortally hated them, only because they were over-much admirable, and for their worths-false have rejected them. So thought he of his eyes, that voluntarilie put them out. The most common and foundeft part of men, holdeth multitude of children to be a figne of great happiness and comfort: So doe I, and many others, the want of them. And when Thales was demanded Wherfore he did not marry, he answered, because he would leave no issue or line of himselfe behind him. That our opinion endareth and increaseth the price of things, it is feene in a great number of them, that we doe not returne to esteeme them; but for our life. And we neither consider their qualities nor utilities: but only our cost to recover and attaine them: as if it were a part of their substance, and wee call that worth in them, not what they bring vs, but what we bring to them. According as it weigheth, and is of conuenience, so it serveth. Whereupon I perceive, we are thattist husbands of what we lay out. Our opinion never fullers it to rumme a fals gallop. The price groweth a Diamond his price, and difficulties to versus paine unto devotion, and sharpnesses unto Physick. Such a one to come unto povertie, cast those few crownes he had into the same sea, wherein to many others, with such careke, danger, and care, on all parts seek to fill for riches. Epicurus faith, that to bereich is no saile, but a charge of affaires. Verily, it is not want, but rather plenty that causeth avarie. I will speake of mine owne experience, concerning this subject. I have lived in three kindes of condition, since I came out of my infancy. The first time, which continued well-nigh twenty yeeres, I have paft it over, as one who had no other means but casual, and depending from the direction and help of others; without any certaine maintenance, or regular prescription. My expences were so much the more carelessely layed out, and lavishly employed, by how much more they wholly depended on fortunes rathernice and exhibition. I never lived so well at ease; my fortune was never to finde my friends puritie thunto: besides which I was to frame my selfe to all necessities: the care I tooke to pay every man at his prefixed day, which a thousand times they have prolonged, seeing the care I tooke to satisfy them. So that I had gotten unto my selfe the credite of a thricke kind of good husbandry, thought it were something shifting and deceitfull. I do naturally feel a kind of pleasing contentment in paying of my debts, as I ridde my selfe of a burthenous weight, and free my selfe from the yoke of bondage and ingratitude. Besides, me-thinks I feel a kind of delight, that ticketh me to the quick, in performing a lawfully-just action, and contenting of others. I except payments that require delays, covenants, & after reckonings: for, if I find any body that will vndertake them, I blushingly and injuriously deferre them as long as I can, for fear of that altercation or wranglings, to which my humor and manner of speech is altogether incompethable. There is nothing I hate more then driving of bargains: It is a meere commerce of dodging and impiudence. After an hower debating and paltering, both parties will goe from their words and oaths for the getting or saving of a shilling: yet did I borrowe with great disadvantage. For, having no hat to borrow before others, or by worse of mouth, I would adventure it upon a piece of paper, which with some hath no great power to move or force to perfwade, and which greatly helps to refuse. I was wont to commit the fulleffe of my wants more freely and more carelessely vnto fortunes, then I have done since vnto my wit and providence. Most good husbands think it strange and horrible to live on such uncertainetances,
tainties, but they remember not, that most men in the world live so. How many good and well-born men have heretofore, and are daily seen to neglect and leave at fix and seven, their patrimonies and certaine goods, to follow and seeke after court-holy water, and waving favours of Princes and of fortune? Caesar engaged and endebted himselfe above a million of gold, more then he was worth, to become Caesar. And how many merchants and poore beginners, set vp and beginne their traffike by the sale of their farmes or cottages, which they venter to the India?

**Text per impotentiia secta?**

In so great fear siftie of devotion, we have thousands of Colleges, which passe the time very conveniently, daily gaping and expecting from the liberalite of the heavens, what they must dine withall to morrow. Secondly, they consider not, that this certamite on which they ground themselves, is not much lesse uncertaine and hazardous, then hazard-it-self. I see miferie as neere beyond two thousand crownes rent, as if it were hard at hand. For besides that fortune hath many-many meanes to open a hundred gaps for poverty to enter at, even through the thickeft of our riches, and that often there is no meane betwene the highest and lowest fortune.

_Fortuna vitrea est: tum, quum splendet, frangitur._

Fortune is glaffe-like, brittle as it is bright:

*Light-gon, light-broken, when it lends best light.*

And to turne all our defences, and raisings of high wallles topifie-turvie: I find that want and necellitate is by diverfe or different causes, as ordinarily seen to accompany and follow those that are rich in goods, as those that have none at all: & that peradventure it is from what lefle in commodious, when it is alone, then when it meeteth with riches: They rather come from order, then from receit: _Faber est sua quisque fortune._ Every man is the forger of his owne fortune. And me thinkes that a rich man, who is needie, full of busineffe, care and toyle, and troubled in minde, is more milenible, then he that is firmly poore. _In duibus inopis, guad genus egregiis gravissimis eft._ In their abundance indigent, which is the most gra-
vious kind of indigence. The richest and greatest Princes are ordinarily vergd by poverty and neede vnto extreme necessitie. For, can any be more extreme, then thereby to become Tyrants, and vnjust vtrpers of their subiects goods? My second maner of life hath beene to have money; which when I had once fingred,according to my condition I sought to hoord vp some against a raignie dayselft being that it was no having, vnleffe a man had-ever some-
what beides his ordinary experiences in possession: & that a man should not trust that good, which he must live in hope to receive; and that be his hope never so likely, hee may many ways be prevented. For, I would lay vnto my selle; what if I should be surprized by this chance, or that accident? What should I doe then? And in pursuite of these vaine and vi-
cious imaginations, I endeavoured by hooke or crooke, and by wise or wit to provide by this superfluitous sparing for all inconveniences that might happen: And I could answer him, that would alledge the number of inconveniences to be over-infinite; which if they followed not all men, they accompanied some, and happily the greatest number. An ap-
prehension which I did not passe without some painefull care. I kept the matter secret, and I (that dare lay so much of my selle) would never speake of my money but falsely; as others doe, who being rich, would seeme to be poore, or beeing poore would appear rich: and dispence with their conscience, never to witnesse sincerely what they are worth. Oh ridic-
culous and shamefull prudence. Did I travell any where? me thought I was never sufficiently provided; and the more I had laden my selle with coin, the more I had also burthended my selle with feare: sometimes of my wayes-facie, other times of their trutt that had the charge of my fumsters and baggage, whereof, as some others that I know, me thought I was never thoroughly assured, except it were full in my fight. Left I my keyes or my purse behinde-me? how many suffistions and thornie imaginations, and which is worse, incom-
municable, did vncessarily haunt me? My minde was ever on my halfepenny, my thoughts ever that way. _The summe being rightiy call, there is ever more paine in keeping then in getting of mony._ If I did not altogether so much as I say, I at least endeavoured to doe it. Of Commo-
ditie I had little or nothing. To have more meanes of expences, is ever to have encrease of sorrow. For (as said Bon) The hary man doth grive as much as the bald, if he haue his bairre

N 2 pulld
And after you are once accustomed, and have fixed your thoughts upon a heap of money, it is no longer at your service; you dare not diminish it; it is a building, which if you touch or take any part from it, you will think it will all fall. Necesitate must first pinch you by the throat, and touch you nowhere, before you will lay hands on it. And I should sooner pawn my clothes, or sell my horse, with less care and compulsion, than make a breach into that beloved purse, which I kept in store. But the danger was, that a man can hardly prefix any certain limits unto his desire (they are hard to be found in things a man deems good) and continue at one stay in sparing: A man shall ever encase this heap, and augment it from one number to another; yea for long, till he be as much and magistrally deprive himself of the enjoying of his own goods, and wholly fix it on the safe-keeping of them, and never use them. According to this kind of usage, those are the richest people of the world, that have the charge of keeping the gates and walle of a rich Cittie. Every motley man is covetous, according to mine opinion. Plato marshalleth thus humane or Corporall goods; health, beaute, strenght, riches: And riches, faith be, are not binde, but cleere-seeing, if they be illuminated by wisedome. Dionysius the younger, plaide a notable parte, who being advertised, that one of his Siracuzans, had hidden a certaine treasure under the ground, commanded him to bring it unto him, which he did, reserving secretly one parte of it unto himselfe, with which he removed his dwelling unto another Cittie, where having left the humour of hoarding vp of treasure, beganne to live a spending and riotous kind of life: which Dionysius hearing, commanded the remainder of his treasure, and which he had taken from him, to be restored unto him; saying, That beloue bee had learned howe to make use of it, bee did most willingly redeover the same unto him. I was some years of the same humour: I wot not what good Demon did most profitably remove me from it, like to the Siracuzan, and made me to neglect my sparing. The pleasure I apprehended of a faire and chargeable journey, having overthrown this foolish imagination in me; From which I am faine into a third kind of life (I speake what I thinke of it) affur'd much more pleasing and formal: which is, that I make my garment according to my cloth, and let my expences goe together with my comming-in: some times the one, other whilst the other exceeds: But they are never farre-afunder. I live from hand to mouth, from day to day; and have I but to supply my present and ordinary needs, I am satisfied: As for extraordinary wants, all the provisions of the world will not suffice them. And it is folly to expect that fortune will ever sufficiently agree vs against her selfe. It is with our owne weapons that we must combat her. Casuall armes will betray vs, when we shall have most neede of them.

If I lay vp any thing, it is for the hope of some employment at hand, and not to purchase landes, whereof I have no neede, but pleasure and delight. Non esse caputum, pecuniae est: Non esse emacem, peculii est. It is currant come, not to be covetous: it is a thrife in come, not to be frit-ting. I am neither poiffeid with fear, that my goods shall fail me, nor with desire they should encrease and multiple. Divinitus fructum est in copiosa opium declarat fastiosus. The fruit of riches is in plente: facieste content with enough approveth that plente. And I singularly gratifie my selfe this correction came vp on me in an age naturally enclin'd to covetousness, and that I am free from that folly so common and peculiar to old men, and the most ridiculous of all humane follies. Feraulez who had pass'd through both fortunes, and found, that encrease of goods, was no accrase of appetite, to drink, to eate, to sleep, or to embrace his wife; and who on the other side felt heavily on his shoulders, the importunity of ordering and directing his Oeconomicall affaires, as it doth on mine, determined with himselfe to content a poore yong man, his faithfull friend, greedily gaping after riches, and frankly made him a present donation of all his great and excessive riches; as also of those, he was likely every day to get by the liberality and bountie of his good mafter Cyrus, and by warre: always provided, he should vndertake to entertaine and finde-him honestly, and in good forre, as his guest and friend. In which efficacy they lived afterward most happily, and mutually content with the change of their condition.

Loe here a part, I could willingly find in my heart to imitate. And I much commend the fortune of an olde prelate, whom I see, to have so clearly given over his purse, his receites, and his expences, now to one of his chosen servaunts, and now to another, that he hath lived many yeares as ignorant of his householde affaires, as any stranger. The confidence in others honestie, is no light testimonie of owne integritie; therefore doth God willingly favour.
it. And for his regarde, I see no housshould order, neither more worthily directed, nor more constantly managed then his. Happie is that man, that hath so proportionably directed his estate, as his riches may discharge and supply the same, without care or encombrance to himselfe; and that neither their consultations or meetings may in any sorte interrupt other affairs or disturb other occupations, which he followeth, more convenient, more quiet, and better agreeing with his heart. Therefore doth both cæse and indigenece depend from every man owne opinion, and wealth and riches no more then glorie or health, have either more preheminence or pleasure, then he who posuisse them, lendeth them. Every man is either well or ill, according as he findes himselfe. Not he whom an other thinkes content, but he is content indeede, that thinkes he is so himselfe: And onely in that, opinion giveth it selfe essence and veritie. Fortune doth vs neither good nor ill: She onely offereth vs the feede and mater of it, which our mindes more powerfull then the, turneth and appiereth as best it pleaseth: as the efficient cause and mistress of condition, whether happie or vn happie. External ascension take both favor and color from the internall constitution: As garments do not warme vs by their heat, but by ours, which they are fit to cover, and nourish: that with clothes should cover a cold body, should draw the very same service from them by cold. So is snow and yce kept in summer. Verely as vnto an idle and lasie body, studie is but a torment: Abstinence from wine to a drunkard, is a vexation: frugallie is a heartes forrow to the luxurious; and exercice moleffeth an effeminat body: so is it of all things else. Things are not of themselves so irkeforme, nor so hard, but our bafenes, and weakenesse maketh them such. To judge of high and great matters, a high and great minde is required; otherwise we attribute that vice vnto them, which indeed is ours. A straight course being vnder water, seemeth to be crooked. It is no matter to see a thing, but the matter is how a man dooth see the fame. Well,of so many discourses, which diversely persuade men to contemne death, and patiently to endure paine, why shal we not finde some one to make for our purpose? And of so severall and many kinds of imaginations, that have perfwaded the fame vnto others, why doth not every man apply one vnto himselfe, that is most agreeing with his humor? If he cannot digest a strong and abstfuerse drugg, for to remove his evil, let him at least take a lenitive pill to cafe the fame. Opinis est quadam effeminata ac levios: nec in dolere magis, quam endem in voluptate: qua,quam ligue fimulatum simulacrom molestia, apis aculeus sine clamore ferre non possimus. Totum in eo est, ut tubi imperes. There is a certaine effeminate and light opinion, and that no more in sorrow, then it is in pleasure, whereby when we melt and runne over in dauntie tendernes, we cannot abide to be stinge of a Bee, but must rore and crie out. This is the total summe of all, that you be master of your selfe. Moreover, a man doth not escape from Philosophie, by making the sharpnes of panes, and humaine weakenesse to prevale so far beyond measure: For, the is compelled to cast his selfe over againe vnto those invincible replicationes. If it be bad to live in necessarie, at least there is no necessarie, to live in necessifie. No man is long time ill, but by his owne fault. He that hath not the heart to endure neither life nor death, and that will neither resist nor runne away, what shall a man doe to him?

The one and fortieth Chapter.

That a man should not communicate his glorie.

Of all the follies of the world, the most univerfal, and of most men received, is the care of reputation, and studie of glorie, to which we are so wedded, that we neglect, and cast off riches, friends, repose, life and health (goods effectuall and substantiall) to follow that vaine image, and idle目前已复制完成.
Fame that enveagh his high aspiring men
With him harmonious sound, and seemes so faire,
An Eccho is, a dreame, dreames shadow rather
Which flies and fleeter as any winde doth gather.

And of mens vnreasonabell humors, it seemeth, that the best philosophers doe most slowly, and more unwillingly cleare themselves of this, then of any other: it is the most peevish, the most foward, and the most optimative. Quia etiam bene profficientes animos texture non cefsat. Because it cannot be tempered even those Minds that professe best. There are not many whereof reason doth so evidently condemn vanitye, but it is so deeply rooted in vs, as I wot nor whether any man could ever completely discharge himselfe of it. When you have allaged all the reasons you can, and believed all to disavow and reject her, the produceth contrary to your discourse, so intifine an inclination, that you have small hold against her. For (as Cicero faith,) Even those that opposynge her, will notwithstanding have the books they write against her, to beare their names upon their fronts, endeavoring to make themselves glorious by despising of glory. All other things fall within the compass of commerce: we lend our goods, we employ our lves, if our friends stand in need of us: But feldomse shall wee fee a man communicate his honour, share his reputation, and impart his glory vnto others. Catulus Lucretius in the warrs against the Cymbres, having done the virtuous of his endeavours to flay his souldiers that fled before their enemies, put himselfe amongst the runne-aways, and dissembled to bee a coward, that so they might rather seeme to follow their Captaine, then flie from the enemie: This was a neglecting and leaving of his reputation, to conceal the flame and reproach of others. When Charles the siff pacified into Provence, the yeare a thousand and five hundred thirtie yeare, some are of opinion, that Anthony de Luca, seeing the emperor his master most rotuly obfinate to undertake that voyage, & deeming it wonderfully glorious, maintained nevertheless the contrary, and disconsolled him from it, to the end all the honour and glory of this counsel might be attributed vnto his Majestie: and that it might be said, his good advice and fore-fight to have beene such, that contrary to all mens opinions, he had achiev'd so glorious an enterprize: Which was, to honor and magnifie him at his owne charges. The Thraesian Ambassadors comforting Archileonides the Mother of Brafulides, for the death of her son, and highly extolling and commending him, said, he had not left his equall behind him. She refused this private commendation, and particular praisse, to affigne it to the publique state. Do not tell me that (quoth she,) For I knowe the City of Sparta hath many greater, and more valiant Citizens then he was. At the bataille of Crecy, Edward the blacke Prince of Wales, being yet very young, had the leading of the vanguard: The greatest and chiefest violence of the fight, was in his quarter: The Lordes and Captaines that accompanied him, perceiving the great danger, went vnto King Edward the Princes father, to come and help them: which when he heard, he enquired what plight his sonne was in, and how he did, and hearing that he was living, and on horse-backe, I should (quoth he) offer him great wrong to go now, and deprive him of the honor of this combats victory, which he already hath so long sustained; what danger ever there be in it, it shall whereby be his: and would neither goe nor fend vnto him: knowing, that if he had gone, or sent, it would have beene faide, that without his aide all had beene lost, and that the advantage of this exploit would have beene ascrib'd vnto him. Temper nam quad postremus adiiciam et, id removam videtur tranxisse. For, evermore that which was last added, seems to have drawn on the whole matter. In Rome many thought, and it was commonly spoken, that the chiefeft glorious deeds of Seipio, were partly due vnto Latius, who notwithstanding did ever advance the greatness, further the glorie, and second the renowne of Seipio, without any respect of his owne. And Thopompos King of Sparta, to one who told him, that the common-wealth should subsist and continue still, forsooch as he could command so well: No, said he, it is rather, because the people know so well how to obey. As the women that succeeded in the Perie-domes of France, had (notwithstanding their sexe) right to affilt, and privilege to plead in cafes appertaining to the jurisdiction of Peries: So the Ecclesiastical Peres, notwithstanding their profession and function, were bound to assist our Kings in their warrs, not onely with their friends, servants, and tenantry, but in their owne person. The Bishop of Beauvais, being with Philip Augustus in the battell of Bouvines, did very courageously take part with him in the effect; but thought hee should not be partaker of the fruites and glorie of that bloody and violent exercice. He overcame, and for-
ced that day many of the enemies to yeeld, whom he delivered vnto the first gentleman he met withall, to riffe, to take them prisoners, or at their pleasure to dispose of them. Which he also did, with William Earle of Saltzbury, whom he delivered vnto the Lord John of Nefle. With a remembrance of confidence, vnto this other. He deuided to fell and strike downe a man, but not to hurt or wound him: and therefore never fought but with a great clubbe. A man in my time being accus'd to the King, to have aide violent handes vpon a Priet, de-

The two and fourtieth Chapter.

Of the inequalitie that is betweene vs.

Plutarke faith in some place, That he findes no such great difference betweene beast and beast, as he findeth diversitie betweene man and man. He speaketh of the sufficiency of the minde, and of inernal qualities. Verily I finde Epaminondas so farre (taking him as I suppose him) from some that I know (I meane capable of common sense) as I coulde finde in my heart to endure vpon Plutarke; and say there is more difference betweene such and such a man, than there is diversitie betweene such a man, and such a beast.

Hem vir viro quid proferat! Ter.Plur.ne.5
O Sir, how much hath one,
An other man out-gone? f.3.
And that there be so many degrees of spirites, as there are steps betweene heaven and earth, and as innumerable. But concerning the estimation of men, it is marvell, that except our selves, no one thing is esteemed but for it's proper qualities. We commend a horse, because he is strong and nimble,

voletrem

Sic laudamus eum, facili eum plurima palma
Ferret, et exulat rancu victoria circio,
We praise the horse, that bearas most belles with flying,
And triumphs most in races, hoarse with crying,

and not for his furniture: a graie-hound for his swiftnesse, not for his choller: a hawke for his wing, not for his cranes or belles. Why doe we not likewise esteeme a man for that which is his owne? He hath a goodly traine of men following him, a stately pallasse to dwell-in, so great credit amongst men; and so much rent comming-in: Alas, all that is about him, and not in him. No man will buy a pig in a poke. If you cheapen a horse, you will take his saddle and clothes from him, you will see him bare and a broade: or if he be coverd, as in olde times they wont to present them vnto Princes to be solde, it is onely his least necessarie parts, least you should amnuffe your selfe to consider his colour, or breadth of his crupper; but chiefly to view his legges, his head, his eyes, and his foote, which are the most remarkable parts, and above all to be considred and required in him.

Regibus hic mor est, qui equos mercantur, opertos
Inspicient, ne satis fuerit, ut sepe decora
Muli fulfa pede est, emportem inducit biamem,
Quid pulchra clanes, breve quid caput, ardua cervix.
This is Kings manner, when they horses buy,
They see them bare, left if, as oft we try,
Faire face have soft hoofes, gull'd the buyer be,
They buttekes rounde, short head, high crest may see

When you will esteeme a man, why shoulde you survey him all wrapt, and enveloped? He then but theweth vs those partes, that are no whith his owne: and hideth those from vs, by which alone his worth is to be judged. It is the goodnes of the swordes you seek after, and not the worth of the scabbard; for which peradventure you would not give a farthing.
if it want his lyning. A man should be judged by himselfe, and not by his complements. And as an ancient faith very pleasantly: Doe you know wherefore you esteeme him tall? You
accommpt the height of his pattens: The Base is no part of his figure: Measure him without his flites. Let him lay a hide his ritches and external honours, and show himselfe in his full. Hath he a body proper to his functions, found and cheerful full? What minde hath he? Is it faire, capable and unpolluted, and happily provided with all his necessite parts? Is the
ritch of his owne, or of others goodes? Hath fortune nothing of his to survey therein? If
broade-waking she will looke upon a naked swordrle: If the care not which way his life goeth from him, whether by the mouth or by the throne, whether it be feated, equable, and contented: It is that a man must see and consider, and thereby judge the extreme differences that are betwene vs: Is he

--- sapiens, sibiique imperiosus,

Quem necque pauperies, necque mors, necque vincula terrunt,
Respondeare cupidinibus, contemere honores
Fortis, & in seipso totus eres atque rotundus,
Externis quid valeat per lamine morari,
In quem mancra quietamer fumus?

A wife man, of him selfe commandure high,
Whom want, nor death, nor bands can terrifie,
Refolu'd t'affront desires, honors to skorne,
All in himselfe, close, round, and neatly-borne,
As nothing outward on his smooth can stay,
Gainst whom still fortune makes a lame alay.

Such a man is five hundred degrees beyond kingdomes and principalities: Himselxe is a
kingdome unto himselfe.

What is there else for him to with-for?

--- nonne videmus

Nil aliquid sibi naturam latrarre, nisi et quid
Corporae soinem dolor abjic, monte structrur,
Incundo sensu cura sensum metique?
See we not nature nothing else doth barke
Vnto himselfe, but he, whole bodies barke
Is free from paines-touch, should his mind enjoy,
Remou'd from care and feare, with sense of joy?

Compare the vulgar troopes of our men vnto him, fitupide, idle, servile, wavering, and continually floatine on the tempestuous Ocean of divers passions, which tosse and rote the same, wholly depending of others: There is more difference, than is betweene heaven and earth, and yet such is the blindness of our custome, that we make little or no accoumt of it. Whereas, if we consider a Cottager & a King, a noble and a handie-crafts-man, a magistrate and a private man, a ritch man and a poore; an extreme disparitie doth imediately present it felle vnto our eyes, which, as a man may say, differ in nothing, but in their clothes. In Thrace, the King was after a pleasant manner distinguished from his people, and which was much endeared: He had a religion apart: a God vnto himselfe, whom his subjectes might no wates adore: It was Mercurie: And he disliked their Gods, which were Mars, Bacchus, and Diana; yet are they but pictures, which make no essential difference. For, as enterlude-plateers, you shall now see them on the stage, play a King, an Emperor, or a Duke, but they are no fooner of the stage, but they are base raskals, vagabond objects, and porterly-hirings, which is their naturall and original condition: even so the Emperor, whose glorious pomp doth so dazzle you in publice:

--- scelret & grander vividi cum luce flamagdi
Avro incinuatur, territque Thalassina visitis
Affiduci, & Venetius judorem exercita potat,
Great emerald's with their grasse-green-light in gold

Are
The first Booke.

Arc clos’d, not long can marriage-linnen hold,  
But wonne with vfe and heate  
of venery drink’s the heate.

View him behinde the curtaine, and you fee but an ordinarie man, and peradventure more  
wise, and more feeling, than the leaft of his subjects. The beatus amorvium est; ifius bratiae a felici- 
certas est. One is inwardly happy; an others felicines is placed and guilt-overflow. Cowardife, irresolution,  
ambition, sight, anger, and envie, move and worke in him as in another:

\[ \text{Non enim gaza, neque considerari} \]  
\[ \text{Suum movet ilier, miseros tumultus} \]  
\[ \text{Mentis & cura inquenta circum} \]  
\[ \text{— Tell costume.} \]  

Nor treasures, nor Maire officers remove  
The miserable tumult of the mind.  
Or care, that lie about, or fly above  
Their high-rooft houses with huge beams combinde.

And fear, and care, and suspect, haunt and follow him, even in the middeft of his armed  
troupes.

\[ \text{Reverique metus dominum, curas, sequacris} \]  
\[ \text{Nec metuunt sonitus armorum, nec fera tela,} \]  
\[ \text{Audaxque inter reges, verûmque potentes} \]  
\[ \text{Verfunt, neque sublimem reverentur ab avro.} \]  

Indeece mens full-attending cares and feare,  
Nor armor’s clashing, nor fierce weapons seare,  
With Kings conversfe they boldely, and kings peere,  
Fearing no lightning that from gold appeares.

Doth theague, the megirm, or the goat spare him more then vs? When age shall once  
seize on his shoulders, can then the tall yeomen of his garde discharge him of it? When  
the terror of ruthles balefull death shall affaile him, can he be comforted by the affistance of  
the gentlemen of his chamber? If he chance to be jealoûs or capriciouûs, will our lowting-  
curtizies, or putting-off of hattes, bring him in tune againe? His bedstead enchafted all with  
gold and pearies hath no vertue to alay the pinching pangues of the cholike.

\[ \text{Nec calida cistus decedunt corpore sebres,} \]  
\[ \text{Textibus sua picturis orþique rubenti} \]  
\[ \text{Italeris, quam s piâbeia in vesta cubandum est.} \]  

Feavers no sooner from thy body flye  
If thou on arcs or red scarlet lie  
Tfelling, then if thou rest  
On coverles home-death.

The flatterers of Alexander the great, made him beleue, that he was the sonne of Jupiter,  
but being one day fore-hurt, and seeing the blood gush out of his woundes: And what thinke  
you of this? (Said he vnto them) Is not this blood of a lively-red bue, and mearely humane? Me  
thinks, it is not of that temper, which Homer faimeth to trill from the gods woundes. Her- 
modorus the Poet had made ce; tiane veres in honor of Antigonus, in which he called him the  
sonne of Phoebus; to whom he replied; My friend, He that empieth my close-foole knoweth  
well, there is no such matter. He is but a man at all afaiies; And if of himselfe he be a man ill  
borne, the Empire of the whole world cannot restore him.

\[ \text{Puellae.} \]  
\[ \text{Hunc rapiant, quidquid calcevortis, hic rofa stat.} \]  
\[ \text{Wenches muft ravish him, what euer he} \]  
\[ \text{Shall tread vpon, eft foones a rofe must be.} \]  

What of that? If he be of a grofe, flupide, and feeneles mind; voluptuousnes and good for- 
tune it selfe, are not perceived without vigior, wit, and livelines.

\[ \text{Hec periinde sunt, et illius animus qui ex possidei,} \]  
\[ \text{Qui vis sit, si bona, illi qui non vis uter reft,e mala.} \]  

These things are such, as the possesflores minde,  
Good, if well vs’d; if ill, them ill we finde.

Whatsoever
The first Booke.

Whatever the goods of fortune are, a man must have a proper sense to favour them: It is the enjoying, and not the possessing of them, that makes vs happy.

Non domus & fundus, non avis acerum & auris,
Agro domini deductor corpore febres,
Non animo cura, vultat possessor operis,
Qui componunt rebus bene cognitati.

Oui caput, aut metu, inquit ilium sic dominus aut res,
Vt hippum pieta tabula, somente podagra.

Not house and land, and heapes of coin and gold
Rid agues, which their sicke Lordes body hold,
Or cares from minde, the owner must be in health,
That well doth thinke to vs his hoarded wealth.

He that defires for cares, house, goods, delight,
As soments doe the gout, pictures fore-fight.
Be not caske cleane, all that you powre
Into the caske, will straight be fowre.

He is a foole, his table is wallowish and distracted, he enjoyeth it no more, then one that hath a great colde, dooth the sweeteneffe of Greeke wine, or a house the riches of a costly-faire furniture, wherewith he is trapped. Even as Plato faith, That health, beauty, strength, riches, and all things else be called good, are equally as ill to the vninf, as good to the inf; and the evil contrarywise. And then, where the body and the soule are in ill plight, what neede these externall commodities? Seeing the leaf prickce of a needle, and passion of the minde is able to deprive vs of the pleasure of the worlds Monarchie. The first fit of an ague, or the first guird that the gout gives him, what availe his goodly titles of Majestie?

Tibi l.L. El. 27.
Tutis & argento confitatus, tutis & auro.
All made of silver fine,
All gold pure from the mine.

doeth he not forthe wivle the remembrance of his palaces and states? If he be angry or vexed, can his principalities keepe-him from blushing, from growing pale, from fretting, or from gnashing his teeth? Now if he be a man of worth, and well-borne, his royallie, and his glorious titles will adde but little vnto his good fortune.\[.

Si venti bene, si lateri est pedibusque tuis, nit
Divite poterunt regales addere mans.
If it be well with belly, feete, and sides,
A Kings estate no greater good provides.

He feeth they are but illusions, and vaine deceits. Hee may happily be of King Seleucus his advise: That he who fore-knew the weight of a Scepter, should be finde it lying on the ground, he would not daigne to take it up. This he said, by reason of the weighte, irkstone and painefull charges, that are incident vnsto a good King. Truely, it is no small matter to governe others, since so many croifes and difficulties offer themselves, if we will governe our selves well. Touching commannding of others, which in fewe femeth to be so sweete, confidering the imbecilitie of mans judgement, and the dificultie of choise in new and doubtfull things. I am confident of this opinion, that it is much more easie and plauisible to follow, then to guide: and that it is a great settling of the minde, to be tied but to one beaten-path, and to answere but for himselfe.

Luc. L.S. 113.
Ut fatius multo iam sit, perere quietum,
Quam regere imperio res velle.

Much better this, in quiet to obey,
Then to desire with Kings-power all to sway.

Seeing Cirus faide, That it belongs not to a man to command, that is not of more worth, then those whom he commandeth. But King Heron in Xenophen addeth moreover, That in truely enjoying of carnall senesialities, they are of much worse condition, then private men, for although as ease and facultie, depriveth them of that soure-sweete tickling, which we finde in them.

Ovid. am. l. 2.
Pinguas amar nimiumque potens, in tarda nobis

Veritas, & somacho dulcis vs est a nocet.
The first Booke.

Fat over powerfull love doth loathome grow,
As fullsome sweets were to makest overthrow.

Thinke-we, that high-minded men take great pleasure in musique? The fatietie thereof makes it rather tedious unto them. Feasts, banquets, revels, dancing, masks and turneys, rejouyce them that but seldom see them, and that have much desired to see them: the taste of which becommeth cloyesome and unpleasing to those that daily see, and ordinarily have them: Not doe Ladies tickle those, that at pleasure and without suspect may be glutted with them. He that cannot stay till he be thirled, can take no pleasure in drinking. Enter- ludes and comedies rejouyce and make vs merry, but to players they are tedious and taftlesse. Which to prove, wee see, it is a delight for Princes, and a recreation for them, sometimes to disguise themselves, and to take upon them a safe and popular kind of life.

- Pleasure make grate principfus vices;
- Muldeaque parvo sub lave parpermun
- Cine sine atfis & ofpu,
- Soleciuam explicuc vefem
- Princes do commonly like entercchange,
- And cleane mezles where poore-men poorely house,
- Without all taftrily or carpets strange,
- Pnrmekde have their care-knit,thought-bent browes.

Nothing doth sooner breede a disfaife or fatietie, than plentiful What longing-lust would not be alabe, to see three hundred women at his dispose and pleasure, as hath the Grand Turk in his Serail? And what a desire and thiew of hawkings did he refered to himselfe from his ancestors, that never went abroad without a thousand falkners at leaff? Besides which, I thinke, the lufter of greatneffe, brings no small incommodities to the enjoying of sweeter pleasures: They lie too open, and are too much in sight. And I wot not why a man should longer desire them to conceale or hide their fault: For, what in vs is indiscretion, the people judge to bytarynn, contempt, and disdain of the lawes in them: And besides the readie inclination vnto vice, it feemeth they also add to it the pleasure of gourmandizing, and to prostitute publike obseruances under their feete. Verily Plato in his Gorgias, desemeth him to be a tyrant, that in a Citiie hath leave and power to doe what ever he list.

And therefore often, the syew and publication of their vice hurteth more then the finne it self. Every man feared to be spied and controlled; which they are even in their countenances and thoughts: All the people efteming to have right and interest to judge of them.

And we fee that blemishes grow either leffer or bigger, according to the eminence, and light of the place, where they are set, and that a mole or a wart in ones forehead is more apparently perceived, then a freare in another place. And that is the reason why Poets fame Jupiter's loves to have beene effectet under other countenances, then his owne: And of so many amorous-shifts, and love-practises, they impute to him, there is but one (as farre as I remember) where he is to be feene in his greatneffe and majestie. But remake we to Hieron: he also relateth, how many incommodities he foundeth in his royaltie, being so barred, that hee cannot at his libertie travel or goe whither he pleafeth, being as it were a prisoner within the limites of his country, and that in all his actions he is encircled and hemmed-in with an impomane and tedious multitude. Truely, to see our Princes all-alone, sitting at their meat, beleaged-round with so many talkers, whisperers, and gazing-beholders, unknowne what they are or whence they come, I have often rather pittied then envied them. King Alphonfus was wont to say, that burthone-bearing affes were in that, in faire better condition then Kings; for, their masters suffer them to feede at their ease, whereas Kings can not obtaine that privilege of their servants. And it could never fall into my minde, that it might be any special commodity to the life of a man of vnderstanding, to have a score of finde-faults, pickethanks, and controllers about his close-floole; nor that the service of a man, that hath a thousand pound rent a yeare, or that hath taken Cotes, or defended Sieme, is more commodious or acceptable to him, then that of a sufficient, and well-experienced groome. Prince like advantages, are in a manner but imaginary prehmenes: Every degree of fortune, hath some image of Principaltie. Cajar termeth all the Lords, which in his time had justice in France, to be Kings; or petty-kings. And truly, except the name of Sire, we goe very faire with our Kings. Looke but in the Province's remote and faire from the court:
court: As for example, in Britannia, the attending traine, the flocking subjects, the number of officers, the many affaires, the diligent service, the obsequious ceremonies of a Lord, that liveth retired, and in his owne house, brought-up amongst his owne servants, tenants, and followers: And note also the high pitch of his imaginations, and humours, there is no greater royaltie can be seen: He heareth no more talk of his matter, then of the Persian King, and happily but once a yeare: And knowes but some farre-fetcht, and old kinred or pedgree, which his Secretary findes or keepes vpon some ancient record or evidence. Verily our laws are very free, and the burthen of soveraigne, doth scarcely concerna a gentleman of France twice in his whole life. Efinetall and effectuall subjection amongst vs doth not respect any, but such as allure themselves vnto it, and that affect to honour, and love to enrich themselves by such service: For he that can flrowd and retire himselfe in his owne home, and can manage and direct his house without futes in lawe, or quarrell with his neighbours, or domesticall encumbrances, is as free as the Duke of Venice. Princes servitus, phares servientem tenent. Service holds few, but many bold service. But above all things Hieronymoeth to complain, that he perceiveth himselfe deprived of all mutuall friendship, reciprocally, fictitious, and familiar conversation, wherein confinsheth the most perfect and sweetest fruit of humane life. For, what in doubtfull testimonie of affection and good will, can I expect or exact from him, that will-he or nill-he, oweth me all he hath, all he can? Can I make acap of his humble speech, of his low-lowing curtzie, or of his curtesse offers, since it lieth not in his power to refuse them me? The honour we receive of those which feare and stand in awe of vs, is no true honour. Such respectes are rather due to royaltie, to majestie, then to me.

Seni. ep. 22.

Sert. c. 1.

maximum hoc regni bonum est
et salutis dominorum populus est
Deum ferre, tam laudare.
This is chief good of Princes dominationes,
Subjects are for't their favours acts and fashions
To bear with patience, pale in with commendations.

Do I not see, that both the badde and the good King are served alike? That hee who is hated, and he that is beloved are both courted alike? And the one as much fawned vpon as the other? My predecessour was served with the same apperances, and waited vpon with the like cereymes, and so shal my successour be. If my subjects offend me not, it is no testimony of any good affection. Wherefore shall I take-it in that sense, thence they cannot, if they would? No man foloweth me for any friendship that is betweene him and me insomuch as no firme friendship can be contracst, where is so small relation, so tender correspondencie, & such disparity. My high degree hath excluded me from the commerce of men. There is too great an inequality, and diftint disproportion. They follow for counternace, and of cuftome, or rather my fortune then my selfe: hoping thereby to encrease theirs. Whatsoever they say, all they doe vnto me, is but a glosse, and but dissimulation, their liberty being everie where bridled, and checked by the great power I have over them. I fee nothing about me, but inercurable hearts, hollow minds, fainted looks, dissembled speeches, and counterfeit actions. His Courtoirs one day commanded Indian the Emperor for ministring of right, and doing of justice, I should easily grow proud (said he) for these praises, if they came from such as durest ethyr accuse or discarment my contrary actions, should I commit any. At the true commodities that Princes have, are common vnto them with men of meanes fortune. It is for Gods to mount winged horses, and to feed on Ambrofia. They have no other sleep, not other appetite then ours. Their steele is of no better temper, than that wherewith wee armee our selves. Their crowne, their diadem can neither hide them from the Sun, nor shelter them from the raine. Diocletian that wore one so much reverenced, and so fortunate, did voluntarily resigne the same, to with-draw himselfe vnto the pleaure of a private life; but a while after, the vrgent necessitie of publicke affaires requiring his presence, and that he should returne to re-affume his charge againe, he answered those that solicited him vnto it: you would never undertake to persuad me to that, had you but seen the goodly ranks of trees, which myselfe have planted in mine Orchard, or the faire muske-melons, I have set in my garden. According to Aeneas his opinion, The happiest estate of a well-ordered common wealth should be, where all other things being equally common, precedence should be measured, and preference...
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At what time King Pirrus undertook to passe into Italy, Cynneas his wife and constant counsellor, going about to make him perceive the vanity of his ambition, one day bespake him thus. "My good Sir, (said he) to what end do you prepare so great an enterprize? He answered disdainfully, to make myself lord of Italy. That done, what will you do then?" (replied Cynneas) I will then passe (said Pirrus) into Gaul, and then into Spayne: And what afterwards? I will then invade Affrike, and subdue the same; and at last, when I shall have brought all the world under my subjection, I will then take my rest, and live contented at mine ease. Now, for God's sake Sir, (replied Cynneas) Tell me, what hinder you, that you be not now so to you please, in that estate? Wherefore do you not now place your selfe, where you mean to aspire, and save so much danger, so many hazards, and so great troubles as you enterpoze betweene both?

Nimium quia non bene morat qua esset habendi
Finis, et omnia quae crescat vera voluptas.
The cause forsooth, he knew not what should be the end
Of having, nor how farre true pleasure should extend.

I will exclude and shut vp this treatise with an ancient verse, which I singularly applaude, and deeme fit to this purpofe.

Mores soleque sui sunt fortissimis.
Evry mans maners and his mind,
His fortune to him frame and find.

Lucr. I. 5. 14-35

Cic. Paral. 5.

The three and fortieh Chapter.

Of sumptuaria Lawes, or Lawes for moderating of expences.

The maner wherewith our Lawes aitay to moderate the foolish and vaine expences of table,cheare and apparell, seemeth contrary to it's end. The best course were to beget in men a contempt of gold and silk-wearing, as of vaine and vnprofitable things, whereas we encreafe their credeite and price: A most indirect course to withdraw men from them.

As for example, to let none but Princes eate dainties, or weare velvets, and clothes of stuffe, and intemperantly the people to do it, what is it but to give reputation unto those things, and to encreafe their longing to vfe them? Let Kings boldly quit those badges of honoure; They have many other besides: Such excelle is more excelleable in other men, then in Princes. We may, by the examples of divers Nations, leaue fundry better fashions to distinguishe our selves and our degrees (which truely I lafteeme requisite in an estate,) without nourishing to that purpose, this so manifest corruption and apparant inconvenience. It is strange how custom in these indifferent things doth easily encroch and sodainely establishe the footing of him authority. We had fcarce worne cloth one whole yeare at the Court, what time we mourned for our King Henry the second, but certeinly in everie mans opinion, all manner of silkes were already become fo vile and abject, that was any man feme to weare them, he was presentely judged to be some countrie fellow, or mechanical man. They were left onely for chryrurgians and Phyfians. And albeit most men were appareled a like, yet were there other sufficient apparant distinctions of mens qualities. How soone doe plaine chamoy-jerkins, and greasie canvafe doublets crepe into fashion and credeite amongst our fouldiers, if they lie in the field? And the garfinede, nestennele, and riches of silken garments grow in contempt and scornes? Let Kings firste beginne to leave these superfuous expences, we hall all follow, and within a moneth, without edicts, ordinances, proclamations, and acts of parliaments, it will be observed as a law. The statutes should speake contrary, as thus. That no man or woman, of what qualite soever, shall, vpoun paine of great forsetures, weare any manner of silke, of scarlet, or any gold-finiths worke, except only Entertainde-players, Harlots, and Curtizans. With such an invention did Zeleucus whilome correct the corrupted maners of the Locrines. His ordinances were such. Be it enacted, that no woman offree condition, shall have
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have any more then one maide servant to follow her when she goeth abroad, except when she shall be drunken: And further, that she may not goe out of the City by night, nor weare any jewels of gold, or precious stones about her, nor any gownes bettir with goldsmithes work or imbroderie, except she be a publicke professed whore: and moreover, that except pendant and bawdes, it shall not be lawfull for any man to weare any gold-rings on his fingers, nor any rich garments, as are such of cloth made in the Cittie of Mileten. So did he by these reprochefull exceptions ingeniously drive his citizenes from vaine superfluities, and pernicious dainties. It was a most profitable course, by honor and ambition to allure men unto their dutie and obedience. Our Kings have the power to redresse all these external reformatiouns. Their inclination serveth them as a law. *Quicquid principes faciunt, precipere videtur.* Whatsoever Princes doe, that, they seeme to command. The rest of France takes the model of the court, as a rule vnto it selfe to follow. Let courtiers first beginne to leave off and loose these filthy and apish breeches, that so openly shew our secret partes; the bumbling of long peafe-cod-bellied doublets, which make vs seeme so farre from what we are, and which are so combersome to arme: These long, effeminate, and dangling locks: That fond custome to kisse what we present to others, and Befolas manus in saluting of our friends: (a ceremony heretofore only due vnto Princes) And for a gentleman to come to any place of respect, without his rapier by his side, all vnbraced, all vnbrust, as if he came from his clofe-floole: And that, against our forefathers manner, and the particular libertie of our French nobilitie, we should stand bare-headed, aloofe off from them, wherefore they be, and as about them, about many others: So many petty-kings, and petty-petty-kings, have wee now adayes: And fo of other like new-fangled and vicious introductions: They shall soone bee seene to vanish and be left. Although but superficial faults, yet are they evil prefages. And we are warned, that the foundation or maine summers of our houes faile and shrinke, when we see the quarters bend, or walles to breake. *Plata in his lawes,* thinkes there is no worse plague, or more pernicious in his Cittie, then to suffer youth, to have the reines of libertie in her owne hand, to change in their attires, in their gestures, dances, exercices, and songs, from one forme to another: And to remove their judgement, now to this, now to that place, following new-fangled devises, and regarding their inventors: By which, old customes are corrupted, and ancient instituptions despoiled. In all things, except the wicked, mutation is to be feared; yea even the alteration of seasons, of windes, of offlings, and of humours. And no lawes are in perfect credite, but those to which God hath given some ancient continuance: So that no man know their off-spring, nor that ever they were other then they are.

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The foure and fourtieth Chapter.

Of sleeping.

Rapho doth appoint vs ever to walke in one path, but not alwaies to keepe one pace: And that a wife-man shoul not permit humane affations to flye from the right carrier: hee may (without prejudice vnto his dutie) also leave it vnto them eitherto haften or to slow his pace, and not place himselfe as an inmoveable and impassible *Colossus.* Were vertue herselfe corporeal and incarnate, I think her pulse would beat and worke stronger, marching to an assault, then going to dinner: For, it is necessarie that the heart and move her selfe. I have therefore marked it as a rare thing, to see great personnages sometimes, even in their weightiest enterprises, and most important affaires, hold themselves so refolutely-affured in their state, that they doe not so much as brake their speeche for them. Alexander the great, on the day appointed for that furious-bloodie battle against Darius, slept so soundly and so long that morning, that Parmenion was faine to enter his chamber, and approaching neere vnto his bed, twice or thrice to call him by his name, to awaken him, the houre of the battle being at hand, and urging him. *Otb* the Emperour having determined to kill himselfe; the very same night, after he had given order for his domestical affaires, shared his monie
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monic amongst his servants, and whetted the edge of a sword, wherewith he intended to wound himselfe, expecting no other thing, but to know whether all his friends were gone to rest, fell into so fast a sleepe, that the grooms of his chamber heard him snore in another room. This Emperor's death hath many partes semblable vnto that of great Cato, and namely this: For, Cato being prepared to defeate himselfe, whist he expected to hear newes, whether the Senators, whom he causeth to retire, were lanch'd out from the haven of Vutra, fell so fast asleep, that he was heard to snore into the next chamber: And he whom he had sent toward the porte, having awaked him, to tell him, the storme was so rough, that the Senators could not conveniently put out to sea, he sent another, and lying downe a new, fell asleep againe, vntill the last messenger affured him, they were gone. Wee may also compare him vnto Alexander, in that great and dangerous storme, which threatened him, by the fedition of Metellus the Tribune, who laboured to publish the decree of Pompey re-appeale into the Cittie, together with his armie, at what time the emotion of Catiline was so foote: against which decree, only Cato did insist, and to that purpose had Metellus, and he had many injurious speeches, and menaced one another in the Senate house: And it was the next day, they were like to come to the execution in the market-place, where Metellus, besides the favour of the common people, and of Cesar, conspiring and complottting for the advancement of Pompey, should come, accompanied with a multitude of strange and foraine flaves and fencers, to doe their vmtol: And Cato strengthened with his onely confiance, and with an vnmutted resolve: So that his kinmen, his familiars, and many honnest men tookee great care, and were in heavy anxiety and penaивeness for him: of which many never left him all night, but fette vp together, without refst, eating, or drinking, by reason of the danger they saw prepared for him; yet his wife and fitters did nought but weep & wayle, and for his fake torment themselves in their house, whereas contrariwise he alone comforted every body, and blamed them, for their demiffiveness: And after he had supped, (as he was wont) he went quietly to his bed, and slept very soundly vntill the next morning, that one of his copartners in the Tribune-ship, came to call him, to goe to the skirmish. The knowledge we have of this mans vnmutted-haughtine heart, by the rest of his life may make vs judge with all securite, that it onely proceeded from a spirit, fo faire elevated aboive fuch accidents, that hee daineed not so much as to trouble his minde with them, no more then with ordinary chances. In the sea-fight, which Auguifus gained against Sextus Pompeius in Sicilia, even at the instant he should goe to fight, was surprised with so heavy a sleepe, that his friends were compelled to awakene him, to give the signall of the battell, which afterward gave occasion vnto Marcus Antonius, to charge him with this imputation, that he had not dared with open eyes to survey the ordinance of his armie, and that his heart would not suffice him, to present himselfe vnto his foeldiers, vntill such time that Agrippa brought him newes of the victory he had obtained of his enemies. But concerning young Marius, who committed a greater error (for on the day of his last battell against Sylla, after he had marshalled his armie, and given the word or signall of the battell, hee lay downe in the shadow under a tree, a while to rest himselfe, and fell so fast asleep, that hee could hardly be awaked with the rowe and flight of his men, having seen no parte of the fight) they say, it was because he was so exceedingly aggrevated with travel, and over-tired with weariness, and want of sleepe, that nature was overcome, and could no longer endure. And touching this point, Phitians may confider, whether sleepe be so necessarie, that our life must needs depend of it: For we finde that Perseus King of Macedon, prisoner at Rome, being kept from sleepe, was made to dye, but Plinius aladgerth, that some have lived a long time without any sleepe at all. And Herodotus reporteth, There are Nations, where men sleepe and wake by half yeares. And those that write the life of Epimenides the wife, affirm, that he slept the continual space of seven and fifty yeares.
The fifth and fortie th Chapter.

Of the battle of Dreux.

There happened divers rare accidents, and remarkable chances in our battle of Dreux: but those who do not greatly favour the reputation of the Duke of Guise, doe boldl'y aledge, that he cannot be excused, to have made a stand, and temporiz'd with the forces he commanded, whilst the Lord Constable of France, Generall of the Armie, was engaged and suppress'd with the enemies Artillerie, and that it had beene better for him, to hazard himselfe, to charge the enemy flankwise, then by expecting any advantage, to have him come behind him, to suffer so reprochfull an overthrow, and so shamefull a losse. But omitting what the event thereof witnesseth, hee that shall without passion debate the matter, shall easily (in my conceit) confesse, that the ayme and drift, not only of a Captaine, but of every particular Souldier, ought chiefly to respect a victorie in great: And that no particular occurrences, of what consequnce soever, or what interest may depend on them, should never divert him from that point: Philopamen in an encounter with Machanidas, having sent before a strong troup of Archers, and good matkemen, to beginne the skirmish: and the enemy, after he had put them to route and dis-ranked them, amussing himselfe in mainly pursuing them, and following the victorie along with the maine battell, where Philopamen was, although his Souldiers were much mov'd and offended to see their fellows put to the worft, he could not be induc'd to bouse from his place, nor make head against his enemie, to succour his men; but rather, having suffer'd them to bee defeated, and cutt in pieces before his face, began to charge his enemies in the battalion of their Infanterie, when he perceived them forfaken of their horsemen; And albeit they were Lacedemonians, forasmuch as he charged them, at what time (supposing to have gained the day) they began to disord're themselves, hee easily overcame them; which done, hee pursu'd Machanidas. This case, is cousin-german unto that of the Duke of Guise. In that sharp-bloodie battell of Agesilaus against the Boetians, which Xenophon (who was there present) faith, To have beene the whoteft and rudest, that ever he had seene: Agesilaus refused the advantage, which fortune presented him, to let the battalion of the Boetians passe, and to charge them behind, what certaine victorie soever he saw likely to follow the fame, seeing that it were rather skill then valor, and to shew his provesses, and matchles-haughty courage, chose rather to charge them in the front of their forces: But what followed? He was well beaten, and himselfe fore-hurt, and in the end compelled to leave his enter-prize, and embrace the resolution, which in the beginning he had refused, causyng his men to open themselves, to give passage vnto that torrent of the Boetians; who when they were past through, perceiving them to march in disarray, as they who perswaded themselves to be out of all danger, he pursu'd them, and charged them flank-wise. All which notwithstanding, he could never put to route, or force them run away, for they, orderly, and faire and softly made their retreat, ever showing their face, untill such time as they got safely into their houl'des and trenches.

The sixe and fortie th Chapter.

Of Names.

What diversitie soever there-be in hearbs, all are shuffled-up together vnder the name of a fallade. Even so, vpon the consideration of names, I wil here huddle-up a galimatric of divers articles. Every severall nation hath some names, which, I wot not how are
The first Booke.

are sometimes taken in all part, as with vs Jache, Hodge, Tom, Will, But, Benet, and so forth. Item, it seemeth that in the genealogies of Princes, there are certaine names falsely affected; as Pro-


tomeus with the Egyptians, Henries in England, Charles in France, Balduinis in Flanders, and Williams in our ancient Aquitanie, whence some sone came the name of Guienne; which is but a cold invention: As if in Plato himselfe there were not some as harsh and illounding. Item, it is an idle matter, yet nevertheless by reason of the strangenes, worthie the memory, and recorded by an oulde witnes, that Henrie Duke of Normandie, sonne to Henrie King of England, making a great feast in France, the assemble of the Nobilitie was so great, that for pathmes false, being, by the reSEMBling of their names, divided into severall companies: in the first the were a hundred and ten Knights sitting at one table, and all called Williams besides private Gentlemen and servants. It is as pleasant to distribute the tables by the names of the assistants, as it was unto Getz the Emperor, who would have all his miffles or dishes served in at his table orderly according to the first letters of their names; As for example, those that beganne with P. as pig, pie, pike, puddings, potts, potke, pancakes, &c. were all served in together, and so of all the rest. Item, it is a common saying, That it is good to have a good name: As much to say, good credit, or good reputation. Yet verily it is very commodious to have a wellounding and smooth name, and which is easy to be pronounced, and facile to be remembred: For, Kings, Princes, Lords, and magistrates knowe and rememb're vs the better by them, and will not so onoe forget vs. Marke but of those that serve and follow vs, whether we doe not more ordinarily command, and sooner employ such, whose names come readier to our tongue, or memory. I have seen our King Henrie the second, who could never hit on the right name of a Gentleman of Galewign, and did ever call a Ladie waiting on the Queene, by the generall surname of her house, because that of his father was so harsh, and hard to be remembred. And Socrates faith, It ought to be a fathers special care, to give his children good and safeounding names. Item, it is reported, that the foundation of our Ladie the great at Poitiers had this beginning: A licentious young man having his dwelling-house where the church now standeth, had one night gotten a wench to lie with him, who so onoe as she came to bed, he demanded his name, who answered, Marie. The young man hearing that name, was sodainely so strucken with a motive of religion, and an awefull respect unto that sacred name, of the virgin Marie, the blessed mother of our Saviour and Redeemer, that he did not only presently put her away from him, but reform'd all the remainder of his succeeding life: And that in consideration of this miracle, there was first erected a chappell in the place where this young man house floode, consecrated unto that holy name, and afterward the faire great church, which yet continues. This vocale and auricular correction, and so full of devotion, strucke right unto his soule. This other following, of the same kind, insinuated itselfe by the corporall senses. Pithagoras being in company with two yong men, whom he heard complot and consult (being some what heated with feastings and drinking) to goe and ravish with a chaste house, commanded immediately the minittlest to change their tune; and so by a solemn grave, severe, and spondiacall kind of muffle, did exceedingly inchant, allay, and in trance their rash, violent, and lawless lust. Item, that not succeeding postterite say, that our moderne reformation hath been exact and delicate, to have not onely oppugned and refilled errors and vices, and filled the world with devotion, humilitie, obedience, peace, and every other kind of vertue, but even to have combated their ancient names of baphistine, Charles, Lewes, Francis, to people the world with Mathew, Ezechiel, Malachie, much better feeling of a lively faith? A Gentleman my neighbour, entering the commodities of ancient times in regard of our daies, forgot not to alledge the fierceenes and magnificence of the names of the Nobilitie of those times, as Don Grismedon, Quedragon, and Agellian: And that, but to hear them founded, a man might easily perceive, they had bee ne other manner of men, then Peter, Guillot, or Miebell. Item, I commend, and am much beholding to James Amiot, in the course of a French oration of his to have full kept the full ancient Latin names, without disguising or changing them, to give them a new French cadence. At the first they seemed somewhat harsh unto the Reader, but now, by reason of the credit, which his Pithark hath deservedly gotten amongst vs, custom hath removed all strangenes from vs. I have often wished that those who write histories in Latin, would leave vs our names whole, and such as they are: For, altering Vaudemont, to Vallemontanus, and metamorphosing them, by futing them to the

O3

Gracian
Grecian or Latin tongue, we know not what to make of them, and are often at a non-plus. To conclude my discourse; It is an ill custome, and of exceeding bad consequence in our countrey of France, to call every man by the name of his Townsend, Manor, Hamlet or Lordship, as the thing that doth most confound houses, and bring sur-names out of knowledge. A cadet or young brother of a good house, having had for his appanage a Lordship, by whose name he hath beene knowne and honored, cannot well forlacke and leave the same tenne years after his death; His Lordship commeth vnto a stranger, who doth the like; Ghesse then where we are, and how we shall doe to come to the perfect knowledge of these men. We neede not goe farre for other examples, but looke into our Royall house, where so many partages, so many sur-names, and so many severall titles have to enforcement, that the original of the flocke is utterly lost. There is so much liberality in these mutations, that even in my time, I have seene no man nor woman advanced by fortune vnto some extraordinary preferment, that hath not immediately had adjoyned vnto him his Genealogical titles, new and unknowntowne to their fathers, and that hath not bee engaged into some noble flocke or familie. And as good lucke serveth, the bastef vpstart, and most obtuse houses are most apt vnto adulteration, and falsification. How many privat Gentlemen have we in France, which according to their account, and blazoning of their gentrie are of the royall blood or race? I beleive more then others. Was it not prettie said, and with a good grace, by one of my friends? There was a great company bandied together about a quarell which a Gentleman had with another, who in great truth had some prerogative of titles, honours, and alliances aboue the common force of Nobilitie; upon which word of his prerogative, every one seeking to equall-himselfe vnto him, alleged, some one of-spring, some another, some the resemblance of his name, some of his amours, othersome an old far-feach pedigree, and the meanest of them to be the great grand-childe of some King beyond the Seas. When they came all to dinner, this man whom hitherto they had all followed, in hee of taking his wonted place, making low-lowing reverences, went to the lowest end of the board, entreating the company to hould him excused, that through rash vnadvisednes he had thither to lived with them companion-like, but now being lately enforced of their right qualities, he began to know them according to their ancient degrees, and that it did not dely belong vnto him to sit above so many Princes. And after he had accted his play, he began to raile vpon them with a thousand injuries; saying thus vnto them: For the love of God content your selves, with what your forefathers have bin contented, and with the state whereunto God hath called vs: we have sufficient if wee can maintaine it well, let vs not disparage the fortune and condition of our predeceffors; and reject we these fond imaginations, which can not faile any man, whatsoever hee be, that is so impudent as to alledge them. Coats, Armes, and Coates have no more certaintie then surnames. I beare Azure fene of trefoilles, a Lions Paw in face, Or, armed Gules. What priviledge hath this Coate, that it shoulde for ever continue particularly to my house? A Coate in lawe will transforme the fame into an other familie: Some fille-vpstart purchaser of amours will make it his chiefe Coate. There is nothing wherein mentte amours alterations and so much confusion.

But this consideration draweth mee perforce vnto an other field. Let vs somewhat narrowly search-into, and for Gods sake consider, on what foundacion we ground this glorie and reputation, for which the world is turned topsie-turvie. On what doe we eftablish this transitorie renowne, which with so great minde-possession toyte, and indufferly we fecke and gape-after? In fine, it is Peter or William, that beareth the fame (marke-it well reader) and to whom it belongeth. Is not hope a courageous facultie, which in a mortallsubject, and in a moment, feeks to vsurp infinite, and immenfitie, and to replenishe his maffers indigence with the possession of all things he can imagine or descry, before it would? Nature hath given vs a pleasant joy to play withal in that. Is it Peter or William. And what is that but a word for all mouths; or three or foure daies of a pen, first so easie to be varied, as I would willingly aske thofe, whom the honor of so many victoires concerneth, or whether Guesquin, or Guesquin, or Guesquin? yet were there more appearance here, then in Lucian that Z. did sue T. for,
The wager goeth deeper: The question is, which letter must be paide with so many sieges, battels, hurts, imprisonments, and services done vnto the crowne of France by hir ever-renowned Counftable. Nicholas Deniſor hath no care but of the letters of his name, and hath changed all the contexture of them, there-out to frame the Earle of Alfonſo, whom he hath honored & presented with the glory of his Poefie & Painting. And Suetonius the Historian hath loved but the fenfe of his own, & having taken away Lewis, which was his fathers surname, hath left Tranquillus successor of his compositions reputation. Who would believe, Captaine Euyard had no honor, but that which he hath borrowed from the acts of Peter Terrailli, And that Antonio Eſcalin (even before his die) suffered Captaine Poulis, and the Baron of La Garde, to steale so many Navigations, voyages and attempts, both by sea and land from him? Secondly they are daishes, and tricks of the penne common vnto a thousand men. How many are there in all races or families both of one name and surname? And how many in divers families, races, ages, and countries? History hath known three Socrates, five Platæs, eight Aristotles, feaven Xenophon, twenty Demetrius, twenty Theodoris: besides which, imagine how many came not to her knowledge. Who letteth his horfe boy to call himselfe Pompey the Great? But after all, what means, what devises, are there that annex vnto his horfe-keeper deceaſed, or to that other who had his head cut-off in Egypt, or that joyned vnto them this glorified, and faire-renowned worde, and these penne-daishes, so much honored, that they may thereby advantage themselves?

Id cineris & manes credis curare sepultos?

Think you, ghost's buried, afhes dead,
Care much how we alive are sped?

What feeling motion of revenge have the two companions in chiefe valor amongſt men;

Epanomondas of that glorious vefel, which fo many ages since is fo common in our mouthes for him?

Confily nosvris laus eft attrita Lacunam.

By our complots the haught-renowne
Of Spartan Gallans was brought downe.

And Africannus of that other:

A sole exoriente, supra Meeis paludes
Nemo eft, qui sallys me aqua parcare queat?
From funne-rife to the Scythian-lake of fame
None in exploites can equalize my name.

Thofe that survive are tincted with the pleafure of these words, and by them solicited with jelousie and desire, doe presently without consideration tranfmit by fantaſie this their proper motion of revenge vnto the deceaſed; and with a fond-deceiving hope perfwade themselves, when their turne commeth to be capable of it. God he knowes. It nevertheleſſe,

Romani Grauisque & Barbarum Induperator
Erexit, causas discrimum atque laboris
Inde habuit tanto maior fame fatis eſt, quam
Virtutis.

Hereto himſelfe the Romane Generall,
The Græciſan, the Barbarian, rouz'd and rais'd;
Heere hence drew caufe of perils, travaileſſes all:
So more, then to be good, thirft to be praiſ'd.

The seven and fortieth Chapter.

Of the uncertaintie of our judgemen.
Of words on either side,  
A large deal they divide.  

There is law sufficient to speake every where, both pro and contra; As for example:  

**Uince Hannibal, & non equus varri poi**  
Ben la victoria sua ventura.  
Hannibal conquer'd, but he knew not after  
To vie well his victorius good fortune.

He that shall take this part, and with our men go about, to make that over fight preval e, that we did not lately pursue our fortune at Moncontour: Or he that shall accuse the King of Spain, who could not vie the advantage he had against vs at Saint Quinioin, may say this fault to have proceeded from a minde drunken with his good fortune, and from a courage ful-gorged with the beginning of good luck, too looth the taste how to encrease it, being already hindered from digesting what he hath conceived of it: He hath his hands full, and cannot take holde of any more: Vyeworthie that ever fortune should cast so great a good into his lappe: For, what profit hath he of it, if notwithstanding, he gives his enemy leasure and means to recover himselfe? What hope may one have, that he will once more adventure to charge those re-enhanced and re-united forces, and new armed with despece and vengeance, that dust not, or knew not how to pursue them being dismayed and put to rowt?

**Dum fortuna calid, dum conficit omnis terror.**

While fortune is at height in heate,  
And terror worketh all by great.  

But to conclude, what can he expect better, then what he hath lately lost? It is not, at Fence, where the number of venues given, gets the victory: So long as the enemy is on foote, a man is newly to begin. It is no victory, except it end the warre. In that conflict where Caesar had the worfe, neere the City of Oricum, he reproochfully fliad into Pompei Souldiers, that he had utterly beece overbrowne, had their Captaine knownne how to conquer: and made him home after another fashion when it came to his turns. But why may not a man also hold the contrary? That it is the effect of an inflate and rash-headlong minde, not to know how to limite or periode his covetousnesse: That it is an abusing of Gods favours, to goe about to make them loose the measure he hath prescribed them, and that a new to call him self into danger after the victory, is once more to remit the same into the mercy of fortune: That one of the chiefef policies in militarie profession, is, not to drive his enemy vnto despaire. Silla and Marius in the sociall warre, having discomfited the Marinians, seeing one squadron of them yet on foote, which through dispersa, like furious beasts were deliriously comming upon them, could not be induced to stay or make head against them. If the fervor of Monsieur de Font had not drawn him over-rashly and madly to pursue the strangeness of the victory at Rave-mus, he had not blemished the same with his untimely death; yet did the fresh bleeding memory of his example serve to preserve the Lord of Anguion from the like inconvenience, at Serioles. It is dangerous to affile a man, whom you have bereaved of all other means to escape or shift for himselfe, but by his weapons: for, necessitie is a violent schoole of mutins, and which teacheth strange leasons: gravissimi sunt morphi urrisse necessitatiss. No bating of grieuous, as that of necessitie provoked and enraged.

**Vincitur hanc gratia ingulgi qui provocat hostem.**

For nought you over-come him not, 
Who bids his foe come cut his throate.

And that is the reason why the King of Lacedemon, who came from gaining of a victory against the Maritaines, from going to charge a thousand Argains, that were escaped whole from the discomfiture but rather to let them pale with all libertie, left they should come to make trial of provoked & despited virtue, through and by all fortune. Cloudomere king of Aegypt, after his victory, pursuing Condemmar king of Burgundie, vanquished & running away, forced him to make a land, and make head again, but his vanadised wiliufness deprived him of the fruit of the victory, for he dyed in the action. Likewise hee that should chuse, whether it were brest to keep his fooulders richly and sumptuously armed, or only for necessitie should seeme to yeeld in favour of the first, whereof was Sertorius, Philopomen, Brutus, Cesar, and others, urging that it is ever a spurre to honor and glory, for a foouldier to see him selfe gorgiously attired and richly armed, and an occasion to yeeld him selfe more obstinate
obstinate to fight, having the care to save his armes, as his goods and inheritance. A reason (fairly Xenophon) why the Asiatics carried with them, when they went to warres their wives and children, with all their jewels and chiefest wealth. And might also encline to the other side, which is, that a man should rather remove from his fouldier, all care to preserve himselfe, than to encrease it vnto him: for, by that means he shall doubly feare to hazard or engage himselfe, seeing her rich spoiles do rather encrease an earnest desire of victorie in the enemy: & it hath bin observed, the faith respect hath somtimes wonderfully encouraged the Romans against the Sarmutes: Antiochus, shewing the Army, he prepared against them, gorgeously accoutred with all pompe and splendour, vnto Hannibal, & demanding of him, whether the Romans would be contented with it: ye vetti, answered the other, they will be very well pleased with it: They must needs be so, were they never so covetous. Licurgoes forbade his Souldiers, not only all manner of sumptuousness, in their equipage, but also to vnee the slippee their enemies, when they overcame them, willing, as he said, that frugalitie and poverty should thrive with the rest of the battell. Both at sieges, and els-where, where occasion brings vs neere the enemy, we freely give our souldiers liberty, to brave, to difdain, and injure him with all maner of reproaches: And not without appearance of reason; for, it is no small matter, to take from them all hope of grace and composition, in presenting vnto them, that there is no way left to expect it, from him, whom they have to egregiously outraged, and that there is no remedy left but from victorie. Yet had Ptolemy but sad successe in that: for, having to deal with others weaker, in his Souldiers valour, and of long disfractified from warre, and emmatted through the delights and pleasures of the Cutty, himselfe in the end fet them so on fire with his reproachfull and injurious words, vpbraying them with their puffedanitie and faint-hartednesse, and with the regret of their Ladyes, banquettings and fensualityes, which they had left at Rome, that he put them into hart againe, which no persuafions or other means could doe before: and himselfe drew an olde home vpon his head, and made them voluntarily to runne away, that before could not be vrged to give the on-fet. And verily, when they are injures that touch a man to the qucke, they shall easily vrg him, who was very backward to fight for his Kings quarrell, to be very forward in his owne cause or interest. If a man but consider of what consequence the preseruation, and importance, the safety of a generall is in an army, and how the enemies chiefest ayme, is at the fairest marke, which is the head, from which all other depend, it seemeth that that counsell cannot be doubted-of, which by sundry great Chiefesines wee have scene put in practice, which is, in the beginning of the fight, or in the fury of the battell, to disguife themselves. Notwithstanding the inconvenience a man may by this means incurre, is no lesse then that mischief, which a man seeketh to avoid: For the Captaine being vnfeene and unknowne of his Souldiers, the courage they take by his example, and the hart they keepe by his presence, is therewithall empareed and diminished; and looing the knowne enligues, and accustomed marks of their Leader, they either deeme him dead, or dispairing of any good successe, to be fled. And touching experience, we sometimes see- it to favor the one, and sometimes the other partie. The accident of Archelaus in the battell he had against the Conful Levinus in I gallia, serveth vs for both yses: For, by concealing himselfe under the armes of Demogoces, and arming him with his owne, indeede he savd his life, but was in great danger to fall into the other mischief, and loose the day. Alexander, Cesar, Lucullus, loved (at what time they were to enter fight) to arm and attire themselves with the richest armes, and garner clothes they had, and of particular bright-flying colours. Apis, Agefixaus, and that great Gilius, contrary, would ever goe to warres meaneely accoutred, and without any imperial ornament. Among other reproaches, that Pompey is charged withall in the battell of Pharsalia, this is one especial, that he didly lingred with his army, expecting what his enemy would attempt for a much as that (I will heare borrow the very words of Plutarche, which are of more conuenience then mine) weakeneth the violence, that running giveth the first blows, and thereby remooveth the charging of the Combatants one against another, which more, than any other thing is wont to fill them with fury and impenitiose, when with vehemenome they come to enter-thieve one another, augmenting their courage by the cry and running, and in a maner alwayeth and qualith the heart of the Souldiers: Loe here what he faith concerning this. But had Cesar loll, who might not also have said, that contrary wise the strongest and firmest situation, is that, where a man keeps his hold-fall without hoping, and that who is setled in his march,
The first Booke.

March, closing, and against any time of need, sparing his strength in himselfe, hath a great advantage against him, that is in motion and disordered, and that running hath already consumed part of his breath: Moreover, that an army being a body composed of so many several parts, it is impossible it should in such furie advance it selve with so just a march, and proportioned a motion, and not breake and dif-ranke, or at least alter his ordinance, and that the nimblest be not grappling before his fellows may help him. In that dreary battell of the two Perion brethren. Clearchus the Lacedemonian, who commanded the Grave, that followed Cirus his faction, led them faire and gently without any haste making to their charges, but when he came within fifty paces of his enemies, he bade them with all speede to runne unto him, hoping by the hortneffe of the distance to manage their order, & direct their breaths, in the meane time giving them the advantage of the impetuositie, both for their bodies, and for their floating-armes. Others have ordered this doubt in their army after this maner: If your enemies headlong runne vpon you, stay for them and bouge not: If they without flutt- ring stay for you, rumne with fury vpon them.

In the passage which the Emperour Charles the first made into Provence, our king Francis the first, stood a good while vpon this choyse, whether it were best, by way of prevention, to go and meeete with him in Italie, or to stay his comming into France, and albeit he considered what an advantage it is, for one to preserve his house from the troubles and mischifes that warre brings with-it, to the end that pooffling hir whole strength, it may continually, in all times of need, store him with mony, and supply him with all other helps, and considering how the necessitie of durefull warre, doth dayly enforce a Generall to make spoyle of goodes, and waste the Country, which cannot well be done in our owne goods and country: and if the countrian doth not as patiently indure this ravage at his friends hands, as at his enemies, so as seditions may ensue amongst our owne factiones, & troubles among our friends: That licence to robbe and spoile, which in his Country may not be tolerated, is a great furtherance in a Souldier, and makes him the more willing, to endure the miseries and toylings that follow warre: And what a hard matter it is to keepe the Souldier in office and hart, who hath no other hope of profite, but his bare pay, and is so neere his wife, his children, his friends, and his home: That hee who layeth the cloth, is ever put to the greatest charges: That there is more pleasure in affailing thauin defending: And that the apprehension of a battell loft in our owne home and entrailes, is so violent, that it may easily shake the whole frame, and distemper the whole body. Seeing there is no passion so contagious, as that of fear, nor so easily apprehended and taken a truff, or doth more furiously pooffle all partes of man: And that the Citties or Townes, which have either heard the bulling noise of the Tempest, or feene the sparkles of this all-confuming fire at their gates, or have perhaps received their captaines wounded, their Cittizens pursued, and their souldiers spoile, and all out of breath, if they bee not more then obfinitely-conflant, it is a thonuff to one, if in that brunt or fury, they doe not headlong cafl themselves into some desperate resolution yet did he conclude and chose this resolve for the best. First to revoke his forces, he had beyond the Mountains in Italie, and to stay his enemies approches. For, he might on the contrary part imagine, that being in his owne Country and amidst oft good friends, he had the better leasure to re-enforce his decayed forces, and more opportunity, to strengthen Townes, to munite Caffles, to idle Rivers with all necessaries they wanted, and to keep all paffages at his devotion, which done, all the ways should be open for him, and might by them have all maner of victuals, mony, and other habilments of warre brought him, in safety, and without convoy: that hee should have his subjects so much the more affectionate vnto him, by how much nearer they should see the danger: That having so many Citties, Townes, Houds, Caffles, and Barres for his securite, he might at all times, according to opportunity & advantage, appoint and give lawne to the fight: And if he were pleased to temporize, while he tooke his cafe, kept his forces whole, and maintained him selfe in safety, he might see his enemie consume & wafta him selfe, by the difficulties which dayly must necessarily affaunt, environ and compate-him, as he who should be engaged in an enemie-country and foe-land, Where hee should have nothing, nor meeete with any thing, eyther before, or behind him, or of any side; that did not offer him continual warre: no way nor means to refresh, to cafe or give his army elbow-roome: if any fickinesse or contagion should come amongst his men; nor shelter to lodge his hurt and mayned Souldiers; where neither monie, munition, nor victuals might come vnto him, but
at the swords point; where he should never have leisure to take any rest, or breath; where he should have no knowledge of places, passages, woods, foords, rivers, or country, that might defend him from ambushes, or surprises: And if he should unfortunately chance to loose a battle, no hope to save, or means to re-unite the relents of his forces. And there want not examples to strengthen both sides. Scipio found it better for him to invade his enemies country of Africa, then to defend his own, and fight with him in Italy, where he was, wherein he had good success. But contrariwise, Hannibal, in the same warre wrought his own overthrowe, by leaving the conquest of a foene country, to go to defend his own. The Athenians having left the enemy in their own land, for to passe into Sicily, had very ill success, and were much contraried by fortune: whereas Agathocles King of Sicily prospered and was favoured by her, what time he passed into Africa, and left the warre on foot in his own country. And we are accustomed to say with some few of reason, that especially in matters of warre, the events depend for the greatest part on fortune, which seldom will yeeld, or never subject her selfe unto our discourse or wisedome, as say these ensuing verses.

Et male consultis pretium est, prudenter fallax,
Nec fortuna probat causas sequiturque merentes:
Sed uaga per cunctos nullo dierimine furtur:
Scielse est aliae quod non cogitque regidique
Mans, & in propriae ducat mortaliti leges.
T'is best for ill-advised, wisewome may fail,
Fortune proves not the cause that should prevale,
But here and there without respect doth fail,
A higher power fortooth vs over-drawes,
And mortall itates guides with immortall lawes.

But if it be well taken, if seemeth that our counsells and deliberations, doe as much depend of her; and that fortune doth also engage our discourses and consultations in her trouble and uncertainty. We reason rashly, and discourse at random, saith Timon in Plato: For, even as we, so have our discourses great participation with the temerity of hazard.

The eight and fortieth Chapter.

Of Steedes, called in French Defriers.

Behold, I am now become a Grammarien, I, who never learnt tongue but by way of roate, and that yet know not what either Adjective, Conjunctive or Ablative meaneth. As faire as I remember, I have sometimes heard say, that the Romains had certaine horses, which they called Fundates, or Dexteraries, which on the right hand were led by as spares horses, to take them fresh at any time of neede: And thence it commeth, that we call horses of service Defriers. And our ancient Romains doe ordinarilie say, to Adexter, in the fleede of, to accompany. They also called Defultorius equus, certaine horses that were so taught, that mainly-running with all the fleede they had, joyning fides to one another, without either bridle or saddle, the Roman gentem en armed at all forays, in the middel of their running-race, would call and recall themselves from one to another horse. The Numidian men at arms, were wont to have a second spare-horse led by hand, that in the greatte furi of the battell, they might shift and change horse: Quibus, deflecturus in modum, binos trahentibus equos, inter acerrimam pace regnavit in recentem equum ex sejs armatis transtulit, mos erat. Tanta velocitas fit, tanque ducte equorum genua. Whose manner was, as if they had beene vanquers, leaing two horses with them in armour, to leape from their tired horse to the fresh, one, even in the hottest of the fight. So great agilitie was in themselves, and so apte to be taught was the race of their horses. There are mane horses found, that are taught to helpe their master, to runne upon any man, shal offer to draw a naked sword vpon them; furiously to leappe vpon any man, both with fleete to strike, and with teeth to bite, that shal affront them; but that for the most parte they rather hurt their friends then their enemies. Con-
dering also, that if they once be grasped, you can not easily take them off, and you must needs stand to the mercy of their combat. Aristobulus, General of the Persian armie had very ill lucke to be mounted upon a horse fashioned in this schoole, at what time he fought man to man against Onesimus, King of Salaminis, for, he was the cause of his death, by reason, the shield-bearer or figure of Onesimus cut him with a faulchon betweene the two shoulders, even as he was leaping upon his maiter. And if that, which the Italians reporte be true, that in the battell of Formacu, King Charlester his horfe with kicking, wincing, and flying, rid both his maiter and himselfe from the enemies that encompasst him, to dismount or kill him, and without that, he had bene lost: He committed himselfe to a great hazard, and escap't a narrow crowning. The Mammakes boatt, that they have the nimblest and readiest horses of any men at armes in the world. That both by nature they are instructed to dierenee, and by custome taught to diering with their enemies, on whom they must leape and wince with fee, and bite with teeth, according to the voyce their maiter speaketh, or rider giveth them. And are likewise taught to take vp from the ground, lances, darts, or any other weapons with their mouths, and as he commandeth to present them to their rider. It is said of Cesar, and of Pompey the Great, that amongst their many other excellent qualities, they were also most cunning and perfect horsemene, and namely of Cesar, that in his youth being mounted upon a horse, and without any bridie, he made him runne a full cariere, make a sounding stop, and with his hands behind his backe performe what ever can be expected of an excellent ready horse. And even as nature was pleased to make both him and Alexander two marchivle miracles in martialle profession, so would you say, the hath also endavoreth ye a enforced herselfe to armem them extraordinarily. For, all men know, that Alexander's horse called Bucephalus, had a head shaped like vnto that of a bull, that he suffered not man to get on and sit him, but his maiter; that none could wealle and manage him but he: what honours were done him after his death, all know, for he had a Cittie crefted in his name. Cesar likewise had another, who had his fore-feete like vnto a man, with hoofes cloven in forme of fingers, who could never be handled, drct, or mounted but by Cesar, who when he died, dedicated his image to the Goddiffe Venus. If I bee once on horse-backe, I alight very unwillingly; for, it is the seate I like best, whether I bee found or sick. Plato commendeth it to be the most agreeable to health: And Plutarch affirmineth the same to be healthfull for the stomake, and for the yoynes. And if thence we be faile into this subject, let vs alittle follow it. I pray you, We read of a lawe in Xenophon, by which all men that either had or were able to keepe a horse, were expressly forbidden to travell and goe afoote. Trogus and Stephnus reporte, that the Parthians were not oneley accustomed to warre on horse-backe, but also to dispatch all their businesse, and negotiote their affaires both publicke and private; as to bargaine, to buy, to sell, to parlie, to meete, to entertaine one another, and to converse and walke together; and that the chiefest difference betweene freemen and servants amongst them, is, that the first ever ride, and the other goe aways on foot. An institution first devised by King Cyrus. There are many examples in the Romane histories (and Suetonius doth more particularly note it in Cesar,) of Captaines that commanded their horsemens to alight, whenever, by occasion, they shold be required vnto it, thereby to remove all manner of hope from their Souldiers to live themselves by flight, and for the advantage they hoped-for in this manner of fight: Quis baud dubit superat Romanos. Wherein undoubted the Romane is superius to all faith Turcov Loivos: yet shall we see, that the first provison, and chief meanes they vted to bridle rebellion amongst their new conquered nations, was to deprive them of all armes and horses. Therefore finde we so often in Cesar, Armoparferi, immensae produc, obfiles dar inbet: He commands all their armour should be brought forth, all their cattell should be driven out, and hostages should be delivered. The great Turke doth not permit at this day any Christian or Jew, to have or keepe any horse for himselfe, throughout all his large Empire. Our ansecesors, and especially at that time we had warres with the English, in all solerne combats or fet battells, would for the most part alight from their horses, and fight on foote, because they would not adventure to hazard so precious a thing as their honour and life, but on the trust of their owne proper strength, and vigour of their undainted courage, and confidence of their limbes. Let Christiambes in Xenophon say what he pleased: whatsoever figheth on horse-backe, engageth his valour, and hazarded his fortune on that of his horse; his hurtes, his trembling, his death, drawes your life and fortune into
They feare. Lucan J. adieus Fir^.

Their battells are feene much better compact and contrived : They are now but bickerings and routes : Primum *et etiam atque impetus ren dercessit. The first shoute or shouke makes an end of the matter. And the thing wee call to help vs, and keepe -vs company in so great and hazardous an adventure, ought as much as possible may be, lie full in our disposition and absolute power. As I would counsell a gentleman to chufe the shorteft weapons, and such as he may beft affure himfelfe of. It is moft apparent, that a man may better affure himfelfe of a fword he holdeth in his hand, then of a bullet fhot out of a piftoll, to which belong fo many feverall partes, as powder, fhone, locke, snap-hanche, barrell, froke, focrow-peace, and many others, whereof if the leaff fail, or chance to breake, and be detef nodo, it is able to overthrow, to hazard, or rifcarrie your fortune. Seldome doth that blow come or light on the marke it is aim'd at, which the ayre doth carry.

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Et qui ferre velint, permittete vulnera venitis,
Enfit bubet vires, & gens quamunque virosum est,
Bellam gladiis.

Giving windes leave to give wounds as they lift,
But swords have strength, and rightmen never miy
With sword raffle, and with sword to refift.

But concerning that weapon, I shall more ample speake of-it, where I will make a comparation betweene ancient and moderne armes : And except the aftonishment and frightening of the care, which nowadays is grown to familiar amongeft men, that none doth greatly feare it; I thinke it to be a weapon of fmall effect, and hope to fee the use of-it abolished.

That wherewith the Italians were wont to throw, with fire in-it, was more frightful and terrour-moving. They were accustomed to name a kinde of javelin, Phalarica, armed at one end with an yarn-pike of three foote long, that it might pierce an armed man-though, which lying in the field they vfed to lance or hufe with the hand, and sometimes to fhoot out of cerneine engines, for to defend befieged places : the staffe wherof being worneth dabout with hempe or flax, all pitched and oiled over, flying in the ayre, would foone be feta-fire, and lighting vpon any body or target, deprived the partie hit therewith, of all use of weapons or limbs. Me thinke not otherwise, that comming to grapple, it might aswell hinder the affailant, as trouble the affailed, and that the ground strewed with burninge and burning with trancheons, might in a pell-mell confusion produce a common commoditie.

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Fulminis alta modo.

With monstrous buzzing came a fire-dart thurled,
As if a thunder-bolt had there beene whirl'd.

They had alfo other meanes, to the vs of which, sometime entered them, and that by reason of inexperience feene incredible to -vs ; wherewith they supplied the defect of our powder and bullets. They with fuch fury darted their Piles, and with fuch force hurled their javelins, that they often pierced two targets and two armed men through, as it were with a spit. They hit as sure and as farre with their flings, as with any other shot:Saxis globosis fundis, more arumentum ineffectus : coronas modici circini nozgo ex intervallis locis affici treiectere non capiens modo bofsson umbirebat, sed quem locum subjicent坐. While they were boyes, with round flones in a fling making ducky and draket upon the sea, they accustomed to cast through round marks of small compaffe a great distance off, whereby they not only hit and burn the heads of their enemies, but would strike any place they aimed at. Their battering or murthering pieces reprefented, as well the effect, as the clattering and thundering noife of fours : adiètus manum cum terribili fertur visavit, pavor et trepidatio copit. At the batterie of the wailes made with a terrible noife,
The first Booke.

feare, and trembling began to attach them within. The Gaules our ancient forefathers in As-
fa, hated mortally such treacherous and flying weapons, as they that were taught to fight
hand to hand, and with more courage. Non tam potens quisque movetur, qui sitior quam
altior plagae est, etiam gloriosas se pugnare putant, idem quem acceitis sagittis aut glandis abdicta
introfus tenus ubi in persecutionem tum in rabicos & pudorem tam parva perimicet falsus versi,
prosequentur corpora humi. They are not so much moved with wide garter, where the wound is more
broad then it is deep, there they think, that they fight with more bravery, but when the shing of an
arrow or a bullet, with a small wound to them galls them inwardly, then falling into rage and shame
so flight a hurt should kill them, they cast their bodies on the ground.

A modell or picture very near vnto an horsebacke. The ten thousand Graziams in
their long-lingring, and farte-famous retreat, encountered with a certaine nation, that ex-
cedingly much endomaged them with stiffe strong and great bowes, and fo long arrowes,
that taking them vp, they might throw them after the matter of a dart, and with them pierce a
target and an armed man through and through. The engines which Demetrius invented in Si-
racusa, to shooote and cast mightie big arrowes, or rather timber-pieces, & huge-great stones,
so farre and with such force, did greatly represent, and come very neare our modern inventions.
Wee may not alfo forget, the pleafant feat, which one named maiffier Peter Pol, do-
ctor in divinitie vfed to fit vp on his mule, who as Monfieur reporteth, was wont to ride vp
and downe the streets of Paris, ever sittinge fiding, as women vfe. He alfo faith in ano-
other place, that the Grazioues had certaine hores to fierce and terrible, taught to tume and
flop fodorainely in running, whereat the French, the Piccares, the Flemings, and Brabant-
tins (as they that were never accustomed to see the like) were greatly amazed, and thought
it a wonder: I vfe his very words. Ce fer speaking of those of Sweiuen, faith, In any skir-
mish or fight on horse-backe, they often alight to combine on foote, having fo trained
and taught their hores, that so long as the fight lasted, they never bouge from their maiflers
fide, that if neede require, they may fodorainely mount-up againe: and according to their
natural cuftome, there is nothing accounted more base or vile, then to vfe saddles or bar-
dels, and they greatly contemne: and forne such as vfe them: So that a few of them feare
not to encounter with a troupe faire exceeding them in number. That which I have other
times wondered-at, to see a horse fashioned and taught, that a man having but a wand
in his hand, and his bridle loose-hanging over his ears, might at his pleasure manage, and make
him tume, flop, runne, cariere, trot, gallop, and what ever else may be expected of an excel-
 lent ready horfe, was common amongst the Maflians, who never vfed either bridle or fadle.

Lucan, B. 4, 681

Equi fere franci, deformis ipse curvas, rigida cervice & extento capite currentium: The horses
being without briddles, their course is still favoured, they running with a stiffe necke, and out-stretch't
head (like a rafted Peggy:) Aphrodit, King of Spaine, that first established the order of
Knights, called the order of the Bow or scarfe, amongst other rules devised this one, that
none of them, vpon paine to forfait a marke of pompe, for every time offending, should ever
ride either mule or mullet; as I lately read in Gnevus and epiftles, of which whatsoever called
them his golden epiftles, gave a judgement farre different from mine. The Courrier faith.

That before his time, it was counted a great shame in a gentleman to be seene riding vpon a mule.
Whereas the Abyssines are of contrary opinion, who accordingly as they are advanced
to places of honour, or dignitie, about their Prince, called Prifer-Ilbon, do ace they more
and more affect in signe of pompe and state, to ride vpon large-great mules. Xenophon re-
porteth, that the Affrarians were ever wont to keepe their hores fat-tied in fetters or gyves,
and ever in the fable, they were so wide and furious. And for that they required so much
time to vnshackle, and to, hammer them, (left protracting of so long time, might, if they
should change at vnawares; and being vnreadie, to be surprized by their enemies, endomage
them;) they never tooke vp their quarter in any place, except it were wel dyked & intrenched.

His
The first Booke.

His name, whom he made so cunning in horsemanship, did always keep his horses at a certain stint, and would never suffer them to have any meat before they had deferred the fame by the sweat of some exercise. If the Scithians in time of warre chanced to be brought to any necessitie of victuals, the readiest remedy they had, was to let their horses blood, and therewith quenched their thirst, and nourished themselves.

*Venit & epato Sarmata palus equus.*

The Scithian also came, who strangely feeds,

On drinking out his horse (or that he bleedes)

Those of Crota being hardly besieged by Metellus, were reduced to so hard a pinch, and from necessitie of all manner of other beverage, that they were forced to drink the stale or vomined of their horses. To verifie how much better it cheape the Turkes doe both leve, conduct, and maintain their armies, then we Christlians doe; They repoite, that besides their sollidiers never drink any thing but water, and feede on nothing but rice, and dried salt flesh, which they reduce into a kinde of powder (whereof every private man doth commonly carry so much about him, as will serve for a moneths provision) and for a shert, will live a long time with the blood of their horses. Wherein they vse to put a certaine quantitie of salt, as the Tartares and Moscovites doe. These new discovered people of the Indies, when the Spaniards came first amongst them, esteemed that as well men as horses, were beyther gods, or creatures farre beyond, and excelling their nature in nobilitie. Some of which, after they were vanquished by them, comming to fire for peace and beg pardon at their hands, to whom they brought presents of gold, and such viands as their country yielded; omitted not to bring the fame, and as much unto their horses, and with as solemn Orations as they had made vnto men, taking their neithings, as a language of truce and composition. In the heret Indies, the cheiefe and royallest honor was antiquely wont to be, to ride vpon an Elephant; the second to goe in Coaches with foure horses; the third, to ride vpon a Camel; the last, was to be carried or drawne by one horse alone. Some of our modeme Writers report, to have seene some Countries in that climate, where the people ride oxen, with pаккe-fiddles, stirrups, and bridles, by which they were carried very easily.

*Quiimus Fabius Maximus Rutilus, warring against the Sammites, and seeing that his horsemen, in three or foure charges they gave, had milled to brake and runne through his enemies battalion, at last resolved thus, that they should all unbridle their horses, and with maine force of sharpe spurrets pricke and broach them, which done, the horses as enraged, took such a running, thorow, and athwart the enemies camp, armes and men, that no doubt was able to refist them; and with such a furie, that by opening, shouldeering, and overthrowing, the battallion, they made way for his Infanterie, which there committted a most bloody slaughter, and obtained a notable victorie.*

The like was commanded and effectted by Quintus Fulvius Flaccus against the Celtiberians: *Id cum maiore vi et armis faceret, si effe praebuit, nutri in hostibus equos innimis, et quod se Romani equites cum laude ferrec memores pridium esse.*

Detraclique fravus ille virtus citrux, cum magna fhrage belliun, infcribit omnibus sublimis transcurrerunt. *That shall you doe with more violence of horse, if you force your horse unbridled on the enemy, which it is recorded, the Roman horsemen have often perfourned with great proue and prais. So pulling off the bridles, they twice runne through forward, and bucke against with great slaughter of the enemy, all their lances broken.

The duke of Moscovye did antiently owe this reverence vnto the Tartares; at what time forever they sent any Ambassadors to him, that hee must doe meece them on foote, and present them with a goblet full of mares-milk (a drinke counted very delicious amoungst them) which whilst they were drinking, if any drop chanced to be spill vpon their horses haires, he was, by duty, bound to lice the same vp with his tongue. The army which the Emperor Bajazeth had sent into Russia, was overwhelmed by so horribile a tempest of snow, that to find some shelter & to save themselves from the extremitie of the cold, many advised to kil and vamparch their horses, and enter into their panches, to enjoy and finde some eafe by that violent heat. Bajazeth after that bloody and tragicall conflict wherein he was overthrown by the Scithian Tamburlaine, in seeking to escape, had no doubt faved himselfe, by the swit nature of an Arabian mare, on which he was mounted that day, if unluckily he had not beene forced to let her drinke her fill in passing over a river, which made her so faint and foundred, that he was easly overtaken and apprehended by those that pursued him. The common say-
ing is, that to let a horse flake after a full cariere, doth take down his speede, but I would ne\ner have thought that drinking had done it, but rather strengthened and heartned him.

Crafter passing along the city of Sardis, found certaine thickets, wherein were great ftre\of snakes and serpents, on which his horses fed very hungerly, which thing as Herodotus sa\th, was an ill-boding-prodigie unto his affaires. We call him an entire horse, that hath his full man, and whole cares, and which in the wor, or at a murther, doth not exceed others. The La\ce-demonians having defeated the Athenians in Sicil, returning in great pompey and glory from the victorie, into the City of Siracusa, among other Bravadoes of theirs, caufed such horses as they had taken from their enemies to be shorne all over, and so led them in tri\ump. Alexander fought with a nation called Dabas, where they went to warre two and two, all armed upon one horse, but when they came to combate, one must alight, and so success\\\vively one fought on foote, and the other on horse backe, each in his turne one, after ano\\\vther. I am perswaded that in respect of suificiente, of cornelieneste, & of grace on horseback, no Nation goeth beyond vs. A good horse-man, (speaking according to our phrase) seemeth rather to respect an undismayed courage, then an affected cleane feate. The man most skillful, beft and sureft-fitting, cornelienest, and nimblest-handed, to fit, to ride, and manage a horse cunningly, that ever I knew, & that best pleased my humor, was Monsieur de Carnovalet, who was Master of the horse vnto our King Henry the second. I have seene a man take his full cariere, standing boul't vp-right on both his feet in the sadder, leap downe to the ground from it, and turning backe take off the sadder, and presently set it on又γine as fast as ever it was, and then leap into it againe, and all this did he whifft his horse was run\\\vning as fast as might be with his bridle on his necke. I haue also seene him ride over a bonet\ or cap, and being gone a good distance from it, with his bow showing backward, to flicke\ many arrows in the same then setting fit in the sadder to take vp any thing from the ground; To set one foote to the ground, and keep the other in the stirrup, and continually running doe a thousand such tumbling and spith tricks, wherewith he got his living. There have in my time two men beene seene in Constantinople, both at once upon one horse, and who in his speediest running, would by turns, first one, and then another, leap down to the ground, and then into the sadder againe, the one still taking the others place. And another, who on\ly with his teeth, and without the helpe of any hand, would bridle, curry, rubbe, dress, saddle, suit, and harness his horse. Another, that between two horses, and both faddled, standing vp-right, with one foote in the one, and the second in the other, did beare another man on his armes, standing vp-right, runne a full speedy course, and the vppermost to shooe and hitte any marke with his arrowes. Divers have bin seene, who standing on their heads, and with their legs out-stretched-aloft, having many sharp-pointed cimictries fastened about the sadder, to gallop a full speed. While I was a young lad, I saw the Prince of Salomona at Naples, manage a young, a rough, and fierce horse, and shew all manner of horse-man-ship; To holde tertons or realles under his knees, and toes, so fast, as if they had beene clove\d or nayled there, and all to shew his sure, steedy, and immovable fitting.

The nine and fortie\th Chapter.

Of ancient customs.

I Would willingly excuse our people for having no other paternoe or rule of perfection, but his owne customes, his owne fashions: For, it is a common vice, not only in the vulgar sorte, but as it were in all men, to bend their ayme, and frame their thoughts vnto the fashions, wherein they were borne. I am pleas\ed when he shall see Fabricius or Leib, who beca\use they are neither retir\d nor fashioned according to our manner, that he condemne their countenance to be strange, and their carriage barbarous. But I bewaile his particular indifference, in that he suffereth himselfe to be so blinded, and deceived by the authoritie of present custome, and that if custome pleases, he is readie to change opinion, and varte ad\vise.
vise, every moneth, may every day, and judgeth to diversely of himselfe. When he wore short-wafted doubles, and but little lower then his breast, he would maintain by militant reasons, that the valse was in his right place; but when not long after he came to wear them, if long-wafted, yet almost as low as his privities, then began he to condemn the former fashion; as fonde, intolerable and deformed; and to commend the latter, as comely, handforme, and commendable. A new fashion of apparel or creepeth no sooner into vse, but pretently he blaneth and difpŤeth the olde, and that with so earnest a resolution, and univerfally a common consent, that you would say, it is some kind of madness, or felle-ripond humor, that geddar his underftanding.

And forasmuch as our changing or altering of fashions, is so fowaine and new-fangled, that the inventions, and new devises of all the tailors in the world, cannot so falkinventories, it must necessarily follow that neglected, and stale-rejected fashions doe often come into credit and vse again: And the laftest and neweft, within a while after come to be outcall and despifed, and that one selfe's fame judgement within the space of fiftene or twenty years admitteth, not onely two or three different, but also cleane contrarie opinions, with fo light and incredible an inconfance, that any man would wonder at. There is no man fo little-criued amongst vs, that fuffreth not himselfe to be envieged and over-reached by this contradiction, and that is not insensibly dazed, both with his inward and externall eyes. I will here hudele-vp some few ancient fashions that I remember: Some of them like unto ours, other-some farre differing from them: To the end, that having ever this continual variation of humane things in our minde, we may the better enlighten and confirm our transported judgement. That manning of fight which we vfe now adaes with raper and cloke, was also vfed among the Romans, as faith Caesar. Simul facros involvent gladioque disfunctos:

They weare thei arms in their clotes, and draw their swords. We may to this day obfere this vice to be amongst vs, and which we have taken from them, that is, to flay such passengers as we meeting by the way, and force them to tell vs, who they are, whence they come, whither they goe, and to count it as an injuice, andcaule of quarrel, if they refuse to anfwer our demand. In Bahr, which our forefathers vfed daily before meales, as ordinandy as we vfed water to waft our hands, when first they came into them, they wafted but their arms and legges, but afterward (which custome lafled many after ages; and to this day continueth amongst divers nations of the world) their whole body over, with compounded and perfumed waters, in such sorte as they held it as a great testimonie of simplicitie, to waft themselves in pure and uncompounded water: Such as were more delicate, and effeminate, werewant to perfume their whole bodies over and over, three or foure times every day; And often (as our French women have lately taken vp) to picke and snip out the haires of their forehead, so they of all their body.

Quod petitus, quod erra tibi, quod brachia volita.

That you, from breath, legges, arms, the hairie
Neatly pull-off (to make them faire.)

Althoogh they had choife of oymeants fit for that purpose.

Piloto mitter, aut arida later adeta creta.

She shines with oymeants that make hairie to fall,
Or with fowre chalke the over- covers all.

They loved to lie soft, and on fine downe-beds, alleagin lying on hard matteles as a signe of patience. They fed lying on their beds, neere after the manner of the Turkes now adaes.

Inde there poter Aeneas sic orvis ab alto.

Father and Aeneas thus can lay,
From lately couch where then he lay.

And it is reported of Cato Minor, that after the battell of Pharsalia, and that he began to mourne and bewail the miserable fate of the commone-wealth, and ill condition of publick affaires, he ever eate fittiing on the ground, following an auffer, and obferuing a strict kind of life. The Befo las manos was vfed as a signe of honor and humility, onely toward great persons. If friends met, after friendly salutations, they vfed to kisfe one another, as the Venetians doe at this day.

Gratissique darem cum dulcibus ofenda verbis.
The first Booke.

Give hir I would with greetings graced,
Kifles with sweete words enterfaced.

And in faluting or fixing to any great man, they touched his knees. Pasticles the Philosopher, brother unto Cato, comming to falute one, whereas he should have caried his hand to his knee, caried the same unto his genitors. The partie faluted, having rudely put him away: What? quoth he, is it not that part yours as well as the other? Their manner of feeding was as ours, their fruit last. They were wont to wipe their tailes (this vaine superstition of wordes must bee left vnto women) with a sponge, and that's the reason why Spongia in Latin is counted an obscene word: which sponge was ever tied to the end of a staffe, as wimneth the Floric of him, that was caried to be devoured of wilde beasts before the people, who deiring leave to goe to a privie before his death, and having no other meanes to kill him selfe, thrust downe the sponge and staffe, hee found in the privie, into his throte, wherewith he choked himselfe. Having ended the delights of nature, they were wont to wipe their privities with perfumed wouoll.

At bibi misfaciun, sed lata mensula lana.
To thee no such thing will I bring,
But with washe wouoll another thing.

In every streete of Rome were placed tubs, and such vessells for passengers to make water-in.
Prope lacum proper, fe ac doxa curta
Sommum deinim vel quem exstolle vessem.
Children alleepe oft thinke they take vp all
Neere to some piffering tub, some lake, (forme wall.)

They vfed to breake their fast, and nonchon betweene meales, and all summer time, had men that folde flame vp and downe the streetes, wherewith they refreshed their winces; of whom some were fo daintie, that all winter long they vfed to put snow into their wine, not deeming it colde enough. Principal, and noble men had their cup-bearers, tasters, carvers, and buffons to make them merrie. In Winter their viandes were brought and set on the boord vponarches, as we vfe chaffing dishes; and had portable kitchins (of which I have terme some) wherein might be drawne, wherefoever one list, a whole service and meffe of meate.

Hic nobis epulas habete lauti,
Nostrum damnum ambulante cana.
Take to you dainct-mouth'd such flirring feasts;
With walking meales we are offended gifeists.

And in summer they often caused cold water (being caried through pipes) to dril upon them as they fate in their dining-chambers, or owne parlors, where in cellers, they kept flore of fish alive, which the by-standers might at their pleasure, chafe and take with their handes, and have it dreft every man according to his fantasie. Fish hath ever had this privileged, as at this day it hath: that chafe Gentlemen, are pleased, and have skill to dreffe it beef: And to say tru'th, the taste of fish is much more delicate and exquisite, then that of flesh, at leaft in mine. But in all manner of magnificence, deliciousome, votous gluttony, inventions of voluptuomnes, wantonnes, and sumptuousitie, we truely endevor, as much as may be, to equal and come neere to them: For, our will and taste is as much corrupted as theirs, but our skill and sufficiencie is farre short of them: Our wit is no more capable, and our strength no more able, to approach and match them in these virtuous and blame-worthie parts, then in vertuous and commendable actions: For, both proceed from a vigor of spirit, and farre-reaching witte; which, without comparision, was much greater in them, then now in vs. And mindes, by how much more strong and excellent they are, so much leffe facultie and means they have, to doe either excellently well, or notoriously ill. The chaste afflicted amongst them, was a mean or mediocrity. The Foremost or Last, in writing or speaking, had no signification of preheminence or greatness, as may evidently appeare by their writings. They would as familiarly and as soon as. Oppus and Cesar, as Cesar and Oppus, and as indifferently, I and thou, as, thou and I. And that's the reason why I have heretofore noted in the life of Flaminio, in our French Plautoke, a place, where it seemeth that the Author, speaking of the jalousie of glorie, that was betweene the Aetolians and the Romans, for the gaine of battell, which they had obtained in common, make for the purpose, that in Greece song the Aetolians
The first Booke.

of Democritus and Heractitus.

The fiftieth Chapter.

Women were wont to lie on the vtopost side of the bed, and therefore was Cesar called Spondam Regis Nicomedis: King Nicomedes his bed side. They tooke breath while they were drinking and vfed to baptisie, or put water in their wines.

Those coening and minde-deceiving countenances of lackeis were also amongt them.

The Argian and Romane Ladies, mourned in white, as our dames wont to doe; and if I might be credited, and bare-way amongt them, they should continue it still. But because there are many booke, that treate of this argument, I will say no more of it.

In the French words: for in that tongue I reade it. When Ladies came into flooves or hot-houses, they made it not daintie to admit men into their companie, and to be wash'd, rubbed, chafed and annointed by the hands of their groomes and pages.

The Argian and Romane Ladies, were named before the Romanes, except there bee some Amphibologie in the French words: for in that tongue I reade it. When Ladies came into flooves or hot-houses, they made it not daintie to admit men into their companie, and to be wash'd, rubbed, chafed and annointed by the hands of their groomes and pages.

Inqua faccinctia nigra tuber seveur alinta
Stat quisque calidus muta fovere aqua.
Your man, whose loynes blake-letteour guid's, flande's-by,
Whilft in warme water you ftarke-naked lie.

They also vfed to sprinkle themselves all over with certaine powders, thereby to slay and reprefs all manner of filth or sweate. The ancient Gaules (faith Sidomus Apollinaris) wore their haire long before, and all the hinder-part of their head thaven, a fashion that our wanton youths and effeminate gallants, have lately renued, and in this new-fangled and fond-doting age, brought vp againe, with weareing of long-dangling locks before. The ancient Romans, and their men, put the water-men their face or due to foone as they came into the boate, whereas we pay it when they let vs on shore.

— dum as exigitur, dum multa ligatur,
Tota abiit hora.
While they call for their fare, tie drawe-mule to,
There runn't away, a full houre, if not two.

Women were wont to lie on the vtopost side of the bed, and therefore was Cesar called Spondam Regis Nicomedis: King Nicomedes his beds side. They tooke breath while they were drinking and vfed to baptise, or put water in their wines.

— quis pauper acuis
Respingnet ardensis fronte
Pocula prateremnne lymbat.
What boy of mine or thine
Shall coole our cup of wine
With running water fine?

Those coening and mind-e-deceiving countenances of lackeis were also amongt them.

O lena, a tergo quem nulla cicomina finitis
Nec manus auriculas imitata esse mobilis albae,
Nec linguae quantum siet casis Apuli tantum.
O lena, whom behinde no Storks' bill doth deride,
Nor nimble hand resembling maw's eares white and wide,
Nor so much tongue lil'd out, as dogges with thrift ore-dride.

The Argian and Romane Ladies, mourned in white, as our dames wont to doe; and if I might be credited, and bare-way amongt them, they shoulde continue it still. But because there are many booke, that treate of this argument, I will say no more of it.

The fiftieth Chapter.

Of Democritus and Heraclitus.

I Vdgement is an instrument for all subjects, and medleth every where. And therefore in the
it, being so bare-trodden, that it cannot march; but in others fleps. There he plea\nseth himself \nin chusing the course he thinkes best, and of a thousand paths sometimes he\nath, this or that \nwas best chosen. I take my first Argument of fortune: All are alike unto me: And I never \npurpose to handle them throughly: For, there is nothing wherein I can perceive the full per\nfecion: Which they doe not that promise to shew it vs. Of a hundred partes and villages \nthat everthing hath, I take one, which sometimes I lightly runne over, and other times \nbut curiously glance at. And yet other whilst I pinch it to the qucke. And give it a Stockade, \nnot the widel, but the deepst I can. And for the moft part I love to seize vpon them \nby some unwo\nted luctre. I would adventure to treate and discourse of some matter to the \ndepth; knew \ny my felfe leffe, or were I deceived in mine owne impuissance: Scattering here \none and there another word: Scantlings taken from their maine ground-worke, disorderly \ndispersed, without any well-grounded designe and promise. I am not bound to make it \ngood, nor without varying to keep my felfe close-tied vnto it, if nevertheless it shall please me, 
yeeld my felfe to doubt, to vncertainty, and to my Multiforme, which is ignorance. Each \nmotion sheweth and discovereth what we are. The very same minde of Caesar, we see in \ndire\nting, marshalling, and setting the battel of Pharsalia, is likewise seen to order, dispose, and \nconstruct, idle, trilling and amorous devises. We judge of a horse, not onely by seeing him \nridden, and cunningly managed; but also by seeing him trot, or pace yeaf, if we but looke 
up on him as he stands in the stable. Amongst the functions of the soule, some are but mean \nand base. He that feeth hir no further, can never know hir thorowly. And he that feeth hir \nmarch hir naturall and simple pace, doth peradventure observe hir best. The winds of pas\ntions take hir motion in her highest pitch, seeing the entirely couseth his felfe vpon every mat\nter, and wholly therein exerciseth his felfe: and handleth but one at once; not according to it, 
but according to his felfe. Things severall in themselves: have peradventure, weight, mea\nsure, and condition: But inwardly, in vs, the cuttes it out for them, as the vnderlatheth the \nflame his felfe. Death is fearefull and vgly vnto Cicero, with all for and desired of Cato; and \ndifferent vnto Socrates. Health, well-fare, confidence, authortie, riches, glory, beauty, and \ntheir contraries are dispoyled at the entrance, and receive a new vellure at the soules hand. 
Yea, and what colour the plea\ntest; browne, bright, greene, fadde, or any how else; harpe or \nsweet, deep, or superficial, and what each of them plea\ntest. For, none of them did ever veri\nfy their filies, their rules, or forms in common: each one severally is a Queene in his owne \nflate. Therefore let vs take no more excuses from externall qualities of things. To vs it be\nlengthen to give our selves accou\nt to it. Our good, and our evil hath no dependency, but 
from ourselves. Let vs offer our vows and offerings vnto it; and not to fortune. She hath 
no power over our maners. Why shall I not judge of Alexander, as I am sitting and drink\ning at Table, and talking in good company? Or if he were playing at Cheffe, what firting 
of his wite doth not touch, or harpe on this fond-childish, and time-consuming play? I lothe \nand shunne it only because there is not sport inough in it, and that in his recreation, he is \overeferous with vs; being ashamed I must apply that attention thereto, as might be employ\ned on some good subje\ft. He was no more busied in leiving his forces and preparing for 
his glorious passage into India; nor this other in disnfantling and discovering of a passage, 
whence dependeth the wel-fare and safety of mankind. See how much our mind trouthle\bsh this ridiculous ammuting if all hir finnewes bandily not. How amply the giveth every one 
Law in that, to know and directly to judge of himselfe. I do not more univerally view and 
feele myselfe in any other posfure. What passion doth not exercise of there? he? Choller, 
spight, hatred, impairence, and a vehement ambition to overcome, in a matter wherein it were 
likely more excucible to be ambitious for to be vanquished. For, a rare pre-excellency, and 
be\ond the common reach; in so frivolous a thing, is much mis-seeming a man of honour. 
What I lay of this example, may be spoken of all others. Evene parcell, every occupation of 
a man, accufeth, and sweth him equal vnto another. Democritus and Heraclitus were two 
Philosophers, the first of which, finding and deeming humane condition to be vaine and ri\nculuous, did never walke abroad, but with a laughing, sorneful and mocking countenance: 
Whereas Heraclitus taking pitie and compassion of the very same condition of ours, was 
continuallie seenew with a fadde, mournefull, and heavy chere, and with teares tricking 
downe his blubbered eyes.
The first Booke.

One from his dore, his foote no sooner past,
But straight he laught the other wept as fast.

I like the first humour best, not because it is more pleasing to laugh, then to weep; but for it is more disdainfull, and doth more condemne vs then the other. And me thinkes we can never bee sufficiently despiised; according to our merite. Bewailing and commiseration, are commixed with some effimation of the thing moaned and wailed. Things scorned and contemned, are thought to be of no worth. I cannot be perfwaded, there can be so much ill lucke in vs, as there is apparant vanitie, nor so much malice, as selfishness. We are not to full of evil, as of voyndle and inanitie. We are not to miserable, as base and abject. Even to Diogenes, who did nothing but trifle, toy, and daily with himself; in rumbling and rowling of his tub, and fluctuating at Alexander, accounting us buffles, and bladders puffed with winde, was a more sharpe, a more bitter, and a more slinging judge, and by consequenc, more just and sitting my humour, then Timon, famenamed the hater of all mankinde. For looke what a man hateh, the same thing he takes to hart. Timon with all evil might light on us; He was passionate in deifying our ruin. He flinnen and loathed our conversion as dangerous and wicked; and of a depraved nature. Whereas the other did so little regarde us, that wee could neither trouble nor alter him by our contagion; forsooke our company, not for fear, but for disdain of our commerce: He never thought vs capable or sufficient to doe either good or evil. Of the same flampe was the anverwe of Statius, to whom Bruni spake to winne him to take his part, and adhere to the conspiracy against Caesar: He allowed the enterprize to be very juyt; but disallowed of the men that should performe the fame, as unworthy that any man should put himselfe in any adventure for them: Comformable to the discipline of Hegesias, who faide, That a wife man ought never to doe any thing but for himselfe; forasmuch as he alone is worthy to have any action performed for; and to that of Theodorus, who thought it an injustice that a wife man should in any case hazard himselfe for the good and benefit of his country, or to indanger his wifedome for foolees. Our owne condition is as ridiculous, as rible.

The one and fiftieth Chapter.

Of the vanitie of Worde.

A Rethorician of ancient times, saide, that his trade was, to make small things appeare and seeme great. It is a shooemaker, that can make great shoes for a little foote. Had he lived in Sparr, he had doubtleff beene well whippd, for professing a false, a cozening and deceitfull arte. And I thinke, Archilamus King of that Citie, did not without aforfituent listien vnto the anwver of Thucydides, of whom he demanded, whether he, or Pericles, was the stronger and nimblest wretcher; whose anwver was this, Your question Sir, is very hard to be decyded; for if in wretchering with him, I gave him a fall, with his faire words he performed to those that saw him on the ground, that he never fell, and sogeth the victorie. Those that mask and paint women, commit not to foule a fault; for, it is no great losse, though a man fee them not, as they were naturally bome and unpainted: Whereas these profess to deceive and beguile, not our eyes, but our judgement; and to balloonize and corrupt the effence of things. Those common-wealths, that have maintained themselves in a regular, formall, and well polited effrate, as that of Crete and Lacedemon, did never make any great efteme of Orators. Aftion did wifeely define Rhetorike to be a Science, to perswade the vulgar people: Socrates and Plato, to be an Art to deceive and flatter. And those which deny it in the generall description, doe every where in their precepts vrfice the fame. The Mahometans, by reason of it's infolitute, forbid the teaching of it vnto their children. And the Athenians, perceiving how pernicious the profession and use thereof was, and of what credeite in their Cittie, ordaine, that their principall parte, which is to move affections, shoulde bee dismiiffed and taken awaie, together with all exordiums and perorations. It is an instrument devisef, to busie, to manage,
nace, and to agitate a vulgar and disordered multitude; and is an implement employed, but about disordered and sick minds, as physicke is about crazed bodies. And those where either the vulgar, the ignorant, or the generalitie have had all power, as that of Rhodes, those of Athens, and that of Rome, and where things have ever beene in continual disturbance & uproar, there have Orators and the profellours of that Art flocked. And verily, it bee well looked into, you shall finde very few men in those commonwealths, that without helpe of eloquence have attained to any worthy effimation and credit: Pompey, Cæsar, Cæcilius, Lucullus, Lentulus, Metellus, have thence taken their greatest stay and furtherance, whereby they have ascended unto that height and greatness of authoritie, whereunto they at last attained, and against the opinion of better times have more prevailed with words, than with armes. For, L. Columbanus speaking publicly in favour of the election, which some had made of Quintus Fabius, and Publius Decius, to be Consulles, faith thus; They are men borne unto warre, of high spirits, of great performance, and able to effect anything, but rude, simple, and untrained in the combate of talking, mindes truly Consulare. They only are good Pretors; to doe justicke in the Citie, (faith he) that are sublime, cautious, well spoken, wise, and uppe-wise. Eloquence hath chiefly flourished in Rome when the commonwealths affairs have beene in worst estate, and that the devours Tempelt of civill bysles, and intelligne warres did most agitate and turmsley them. Even as a rancke, free and untamed foyle; bear the rancke and strongest weeds, whereby it seemeth that those common-weales, which depend of an absolute Monarch, have lefe need of it then others: For, that foolishnesse and facility, which is found in the common multitude, & which doth subject the same, to be managed, persuad-ed, and led by the cares, by the sweet alluring and feene-entraung found of this harmony, without duely weighing, knowing, or considering the truth of things by the force of reason. This facility and easy-yielding, I say, is not so easily found in one only ruler, and it is more easie to warrant him from the impeachment of this poyon, by good infitution and found counsell. There was never seen any notable or farrenowned Orator to come out of Macedon or Persea. What I have spoken of it, hath beene vpon the subject of an Italian, whom I have latey entertained into my service. Who during the life of the whilom cardinal Caraffa served him in the place offward of his house. Enquiring of his charge, and particular quality, he told me, a long, formall, and eloquent discourse of the science or skill of epicurism and glutonie, with such an Oratory-gravitie, and Magistrate countenance, as if he had discussed of some high-mysteries point of divinitie, wherein he hath very methodically described and discriminated sundry differences of appetites: First of that which a man hath fasting, then of that men have after the first, the second, and third service. The severall means how sometimes to please it simply, and other times to sharpen and provoke the fame; the policy and rare invention of his favours: First in general terms, than particularizing the qualities and several operations of the ingredients, and their effects: The differences of falades according to their diverse seasons, which must be served in warne, and which cold: The manner how to dress, how to adorn, and embellish them, to make them more pleasing to the sight. After that, he entred into a large and faire-fether-narration, touching the true order, and due method of service, full of goodly and important considerations.

The first Booke.

Nec minimus fane discrimine vefert,
One gula lepores, & quo gallina seculor.
What grace we vfe, it makes small difference, when
We carve a Hare, or else breake vp a Henne.
And all that filled vp and stuffed with rich magnificent words, wel couched phrases, oratory figures, and patheticall metaphors yetea, such as learned men vfe and employ in speaking of the Government of an Empire, which made me remember my man.

Hoc saltum f és, hoc adsumus est, hoc usum est parum,
Hoc saltum f èst, hoc adsumus est, hoc usum est parum,
Hoc saltum f èst, hoc adsumus est, hoc usum est parum,
Hoc saltum f èst, hoc adsumus est, hoc usum est parum,
Hoc saltum f èst, hoc adsumus est, hoc usum est parum,
Moneo que possum pro mc a sapientia,
Moneo que possum pro mc a sapientia,
Moneo que possum pro mc a sapientia,
Moneo que possum pro mc a sapientia,
Moneo que possum pro mc a sapientia,
Postremo tanguam in spectulm, in patimis, in Demea,
Postremo tanguam in spectulm, in patimis, in Demea,
Postremo tanguam in spectulm, in patimis, in Demea,
Postremo tanguam in spectulm, in patimis, in Demea,
Postremo tanguam in spectulm, in patimis, in Demea,
Inspecere tubeo, & moneo quid factio vifis fit.
Inspecere tubeo, & moneo quid factio vifis fit.
Inspecere tubeo, & moneo quid factio vifis fit.
Inspecere tubeo, & moneo quid factio vifis fit.
Inspecere tubeo, & moneo quid factio vifis fit.
This dish is fat, this burnt, this not too fine,
This dish is fat, this burnt, this not too fine,
This dish is fat, this burnt, this not too fine,
This dish is fat, this burnt, this not too fine,
This dish is fat, this burnt, this not too fine,
That is well done, do fo againes; Thus 1
That is well done, do fo againes; Thus 1
That is well done, do fo againes; Thus 1
That is well done, do fo againes; Thus 1
That is well done, do fo againes; Thus 1
As my best wisdome serves, all things assigne.
As my best wisdome serves, all things assigne.
As my best wisdome serves, all things assigne.
The first Booke.

Lately Sir, I command, they neatly prie,
On dishes, as a glasse,
And set what needfull was.

Yet did those first Grecians commend the order and disposition, which Paulus Emilius observed in the banquet he made them at his return from Macedon: But here I speake not of the effects, but of the words. I know not whether they works that in others, which they doe in me. But when I heare our Architects mouth-out those bigger and raving words of Pilasters, Arbouaves, Cornices, Frontispices, Corinthious, and Doricke works and such-likeillian-terms of theirs, I cannot let my wandering imagination from a divine apprehension of Apollo's house, and I finde by effect, that they are the false, and decayed pieces of my Kirchin-doore. Doe but heare one pronounce Metononia Metaphora, Allegory, Etyymology, and other such trash-names of Grammar, would you not think, they meant some forme of a rare and strange language? They are titles and words, that concern your chamber-maides tattle-tale. It is a foppery and cheating tricke, confin Germane vnto this, to call the offices of our estate by the proud tites of the ancient Romans, though they have no resemblance at all of charge, & leffe of authoritie and power. And this likewise, which in mine opinion will one day remaine as a reproch vnto our age; vnworthily and undeservedly to bestowed on whom we lift the most glorious Names, and loftiest titles, whereby such antiquity in manie long-continued ages honored but one or two persons, Plato high by such a universal consent borne-away the surname of Divine: that no man did ever attempt to envy him for it. And the Italians, which vaunt (and indeede with some reason) to have generallie more lively, and farre reaching wits, and their discourse more found and innowy, then other nations of their times, have lateley therewith embellished Peter Aristeus, in whom except it be an high-raied, proudly-puff'd, mind-moving, and hart-danting manner of speech, yet in good floor more then ordinary, witty and ingenious: But so new fangled, so extravagant, so fantastical, so deep-labored; & to conclude, besides the eloquence, which be it as it may, be, I cannot perceiue any thing in it, beyond our exceeding that of manie other writers of his age, much leffe that it in any forte approacheth that ancient divinitie. And the surname Great, we attribute and that is the fame on Princes, that have nothing in them exceeding popular greatness.

The two and fiftieth Chapter.

Of the parcellony of our Forefathers.

Titus Regulus, Generall of the Romaines Army in Afrike, in the middeft of his glory and victory against the Carthaginians, write vnto the common-wealth, that a hynde, or plough-boy whom he had left alone to over, & her husband his land (which in all was but feaven acres of ground) was run away from his charge, & had stolen from him all his implements & tools, belonging to his husband, craving leave to be discharged, & that he might come home to look to his busines, for feare his wife & children should therby be endamaged: the Senate took order for him, and appointed another man to look to his land and busines, & made that good vnto him, which the other had stolen from him, & appointed his wife & children to be maintained at the common-wealths charge. Cato the elder returning Comfull from Spain, sold his horse of service, to save the monie he should have spent for his transport by Senio into Italies: And being chief Governour in Sardina, went all his visitations in foot, having no other traine, but one officer of the common-wealth, who carried his gowne, and a vessell to do office in, and for the most part carried his male himself. Hee boasted that hee never wore Gowne, that cost him more then tenne crownes, nor sent more then one shilling being due to the market for one whole davs-provision, and had no Countrie house rough-call or painted-over. Scipio Emilius after he had triumphed twice, and twice bin Comfull, went on a solemne Legation, accompanied and attended-on onely with feaven vassants. It is reported that Homer had never any more then one servaunt. Pato three, and Zeno
The firU'Booke.

Zenoe chiefe of the Strokes feft, none at all. Tiberius Gracchus, being then one of the principal men among the Romanes and sent in commissio about weightie matters of the common-wealth was allotted but fix, pence halfpence a day for his charges.

The three and fiftieth Chapter.

Of a saying of Cefar.

If we shall sometimes ammufe our selues and consider our estate, and the time we spend in controlling others, and to knowe the things that are without vs, would we but employ the same in fouling our selues throughly, we should easie perceiue how all this our contexture is built of weake and decaying pieces. Is it not an especiall testimonie of imperfection, that we cannot settle our contentment on any one thing, and that even of our owne defire and imagination, it is beyond our power to chuse what wee fland in neede of? Whereof the diffraction that hath ever beene amongst Philosophers beareth sufficient witness, to finde out the chiefe felicitie or summam bonam of man, and which yet dothe, and shall eternally laft without resolution or agreement.

Lucr. 3. 1096.

Iam cium vidit hic ad ufm que flagitat ufus,
Omnia iam ferme mortaliibus efe parata,
Dum abeit quod avens et exuperare videtur
Cetera, pos alius eum contigit illud avemus,
Et suis aqua tenet.

While that is absent which we wish, the rest
That seemes to passe, when ought else is adrest,
That we desire, with equal thirst opprest.

Whatsoever be that falleth into our knowledge and jovissance, we finde, it doth not satisfies vs, and we still follow and gape after future, vncertaine, and unkowne things, because the present and knowne pleafe vs not, and do not satisfies vs. Not (as I think) because they have not sufficiently wherewith to fatisfie and pleafe vs, but the reason is, that we apprehend and seize on them with an vnuly, disordred, and diversly taste and holde-faft.

Lucr. ret. lib. 9.

Nam cium vidit hic ad ufm que flagitat u fm
Omnia iam ferme mortaliibus efe parata,
Dum abeit quod avens et exuperare videtur
Cetera, pos alius eum contigit illud avemus,
Et suis aqua tenet.

When the wifeman saw, that all am茁,
That wše requires, for men prepared was,
That men finces, honors, prafies boast,
In good reporte of children others paufe,
Yet none at home did bearle lesfe pensive heart,

But that the minde was forft to serve complaint,
He knew, that fault the vellifell did empar,
That all was marrie within by velliells taint,
What ever good was wrought by any art.

Our appetite is irreolute, and vncertaine, it can neither holde nor enjoy anything handfomely and after a good fashion. Man supposing it is the vice and fault of things he possifith, feedeth and filleth himfelfe with other things, which he neither knoweth, nor hath vnderstanding of, wherefore he applyeth both his desires and hopes, and taketh them as an honor and reverence to himself, as faith Cefar, Communis vitio nature, ut invitat latitantibus atque incognitis rebus magis confidetam, vehementiaque externe annam. It happeneth by the common fault of nature, that both we are more confident, and more terrified by things unseen, things hidden, and unknowne.

The
The foure and fiftich Chapter.

Of vaine subtilities, or subtil devises.

There are certaine frivolous and vaine inventions, or as some call them, subtilities of wit, by means of which, some men doe often endeavor to get credit and reputation: as divers Poets, that frame whole volumes with verses beginning with one letter: we see Egges, Wings, Hatchets, Crosses, Globes, Columns, and divers other such-like figures anciently fashioned by the Greeks, with the measure and proportion of their verses, spreading, lengthning, and shortning them, in such sort as they justly represent such and such a figure. Such was the science and profession of him, who long time busied himselfe, to number how many several ways the letters of the Alphabet might be ranged, and found out that incredible number mentioned by Plutarch. I allow of his opinion, who having one brought before him, that was taught with such industry, and so curiously to cast a graine of millet with his hand, that without ever missing, he would every time make it goe through a needle's eye; and being entreated to bestowe some thing upon him, (as a reward for so rare a skill,) very pleasantly and worthily, commended, that this cunning workman should have two or three peckes of millet delivered him, to the end his rare arde and witty labour might not remaine without daily exercise. It is a wonderful testimonie of our judgements imbecilite, that it should commend and allow of things, either for their rareness, or novelty, or for their difficulty, though neither goodness or profit be joyned unto them. We come but now from my houfe, where we have a while recreatet our selves, with devising who could finde out most things, that held by both extreme ends As for example, Sure, is in our tongue a title onely to the most eminent person of our state, which is the King, and yet is commonly given to some of the vulgar sorte, as unto marchants and pedlers, and nothing concerneth those of the middel sorte, and that are betweene both. Women of chiefest calling and quality are called Dames, the meaneste Damoufells, and those of the basest ranke, are also entitiled Dames. The clothes of estate, which we feele over tables and chaires, are onely allowed in Princes houfes, yet we feeme them vned in Tavernes. Democritus was wont to say, That Gods and beastes, had quicker fenses and sharper wittes then men, who are of the middel range. The Romans vfed to ware on felle fames garment on mourning and on festivall daies. It is most certaine, that both an extreame feare, and an excelling heat of courage, doe equally trouble and distemper the belly. The nicke-name of Tremblant, wherewith Zanzibath the twelft King of Navarre was fumnered, teacheth, that boldenes, as well as feare, engender a startling and shaking of the limbs. Thofe which armed, either him, or any other of like nature, whose skinne would quiver, affailed to re-affure him, by diminishing the danger wherein he was like to fall; thou have no perfect knowledge of me (said he) for if my flesh knew how sure my courage wil eere-long carrie it, it would prefently fall into a flat swoone. That chilnes, or as I may terme it, faintnes, which we feelee after the exercices of Venus, the fame doth also procede of an over vehement appetite and disordred heat: Excessive heat and extreame cold do both boile and roffe. Aristotle faith, that leaden vessells doe as well melt and consume away by an excessive cold and rigor of winter, as by a vehement heat. Both desire and satiety fit the fates with forrow, both above and vnder voluptuousnes. Folly and wisdome meete in one point of feeling and resolution, about the suffering of humane accidents. The wifer fort doth gournam'd life and command evil, and others ignore it. The latter, (as a man would say) short of accidents, the other, beyond. Who after they have well weighed and considered their qualities, and duly measured, and rightly judged what they are, over-look them by the power of a vigorous courage. They defy and tread them vnder foote, as having a strong and solde mind, against which, if fortunes darts chance to light, they muift of necessity be blunted and abated, meeting with so refilling a body, as they cannot pierce, or make any
The first Booke.

any impression therein. The ordinary and meane condition of men abideth betweene these two extremites; which are those that perceive and have a feeling of mischiefe, but cannot endure them. Both infantie and decrepitude meete with weaknesses of the braine. Certeine and profusion in a like desire to acquire and hoard-vp. It may with likely hooide be spoken, that there is a kind of s Accedendo ignorance preceding: an other doctorall following: Science: an ignorance, which science doth beget; even as it spoileth the first. Of simple, leffe-curious, and leaffe-instructed spirits are made good christians, who simply believe through reverence and obedience, and are kept in awe of the lawes. In the meane vigor of spirits, and slender capacitie is engendred the error of opinions: They follow the apperarance of the first senfe:and have some title to interpret it foolishnes and foolishnes, that we are confirmed in ancient wais, respecting vs, that are nothing therein instructede by studye. The beft, most-sed and clearest-seeing spirits, make another forte of well-beleevers, who by long and religious inquisition, penetrate a more profound, and finde-out a more abstrufe light in scriptures, and discover the misteries and divine secretes of our ecclesiastical pollicie. And threfore see we some of them, that have reached vnto this last ranke, by the second, with wonderfull fruite and confirmation; as vnto the furthest bounds of christians intelligence: and enjoy their victorie with comfort, thanksgiving, reformation of manners, and great modestie. In which ranke, my purpose is not to place these others, who to purge themselves from the supposition of their forepaied errors, and the better to assure vs of them, become extreme, indifferet and vnjust in the conduct of our cause, and tangle and tainte the fame with infinit reproches of violence. The simple peesants are honest men, so are Philosophers, (or as our time nameth them, strong and clear natures) enriched with a large instruction of profitable sciences. The mongrell sorte of husband-men, who have disdained the first forme of ignorance of letters, and could never reach vnto the other (as they that sit between two stooles, of which besieudes so many others I am one,) are dangerous, peevifh, foolish, and importunate, & they which trouble the world most. Therfore do I (as much as heth in me) withdrawe my selfe into the first and naturall state, whence I never affaid to depart. Popular and meere naturall Poefie, hath certaine graces, and in-bred linelines, whereby it concurreth and compareth it selfe vnto the principal beautie of perfect and artificial Poefie, as may plainly be seen in the Villanelles, homely gigses, and countre songs of Gasconie, which are brought vnto vs from nations, that have no knowledge at all, either of any learning, or so much as of writing. Meane and indifferent Poefie, and that confifteth betweene both, is skorne, and contemned, and paffeth without honor or esteem. But forasmuch as since the passage hath bene opened vnto the spirit, I have found (as is commonly happeneth) that we had apprehended that which is neither so nor so for a difficult exercise, and of a rare subject: And that since our invention hath bene set on fire, it discoveryth an infinit number of like examples; I will onely add this one: That if these Eflayes were worthie to be judged of, it might in mine opinion happen, that they would not greatly please the common and vulgar spirits, and as little the fingular and excellent. The first will understand but little of them, the latter over much; they might perhaps live and rub out in the middle region.

The five and fiftieth Chapter.

Of smells and odors.

I T is reported of some, namely of Alexander, that their sweate, through some rare and extraordinary complexion, yielded a sweete-smelling favour; whereof Plutarch and others seek to finde out the cause. But the common sorte of bodies are cleane contrarie, and the beft qualitie they have, is to be cleare of any smel at all. The sweetnes of the purest breaths hath nothing more perfect in them, then to be without, favour, that may offend vs: as are those of healthie-found children. And therefore faith Plutarch;
The first Booke.

Mulier tum bene olet, obi nibil olet.
Then smell's a woman purely well,
When she of nothing else doth smell.

The most exquitst and sweetesfavour, of a woman, is to smell of nothing; and sweet, well-smelling, strange favours, may righly be held suspicious in such as vse them; and a man may lawfully thinke, that who vseth them, doth it to cover some natural defect: whence pro-
ceede these ancient Poetickall sayings. To smell sweeter, is to finke,
Rides nos Coracine vnil alemens,
Malo quem bene oline, nil oline,
You laugh at us that we of nothing favour,
Rather smell so, then sweeter(by your favour.) And else where.
Potione non bene olet, qui bene semper olet.
Good sir, he smellis not ever sweete,
Who smellis still sweeter then is mictete.

Yet love I greatly to be entertained with sweeter smellis, and hate exceedingly all maner of
fowre and ill favouris, which I shall sooner smell, then any other.

— Namque faciatus vnum odors,
Polypus, an gravis birsatis cubet bircus in ali,
Quam canis acer vbi lateat fus.
Sooner smell I, whether a cancersd nose,
Or rantly got a smell in hairy arme-pits le,
Then sharpest hounds, where rowtng bores repose.

The simplest and meerly-naturall smellis, are most pleasing vnto me; which care ought
chiefly to concerne women. In the very heart of Barbarie, the Scithian women, after they
had washed themselves, did sprinkle, dawne, and powder all their bodies and faces over, with
a certaine odoriferous drug, that groweth in their country; which durt and dawning being
taken away, when they come near men or their husbands, they remaine very clean, and
a very sweete-savouring perfume. What odor forever it be, it is strange to see, what hold it will
take on me, and how apt my skinne is to receive it. He that complaineth against nature,
that she hath not created man with a fit instrument, to carry sweete smellis fast-tied to his nose,
is much too blame: for, they carry themselves. As for me in particular, my moffachoese,
which are very thicke, serve me for that purpose. Let me but approach my gloves or my
hand-ketcher to them, their smell will sticke vpon them a whole day. They manifest the place I come from. The clofe-fmacking, sweete-nell-moveing, love-aluring, and greedif-
smirking kifes of youth, were herteofore wont to sticke on them many houres after; yet am
I little subject to those popular diseases, that are taken by conversation, and bred by the con-
tagion of the ayre: And I have escaped those of my time, of which there hath bee many
and severall kinds, both in the towne about me, and in our Armie. We reade of Socrates,
that during the time of many plagues and relapses of the pestilence, which so often infected the
Cittie of Athens, he never for socke or went out of the towne: yet was he the onely man,
that was never infected, or that felt any sickenesse. Phisitians might(in mine opinion)draw
more vse and good from odours, then they doe. For, my selle have often perceived, that acc-
cording vnto their strength and qualitie, they change and alter, and move my spirits, and
worke strange effects in me: which makes me approve the common sayeing, that the invention
of incense and perfumes in Churches, so ancient and so faire-dispersed throughout all
nations and religions, had an especiall regard to rejoynce, to comfort, to quicken, to rowze,
and to purifie our senses, that so we might be the apes and reader vnto contemplation. And
the better to judge of it, I would I had my parte of the skill, which some cookees have, who
can so curiously seafon and temper strange odors with the favour and reliish of their meetes.
As it was especially observed in the service of the King of Tunes, who in our dayes landed at
Naples, to meete and enter-parly with the Emperor Charles the fifth. His viandes were so
exquisitly farced, and so sumptuously seafoned with sweete odoriferous drugs, and aromati-
cal spices, that it was found upon his booke of accoents, the dressing of one peacock, and
two seafants amounted to one hundred duckets; which was their ordinary maner of cooking
his meetes. And when they were carved vp, not only the dining-chambers, but all the
roome of his palace, and the freestes round about it were replenished with an exceeding

odoriferous
odoriferous and aromaticall vapour, which continued a long time after. The principal care I take, wherefore I am lodged, is to avoid, and be farre from all manner of filthy, foggy, ill-favoring, and unwholesome aires. Thee goodly Citties of strangely-feated Venice, and huge-built Paris, by reason of the muddie, sharp, and offending fowrs, which they yeeld; the one by her fennie and manifft situation, the other by her durete vndecleanesse, and continual mire, doe greatly alter and diminish the favour which I beare them.

The first Booke.

The six and fiftieth Chapter.

Of Prayers and Orifons.

I propose certaine formelesse and irrefolute fantasies, as do those schollers, who in Schooles publish doubtfull and sophiftical questions to be disputed and canvassed: not to establish the truth, but to find it out: which I submit to their judgements, to whom the ordering & directing, not only of my actions and compositions, but also of my thoughts, belongeth. The condemnation, as well as the approbation of them, will be equally acceptable and profitable vnto me, being-it absurd and impious, if any thing be, either ignorantly, or unadvisedly set downe in this ripoffe, contrary vnto the sacred resolutions, and repugnant to the holy precepts of the Catholike, Apollolike, and Romane church, wherein I was borne, and out of which I purpose not to die. And therefore always referring my felte vnto their censures that have all power over me, do I meddle so rashly, to write of all manner of purposes and discourses, as I do here. I wot not whether I be deceived, but stuffed, by an especiall and fingular favor of Gods divine bounty, a certaine forme of prayer, hath, by the very mouth of God, word by word beene prescribed and directed vnto vs. I have ever thought the vfe of it, should be more ordnary with vs, then it is. And might I be believed, both rising and going to bed, sitting downe and rising from boorde, and going about any particular action or busines, I would have all good Christians, to say the Paternoster, and if no other prayer, at least not to omitt that. The Church may extend, amplify, and diversifie prayers according to the need of our instruction: For, I knowe it is always the same substance, and the same thing. But that one should ever have this priviledge, that all manner of people, should at all times, and vpon every occasion have it in their mouth: For, it is most certaine, that onely it containeth whatsoever we want, and is most fit, and effectuall in all events. It is the onely prayer I vs in every place, at all times, and vpon every accident; and in stead of changing, I vs often repetition of it: whence it commeth to passe, that I remember none so well as that one. I was even now considering, whence this generall errour commeth, that in all our defiles and enterprises, of what nature soever, we immediately have recourse vnto God, and in every necessity, we call vpon his holy name: And at what time soever we fland in neede of any help, and that our weaknese vs eth suffifance, we onely invoke him, without considering whether the occasion be just or vnsuffif: and what estate or action we be in, or go about, be it never so vicious or vnlawfull, we call vpon his name and power. Indeede heis our onely protector, and of power to affoode vs all manner of help and comfort, but although he vouchsafe to honour vs with this joy-bringing fatherly adoption, yet is he as just as he is good; and as good and jnft, as he is mightie: But ofter vs with his justice than his might, and favoreth vs according to the reafon of the fame, and not according to our requests. Plato in his lawes maketh three fortes of injurious belief in the Gods: First, that there is none at all; Secondly, that they meddle not with our aires; Thirdly, that they never refuse any thing vnto our vows, offerings, and sacrifices. The first errour, according to his opinion, did never continue imnmutable in man; even from his first infancy vnto his latter age. The two succeeding may admit some constance. His justice and power are infpeurable. It is but vaine to enquire his power in a bad caufe. Man must have an vnpoluted soule
foulc when he praieth (at least in that moment he addressed himselfe to pray) and absolutely free from all vicious passions; otherwize we our selves present him the roddes to scourge vs withall. In hew of redressing our fault, we redouble the same, by presenting him with an affection fraught with irreverence, sinne, and hatred, to whom only we should sue for grace and forgivenesse. Loes heere, why I doe not willingly commend those Planificall humours, whom I so often beheld, and more then ordinary, to pray vnto God, except their actions immediately preceding or succeeding their prayers witness some shew of reformation or hope of amendment.

— Sine cursum adulator
Tempora sanctifico velas ad opera eantulo.
If a cape-cloke-hood befrenchified
Thou a night-wothe-munger thy head doost hide.

And the state of a man that commeth devotion vnto an excerable life, feemeth in some sort to be more condemnable, then that of one, that is conformable vnto himselfe, and evene way disdillute. Therefore doth our Church continually refuse, the favoure of her enterance and societie, vnto customes and manners willfully-obscinate on some egregious villany, Wee onely pray by custome and vie, and for fashio-faire, or to say better, wee but readie and pronounce our prayers: To conclude, it is nothing but a shew of formality, and a formal shew. And it greeveth me to see many men, who at grace before and after meat, will with great shew of devotion, croffe themselves three or foure times (and it vexeth mee so much the more, when I call to mind, that it is a signe I greatly reverencie, and have in continuall yie, yea if I be but gaping) and therevilesh, shall you see them beftow all other hours of the day in al maner of hatred, malice, covetouseis, and injustice. Many houres spend they about vice, but one to God, & that as it were by way of recumpence & composition. It is wondorous to see, so far different and divers actions, continue with so even a tenor, that no interruption or alteration at all can be perceived, either about their confines, or passaige from one vnto another. What prodigious confencencie can be at any harte-cafe, for the, and feeding with fo mutual, quiet, and agreeing societie. In one selle same manision, both crime and judge? A man whose Paillardize and luxury, doth unceasantly sway and rule the head, and who judgeth the fame abominable & most hateful in the sight of God; what faith he vnto his all-seeing Majestie, when he openeth his lippes, either of mouth or hart, to speake to him of it? He reclaims himselfe, but falseth sodainely againe. If the obiect of his devout insence, and his presence shoule strike, (as he faith) and chastizeth his soule, how short-soever the penitenence were, shall it selfe would so often cast his thought on it, that he should presently perceiveth himselfe master of those vices, which are habitation in bored, sailed and elxelished in him. But what of those, which ground a whole life vpon the fruit and benefite of that same, they know to bee mortall? How many trades, professions, occupations and vacations, have we daily and continually yied, frequented and allowed amongst vs, whose effence is viscious and most pernicious? And hee that would needs confesse himselfe vnto me, and of his owne accord told me, that for sake of loosing his credite, and to keep the honour of his office, he had for a whole age, made shew and profession, and acted the effects of a religion, which in his owne selfe-accuting confencence, hee judged damnable, and cleanse contrary vnto that he had in his hart: How could he admit and offer so contradictory and impious a discoure in his hart? With what language entertaine they divine justice concerning this subiect? Their repentance, consisting in visible amends, and manageable reparation, they looche both towards God and vs, the meanes to alleage the same. Are they so malapart and fond-hardie as to crave pardon without satisfaction, and fans-repentance? I thinke it goeth with the first, as with the last: But obfination is not herein so easy to be vanquished. This so sodaine contrarietie, and violent volubilitie of opinion, which they feaine vnto vs, feemeth to me a miracle. They present vs with the state of an indigetible agone. How fantastical seemed their imagination vnto me, who these latter yeares had taken vp a fashio, to checke and reprove all men, that professed the Catholicke religion, in whom shined any extraordinary brightnesse of spirit, saying, that it was but fained; and to doe him honor, held, that whatsoever he said in apparell, he could not inwardly chuse but have his beleefe reformed according to their byafe. It is a preveli infirmite, for a man to thinke himselfe so firmly grounded, as to perfunke himselfe, that the contrary may not be believed: And more preveli also, to bee perfwaded by such a spirit, that prefereth.
preferr'd I wot not what disparitie of fortune, before the hopes and threats of eternal life. They may believe mee: If any thing could have tempted my youth, the ambition of the hazard, and difficulty, which followed this late-modene enterprize, should have had good part therein. It is not without great reason, in my poore judgement, that the church forbiddeth the confused, rash and indifcrete vie of the sacred and divine fongs, which the holy spirit hath indited vnto David. God ought not to be commixed in our actions, but with awefull reverence, and an attention full of honor and respect. The word or voyce is too divine, having no other vie but to exercise our lungs, and to please our ears. It is from the confcience and not from the tongue that it must proceede. It is not consonant vnto reason, that a prenifie or shoppe-keeping boy, amiddeft his idle,vaine, and frivolous conceits, should be suffered to entertaine himselfe, and play therewith. Nor is it seemly, or tolerable, to see the sacred booke of our beliefs. Mysteries, toffed vp and downe and plaid withall in a shoppe, or a hall, or a kitchin. They have heretofore bin accompted mysteries, but through the abie of times, they are now held as sports and recreations. So serious, and venerable a studie should noe, by way of pastime, and tumultuously be handled. It ought to be a fixed, a purposed, and settled action, to which this preface of our office furrum corda should ever bee adjourneyed, and the very exterior parts of the body, should with such a countenance, be referred vnto it, that to all mens eyes it may witneffe a particular attention and duteous respect. It is not a studie fitting all men, but onely such as have vmselues vnto it, and whose God hath, of his infinite mercy, called thereunto. The wicked, the vragodly, and the igno- rant are thereby empaired. It is no historie to be fabulously reported, but a historie to bee dutfully reverenced, awfully feared, and religiouslie adored. Are they not pleasantly conceited, who because they have reduced the fame into the vulgar tongues, and that all men may vnderstand it, perfwade themselves, that the people shall the better conceive and digest the fame? Confulteth it in the worde, that they vnderstand not all they finde written? Shall I say more? By approaching thus little vnto it, they goe backe from it. Meereignorance, and wholly relying on others, was verily more profitable & wier, then is this verball, & vaine knowlege, the nurfe of presumption, & source of temerity. Moreover, I am of opinion, that the vncontrolled libertie, that all men have to wreft, dispell, and wyre-draw a word to religious, and important, to so manie severall idiomes, hath much more danger then profit following it. The Iewes, the Mahometans, and well-nigh all other nations, are wedded vnto, and reverence the language, wherein their mysteries and religion had originally bin conceited; and any change or translation hath not without appearance of reason bin directly forbidden. Know we whether there be Judges now in Babylone and in Britannie to etablish this translation made in their tongue? The Univerfall Church hath no more difficult and fo- lemne judgement to make. Both in speaking and preaching the interpretation is wandering, free, and mutable, and of one parcelles is it not alike. One of our Gracian Historians, doth justly accuse his age, forasmuch as the secrets of Christian religion were dispersed in all publique places, and even among the basest artificers, and that every man might, at his pleasure, dispute of it, and at random speake his minde of the fame. And it shou'd be a great shame for vs, who by the vsnpeakeable grace of God enjoy the pure and sacred mysteries of piety, to suffer the fame to be profaned in the mouths of ignorant and popular people, seeing the very Gentiles interdicted Socrates and Plato: and the wifhe, to meddle, enquire or speake of things committed vnto the Priefles of Delphos. Saying moreover, That the fallions of Princes, touching the subjext of Diviniie are armed, not with zede, but with anger. That zede dependeth of divine reason and infince, holding an orderly and moderate course, but that it changeth into hatred and envy, and in fleedes of corne and grape, it produceth nettles and darnell, if it be di- rected by humane passion. And justly faith this other, who counsellling the Emperour Theodo- fius, affirmed that dissatisfaction, did not so much appease and full esce the schimes of the Church, as fire up and cause beries. And therefore it behoovede to avoyde all contenctions, controver- sies, and logical arguings, and wholly and sincerely referre himselfe vnto the prescriptions and orders of faith, establishted by our forefathers. And Androscen the Emperor, finding by chance in his palace, certaine principall men very easely disputing against Lapodius, about one of ous points of great importance, taunted and rated them very bitterly, and threatened if they gave not over, he would caufe them to bee caft into the river. Children and wo- men doe now-adayes governe and sway the oldeft and most experienced men concerning

Ecclefiasticall
Ecclesiasticall Lawes: Whereas the first that Plato made, forbiddeth them to enquire after the reason of civil Lawes, and which ought to stand in place of divine ordinances. Allow-
invoke God and call on his aide, even in the complot of our grievous faults, and desire his assistance in all manner of injustice and iniquity.

The courteous man feeth & praieth vnto him for the vaine encrease and superfuous preservation of his wrong-gotten treasure. The ambitious, he importuneth God for the conduct of his fortune, and that he may have the victorie of all his desaignes. The theefe, the pirate, the murtherer, yea and the traitor, all call vpon him, all enmope his ayde, and all sollicite him, to give them courage in their attempts, confidence in their resolutions, to remove all lets and difficulties, that in any sorte may withstand their wicked executions, and impious actions; or give him thanks, if they have had good success; the one if he have met with a good bootie, the other if he return home rich, the third if no man have seen him kill his enemy, and the lafte, though he have caused any execrable mischief. The Souldier, if he but go to besiege a cottage, to scale a Castle, to robbe a Church, to Pettard a gate, to force a religious house, or any villenous act, before he attempt- it, praieth to God for his assistance, though his intents and hopes be full-fraught with cruelty, murther, coutenace, luxurie, sacrilege and all iniquity.

Hoc ipsam quos tuouis aurem impellere tentas,
Die aedemum, Sato, prob Jupiter, a bone, clamet,
Jupiter at isfex non clamet Jupiter ispe.
Goe to then, say the name to some bad fellow,
Which thou prepar'ft for Gods ears, let him bellow,
O God, good God, to God on himselfe would not plod.

Margaret Queene of Navarre, maketh mention of a yong Prince (whom although the name not expressly, yet his greatness hath made him sufficiently knowne) who going about an amorous aflignation, and to lie with an advocates wife of Paris, his way lying along a Church, he did never passe by so holy a place, whether it were in going or coming from his lecherie, and cukolding-labor, but would make his praiers vnto God, to be his help and furterance. I would faie have any impartial man tell me, to what purpose this Prince invoked and called on God for his divine favor, having his minde onely bent to sinne, and his thoughts set on luxurie. Yet doth the allenge him for a speciall testimonie of singular devotion. But it is not onely by this example, a man might verifie, that women are not very fit to manage or treate matters of religion and divinitie. A true and hartie praiere, and an unfaied religious reconciliation from vs vnto God, cannot likely fall into a wicked and impure soule, especialy when Sathan faueth the fame. He that calleth vnto God for his assistance, whilst he is engulfed and wallowing in filthie sinne, doth as the cut-pute, that should call for justice vnto his ayde, or thoe that produce God in wittnes of a lie.

Lucan. i. 5. 94.
--- tacito mala vota sufurro
Concipimus.
With silent whispering we,
For ill things supplicants be.

There are few men, that would dare to publish the secret requests they make to God.

Prof. Sen. 2. 6.
Haud curvis promptum est, murmurusque humili/que sufurros
 Tollere de templis, et aportare vovere vota.
From Church low-whispering murmur to expell,
Tis not for all, or with knowne vows live well.

And that's there reason, why the Pithagorians would have them publique, that all might heare them, that no man should abusively call on God, and require any vndecent or vnjust thing of him, as that man;

Hor. lib. 1. epi.
16. 59.
--- clare cium dixit, Apollo,
Labra movens metuens audiri: pulchra Leuerna
Da mibi fallere, da inutilus sanctitique ordi,
Non tempestate, et fraudulentus objice sulem.
When he alowd hath said, Apollo heare,
Loud to be heard, Goddesse of thieves, said he,

Grant
The first Booke.

Grant me to cofen, and yet just appeare,
My fauiies in right, my frawd in clouds let be.

The Gods did greeuojly punifhe the impious vowes of Oedipus, by granting them unto him. His prayer was, that his children might betweene themfelves decide in armes the succession of his eftates: he was fo mifterable, as to be taken at his word. A man fhould not requiff that all things follow our will, but that it may follow wifedom. Verely, it feemeth, that we make no other vfe of our prayers, then of a companie of gibrifh phrases: And as those who employ holy and facted words about witchcraft and magical effects; and that we imagine their effect dependeth of the contexture, or found, or succession of words, or from our countenance. For, our foule, being full fraught with conjufcence and all manner of vnGodly thoughts, nothing touched with repentance, nor moved with new reconciliation towards God, wee headlong prcfent unto him those heedeles words, which memorie affordeth our tongue, by which we hope to obtaine an expiation and remifion of our offences. There is nothing fo easie, fo sweete, fo comfortable and favourable, as the law of God: the (of his infinite mercie) calleth vs unto him, how faulifie and detestable foever we be, the gently stretcheth forth his armes unto vs, and mildly receiveth vs into his lap, how guifte, polluted, and foulfull foever we are, and may be in after-tymes. But in remembrance of fo boundles and unspakable a favor, she must be thankfully accepted, and cheerfully regarded: and fo gracious a pardon must be received with a grattife of the foule, and at leaft, in that inflant, that we address our felves unto his prefence: to have our foule grieved for his faults, penitent of his times, hating those passions and affections, that have caufed or provoked vs to transgresfe his lawes, to offend his Majesty, and to breake his commandements. Plato fayth, That neither the God, nor honeft men will ever accept the offering of a wicked man.


The seventh and fiftieth Chapter.

Of Age.

I cannot receive that manner, whereby we eftablish the continuance of our life. I fee that some of the wifhes for doe greatly shorten the fame, in reftpect of the common opinion. What faide Cato minor, to thofe who fought to hinder him from killing himfelf? Doe I now live the age, wherein I may iniil be reproved to leave my life too foon? Yet was he but eight and fowtie years old. He thought that age very ripe, yea and well advanced, considering how few men come unto it. And fuch as entertaine themfelves with, I wot not what kind of course, which they call natural, promifeth some few years beyond, might doe it, had they a privilege that could exempt them from fo great a number of accidents, unto which each one of vs fhould be affected by a natural subjeftion, and which may interrupt the faid course, they propofe unto themfelves. What fondnes is it, for a man to think he fhall die, for, and through, a failing and defect of strength, which extreme age draweth with it, and to propofe that terme unto our life, feeing it is the rareft kind of all deaths, and leaft in vfe? Woe onely call it natural, as if it were againft nature to fee a man breake his neffe with a fall; to be drowned by {hippewrack} to be surprifed with a petillence or pleurifie, and as if our or-
The first Booke.

ordinarie condition did not present these inconveniences vnto vs all. Let vs not flatter our selves with these fond-goodly words; a man may peradventure rather call that natural, which is generall, common and vniverfall. To die of age is a rare, singular, and extraordinarie death, and so much leefe natural then others? It is the laft and extremest kinde of dying: The further it is from vs, the more the leefe is it to be hoped-for: Indeed it is the limit, beyond which we shall not passe, and which the lawe of nature hath prescribed vnto vs, as that which should not be outgon by any; but it is a rare privilege peculiar vnto his selfe, to make vs continue vnto-it. It is an exemption, which through some particular favour the father-eth upon some one man, in the space of two or three ages, discharging him from the crosses, troubles and difficulties; the hath entered betweene both, in this long carere and pilgrimage. Therefore my opinion is, to consider, that the age vnto which we are come, is an age whereeto few arrive: since men come not vnto it by any ordinarie course, it is a signe wee are very forward. And since wee have paft the accustomed boundes, which is the true measure of our life, we must not hope, that we shall goe much further. Having escaped so many occasions of death, wherein wee see the world to fall, we must acknowledge that such an extraordinarie fortune, as that, which maintaineth vs, and is beyond the common vfe, is not likely to continue long. It is a fault of the very lawes, to have this false imagination: They allow not a man to bee capable and of discretion, to manage and dispose of his owne goods, vntil he bee five and twentie yeares olde, yet shall hee hardly preserve the state of his life so long. Augustus abridged five years of the ancient Roman Lawes, and declared, that for any man that should take uppon him the charge of judgement, it sufficed to be thirteene yeares olde. Servius Tullius dispended the Knights, who were feaven and fortie yeares of age from all voluntarie services of warre. Augustus brought them to fortie and five. To lend men to their place of sojourning before they be five and fiftie or three score yeares of age, me seemeth, carrieth no great appearance with-it. My advice would be, that our vacation, and employment should bee extended as farre as might bee for the publicke commoditie; but I blame some, and condemn most, that we beginne not sooner enough to employ our selves. The fame Augustus had beene vniverfull and supreme judge of the world, when he was but nineteene yeares olde, and would have another to bee thirtie, before he shall bee made a competent judge of a cottage or farme. As for my part, I think our mindes are as full growne and perfectly joyned at twentie yeares, as they should be, and promise as much as they can. A minde which at that age hath not gonne some evi- dent token or earneft of his sufficiencie, shall hardly give-it afterward, put him to whattry-all you lift. Natural qualities and vertues, if they have any vigorous or beauteous thing in them, will produce and shew the fame within that time, or never. They say in Delphinae.

Si l'efpine nous pique quand nas,
Apeine que pique tomatis,
A thorne, unlefe at first it pricke,
Will hardly ever peace toth' quicke.

Of all humane honorable and glorious actions, that ever came vnto my knowledge, of what nature forever they be, I am perswaded, I should have a harder taske, to number those, which both in ancient times, and in ours, have beene produced and achieved before the age of thirtie yeares, then such as were performed after: yea often in the life of the famous men. May not I boldly speake it of those of Flaminbali and Scipio his great adverarie? They lived the better parte of their life with the glorie which they had gotten in their youth: And though afterward they were great men, in respect of all others, yet were they but mean in regard of themselves. As for my particular, I am verily perswaded, that since that age, both my spirite and my body, have more decreased then encreased, more recolled then advanced. It may bee, that knowledge and experience shall encrease in them, together with life, that belowe their time well: but vivacite, promptitude, constancie and other partes much more our owne, more important and more essentiaall, they droope, they languish, and they faint.

—ubi iam validis quaestatum est viribus aevi
Corpus, & obitus occiderunt viribus aevi,
Claudiscat ingenium, delirat linguadque mense.

When
When once the bodie by shrewd strength of yeares
Is shak't, and limmes drawne downe from strength that weares,
Wit halts, both tongue and minde
Doc daily daure, we finde.

It is the body, which sometimes yeeldeth first vnto ages and other times the minde: and I have seene many, that have had their braines weakened before their fromake or legges. And forasmuch as it is a disafe, little or nothing sensible vnto him that endureth it, and maketh no great fiew, it is so much the more dangerous. Here I exclaime against our Lawes, not because they leafe vs so long and late in working and employment, but that they set vs a worke no sooner, and it is so late before we be employed. Me thinkes that considering the weakenesse of our life, and seeing the infinite number of ordinarie rockes, and naturall dangers it is subject vnto, we should not so soon as we come into the world, allot so great a share thereof vnprofitable wantonneffe in youth, il-breeding idlenesse, and slow-learning prent-ileage.

The end of the first Booke.
THE ESSAYES

Or
Morall, Politike and Millitarie Discourses

of
Lo: Michaell de Montaigne,

Knight

Of the noble Order of St. Michaell, and one of the Gentlemen in Ordinary of the French king, Henry the third his Chamber.

The second Booke.

(***)

1603.
THE
ESSAYS
OF
Moral, Political, and Military
Discourses
TO
Mr. MACHEPES MACHAPESE
And
Of Some Occurrences and Reflections
Which I Have
AND WHICH I Have Made
UPON
The Subject of While
C. 70
I ve me leave (peereleffe, and in all good gifts unparagonized Ladies) though I make my fault double to aske leave for a fault which I might leave yet thus to pare you with out dislike, who like (I imagine) each other above other, and to whom a like paire long may I secke, but long cre finde. Such paring is no emparing, no disparaging, nor yet comparing, unlesse in that good comparison of excellence. This is the number appropriate, at least reciprocall, of true love, as the two Tables comprised in two commandements of due love. And such is Gods proceeding, when Mercie and Truth meete together, Righteousnesse and Peace have kissed each other. Even as body and sole, braine and heart, memory and understanding, so are you two with your two honorablest Lordses made, as you should be, even: two Doves, two Loves: double kind, double kindenesse. Both like the two Cherubins on the toppes and sides of the propitiatorie, respective mutually, like the two staires of the North, which our Mariners call, the Guardes, direction of our course; like your owne eyes, their owne only matches: yet as much pleasing others with their sight, as your themselves. And hereby, as your Cogniscance (noblest Countesse of Rutland) bears the body or chiefe part of an Imprime made for a worthy Dutchesse of Florence: so (hopewe) you are long shall deale the soule and life of her word, Cum pudore lata fecunditas: to reape as much joy by Iuno, as labour by Lucina, and honor by them both: which being so well graffed shall be (as the Italian skake in Dutch) Wan Got will: whereof yet a faire patterne you have here (be it auspicious) associated to you: I imagine truly, richesse Ladie Rich in riches of Fortune not deficient, but of body incomparably richer, of minde most rich: who yet, like Cornelia, were you out-vied, or by rich shoves envied to show your richesse owelles, would lay till your soueraine Images (your deere swete children) came from schoole. And if you may so joy in those your yong Schollers, of such hope, of such spirit so nobly borne, so worthy proceeding: how then may I boast of both your Ladships, of such proofs, of such merit, my not onely proficient, but perfect Schollers? Tea, as of love, so of language, peereleffe Ladie, who like that great and good Cornelia, not only with bountie entertained, but also of benignitie invertelearned and vertuous strangers, not so much to employ, as rather to relieve, yeasollege, yeasomifie, yeaservise, yeaserve them to admiration or veneration of your singular sufficiencies, surfounting magnanimity, and inestimable value, even from foraine Princes that come to see this happy baptie Iland to receive gratulations, and merit commendations. Who also, like another of the same name, to your great and good Pompeys brought an invaluable Dowrie, not onely of Nobilitie, Learning, Language, Mufike, but withall, an uncurious gravitie, and all-accomplishit vertue. So as into this familie of these Corneliiases, as many sciences into one flocke, the Orator may well conclude the wisdome and vertue of many engrafted and colle.
The Epistle.

And though this Montaigne, Lord, not so knightly as ancilly, in this your part acknowledged no dozens of good women at any time in one place (in France it may be, or of his knowledge) but only a bare trinity, and these Italians, and that about their husbands death to die with or before them; forgetting he had instanced but a little before, out of Property and others, in many Indians, who, did they or dimly as much for their husbands, would out of doubt affectionately doe more for them yet living: yet as some Socrates, and in that very point, both in Plutarch, both (as God would have it) surviving, their husbands, the one prevented by her husband’s wise kindnesse, the other with all sympathy attending his extreme fortune; both while they lived, preserved the dead in Honorable memorie: as also in his kinde three other in Plutarch went as farre, namely Empo-
na, Camna and Damocrita: or this same Theoxena, Sextilia, Praxca, Pelagia, Sophronia, Fulvia, and many more; since in the Roman Procriptions, as one of their Historians doth testify, many wives were found exceeding faithful, but few men. servants, few friends, and fewest names. So neither is one vertue fit for all, nor all vertue for one vertue: nor is that one so excellent, but by more it might be mended: nor decree I his three so good, but many have bin, and some be much better. Tea, as a Christian, I must deny them good, who call-back Gods good gift before he call for it, leave their faire corps de guardere ere their General discharge them. So, hope to be desirous for being their own Murthers, who should be dammed if they were so to others: more patience to their own foules, than that beast would be to their owne flethes; not of force, but of patience, or for patience at the best: though even in that (as Plinie thinks of two of these persons) the same fact is diversely extolled or abused, as the person that doth it, is divers, high or base. Nor would a wise Socrates not his, yet a better man than his, Seneca permitte as good an Arius as his her daughter to die as she did, though as willingly she would, but charged her to live afore him and his. Better yet (but not much) like I that see one, which this Author approoveth by his Wife Duke of Bretagne in choice of Isabell of Scotland. But since himselfe likes it better to be will vsed in life then at death, and better usage proceeds from better vertues (for better vertues make you love as well as be beloved., and loyall love from you makes up his mouth, with sweeter science than death) without that extreme trial, I can tell him we have, and by good hap, my dedications name unto him, half a dozen, better, because more vertuous, and therefore more loved, and as loving. Or, will bee admittet but three, if not pares, yet their Pares. I must say of three as Aristote saide of one, Credignun’ excelle quale Quella Fenice. Or as my fellow Nolano in his herocall furies wrote (noble Countesse) to your most herocall fater, and in a Sonnet to you Ladies of England, You are not women, but in their like-
ness Nymphs, Goddesses, and of Celestiall substance. 

Et fieste in terra quel ch’ in ciel lie stelle.

And above all, that onely divine Diana,

Quel e tresor quel cher tra gi’ atri il sole.

And hence contrary to this Confer, the Nobler and the Richer you are, the more vertuous and worthy we esteeme you by reason and experience. But while I follow my guide, I have forsaken my selfe, and while I would winne him friends, he workes (I spare) fees both to him and me of my best friends, while he findes but three good, and that, when they did so, as I pray God keepe mine both from cause and effect, intention and execution. Wherein I follow, if not his Paris preacher, at least his douceur Francois. But is he then so capricious, so opinionative, so paradoxical? I grant, sometimes extravagant, often adro-
chetted, and ever sole, contented to write of himselfe out of himselfe. Why wrote he then? for him and his. But why do I translate him? for your Ladships and yours, What to dis-
plesse? Nay, neither doth such extraordinary mischeevous displeas, nor is hee ever in his hu-
mour: for, in the judgement (before others, see even of the present Genevian he hath so bin 
judged, and amongst them allowed to be printed) of your most learned, wise and honou-

rable
The Epistle.

To your Honours obliged and devoted

in all service,

John Florio.
TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, Elizabeth Countess of Rutland.

Hrife-happy Countess, your thriſe-honor'd Sire,
An other Nature, Maro-like, sur-named,
As he in Arte divineſt Poems framed,
In love did to a love divine aspire,
In both wrought wonders of Prometheus fire;
So got in kind an offpring no leſſe famed,
His fame's enheritrix to be proclaimed;
That got, he got himselfe one of Heav'ns quire.
As then his, and your Mothers match you are
In parents, match, and shall (we hope) in breeding,
England to steade with antient Manors race:
So be you (when we you in praiſe compare)
As kinde, in kindeness them as kinde succeeding,
Great good-wils gift not great, t' accept with grace.

Il Candido.
To the Honorably-vertuous Ladie,  
La: Penelope Riche.

Adame, to write of you, and doe you right,  
What meane we, or what meanes to ayde meane might?  
Since HE, who admirably did endite,  
Entiteling you Perfections heire, Ioyes light,  
Loves life, Lifes gemme, Vertues court, Heav’ns delight,  
Natures chiefse worke, Fair’st booke, his Mufes spright,  
Heav’n on Earth, peerlesse Phoenix, Phabe bright,  
Yet said, he was to secke, of you to write.  
Unlesse your selfe be of your selfe devising;  
Or that another such you can inspire.  
Inspire you can; but o none such can be:  
Your selfe as bright as your mid-day, as rising.  
Yet, though we but repeate who would flie higher,  
And though we but translate, take both in gree.

Il Candido.
of Michael Lord of
Montaigne.

The second Booke.

The first Chapter.

Of the inconstancie of our actions.

Hose which exercise themselves in controuling humane actions, find no such let in any one parte, as to piece them together, and bring them to one fame luftre: For, they commonly contradict one another so strangely, as it seemeth impossible they should be parcels of one ware-house. Young Pis in sometimes is found to be the sonne of Mars, and other times the childe of Venus. Pope Bomface the eight, is reported to have entred into his charge, as a Foxe; to have carried himselfe therein, as a Lion; and to have died like a dog. And who would thinke it was Nero, that lively image of crueltie, who being required to signe (asthccustome was) the sentence of a criminal offender, that had beene condemned to die, that ever he should answere? Oh would to God I could never have written! So rare was his heart grieved to doom a man to death. The world is so full of such examples, that every man may flore himselfe, and I woonder to see men of vnderstanding trouble themselves with forting these parcels: Sihence (me seemeth) irresolution is the most apperant and common vice of our nature, as wittnesseth that famous verse of Publius the Comedian:

Malam confidium est, quod mutari non poteit.

The counsell is but bad,

Whoe change may not be had.

There is some apperance to judge a man by the most common conditions of his life, but seeing the naturall instabilitie of our customes and opinions, I have often thought, that even good Authors doe ill, and take a wrong course, wilfully to opinionate themselves about framing a constant and solide contexture of vs. They chufe an unversall ayre, and following that image, range and interpret al a mans actions; which if they cannot wrcll sufficiently, they remit them vnto dissimulation. Augustus hath elaped their hands for, there is so apparent, so odaine and continual a variety of actions found in him, through the course of his life, that even the boldeft judges and strictest censurers, have bin faine to give him over, & leave him vndecied. There is nothing so hardly believe to be in man, as constancy, and nothing so easie to be found in him, as inconstancy. He that should distinctly, and part by part, judge of him, should often jumpe to speake trueth. View all antiquitie over, and you shall finde it hard
The second Booke.

matter, to chuse out a dozen of men, that have directed their life unto one certaine, settled, and affur'd course, which is the fairest drift of wisedome. For, to comprehend all in one worde, faith an ancient writer, and to embrace all the rules of our life into one, it is at all times to will, and not to will one same thing. I woulde not vouchsafe, (faith he) to adde anie thing; always provided the will be just; for, if it be vnjust, it is impossible it should ever continue one. Verily, I have heretofore learned, that vice is nothing but a disorder, and want of measure, and by consequnce, it is impossible to fasten constancy vnto it. It is a saying of Democritus. (as some report) That confutation and deliberation, is the beginning of all certainties and constancies; the end and perfection. If by reason or discourse we should take a certaine wate, we should then take the fairest; but no man hath thought on it.

Our ordinary maner is to follow the inclination of our appetit, this way and that way, on the left, and on the right hand; vpward and downward, according as the wind of occasions doth transport vs: we never think on what we had have been, but at the instant we would have it, and chance as that beaft that takes the colour of the place wherein it is layd. What we even now purposed, we alter by and by, and presently returne to our former byafe: all is but changing, motion, and inconstancy;

We doe not, but we are caried:as things that flote, now gliding gente, now hulling violently; according as the water is, either stormy or calme.

We flote and waver betwenee divers opinions: we wil nothing freely, nothing absolutely, nothing confantly. Had any man preferred certaine Lawes, or established affured policies in his owne head; in his life should we dayly fee, to thinke an equality of cunfections, an affured order, and an infallible relation from one thing to another (Empedocles noted this determinite to be amongst the Agrigentines, that they gave themselves so over vnto delights, as if they should die to morrow next, and build as if they should never die) the discouer thereof were easie to be made. As is seen in yong (into: He that toucht but one finger of it, hath toucht all. It is an harmony of well-accouning tunes, and which cannot contradict it selfe. With vs it is clean contrary, so many actions, so many particular judgements are there required. The fairest way (in mine opinion) were to referre them vnto the next circumstances, without entering into further search, and without concluding any other conseruation of them. During the late tumultuous broyles of our mangled estate, it was tolde mee, that a young woman, not farre from mee, had headlong cast hir selfe out of a high window, with intent to kill hir selfe, only to avoyde the ravishment of a rascalie base souldier, that lay in hir house, who offered to force hir; and perceiving that with the fall she had not killed herself, to make an end of her enterprise, she should have cutt hir owne throat with a knife, but that she was hindered by some that came in to her: Nevertheless if having wounded hir selfe, she voluntarily confessed, that the Souldier had yet but vrged hir with importunate requests, suing, solicitations, and golden bribes, but the fearefull he would in the end have obtained his purpose by compulsion:
The second Booke.

Therefore having taken upon him to favour a soulde of his, by reason of his vertue and valour, commanded his physicians to have great care of him, and see whether they could recover him of a lingering & inward disease, which had long tormented him, who being perfectly cured, he afterward perceived him to bee nothing so earnest and diligent in his affairs, demanded of him, how he was so changed from himselfe, and become so cowardly; your selfe good sir (unanswered he) have made me so, by ridding me of those infermities, which so did grieve me, that I made no accompt of my life. A soulde of Lucullus, having by his enemies beene robbed of all he had, to revenge himselfe undertook a notable and desperate attempt upon them; and having recovered his loffes, Lucullus conceived a very good opinion of him, and with the greatest sheues of affur'd trutht and loving kindnes he could behinke himselfe, made especial accompt of him, and in any dangerous entreppize seem'd to trust and employ him only:

Verbis que tuto doque posset addere mentem

With words, which to a coward might

Addre courage, had he an yspight.

Imployn (laid he sheto him) some wretch stripp'd and robbed sollidier

(adquantumvio ruribus sit;
Hit egnruts qui zonam perdidi, magis.)

(Nones, faith he, so slowthi, but will-on,
Where you will have him, if his purfe be gone)

and absolutely to obey him. When we reade that Mahomet, having outrageouslie rated Chafan, chief leader of his Janiziers, because he saw his troop well-high defeated by the Hungarians, and he to behave himselfe but faintly in the sight, Chafan, without making other reply, alone as he was, and without more ado, with his weapon in hand rushed furiously in the thickest throng of his enemies that he first mette withal; of whom he was instantly slaine: This may happe be deemed, rather a rash conceit, than a justification, and a new spight, then a natural proofe. He whom you saw yesterdaie so boldly, venturous, wonder nor if you see him a dastardly meaconn to morrow next: for either anger or necessitie, company or wine, a sodaine fury or the clang of a trumpet, might rowze vp his hart, and the vp his courage. It is no hart nor courage to framed by discouer or deliberation: These circumstances have fette the fame in him: Therefore it is no marvell if by other contrary circumstances he become a craven and change compy. This supplue variation, and ease-yielding contradiction, which is feene in vs, hath made fome to imagine, that we had two foules, and others, two faculties, whereof every one as beft the pleafeth, accompanyeth and doth agitate vs; the one towards good, the other towards evil. For somuch as such a rough diversitie cannot welfort & agree in one fimple fubject. The blaff of accidents, doth not only remove me according to his inclination; for besides, I remove and trouble myfelfe by the infability of my posture, and whofoever looketh narrowly above himfelfe, shall hardly fee himfelfe twife in one fame fite. Sometimes I give my foule one vifage, and sometimys another, according vnto the posture or fide I lay hit-in. If I speake diversely of my felfe, it is because I looke diversly vpon my felfe. All contrarieties are found in hir, according to some turne or removing, and in some fation or other. Shamefull, bashfull, insolent, chaffe, luxurious, peevish, prating, filent, fond, doting, labourous, nice, delicate, ingenious, flowe, dull, cromid, humorus, debonaire, wife, ignorant, falle in wordes; true speaking; both liberal, covetous, and prodigal. All these I perceyve in fome meafure or other to be in me in mine, according as I thirre or turne my felfe; And whofoever shall heedfully fyrtay and confider himfelfe, shall finde this volubilitie and discordance to be in himfelfe, ye and in his very judgement. I have nothing to fay entirely, simply, and with feldomie of my felfe, without confufion, disorder, blending, mingling; and in one word, Diffinguo is the moft univerfal part of my logike. Although I ever purpofe to speake good of good, and rather to interprete those things,
things, that will beare it, vnto a good issue; yet it is, that the strangenes of our condition admitteth that we are often vrged to do well by vice it selfe, if well doing were not judged by the intention only. Therefore may not a courageous acte conclude a man to be valiant. He that is so, when iut occasion serveth, shall ev er be so, and vpon all occasions. If it were an habitude of vurtue, and not a fadaine humour, it would make a man equally resolute at all affayes, in all accidents: Such alone, as in company; such in a single combate, as in a fet battle: For, whatsoever some lay, valour is all alike, and not one in the street or towne, and another in the camp or field. As courageously should a man beare a fickenes in his bed, as a hurt in the field, and feare death no more at home in his houfe,then abroad in an affault. We thould not then fee one fame man enter the breach, or charge his enemie with an affured and undanted fiercenesse, and afterward having escaped that, to vexe, to grieve and torment himselfe like vnto a feedy woman, or faint-hearted milke-foppe for the loffe of a sute, or death of a childe. If one chance to be carelessly base-minded in his infancie, and constantly resolute in povery, if he be timorously: fearfull as fight of a Barbers razor, and afterward flowly-vindicayed against his enimys fwordes: The action is commendable, but not the man.

Divers Graecians (faith Cicer0) can not endure to looke their enemie in the face, yet are they most constant in their fickeneses; whereas the Cimbrians, and Celibrians, are meere contrary. Nihil enim potest efl e agnabile, quod non a certa rati one proficintur: For nothing can beare it selfe even, which proceedeth not from resolved reason. There is no valor more extreame in his kinde, than that of Alexander; yet it is but in species; nor every where sufficiently full and vnierving. As incomparable as it is, it hath his blemishes, which is the reason that in the idlest fulpitations, he apprehended at the conspiracies of his followers against his life, we see him so earnestly to vexe, and fo desperately to trouble himselfe: In search and pursuite whereof, he demeaned himselfe with so vehement and indifferent an injustice, and with such a demifse feare, that even his natural reafon is thereby subverted. Also the superstition, wherewith he is so thoroughly tainted, beareth some shew of puslanimiteit. And the unlimitted exceffe of the repenance he shewed for the murder of Chirn, is also a witness of the inequa lity of his courage. Our matters are but parcelles huddled-up, and pieces patched together, and we endeavour to acquire honour by false meanes, and vntrue tokens. Vurtue wilt not be followed, but by her-selfe: And if at any time we borrow her maske, vpon some other occasion, she will as Soon pull it from our face. It is a lively hew, and strong die, if the soule be once dyde with the fame perfectly, and which will never fade or be gone, except it carry the skime away with it. Therefore to judge a man, we must a long time follow, and very curiously marke his steps: whether constance doe wholly subsift and continue vpon his owne foundation in him, Conviuentia via considerata atque proba est, qui habet forensidem confidet. the way of life; whether the variety of occurrences make him change his pace (I meane his way, for his pace may eyther be hastened or slowed) let him runne on: such a one (as sayeth the impeaffe of our good Talbot) goeth before the winde. It is no marvaile (faith an olde writer) that hazard hath fuch power over vs, since were live by hazard. It is imposible for him to dispofe of his particular actions, that hath not in grofe directed his life vnto one certaine end. It is imposible for him to range all pieces in order, that hath not a plot or forme of the total frame in his head. What avayeth the provision of all fortes of colours vnto one that knowes not what he is to draw? No man makes any certaine designe of his life, and we deliberate of-it but by parcelles. A skilfull archer ought first to know the mark he aimeth at, and then apply his hand, his bow, his ftring, his arrow and his motion accordingly. Our counsels goe afiles, because they are not rightly addressed, and have no fixed end. No winde makes for him, that hath no intended port to saile vnto. As for me, I allow not greatly of that judgement, which some made of Sophocles, and to have concluded him sufficent in the managing of domestical matters, against the accusation of his owne Sonne, only by the sght of one of his tragedies. Nor do I commend the conceit of the Parian, sent to reforme the Midas, as sufficent to the consequence they drew thence. In visiting & surveying the Ile, they marked the Landes that were best husbanded, and observ'd the country houses that were best governed. And having registred the names of their owners; and afterward made an assemblie of the Towne-men of the Citie, they named and instituted those owners as new governours and magistrates; judging and concluding, that beinge good husbands and carefull of their household affaires, they must consequently be so of publicke matters. We are all
The second Booke.

all framed of flappes and patches, and of so shapelesse and diverse a contexture, that euerie piece, and euerie moment playeth his part. And there is as much difference found betwenee us and our selves, as there is betwenee our selves and others. _Magnum rem puto, unum hominem agere. Etsit eum agere, ut pater, et frater, et amicus, et nepos._

Since ambition may teach men both valour, temperance, liberality, ye and justice: Sith covetousnesse may settle in the minde of a shop-pretent-ly boy, brought vp in ease and idlenes, a dreadlesse affurance to leave his home-breede cafe, and forgoe his place of education, and in a small barke to yeild him-felve vnto the mercy of blustering waves, mercelleffe windes and wrathfull _Neptunes_ and that it also teacheth diuerction and wilde-somes. And that _Utrum_ hir-felle ministruff resolution and hardneffe vnto tender youth as yet subject to the discipline of the rodde, and teacheth the ruthlesse Souldeir, the loft and tenderly -effeminate hart of wo-

women in their mothers lappes.

_Hac dace custodes surium transgressa incenentes, _

— _Adiuvenerit tenebris sola puella venti._

The wench by stealth her lodg'd guards having stript,
By this guide, sole, i'th darke, to th yonker skipt.

_It is no parte of a well grounded judgement, simple to judge our selves by our exterior aitions:_ A man must thoroughlie found himself, and dive into his hart, and there see by what wards or springs the motions flirre. But forasmuch as it is a hazardous and high enterpize, I would not have so many to medle with it as doe.

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The second Chapter.

Of Drunkenesse.

_The_ world is nothing but varietie, and dissemblance. Vices are all alike, in as much as they are all vices: And so doe happily the Stoikes meane it. But though they are equally vi-

ces, they are not equal vices; And that he who hath starded a hundred steps beyond the li-

_mates_

_Quos ultra citraque nequit consittere rectum, _

_On this side, or beyond the which_

_No man can hold a night-true pitch.

_is not of worse condition, then he that is ten steps short of it, is no whit credible: and that sacrilege is not worse then the stealing of a coleworte out of a garden._

_Nec vincerat ratio, tantundem et pecet, idemque, _

_Luti teneros caules alieni frigeris borti, _

_Et qui noturms duxit iura legerit._

_No reason can evict, as great or same sinne taints _

_Him that breaks in an others garden tender plants, _

_And him that steals by night things consecrate to Saints._

_There is as much diversitie in that as in any other thing. The confusion of order, and measure of crimes, is dangerous: Martherers, Traitors and Tyrants, have too much gaine by it: it is no reason their conscience should be eased, in that some is either idle or licentious, or leffe affidious vnto devotion. Every man poieseth vpon his fellowes sinne, and elevates his owne. Even teachers doe often range it ill in my conceite. As _Socrates_ saide, that the chiefest office of wifedome was to distinguish goods and evils. We others, to whom the beitts ever in vice, should say the like of knowledge, to distinguishing vices. Without which, and that very except, both vertuous and wicked menne remaine confounded and vn-

_knowne._ Now drunkenesse amongst others, appeareth to me a grofe and brutish vice. The minde hath more parte elze where; and some vices there are, which (if it may lawfully be spoken) have a kinde of I wot not what generositie in them. Some there are, that have learning, diligence, valour, prudence, wit, cunning, dexterity, and subtletice joynted with them, whereas this is meere corporall, and terrestriall. And the groseft and rudest nation,
that liveth amongst vs at this day, is onely that which keepeth it in credite. Other vices but alter and distract the understanding, whereas this ytterly subverteth the fame, and after-nieth the body.

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The second Booke.

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Cur. 1. 3. 479.

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Cur. & arcumumicofo

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Vines pufft-vp, as is vide alway.

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By wine which was drunke yesterdai.

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And as faithfully was the complot and purpote to kill Caesar committed unto Linmer, who would dayly be drunke with quaffing of wine, as unto Ceiffus, that drunke nothing but wa-ter, whereupon he answered very pleasantly, What? Shall I beare a tyrant, that am not able to beare wine? We see our caroiling toffe-pot German Souldiers, when they are most plun-gered in their cups, and as drunke as rats, to have perfect remembrance of their quarter, of the watch-word, and of their files.

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Vine desument venas de more Lyao.

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It would never have believed so found, so depe and so excellent drunkenesse, had I not read in Histories, that Attalus having envied to fup with him, (with intent to doe him fame notable indignitie) the fame Pamianus, who for the same caufe, killed afterward Philip King of Macedone (a King who by the eminent faire qualities that were in him, bore testi-fmony of the edification he had learned in the house and company of Pamianus,) made him so dead-drunke, that inexpressibly and without feeling, he might prostitute his beautie as the body of a common-hedge-harlor, to muletters, grooms and many of the subject servants of his house. And what a Lady (whom I much honour and highly esteeme) told me, pro-telling, that neere Burdeux, towards Coftres, where his house is, a widdow countrywoman, reputed very chaste and honest, perswading herselfe to be with child, told her neighbours, that had she a husband, she should verily thinke she were with child. But the occasion of this suction encreas’d more and more, and perceiving herselfe so big, belied, that she could no longer conceale it, she resolved to make the parish priest acquainted with it, whom she entreated to publish in the Church, that whosoever he were, that was guiltie of the fact, and would avow it, she would freely forgive him, and if he were so pleased, take him.
him to her husband. A certaine swaine or hyrne-boy of hers, emboldned by this proclamation, declared, how that having one holiday found her well-tipped with wine, and so found asleep by the chimney side, lying so fit and ready for him, that without awaking her he had the full vfe of her body. Whom the accepted for her husband, and both live together at this day. It is assured that antiquity hath not greatly described this vice. The compositions of diverse Philosophers speake but faeingly of it. Yea, and some of the Stoikes deeme it not amible for man sometimes to take his liquor roundely, and drinke drinke, thereby to recreate his spirites.

Hoc quoque virtutum quondam certamine magnum
Socralem palam pam promemusse ferunt.

They say, in this too, Socrates the wise,
And great in vertues combats, bare the prize.

Cato that strict censor, and severe corrector of others, hath bene reproved for much drinking.

Narratur & prist Catos
Sape merca caluiffe virtus.

Tis saide, by efe of wine repeated,
Old Catos virtue oft was heated.

Cypri, that so far-renowned King, amongst his other commendations, meaning to preferre himselfe before his brother Artaurus, & get the start of him, allegeth, that he could drink better, and tipple more then he. And amongst the beft poled and formall nations, the custome of drinking, and pledging of healths was much in vfe. I have heard Sileius, that excellent Plutian of Paris affirme, that to preserve the vigor of our frame, from empaire, it is not amible once a moneth to rowze vp the fame by this excele of drinking; and left it should grow dull and flupide: thereby to thinke it vp. And it is written, that the Persians, after they had well tipped, were wont to consult of their chiefest affaires. My taste, my relish and my complection, are sharper enemies unto this vice, then my discourse: For, besides that I captivate more easely my conceites under the autoritie of ancient opinions, indeede I finde it to be a fond, a flupide and a base kind of vce, but leffe malicious and hurtfull then others; all which shocke, and with a sharper edge wound publicke societie. And if we cannot give our selves any pleasure, except (as they say) it cost vs something; I finde this vice be leffe chargeable unto our conscience then others; besides, it is not hard to be prepared, nor difficult to be found; a consideration not to be despised. A man well advanced in yeares and dignitie, amongst three princiell commodities he told me to have remaining in life, counted this: and where shall a man more rightly finde it, then amongst the natural? But he tooke it ill, delicateffe, and the choice of wines is therein to be avoided. If you prepare your voluptuousnes to drinke it with pleasure and daintie neate, you tie your lyfe unto an inconvencience to drinke it other then is always to be had. A man must have a milder, a looser and a freer taste. To be a true drinke, a man should not have so tender and squeamish a palate. The Germans doe in a maner drinke equally of all fortes of wine with like pleasure. Their end is rather to Gulpe it downe freely, then to taste it kindly. And to say truthe they have it better cheape. Their voluptuousnesse is more plenteous and fuller. Secondly, to drinke after the French maner, as two draughts, and moderately, is over-much to restraine the favours of that God. There is more time and constancie required thereunto. Our forefathers were wont to spend whole nights in that exercise, yea often times they joyned whole long days vnto them. And a man must proportion his ordinarie more large and firme. I have in my days seene a princial Lorde; a man of great employment and enterprizes, and famous for good hvceffe, who without fraining himselfe, and eating but an ordinary meales-meate, was wont to drinke little leffe then five pottles of wine, yet at his rising seemed to be nothing distempered, but rather as we have found to our no small cost in managing of our affaires,sover- wife & confidrate. The pleasure of that, whereof we would make account in the course of our life ought to be employed longer space. It were necessary, as shop-boys or labouring people, that we should refuse no occation to drinke, and continually to have this desire in our minde. It seemeth that we dayly shorten the vfe of this, and that in our houfes, (as I have seene in mine infancie) breakesfaits, muncions, and beavers should be more frequent and oftner vfed, then nowadayes they are. And should wee thereby in any force procede towards amendment? No verily. But it may be, that we have
much more given our selves over into paillardise and all manner of luxurie then our fathers were. They are two occupations, that enter-hinder one another in their vigor. On the one side, it hath empaired and weakened our stomake, and on the other, sobriety serveth to make vs more jolly-quaint, lufty, and wanton for the exercise of love matters. It is a wonder to think on the strange tales I have heard my father reporte, of the chiarlity of his times. He might we speake of it, as he that was both by art & nature proper for the vs & folace of Ladies. He spake little and well, few words, but to the purpose, and was ever wont to enter-mixe some ornament taken from vulgar booke, and above all, Spanish, amongst his common speeches: And of all Spanish authors, none was more familiar unto him then Marcus Aurelius. His demeanoure and carriage was ever mild, meek, gentle, and very modest, and above all grave and stately. There is nothing he seemed to be more careful of, then of his honesty, and to observe a kind of decencie of his person, and orderly dressum in his habites, were it on foote or on horsebacke. He was exceeding nice in performing his word or promise; And so strictly confidentious and obsequious in religion, that generally he seem'd rather to encline toward superflution, then the contrary. Though he were but a little man, his courage and vigor was great: he was of an upright, and well proportioned stature, of a pleasing, cheerful-looking countenance, of a swarthie hue, nimbly adddicted, and exquisitely nimble unto all noble and gentleman-like exercises. I have seen some hollow staves of his filled with lead, which he wont to use and exercise his armes withall, the better to enable him-selfe to pitch the barre, to throw the fledge, to cast the pole, & to play at fennet; and chooses with leaden foles, which he wore to ensure himselfe, to leap, to vault and to run. I may without blushing say, that in memory of him-selfe, he hath left certain petty miracles among it vs. I have seen him when he was past three-score yeeres of age mooke at all our sports, and out-countenance our youthfull pasttime, with a heavy fur'd Gowne about him to leap into his saddle, to make the pommade round about a Table upon his thumb; and feldom to ascend any staires without skipping three or four stapes at once. And concerning my discourse, he was wont to say, that in a whole Province there was scarce any woman of qualitie, that had an ill name. Hee would often report strange familiarities, namely of his owne, with very honest women, without any suspicion at all. And protected vere religiously, that when he was married, he was yet a pure Virgin, yet had he long time folloowed the waies beyond the Mountains, and therein serv'd long; whereof he hath left a Journall Booke of his owne collecting, wherein he hath particularly noted, whatsoever happened day by day worthy the obseruation, so long as he serv'd, both for the publicke and his particular vse. And he was well trucken in yeeres, when he took a wife. For returning out of Italy, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand five hundred eight and twenty, and being full three and thirty yeeres olde, by the way he chose himselfe a wife. But come wee to our drinking againe. The incommodities of age, which neede some help and refreshing, might with some reafon beget in me a desire or longing of this facultie: for, it is in a man the laft pleasure, which the course of our yeeres stealth vipon vs. Good fellows say, that natural heate is first taken in our feete: That properly belongeth to infanctie. From thence it ascended unto the middle region, where it is settled & continueth a long time: and in mine opinion, there produceth the only true, and moving pleasures of this corporall life. Other delights and felicities in respect of that, doe but sleepe. In the end, like viunto a vapour, which by little and little exaheth, and mounteth aloft, it comes viunto thethroat, and there makes his laft abode. Yet could I never conceive, how any man may eyther increase or prolong the pleasure of drinking beyond thirst, and in his imagination frame an artificiall appetite, & against nature. My stomake could not well reach so farre: it is very much troubled to come to an end of that which it taketh for his neede. My constitution is, to make and accompt of drinking: but to succeed meate, and therefore doe I never make my laft draught the greatest. And forasmuch as in age, we have the rofe of our mouthes; commonlie fur'd with rheume, or distempered, dislaunted, and altered through some other evil constitution, wine feemeth better viunto vs, & of a quicker relish, according as our pores be either more or lesse open and wathied. At last I feldome relish the fame very well, except it be the first draught I take. Anacharsis wondred to see the Gracians drinke in greater glasses at the end of their meales, then in the beginnynge. It was (as I imagine) for the very fame reafon, that the Germans doe-it, who never beginne to carowife, but when they have well fedde. Plato forbidde children to drink any
wine, before they be eightene yeeres of age, and to be drunke before they come to for-
yth. But to fuch as have oitce attained the age of ffortie, he is content to pardon them, if they
chance to delight themselves with it, and allow them somewhat largely to blend the in-
fluence of Dionysus in their banquets, that good God, who befloweeth cheerfulneffe upon
men, and yout unto aged men, who alayeth and awageth the passions of the minde, even as
yron is made flexible by the fire: and in his profitable lawes drinking-meetings or quaffing
companies as necessary & commendable (alwaies provided there be a chiefie leader amongst
them to containe and order them) drunkenneffe being a good and certaine tryall of evrie
mens nature; and therewithall proper to give aged men the courage to make merry in danc-
ing & in musick; things allowable and profitable, and such as they dare not undertake be-
ing lewer & felted. That wine is capable to supply the minde with temperance, and the bodie
with health. Notwithstanding these restrictions, partly borrowed of the Carthaginians, 
please him well. Let those forbear it: that are going about any expedition of warre. Let ev-
every magistrate, & all judges abstaine from it, at what time they are to execute their charge,
and to consult of publicke affaires. Let none befow the day in drinking, as the time that is due
unto more ferious negotiations, nor the nights wherein a man intendeth to get children. It
is reported, that Stilpon the Philofopher, finding himselfe surcharged with wine, did purpo-
sedly halten his end, by drinking of pure wine. The like caufe (though not wittingly) did alfo
suffocate the vital forces, crazed through eld-age of the Philofopher Aretifan. But it is an old
and pleafant quifition, whether a widemens minds were like to yeeld unto the force of wine.

Si munita adhibet vim sapientiae,
If furred force it bends,
Gainst wifedome which it felfe defends.

Vnto what vanity doth the good opinion we have of ourfelves provoke vs? The moft
temperate and perfecut mind of the worlde, findes it too great a task to keep himfelf vpright,
left he fall by her owne weakenefle. Ofa thoufand there is not one perfectly righteous
and felted but one intant of her life, and question might be made, whether according
to her natural condition the might at any time be fo. But to joyne confance unto it, is her
laft perfection: I mean, if nothing should thocke her: which a thousand accidents may do.
Lucretia that famous Poet, may philosophie and bandie at her pleafure: Lo e where he bath
felnelle of an amorous potion. Thinkes any man, that an Aplexic cannot as foone aslo-
fith Socrates, as a poore labouring man? Some of them have by the force of a fickneffe,
forget their owne names, and a flight hurt hath overthorne the judgement of others. Let
him be as wife as he can, in the end he is but a man; what is more fraile, more miferable, or
more vain? Wifedome forreth not our natural conditions.

Sudore simulque & pallore exsurgere tota
Corpore, & infingis ignam vocemque aboriri
Caligare oculos, fomere aures, succedere artis,
Denique conciderce ex animi terrore videmus.
We fee therefore, palenelle and fweats ore-grow,
Our bodies, tongues doe falter, voyce doth beake,
Eyes dazzle, cares buzz, jouyns doe shrincky below,
Lastly we found, by hart-fright, terrours weake.

He must feele his eyes againft the blow that threatneth him, being neere the brimme of a
precipte, hee must cry out like a child. Nature having purpofted to revere thef light marks of
her authoritie vnto herfelfe, inexpugnable vnto our reafon, and to the Stoicke vertue: to
teach him his mortallity and our impifibilitie. He waxeth pale for feare, he blufhteth for shame,
he groaneth feeling the cholike, if riot with a desperate and lowd-roaring voyce, yet with a
low, fmothered and hoarse-foundinge note.

Humanit a fe mibi abhemos patet,
He thinkeith, that nothing strange be can,
To him that longs to any man.

Giddie-headed Poets, that faine what they lift, dare not fo much as discharge their Hie-
roes from teares.

Sic futor lachrymans, classij immitit helenas.
So faine he weeping, and fo faine,
Himfelfe hand to the fleecage laide.

Let
Let it suffice him to bittle his affections, and moderate his inclinations; for, it is not in him to bear them away. Plutarch himselfe, who is so perfect and excellent a judge of humane actions, seeing Brutus and Torquatus to kill their owne children, remained doubtfull, whether virtue could reach so farre, and whether such men were not rather moved by some other passion. Adolescences beyond the ordinary limits, are subject to some finifter interpretation: Forasmuch as our taste doth no more come vnto that which is above it, then to that which is under it. Let vs omit that other feat, which maketh open profession of fiercenes. But when in the very fame feat, which is esteemed the most demifne, we hear the bragges of Metrodonus: Occupiuit! Fortuna, atque, cepit: omnemque aditus tuos interculus ut ad me aspirare non posset. Fortune, I have prevented, caught, and overthrown thee: I have mured and ram'd uppe all thy passages, whereby thou mightest attaine vnto me. When Anaxareus; by the appointment of Nicocreon, the tirant of Cypres, being laid aloong in a trough of stone, and smothered with yron fledge, ceasth not to crye out, strike, smite, and breaketh not Anaxareus, it is but his vaile yarnarty so. When we heare our martyrs, in the middest of a flame cry a loud vnto the Tyrant, this sied is rosted enough, chop it, cut it, it is full rosted, now begin on the other. When in Iosephus we heare a childe all to rent with biting snippers, and pieted with the Beathe of Antiochus, to defie him to death, crye with a loude-afluered and vnkindmak voice; Tyrant thou loofet time, loe I am still at mine eafe; where is that inflaring pame, where are those tormentes, wherewith whilom thou didst so threaten me? My contance doth more trouble thee, then I have feeling of thy cruelty? Oh faint-hearted varlet, doest thou yecelde when I gather strength? Make me to faint or shrike, caufe me to moane or lament, force me to yecelde and fue for grace if thou canft; encourage thy fatesies, harrten thy executioners; bow how they droope, and have no more power; arm them, strength them, flesh them. Verye we must needs confelle there is some alteration, and some fuee (how holy fover) in those minds. When we come vnto these Stoicke evasions; I had rather be furious then voluptuous: the faying of Antithenes. Minos haue not in plato, Rather would I be mad, then merry. When Sextus telles vs, he had rather be surprised with paine, then fenfuality; when Epicurus undertakes to have the gowe, to vvanimize and fawne upon him, and refuing eafe and health, with a heartie cheerfenes defcend all evills, and skornefully defpizing leffe sharpe griefes, defaining to grapple with them, he blithely defireth and calleth for sharper, more forcible, and worthie of him:

Spumantemque dari pecora interingentia votis
Optat aprum, aut fulsum descendere move leumens:
He withal, mongit heartes beath, some foming Bore,
Or mountaine Lyon would come dowe and rore.

Who would not judge them to be pranks of a courage removed from his wonted state? Our minde cannot out of his place attaine to high. She must quit-it and raize hir-selfe a loft, and taking the bridile in his teeth, currie and transporte hir man fo farre, that afterward he wonder at hirselfe, and reft amazed at his actions. As in exploites of warre, the heart and carmennes of the fight doth often provoke the noble minded-souldiers, to adventure on so dangerous paffages, that afterward being better advised, they are the first to wonder at-it. As also Poets, are often surprized and rapt with admiratiom at their own labours, and forget the trace, by which they paft do happen a carrier. Itts that, which some terme a fortune or madness in them. And as Plato faith, that a fetted and repofed man, doth in vaile wone at Poeties gate. Ariosto like wife faith, that no excellent minde is freely exempted from some or other entrimemixture of folly. And bee hath reason, to call any starting or extraordinary conceit (how commendable soever) and which exceedeth our judgement and discourse, folly. For though as Wisdome, is an orderly and regular managing of the minde, and which the adreceth with measure, and conduceth with proportion; And take him owne word for it. Plato disputeth thus; that the facultie of profiting and divination is farre above vs, and that when wee treate-it, wee must bee besides our selves: our wisdome must be darkned and over-shadowed by fleere, by fickenes, or by dorwzones; or by some celestiall furie, ravished from hir owne seate.
The third Chapter.

A custome of the Ile of Cre.

I f, as some say, to philosophate be to doubt; with much more reason, to rave and fantasi-
quire, as I doe, muft necessarily be to doubt: For, to enquire and debate, belongeth to a
scholler, and to resolve appertaines to a cathedral master. But know, my cathedral, it is the
authoritie of Gods divine will, that without any contradiction doth swaye, and hath his
ranks beyond these humane and vaine contetfations. Philip being with an armed hand entred
the country of Peloponnesus, some one told Damidus, the Lacedemonians were like to endure
much, if they fought not to reobtaine his lost favor. Oh vartlet as thou art (answered he.)
And what can they suffer, who have no fear at all of death? Agis being demanded, how a
man might do to live free, answered, Defying and contemning to die. These and a thousand like
propositions, which concurre in this purpose, doe evidently inferre some thing beyond the
patient expecting of death it selfe, to be suffered in this life; witness the Lacedemonian child,
taken by Antigonus, and solde for a slave, who vrged by his master, to performe some absurd
service; Thou shalt fee (said he) whom thou haft bought; for, it were a shame for me to
serve, having libertie so neere at hand, and therewithal throw himselfe headlong downe from
the top of the house. Antipater, sharply threatening the Lacedemonians, to make them yeeld
to a certaine request of his, they answered, shouldeft thou menace vs worst then death, we
will rather die. And to Philip, who having written vnto them, that he would hinder all their
enterprises; What? (say they) wilt thou also hinder vs from dying? That is the reason, why
some say, that the wiseman liveth as long as he ought, and not so long as he can. And that
the favoureablest gift, nature hath bequeathed vs, and which removeth all meanes from vs
to preade our condition, is, that she hath left vs the key of the fieldes. She hath ap-
pointed but one entrence vnto life, but many a thousand wases out of it: Well may we want
grounds to live upon, but never ground to die in. As Boicetus answered the Romanes. Why
doest thou complain against this world? It doth not containe thee: If thou livest in paine
and sorrow, thy base courage is the cause of it: To die there wanteth but will.

Ubique mors est: optimus hoc est Deus,
Empere vitam nemo non homini posset;
At nemo mortem: milia ad homin aditus patent.
Ech where death is: God did this well purvey,
No man but can from man life take away,
But none barre death's to it lies many a way.

And it is not a receipt to one maladie alone; Death is a remedie against all eeviles: It is a
most affured heaven, never to be feared, and often to bee sought: All comes to one period,
whether man make an end of himselfe, or whether he endure in whether he runne before his
day, or whether he expect it: whenceceever it come, it is ever his owne, where ever the
threed be brokenc, it is all there, it is the end of the web. The voluntareft death, is the faireft.
Life dependeth on the will of others, death on oures. In nothing should we so much accommodate
our selves to our humors, as in that. Reputation doth nothing concerneth such an ernterffe, it isolly to have any respect vnto it. To live is to serve, if the liberty to die be wanting. The common
course of curing any infinitie, is ever directed at the charge of life: we have incisions made
into vs, we are catured, we have limbes cut and mangled, we are let blood, we are dicide.
Goe we but one step further, we need no more phisicke, we are perficely whole. Why is
not our jugular or thoat veine as much at our command as the medicine? To extreme
sicknesse, extreme remedies. Servius the Gramian being troubled with the gowt, found
no better meanes to be rid of it, then to apply poison to mortifie his legs. He cared not whether
they were Podagre or no, so they were infensible. God giveth vs sufficient privilidge,
when hee placeth vs in such an estate, as life is worse then death vnto vs. It is weakenesse to
yeeld to eeviles, but folly to fetter them. The Stoiks say, it is a convenient natural life, for a
wife
wife man, to lose life, although he be bound in all happiness; if he do it opportunely: And for a fool to prolong his life, albeit he be most miserable, provided he be in most part of things, which they say to be according unto nature. As I offend not the laws made against theives, when I cut mine owne purse, and carry away mine owne goods; nor of destroyers, when I burne mine owne wood: so am I nothing tied unto laws made against murtherers, if I deprive my selfe of mine owne life. Hegesipus was wont to say, that even as the condition of life, so should the quality of death depend on our election. And Diogenes meeting with the Philosopher Spenippus, long time afflictéd with the dropsy, and therefore carried in a litter, cried out vnto him: All haile Diogenes: And to thee no health at all, (replied Diogenes) that endurest to live in so wretched an estate. True it is that a while after, Spenippus as on-tertised with so languishing a condition of life, compassed his owne death. But this goeth not without some contradiction: For, many are of opinion, that without the expresse commandement of him, that hath placed vs in this world, we may by no means forfake the garrison of it, and that it is in the hands of God only, who therein hath placed vs, not for our selves alone, but for his glory, and others service, when ever it shall please him to discharge us hence, and not for us to take leave: That we are not borne for our selves, but for our country: The laws for their owne interest require an accompt at our hands for our selves, and have a just action of murther against vs. Life as destroyers of owne charge, we are punished in the other world.

Proxima deinde tement mosti loca, qui ibi leuthum
Infentes peperere manu, lacëmque pros
Procerce animarum.
Next place they lamentable hold in hell,
Whole hand their death caud' canselefe, (but not well)
And hating life did thence their soules expell.

There is more constance in vying the chaine that holds vs, then in breaking the same; and more triall of stedfastnesse in Regulus, then in Cato. It is indiscetion and impatience that hafteneth our way. No accidents can force a man to turne his backe from stily vertue: She feedeth out evills and forrowes as her nourishment. The threats of fell tyrants, torturers and tormentors, executioners and torturers, doe animate and quicken her.

Duris vs ictus tonfa bipemibus
Nigræ feracis frondis in Alpido
Per damna, per cadem, a bi pto
Ducit opes animimque ferro.
As holme-trees doe with hard axe lopt
On hills with many holme-trees topt,
From offe, from cuttings it doth feele,
Courage and flore rife ev'n from feele.

And as the other faith.

Non est ut putas virtus, pater,
Timere vitam, sed malis ingentiibus
Oblare, nec se vertere ac retro dare.
Sir, it's not vertue, as you vnderstand,
To feare life, but grofe mifchiefe to withstand,
Not to reture, turne backe, at any hand.

Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere mortem.
Forius ille facit, qui misser esse porsit.
This is effective chance death to despiete:
He that can wretched be, doth stronger rife.
It is the parte of cowardlineffe, and not of vertue, to seek to equall it selfe in some hollow-lurking hole, or to hide her selfe vnder some maffle tombe, thereby to shunne the strokes of fortune. She never forfakes her course, nor leaves her way, what stormy weather ever crosseth her.

Si freatu illabatur orbis,
Impavidam ferient ruina
If the world broken shoud vpon him fall,
The second Booke.

The ruines may him strike, but not appall.

The avoyding of other inconvieniences doth moft commonly drive vs into this, yea sometimes the thumming of death, makes vs to runne into it.

Hic, yog, non suor ess, ne moriare, morit?

Madness is not, say I,
To die, left you should die?

As those who for feare of a downe-right precipice, doe headlong call themselves into it.

multos in summo pericula misit

Vestri timor ipsi mai: fortissimus ulla ess,

Qui promptius metuenda pati, solumus instem,

Et differre potest.

The very feare of ills to come, hath fent
Many to mightie dangers: strongest they,
Who fearefull things t endure are ready bent,
If they confront them, yet can them delay.

— Vigne adeo mortis formidine, vita

Percept humerus odium, lucique vident,

Vis fere confidenti marenis pellore lethum,

Obhit fontem cururum hunc esse timorem.

So fyrre the feare of death the hate of life,
And feeling-light doth men as men poffeffe,
They grieveing kill themselves to end the strife,
Forgetting, feare is spring of their diftrefse.

Plato in his lawes, alotts him that hath deprived his neereft and deereft friend of life (that is to fay himfelfe) and abridged him of the deftines course, not constrained by any publicke judgement, nor by any lewde and inevitable accident of fortune, nor by any intolerable shame or infame, but through bafeness of minde, and weakeflefe of a faint-feearefull courage, to have a moft ignominious, and ever-reproachfull bunall. And the opinion which did daime th our life, is ridiculous: For, in fine it is our being. It is our all in all. Things that have a nobler and richer being, may acceufe ours: But it is againft nature, wee fhould despife, and carefully let our felves at naught: It is a particular infirmite, and which is not fene in any other creature, to hate and dUDGEon himfelfe. It is of like vanitie, that we desire to be other, then we are. The fruit of such a defire doth not concern us, forasmuch as it contradiceth and hindereth it felfe in it felfe. He that defireth to be made of a man an Angel, doth nothing for himfelfe: He should bee nothing the better by it: And beeing no more, who shall rejoice or conceive any gladness of this change or amendment for him?

Debet enim nuere cuiusque agrique futurum ess,

Ipse quique esse in omne tempore, comm modo posse

Accedere,

For he, who shall perchance prove miserable.

And speede but ill, should then himfelfe be able

To be himfelfe, when ills may chance vnftable.

The fecurity, indolence, impaffibilitie, and privation of this lives-evilles, which wee purchase at the price of death, bring vs no commoditie at all. In vaine doth he avoide warre, that can not enjoy peace, and booms elfe doth he thumme paine, that hath no means to feele ref at. Amongt thee of the firit opinion, great questioning hath beene, to know what occasions are sufficiently just and lawful to make a man undertake the killing of himfelfe, they call that, ținovv or yiaovv, a reaſonable orderly out-let. For, although they say, a man muft often die for flight caufes, since thefe that keepe vs alive, are not very strong: yet is some measure required in them. There are certaine fantatique & brawne ficke humors, which have not only provoked particular men, but whole nationes to defeate themfelves. I have heretofore alleged fome examples of them: And moreover we reade of certaine Milefian virgins, who upon a furious conspiracy hanged themfelves one after another, vntill fuch time as the Magiſtrate provided for it, appoynting that fuch as fhould bee found fo hanged, fhould with their owne halters be dragged naked through the freeties of the Citty. When Threion perfwaded Cleomenes to kill himfelfe, by reafon of the badde and desperate estate his affairs stood in,
in, and having escaped a more honourable death in the battle which he had lately lost, moved him to accept of this other, which is second to him in honour, and give the conqueror no leasure to make him endure, either another death, or else a shameful life. Cleomenes with a Lacedemonian and Stoickc courage, refused this counsel as base and effeminate: It is a receipt, (faith he) which can never fail me, and whereof a man should make no use, so long as there remaineth but one inch of hope: That to live, is sometimes constancy and valour; That he will have his very death serve his Country, and by it, shew an act of honour and of vertue. Thucdion then believed, and killed himselfe. Cleomenes did afterward as much, but not before he had tried and assayed the utmost power of fortune. All inconveniences are not so much worth, that a man should die to eschew them. Moreover, there being so many sodaine changes, and violent alterations in humane things, it is hard to judge in what state or point we are justly at the end of our hope:

Spera in seva victis gladiator arena,
— Sit iucit in sese pollice turba minax.

The fencer hopes, though downe in lists he lie,
And people with turn'd hand threat's he must die.

All things, faith an ancient Proverb, may a man hope for, so long as he liveth: yea but, answereth Seneca, wherefore shall I rather have that in minde, that fortune can do all things for him that is living, than this: that fortune hath no power at all over him, who knoweth how to die? Jofeph is fene engaged in fo apparant-appproaching danger, with a whole nation against him, that according to humane reafon, there was no way for him to escape; notwithstanding being (as he faith) counseled by a friend of his, at that instant, to kill himself, it fell out well for him to opinyte himfelfe yet in hope: for fortune, beyond all mans discourse, did take turne and change that accident, that without any inconvenience at all, he saw himfelfe delivered: whereas on the contrary Brutus and Caffius, by reafon of the down-fall and raffnelle, wherewith before due-time and occasion, they killed themselves, did utterly loose the reliques of the Roman libertie, whereof they were protectors. The Lord of Angus in the battle of Stirlinick, as one desperate of the combatst fucceft, which on his side went to wracke, attempted twice to runne himselfe through the throat with his Rapiet, and thought by precipitation to bereave himselfe of the enjoying of fo notable a victorie. I have seen a hundred Hares give themselves even in the Gray-hounds jaws: Alys us earmifici omnes superficies fui. Some man hath out-lived his Hang-man.

Multa dies variisque labor mutabilis avi
Ratis in melius multos altera revisit.

Time, and of turning age the divers straine,
Hath much to better bring, fortunes turn'd traine,
Hath manie mock't, and set them fast againe.

Plinie faith, there are but three forts of sicknesses, which to avoyde, a man may have some colour of reafon to kill himselfe. The sharpne of all is the fome in the bladder, when the urine is there flopped. Seneca, those onely, which for long time disturb and distract the offices of the minde. To avoyde a worfe death, some are of opinion, a man should take it at his owne pleasure. Dc mocriius chief of the Aetolians, beeing led Captive to Rome, found meanes to escape by night. But being pursu'd by his keepers, beeing then here would be taken againe, ranne himfelfe through with his Sword. Anonius and Thedotus, their City of Epirus being by the Romans reduced into great extremitie, concluded, and persuaded all the people to kill themselves: but the counsel rather to yield, having prevailed: they went to fecre their owne death, and rushed amidst the thickes of their enemies, with an intention, rather to strike, than to waller themselves. The land of Goa, being some yeeres since surprized and over-ran by the Turkes, a certaine Sicilian therein dwelling, having two fine daughters ready to be married, killed them both with his owne handes, together with their mother, that came in to help them. That done, running out into the ftreets, with a crofe-bow in one hand, & a calver in the other, at two fhoots, kild the two first Turkes that came next to his gates, then drawing his Sword, ranne furiously among them, by whom he was sodainly hewn in pieces: Thus did he save himselfe from flavish bondage, having firft delivered his owne from it. The Jewis women after they had caufed their children to be
be circumcised, to avoid the cruelty of Antiochus, did headlong precipitate themselves and them unto death. I have heard it credible reported, that a gentleman of good quality, being prisoner in one of our Gaolers, and his parents advertised that he should sufferly be condemned, to avoyde the infancy of reproachful a death, appointed a Priest to tell him, that the best remedy for his deliverie, was to recommend himselfe to such a Saint, with such and such a vow, and to continue eight days without taking any sustenance, what faintness or weakness ever he should feel in himselfe. He believed them, and so without thinking on it, was delivered both of life and danger. Scribonia persuading Libo his nephew to kill himselfe, rather then to expect the stroke of justice, told him, that for a man to preferre his owne life, to put it into the hands of such as three or foure days after should come and seek it, was even to dispatch another mans businesse, and that it was no other, then for one to serve his enemies, to preferre his blood, therewith to make them food. We reade in the holy Bible, that Nicomor the perverter of Gods law, having sent his Satelites to apprehend the good old man Rufus, for the honor of his vertue, furnamed the father of the Jews, when that good man saw no other meanes left him, his gate being burned, and his enemies ready to lay holde on him, choe, rather then to fall into the hands of such villains, and be so basely abused, against the honour of his place, to die nobly, and so immolate him-selfe with his owne sword, but by reason of his haffe, having not thoroughly slaine him selfe, he ranne to throw himselfe downe from an high wall, amongst the throng of people, which making him roune, hee fell right upon his head. All which notwithstanding, perceiving life to remaine in him, hee tooke heart of grace againe, and getting vp on his feete, all goaded with blood, and laden with strokes, making way through the pietes, came to a raggie and downe-stiepe rockie, where vnable to goe any further, by one of his woundes, with both his hands he pulled out his gutes, and breaking and breaking them, cast them amongst such as purfued him, calling and atting the vengeance of God to light upon them. Of all violences committed against conscience, the moft in mine opinion to be avoyded, is that which is offered against the chastitie of women, for so much as there is naturally some corporall pleasure committ with it: And therefore the dissent cannot fully enought be joyned thereunto: And it seemeth, that force is in some sorte, intermixed with some will. The ecclesiasticall pietie hath in especiall reverence, sundry such examples of devout persons, who, calle d for death, to warrant them from the our-rages which some tyrants prepared against their religion and confciences. Pelagia and Sophronia, both canonized; the first, together with her mother and sisters, to escape the outrageous rapes of some fouldiers, threw her selfe into a river; the other, to shune the force of Maximinius the Emperor, slew her selfe. It shall peradventure redound to our honour in future ages, that a wife Author of these dayes, and namely a Parisian, doth labour to persweade the ladies of our times, rather to hazard upon any resolution, than to embrace so horrid a counfell of such desperation. I am sorry, that to put amongst his discourses, he knew not the good living I learnt of a woman at Tholone, who had passd through the hands of some fouldiers; God be praised (saide she) that once in my life, I have had my belly full without finesse. Very lest these cruelties are not worthy of the French curtesie. And God be thanked, since this good advertisement our ayre is infinitely purged of them. Let it suffice, that in doing it, they say, No, and take it, following the rule of Marot. The historie is very full of such, who a thousand ways have changed a lingering-toylfome life with death. Lucius Arminius killed himselfe (as he faide) to avoyde what was past, and eiehew what was to come. Gratus Sylvanus, and Statius Proximus, after they had beene pardoned by Nero, killed themselves; eiehther because they forsooke to live by the favor of so wicked a man, or because they would not another time be in danger of a second pardon, seeing his so easie-yielding unto suppositions & accusations against honest men. Spargapius sone unto Quene Tomiria, prisoner by the lawe of warre vnto Cyrus, employed the first favor that Cyrus did him, by letting him free, to kill himselfe, as he who never pretended to reape other fruit by his liberie, then to revenge the infamous of his taking upon himselfe. Boces a Governor for king Xerxes in the country of Timis, being besieged by the Aethiopian army under the conduct of Cyrus, refused the composition, to returne safely, together with his goods and treasure in to Asia, as one impatient to survive the losse of what his master had given him in charge; and after he had slowly, and even to the last extreme, defended the town, having no manner of victuallles left him; first hee cast all the golde, and treasure, with whatsoever he imagined the enemy might reapen.
any commoditie, into the river Strimon. Then having caused a great pile of wood to be set on fire, and made all women, children, concubines and servants to be stripped, and thrown into the flames, afterward in himselfe, where all were burned. Minachetum a Lorde in the East Indies, having had an indling of the king of Portugall Viceroyes deliberation to dispose of him, without any apparent cause, of the charge he had in Maleca, for to give it vnto the king of Campania of him selue resolved upon this resolution. First he cau'd an high scaffold to be set vp, somewhat longer than broade, vnderpropped with pillers, all gorgeouly hangt with rich tapestry, threwed with flowres, and adorned with prectious perfumes: Then having put on a furnouous long robe of cloth of gold; richly befted with flowres of prectious stones of inestimable worth, he came out of the palace into the street, and by certaine steppes attended the scaffold, in one of the corners whereof, was a pile of aromaticall wood fat afire. All the people of the Cittie were flockt together, to see what the meaning of such vnaccustomed preparation might tend vnto. Minachetum with an vndanted-bold, yet seeming-discontented countenance, declared the manifold obligations, which the Portu- gast Nation was endebted vnto him for; expostulated how faithfully and truly he had dealt in his charge; that having so often witnessed, armed at all assayes, for others; that his honour was much dearer vnto him then life; he was not to forfake the care of it for himself; that fortune refusing him all means to oppofe himfelfe againft the injurie intended againft him, his courage, at the leaft willed him to remove the feeling thereof, and not become a laughing flocke into the people, and a triumph to men of leffe worth then himfelfe: which words as he was speaking, he called himfelfe into the fire. Sextilus the wife of Scipio and Paeeus wife vnto Laber, to encourage their husbands, to avoyd the dangers, which pressed them, wherein they had no share (but in regard of the interest of their conjugal affection) voluntarily engag'd their life, in this extreme necessity, to serve them, as an example to imitate, and company to regard. What they performed for their husbands, Cocceia Nerva added for his country, & though leffe proftitable, yet equall in true-love. That famous interpreter of the lawes, abounding in riches, in reputation, in credit, and flourishing in health about the Emperour, had no other caufe to ridde himfelfe of life, but the compassion of the miserable effete, wherein he saw the Roman common-wealth. There is nothing can be added vnto the dauntlesse of Ful- tius wives death, who was so inward with Augustus. Augustus perceiv'g he had blabb'd a certaine secret of importance, which he on-trufl had revealed vnto him; one morning com- ming to visit him, he seemed to frowne upon him for it; whereupon as guiltie, he return'd home, as one full of difpaire, and in pittious fort told his wife, that sthence he was faine into such a mischiefe, he was resolved to kill himfelfe; thence as one who bit trammled, replide vnto him; Thou faidst doe but right, since having so often experienced the inconvenience of my tongue, thou haft not learnt to beware of it, yet give me leave to kill my self first, and without more ado, ranne his felfe through with a fword. Vibius Virius dispairing of his Citties fafety, besieged by the Romans, and mistrusting their mercie; in their Senates laft consulta- tion, after many remonstrances employed to that end, concluded that the best and fairest way, was to escape fortune by their owne hands. The very enemies should have them in more honour, and Hannibal might perceive what fathfull friends he had forfaken: Envying thofe that should allow of his advice, to come, and take a good fupper, which was prepared in his houfe, where after great cheere, they should drinke together whatsoever should be prefen- ted vnto him: a drinke that shall deliver our bodies from torments, free our minds from in- juries, and releafe our eyes and ears from feeing and hearing fo many horrible mischieues, which the conquered must endure at the handes of most cruel & offended conquerors: I have (quoth he) taken order, that men fitte for that purpose shall be ready, when we fhall be expired, to cafl vs into a great burning pile of wood. Diverse approved of his high resolution, but few did imitate the fame. Seaven and twenty Senators followed him; who after they had attempted to fulfe fyonke tome, and fuppofe fo terror-mooving a thought, with quaffing and viuiling of wine, they ended their reftait by this deadly meffe; and entre-em- bracing one another, after they had in common deplored and bewailed their countries mis- fortune; fome went home to their owne houfes, other fome stayed there, to be entomb'd with Vibius in his owne fire; whose death was fo long and lingering, forfomuch as the vapour of the wine having poffeffed their venes, and flow'd the effett and operation of the poy-fon, that fome lived an hour after they had fene their enemies enter Capol, which they car- ried
ried the next day after, & incurred the miferies, and saw the calamities, which at so high a rate they had fought to eschew. *Taurus Iubellus, another citizen there, the Consul Fulvio returning from that shameful slaughter, which he had committed of 225 senators, called him charitably by his name, & having assented him Command (quoth he) unto him, that I also be ma-
sfacted after so many others, that so thou must brag to have martyred a much more valiant
man then ever thou wait. Fulvio, as one enraged, disdaining him, forsooth as he had newly
received letters from Rome contrary to the inhumanity of his execution, which inhibited him
to proceed any further: *Iubellus continuing his speech, said: if thence my country is taken, my
friends butchered, and having with mine own hands flame my wife & children, as the only
mean to free them from the defolation of this ruine I may not die the death of my fellow-
citizens, let vs borrow the vengeance of this hateful life from vertue: And drawing a blade, he
had hidden under his garments, therewith ran himselfe through, & falling on his face, died at
the Confuls feet. Alexander besieged a citie in India, the inhabitants whereof, perceiving them-
selves brought to a very narrow pinch, resolved obstinately to deprive him of the pleasure
he might get of his victory, and together with their citie, in despite of his humanitie, set both the
town & themselves on a light fire, and so were all consumed. A new kind of warring, where
the enemies did all they could, & fought to save them, they to looie themselves, & to be affu-
red of their death, did all a man can possible effect to warrant his life. *Aesopa a Citie in Spaine,
being very weake of walles and other defences, to withstand the Romans that besieged the
same, the inhabitants drew all their riches and wealth into the market-place, whereas hav-
ing made a heap, and on the top of it placed their wives and children, and encompassed and
covered the same with drie bruff wood, that it might burne the easier, and having ap-
pointed fifty lusty young men of theirs for the performance of their resolution, made a fallie,
where following their determined vow, seeing they could not vanquish, suffered themselves
to be flaine every mothers childse. The site, after they had maffacred every living soule remain-
ing in the Citie, and set fire to the heap, joyfully leaped therein, ending their gene-
erous libertie in a flame rather inensible, then dolorous and reproachfull; thieving their en-
emies, that if fortune had beene so pleased, they should as well have had the courage to
beare them the victory, as they had to yeld it them both vaine and hideous; yea and mor-
tall to those, who allured by the glittering of the gold, that moultjen ran from out the flame,
thicke and three-fold approaching greedily unto it, were therein smothered and burned, the
formo of being vnable to give back, by reason of the throng that followed them. The Abide-
nots pressed by Philip, resolved upon the very fame, but being prevented, the King whose
heart yerned and abhorrred to see the fond-rath precipitation of such an execution (having
first seiz'd upon and saved the treasure, and moveables, which they had diversly condemned
to the flames and vitter spoyle) retinig all the Souldiers, granted them the full space of
3. days to make themselves away that so they might do it with more order & leisure; which
three days they replenished with blood and murther beyond all hoffle cruelty: And which
is strange, there was no one man favored, that had power upon himselfe. There are infinite
examples of such-like particular conclusions, which seeme more violent, by how much more
the effect of them is more unverfall. They are lesse then severall, what discourse would not
doe in every one, it doth in all: The vehemence of societie, ravishing particular judgements.
Such as were condemned to die in the time of Tiberius, & delayde their execution any while,
lost their goods, and could not be buried, but such as prevented the fame, in killing them-
selves, were solemnly entered, and might, at their pleasure, bequeath such goods as they had
to whom they left. But a man doth also sometimes desire death, in hope of a greater good.
I desire (faith Saint Paul) to be out of this world, that I may be with Jesus Christ: and who
shall release me out of these bonds? Clemens Ambraon having read Plato's Platon,
was so possed with a desire and longing for an after-life, that without other occasion or
more adoie, he went and headlong cast himselfe into the sea. Whereby it appeareth how
improperly we call this voluntary disaffection, dispaie unto which the violence of hope doth
often transport vs, and as often a peacefull and fetted inclination of judgement. *Iaguer de
Caffell, Bishop of Sees, in the voyage which Saint Lewis undertooke beyond the seas, see-
ing the King and all his Arme ready to returne into France, and leave the affairs of Re-
ligion imperfect, resolved with himselfe rather to goe to heaven And having bidien his
friends farewell, in the open view of all men, rushed alone into the enemies troopes, of

whom
whom he was forthwith hewn in pieces. In a certaine kingdom of these late discovered Indies, upon the day of a solemn procession, in which the Idoles they adore, are publickly carried vp and downe, vpon a chariot of exceeding greatness; besides that, there are many seene to cut and slice great mammonks of their quicke flesh, to offer the said Idoles; there are numbers of others seene, who proliferating themselves alongit upon the ground, endure very patiently to be moulderd and crushed to death, under the Chariots wheels, thinking thereby to purchase after their death, a veneration of holinesse, of which they are not deformed. The death of this Bishop, armed as we have said, arguerth more generosiie, and lettre fence: the haste of the combate ammusing one parte of it. Some common-wealths there are, that have gone about to fway the justice, & dircet the opportunitie of voluntary deaths. In our Cittie of Marseille, they were wont in former ages, ever to keep some poison in flore, prepared and compounded with hemlocke, at the Citties charge, for such as would vpon any occasion shorten their daies, having first approved the reasons of their enterprise vnto the fiv hundred Elders of the towne, which was their Senate: For, otherwife it was vnullfull for any body, except by the magistrates permision, and for very lawfully-vrgent occasions, to lay violent hands vpon himseffe. The very same law was likewise vfed in other places. Sextus Pompeius going into Asia, raffled through the illand of Cen, belonging to Negroponte, it forntune whilst he abode there, (as one reporter that was in his company) that a woman of great authoritie, having first yeelded an accompt vnto her Cittizens, and shewed good reasons why she was resolved to end her life, earnestly entreated Pompey to be an assistent at her death, that so it might be esteemed more honourable, which he allowed vnto; and having long time in vaine fought, by vertue of his eloquence (wherein he was exceedingly ready) and force of perfwasion, to alter her intent, and remove her from her purpose, in the end yeelded to her request. She had lived foure fcore and ten yeares in a most happy eftate of minde and body, but then lying on her bed, better adorned then before she was accustomed to have-it, and leaning on her elbow, thus she imparted: The Gods, Ob Sextus Pompeius, & rather thoſe I forgo, then thoſe I go vnto, reward & appaye thee, for that thou haft vouchfaced to be both a counsellor of my life, and a witnesse of my death. As for my part, having hitherto ever tafted the favourabill visage of fortune, for feare the desire of living over-long should make me taste of his frownes, with an happy and successfull end, I will now deparde, and licenc the remainder of my soule, leaving behind mee two daughters of mine, with a legion of grand-children and nephews. That done, having preached vnto, and exhorted all her people and kinsfolks to an vnitie and peace, and divided her goods amongst them, and recommended her houshold Gods vnto her eldſt daughters, with an affurdely-flaide hand she tooke the cup, wherein the poyson was, and having made her voyes vnto Mercurie, and prayers, to conduct her vnto some happy place in the other world, roundly swallowed that mortal potion; which done, she intreated the company with the progresse of her behavour, and as the partes of her body were one after another posseffed with the colde operation of that venom, vntil such time as shee faide, she felt it worke at the heart and in her entrails, she called her daughter to doe her the last office, and close her eyes. Pliny reporter of a certaine Hyperborean nation, wherein, by reason of the midde temperature of the aire, the inhabitants thereof, commonly never die, but when they please to make themselves away, and that being weare and tired with living, they are accomstomed at the end of a long-long age, having first made merry and good cheere with their frends, from the top of an high-steepe rocke, appointed for that purpose, to cast themselves headlong into the fea. Grieving-smarte, and a worse death seem to me the most excusable incitations.

The second Booke.

Tomorow is a new day.

I Doe with some reason, as he seemeth, give pricke and praise vnto Iaques Amiot above all our French writers, not only for his naturall purity, and pure elegancy of the tongue, where-
in he excelleth all others, nor for his indefatigable constancy so long and toyle-some a labor, nor for the vnarchable depth of his knowledge, having so successfully-happy binable to explain an Author so close and thorny, and vnfold a writer so mysterious and entangled (for, let any man tell me what he list; I have no skil of the Grecce, but I see through out all his translation a sense so closely-joynted, and so pithile-continued, that either he hath assiduously vn血液d and inned the very imagination, and the true conceit of the Author, or having through a long and continual conversation, lively planted in his mind a general Idea of that of Plutarch, he hath at least lent him nothing that doth belie him, or mis-see him) but above all, I kon him thankes that he hath had the hop to chuse, and knowledge to cul-out so worthy a worke, and a booke so fit to the purpose, therwith to make so vnvaluable a present vnto his Country. We that are in the number of the ignorant had bin vitterly confounded, had not his booke raied vs from out the dust of ignorance: God a-mercy his endeavours we dare now both speake and write: Even Ladies are therewith able to confront Masters of arts: It is our brevari, I ffo good a man chance to live, I bequeath Xenaphon vnto him, to do as much. It is an easier piece of worke, and so much the more agreeing with his age. Moreover, I wot not how me seemeth, although he roundly and clearly disintangle himselfe from hard passages, that notwithstanding his rule is more close and neerer it felle, when it is not laboured and wrested, and that it glideth smoothly at his pleasure. I was even now reading of that place, where Plutarch speakheth of himselfe, that Rallicus being present at a declaration of his in Rome, received a packet from the Emperour, which hee temporizd to open vntill he had made an end: wherein (faith he) all the affillants did singularly commend the gravity of the man, Verily being on the instance of curiosity, and on the greedye and inattate passion of newes, which with such indifcrete impatience, and impatient indiscetion, induceth vs to negleect al things, for to entertaine a new come guest, and forget al respect and countenance, wherefoever we be, fozainely to breake vp such letters as are brought vs; he had reason to commend the gravitie of Rallicus: to which hee might also have added the commendation of his civilitie and curtefie, for that he would not interrupt the coue of his declaration; But I make a question, whether hee might be commanded for his wisedome: for, receiving unexpected letters, and especially from an Emperour, it might very well have fortified, that his deferring to reade them, might have caused some notable inconvenience. Rechtesrufle is the vice contrary vnto curiosite, towards which I am naturally enclin’d, and wherein I have seene many men so extremely plunged, that three or foure dayes after the receiving of letters, which had beene sent them, they have beene found in their pockets yet vnopen. I never opened any, not onely of such as had beene committed to my keeping, but of such as by any fortune came to my hands. And I make a confiance, standing near some great person, if mine eyes chance, at vnawares, to steale some knowledge of any letters of importance that hee readeth. Never was man lefle inquifitive, or pryd lefle into other mens affaires, then I. In our fathers time; the Lord of Bonieteres was like to have lost Turin, foromuch as being one night at supper in very good company, hee deferred the reading of an adversemenet, which was delivered him of the treafons that were praftised and comploted against that City, where he commanded. And Plutarch himselfe hath taught me, that Julius Caesar had escaped death, if going to the Senate-house, that day wherein he was murthemd by the conspirators, hee had read a memorial which was prented vnto him. Who likewise reports the story of Archias, the Tyrant of Tbes, how the night for-going the execution of the enterprise that Petopida had comploted to kill him, thereby to fet his country at libertie; another Archias of Athenes writ him a letter wherein he particularly related vnto him all that was compired and comploted against him; which letter being delivered him whilft he fate at supper, he deferred the opening of it, pronouncing this by-word. To morrow is a new day, which afterward was turned to a Proverb in Grecce. A wife man may, in mine opinion, for the interest of others, as not vnmannerly to breake company, like vnto Rallicus, or not to discontinue some other affaire of importaine, remit and deferre to vnnderstand such news as are brought him: but for his owne private interest or particular pleaure, namely, if he be a man having publike charge, if hee regards his dinner so much, that hee will not breake it off, or his sleepe, that hee will not interrupt it: to doe it, is inexcusable. And in former ages was the Consulare-place in Rome, which they named the most honourable at the table, because it was more free and more accesible for such as might casually come in,
entertaine him that should bee there placed. Witnesse, that though they were sitting at the board, they neither omitted nor gave over the managing of other affaires, and following of other accidents. But when all is said, it is very hard, chiefly in humane actions, to prescribe to exact rules by discourse of reason, that fortune do not swaie, and keepe himself right in them.

The second Booke.

The fifth Chapter.

Of Conscience.

My brother the Lord of Browne and my self, during the time of our civil wars, travelling one day together, we fortuned to meece upon the way with a Gentleman, in outward semblance, of good demeanour: He was of our contrary faction, but forasmuch as he counterfaied himselfe otherwise, I knew it not. And the worst of these tumultuous intertine broyles, is, that the cardes are so shuffled (your enemy being neither by language nor by fashion, nor by any other apparrant markes distinguishing from you; nafe, which is more, brought vp under the same lawes and customes, and breathing the same ayre) that it is a very hard matter to avoyde confusion and shun disorder. Which consideration, made me not a little fearefull to meece with our troopes, especially where I was not knowne, lest I should be urged to tell my name, and haply doe worse. As other times before it had befalme me: for, by such a chance, or rather mistaking, I fortuned once to loue all my men and horses, and hardly escaped my self: and amongst other my losse, and servants that were slaine, the thing that most grieved me, was the vntimely and miserable death of a young Italian Gentleman, whom I kept as my Page, and very carefully brought vp, with whom dyed, as forward, as budding and as hopeful a youth as ever I saw. But this man seemed so carefullly dismayd, and at every encounter of horfemen, and passage, by, or through any Towne that he had for the King, I observ'd him to be so strangely distrest, that in the end I perceived, and guesstred they were but guilty alarums that his conscience gave him. It seem'd unto this feele man, that all might apparently, both through his blushing selfe-accusing countenance, and by the crostes he wore upon his upper garments, reade the secret intentions of his faint heart.

Of such maravalous-working power is the stings of conscience: which often induceth vs to bewray, to accuse and to combate our selves; and for want of other evidences doe produceth ourselves against our selves,

Ocillum quatemine animo tortore flagellum.

Their minde, the tormentour of sinne,

Shaking an vnfeele whippe within.

The story of Besso the Poniian is so common, that even children have it in their mouths, who being found fault withall, that in mirth hee had beaten downe a nest of yong parrowe and then killed them, answered, he had great reason to do it, for somewhat as those yong birds ceased not falsely to accuse him to have murthred his father, which parriade was never suspected to have beene committed by him; and vntill that day had lain secret; but the revengefull furies of the conscience, made the same party to reveal it, that by all right was to doe penance for so hatefull and unnatural a murther. Herodius correcteth the faying of Plato. That punishment doth commonly succeed the guilt, and follow sinne at hands: for he affirmeth, that it rather is borne at the instante, and together with sinne it selfe, and they are as twinnes borne at one birth together. Whosoever expelleth punisment, suffereth the same, and whosoever defereth it, he doeth expelit. Impietie doth invent, and iniquitie dooth frame torments against it selfe.

Malum consilium consiliori possemm.

Bad counsel is worst for the counsellor that gives the counsell.

Even as the Wafe is stingeth and offendeth others, but his selfe much more; for, in hurting others, she looleth his force and stings for ever.

Eroschil. cont. 2. 14.

Wing. Georg. 2. 4. 238.

They,
They, while they others fling,
Death to themselves doe bring.

The Conarides have some part in them, which by a contrarietie of nature serveth as an antitoid or counterpois against their poifon: so likewise, as one taketh pleafure in vice, there is a certaine contrarie displeaure engendred in the confcience, which by sundrie yksfome and painfull imaginations, perplexeth and tormenteth vs, both waking and a fcleepe.

Quippe vbi fe muti per fomnia fape leguentis,
Aut morbo delantres procras ferantur.
Et celata din in medium peccata dedisse.
Many in dreams oft speaking, or vnhealed,
In fiekcenes raving have themselves revealed,
And brought to light their finnes long time concealed.

Apollodorus dreamed he saw himfelfe firft fleade by the Scythians, and then boyled in a pot, and that his owne heart murmured, faying; I onely have caufed this mifchief to light vpon thee. Epicurus was wont to fay, that no lurking hole can fhrond the wicked; for, they can never allure themfelves to be sufficiently hidden, fithence confidence is ever readie to dil-clofe them to themfelves.

— prcdm eft hac vitio, quid fe
Indice nemo nocens abfolutur.
This is the firft revenge, no guiltie minde
Is quifted, though it felle be judge affign'd.

Which as it doth fill vs with feared and doubt, fo doth it flotre vs with affurance and truft.
And I may boldly fay, that I have waded through many dangerous hazards, with a more vntired pace, onely in consideration of the secret knowledge I had of mine owne will, and innocencie of my defleignes.

Conficia menr vs unique fua eft, inter concipit intra
— Petora pro fadis semequ metuque suo.
As each mans minde is guiltie, fo doth he
Inilie breede hope and feare, as his deeds be.

Of examples, there are thousands; It fhall suffice vs to alleage three onely, and all of one man. Scipio being one day accused before the Rome[n] people, of an vrgent and capitall accu-fation; in stead of excufing himselfe, or flattering the Judges, turning to them, he faid, It will well befcome you to vndertake to judge of my head, by whose meanes you have autho-rity to judge of all the world. The fame man, another time, being vehemently vrged by a Tribune of the people, who charged him with sundrie imputations, in fiewe of pleading or excufing his caufe, gave him this ludaine and short anfwere. Let vs goe (quoth he) my good citrifneslet- vs forthen with goe (I fay) to give hearte thanks vnto the Gods for the victorie, which even vpon fuch a day as this is, they gave me againft the Cartaginians. And there-with advancing himfelfe to marche before the people, all the assemby, and even his accufcer himselfe did vntidely follow him towards the temple. After that, Petilius having beene animated and flirred vp by Cato to solicit and demande a strict accountem of him, of the mony he had managed, and which was committed to his truft, whilst he was in the Province of Antioces Scipio being come into the Senate-house of purpose to anfwer for himfelfe, pulling out the booke of his accounts from vnder his gowne, tould them all, that that booke contained true, both the receipt and laying out thereof; and being required to deliver the fame vnto a clarke to register it, he refused to doe it, faying, he would not doe himfelfe that wrong or indignity; and thereupon with his owne hands, in prefence of all the Senate, tore the booke in pieces. I cannot apprehend or beleive, that a guiltie-cauterized confidence could poifibly difsemble or counterfet such an vnforfeated affurance: His heart was naturally to great, and enured to overhigh fortune (faith Titus Livius) to know how to be a criminal offender, and flopingly to yeeld himfelfe to the basenes, to defend his innocencie. Torture and rackeing are dangerous inventions, and feme rather to be trialls of patience then Effayes of truth. And both he that can, and he that cannot endure them, conccale the truth. For, wherefore shall paine or smart, rather compell me to confede that, which is fo indeede, then force me to telle that which is noe? And contrariwise, if he who hath not don that whereof he is accused, is sufficiently patiente to endure those tormentes; why shal he not be
be able to tolerate them, who hath donee-it, and is guilty indeede; so deare and worth a reward as life being proposed vnto him? I am of opinion, that the ground of his invention, proceedeth from the consideration of the power and facultie of the confience. For, to the guilty, it seemeth to give a kinde of furtherance to the torture, to make him confesse his fault, and weakeneth and dismayeth him: and on the other part, it encourageth and strengteneth the innocent against torture. To lay truth, it is a meane full of uncertainty and danger. What would not a man say, what not doe, to avoide so grievous paines, and shunne such torments?

\[\text{Etiam innocentes cogit mentiri dolor.}
\]

Torment to he sometimes will drive,
Ev'n the moft innocent alive.

Whence it followeth, that he whom the judge hast tortured, because he shall not die an innocent, he shall bring him to his death, both innocent and tortured. Many thousands have thereby charged their heads with false confessions. Amongst which I may well place Phylo
tas, considering the circumstances of the endimint that Alexander framed against him, and the progress of his torture. But so it is, that (as men say) it is the least evil humane weaknesses could invent: though, in my conceit, verie inhumanly, and therewithall most vnp
profitably. Many nations leste barbarous in that, then the Graccian or the Romane, who terme them so, judge in a horrible and cruel thing, to racke and torment a man for a fault whereof you are yet in doubt. Is your ignorance long of him? What can he doe withall? Are not you vnjuft, who because you will not put him to death, without some cause, you doe worse then kill him? And that it is so, consider but how often he rather chuthet to die guiltes, then passe by this information, much more painefull, then the punishment or torment; and who many times, by reason of the sharpes of it, preventeth, furthereth, yea and executeth the punishment. I wot not whence I heard this chorne, but it exactly hath refer
cence vnto the confidence of our justice. A countrie woman accouted a fouldier before his Generall, being a moft fevere justicier, that he, with violence, had snatched from out her poore childrens hands, the small remainder of some paper or water-gruell, which she had onely left to sustaine them, forsoome as the Armie had ravaged and wasted all. The poore woman, had neither witnes nor prooofe of it; It was but her yea, and his no; which the Generall perceiuing, after he had furnished him to be well advised what she spake, and that she should not accuse him wrongfully; for, if she spake an vntruth, she should then be culpable of his accusation: But she constantly pressting to charge him, he forthwith, to discover the truth, and to be thoroughly resolved, caused the accused Souldiers belly to be ripped, who was found faultie, and the poore woman to have saide true; whereupon she was discharged. A condemnation instructive to others.

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The sixt Chapter.

Of exercife or pratife.

It is a hard matter (although our conceit doe willingly apply it selfe vnto it) that Diff
coure and Instruction, should sufficiently be powerfull, to direct us to action, and addresse vs to performance; it over and besides that, we doe not by experience exercife and frame our minde, to the traine wherunto we will range it: otherwhise, when we shall be on the point of the effects, it will doubtles finde it selfe much engaged and empached. And that is the reason why amongst Philosophers, thole that have willed to attaine to some greater excellence, have not bene content, at home, and at rest to expedit the rigors of fortune, but have rather gone to meete and front hire before, and witting
earnestly call themselves to the triall of the hardest difficulties. Some have thereby volun
tarily forfaken great riches, only to practife a gynviev povertie: others have willingly found out labor, and an austerity of a toylesome life, thereby to harden and envre themselves
to evil, and travel; otherfome have frankly deprived themselves of the dearest and best parts of their body, as of their eyes, and members of generation, left their over-pleasing, and too-too wanton service, might in any sort molest and distract the constant resolution of their minde. But to die, which is the greatest work we have to doe, exercife can nothing a-vaile vs thereunto. A man may, by cultome and experience, forfie himfelfe againft griefe, forrow, shame, want, and fuch like accidents: but concerning death, we can but once feele and trie the fame. We are all novices, and new to learn, when we come vnto it. There have, in former times, beene found men fo good husbands and thriftie of time, that even in death they have affayed to taste and favour it; and bent their minde to obferue and fee, what manner of thing that paffage of death was; but none did ever yet come backe againe to tell vs tidings of it.

Frigida quem semel effe vitalis passa sequita.
No man doth ever-offer make,
Whom once his lifes cold refit doth take.
Canus Iulius, a noble Roman, a man of singular vertue and constancie, having beene condemned to death by that Lewdly-machrieous monster of men, Caligula: befides many marvelous evidences arrefances he gave of his machrieous resolution, when he was even in the crick to endure the last stroke of the executioner, a Philofopher, being his friend, interrupted him with this queftion, faying: Canus, in what flate is your foule now? What doth it? What thoughts poffeffe you now? I thought (anfwered he) to keep me ready and prepared with all my force, to fee whether in this infnant of death, fo short and fo obscure at hand, I might perceive fome diflodging or distraction of the foule, and whether it will fhouw fome feeling of hit fudden departure; that (if I apprehend or learne any thing of hit) I may afterward, if I can, returne, and give anfwcerement thereof vnto my friends. Loc-here a Philofopher, not onlye vntil death, but even in death itelfe: what arrefance was it, and what fierenes of courafe, to will that hit owne death fhould serve him as a leffon, and have leafture to thinke elsewhere in a matter of hit confequence?

This powre of minde had he,
When it from him did fleee.

Me femeth neverthelefte, that in some forte, there is a meane to familizarize ourfelves with it, and to affay it. We may have fome experience of it, if not whole and perfect, at leaft fuch as may not altogether be vnprofitable, and which may yeeld vs better fortified and more affured. If we cannot attaine vnto it, we may at leaft approach it, and difcerne the fame: And if we cannot enter hit forte, yet fhall we fee and frequent the approaches vnto it. It is not without our reafon we are taught to take notice of our sleepe, for the reftance it hath with death. How easie we passe from waking to sleeping, with how little interest we loofe the knowledge of light, and of ourfelves. The facultie of sleepe might happily feeme vnprofitable, and against nature, thence it depriving vs of all action, and barreth vs of all fenfe; were it not that nature doth therebey intrufue vs, that she hath equally made vs, as well to live, as to die and by life prefenteth the eternal flate vnto vs, which hit after the fame referveth for vs, fo to accufome thee unto, and remove the feare of it from vs. But fuch as by fome violent accident are fallen into a faintness of heart, and have loft all fenes, they, in mine opinion, have well-nigh beene, where they might beholde hit true and natural vilage: For, touching the infnant or moment of the paffage, it is not to be feared, it fhould bring any travell or difpleafure with hit, forasmuch as we can have, nor fenfe nor feeling without leafture. Our sufferences have neede of time, which is fo short, and plunged in death, that neceffarily it must be infeolable. It is the approaches that leade vnto it we fhould fear, and thofe may fall within the compafs of mans experience. Many things feeme greater by imagination, then by effect. I have paffed over a good parte of my age in found and perfect health. I lay, not onely, but bleafe and wantonly-lufhfull. That flate full of luft, of prime and mirth, made me deme the confideration of fickeneses fo yearesome and horrible, that when I came to the experience of them, I have found their fites but weake, and their affaultes but faint, in refpeft of my apprehended feare. Lo here what I dayly proue. Let me vnder a roofe, in a good chamber, warme-clad, and well at cafe in fome tempeftuous and stormie night,
night. I am exceedingly perplexed, and much grieved for such as are abroad, and have no shelter: But let me be in the storme my selfe, I doe not so much as desire to be else where. Oney to be continually pent vp in a chamber, seemed intolerable to me. I have now en-
ured my selfe to live a whole weake, yea a moneth in my chamber, full of care, trouble, alteration and weaknesses; and have found, that in the time of my best health I mounted such as were sick, much more, then I can well imagine my selfe when I am all at ease: and that the power of my apprehension did well-nigh halfe endure the essence and truth of the thing it selfe. I am in good hope the like will happen to me of death: and that it is not worth the labor I take for to many preparations as I prepare against his; and so many helps as I call to su-
flaine, and affembly to endure the shocke and violence of it. But hab or nab we can never take too much advantage of it. During our second or third troubles (I do not well remem-
ber which) I fortunated one day, for recreation-fake, to goe forth and take the aye, about a league from my house, who am feated even in the bowels of all the troubles of our civil wars of France, supposing to be most safe, so neere mine owne home and retribe, that I had no neede of better attendance or equipage. I was mounted upon a very safe-going nagge, but not very sure. At my returning home againe, a fidaince occasion being offered me, to make use of this nagge in a piece of service, whereunto he was neither trained or accustomed, one of my men (a strong (urdie fellow) mounted upon a yong strong-headed horfe, and that had a desperate hard mouth, fresh, justic and in breath; so thew his courage, and out goe his fel-
lowes, forntuned with might and maine to let spurre vs unto him, and giving him the bridle, to come right into the path where I was, and as a Colossus with his weight riding over me and my nagge, that were both very little, he overthrew vs both, and made vs fall with our heeles vpward: so that the nagge lay along attomed in one place, and I in a trance groveling on the ground ten or twelve paces wide of him; my face all torne and bruised, my sword which I had in my hand a good way from me, my girdle broken, with no more motion or senfe in me then a flocke. Its the onely fewmoning that ever I felt yet. Thofe that were with me, after they had aflayed all possible meanes to bring me to my selfe againe, supposing me dead, tooke me in their armies, and with much ado were carryng me home to my-houfe, which was about halfe a french league thence, upon the way & after I had for two hours space, by all, but suppozed dead and paff all recoverie, I began to flir and breathe: for, fo great abun-
dance of blood was falle into my fomake, that to discharge it, nature was forced to rowze 
up hir spirits. I was immediatly set vpon my feet, and bending forward, I presentely caft vp, in quantitie as much clottie pure blood, as a bucket will hold, and by the way was conftrai-
ned to doe the like divers times before I could get home, whereby I began to recover a little life, but it was by little and little, and fo long a doing, that my chiefe fefnes were much more 
enclining to death then to life.

Perche dubbiofa ancor del suo ritorno
Non s'affierra attontiatamente.
For yet the minde doubtfull of it's returne
Is not affured, but astonfished.

The remembrance whereof (which yet I beare deeply imprinted in my minde) representing me hir vifage and Idea fo lively and so naturally, both in some fortrereconcile me vnto hir. And when I began to fee, it was with fo dim, so weake and so troubled a fight, that I could not discerne any thing of the light,

--- come quel ch'or apre, hor chiude
Gli occhi, mezzo tra' fommo e l'elfer deist.
As he that sometimes openes, sometimes shuts
His eyes, betweene sleeping and being awake.

Touching the functions of the foule, they flarted vp and came in the fame progreffe as thoefe of the body. I perceived my selfe all bloodie; for my doubte was all fullied with the 
blood I had caft: The first conceit I apprehended, was, that I had received some fhot in my head; and in truth, at the fame inftant, there were divers that fhot round about vs. Me 
thought, my felfe had no other hold of me, but of my lippes-ends. I clofed mine eyes, to 
help (as I feemed) to fend it forth, and took a kinde of pleafure to linger and languifhing-
ly to let my felfe goe from my felfe. It was an imagination swimming superiously in my 
minde, as weake and as tender as all the reft: but in truth, not only exempted from difpe-
zure,
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The second Booke.

Sure, but rather comixt with that pleafant sweetenes, which they feel that suffer themselves to fall into a soft-fluming and fenfe-entrancing sleepe. I believe it is the fame fante, they finde themselves in, whom in the agonie of death we fee to droope & faint through weaknesses: and am of opinion, we plainke and moane them without caufe, efteeming that either they are agitsted with grievous pangs, or that their foule is pressld with painefull cogitations. It was ever my conceit, againft the opinion of many, yea & againft that of Stephano la Battie, that thofe whom we fee, fo overwhelmed, and faintly-drooping at the approches of their end, or utterly caft downe with the lingering tendinues of their deceafes, or by accident of some apoplexie, or falling-evill,

—(vi morbi fape confitus

Ante oculos atque nosﬅros ex fubnittas illus
Conicid, & fupra agit ingemini, & fremit aruis,
Despit, extent at nervationes, forteurum, anhelat,
Inconflanter & in nollando membra fatigat)

Some man by force of sicknes draun doth fall,
As if by thunder stroke, before our eyes;
He fomers, he groans, he trembles over all,
He raves, he stretches, he vext, panting lyes,
Hety's his humes by tolling,
Now this now that way crossing,

or hurt in the head, whom wee hear thrub and rattle, and fend forth groves and gaspes, although wee gather fome tokens from them, whereby it feemeth, they have yet fome knowledge left, and certaine motions wee fee them make with their body: I say, I have ever thought, they had their foule and body buried and afleepe.

Visit & oft vitiues fceulp fceu. 

Hely's yet knows not he,
That he alve should be.

And I could not beleive, that so great an amonfthement of members, and defallance of fenfes, the foule could maintaine any force within, to know himfelfe, and therefore had no manner of discourse tormenting them, which might make them judge and feel the miserie of their condition, and that confequently they were not greatly to be moaned. As for my felfe, I imagine no flate fo intolerable nor condition fo horrible, as to have a feelingly-afflicted foule, vide of meane to disburthen and declare hirfelfe: As I would fay of thofe we fend to execution, having firft caufed their tongtie to be cut out, were it not that in this manner of death, the moft dumbfe feemes vnto me the fiftett, namely if it be accompanied with a refolute and grave countenance. And as thofe infolent prisoners which light in the hands of thofe hard-hatted and villenous Souildiers of thofe times, of whom they are tormented with all manner of cruel enterie, by compulfion to drawe them vnto fome exceffive and vnpossiblé ranforme, keeping them all that while in fo hard a condition and place, that they have no way left them to viter their thoughts and exprefle their miserie. The Poets have fained, there were fome Gods, that favoured the releafe of fuch as fufferd fo languishing deaths.

— hunc ego Diti

Sacrum infafero, etque illo corpore folum

This to death fared, I as was my charge,
Doe beare, and from this body thee enlarge.

And the falterings speeches and vncearent anfwers, that by continually ringing in their ears & inceffant vigfing them, are fomertimes by force wretched from them, or by the motions which feeme to have faome simpathie with that whereof they are examined, is not withftanding no witnes, that they live, at leaft a perfect found life. We do also in yawning, before sleeper fully feize vpon vs, apprehend as it were in a flumber, what is done about vs, and with a troubled and vncearnt hearing, follow the voices, which feeme to found but on the outward limits of our foule; & frame anfwers according to the laft words we heard, which taffe more of chance then of fene: which thing now I have proved by experience, I make no doubt, but hitherto I have well judged of it. For, firft lying as in a trance, I laboured even with my nailes to open my doublet (for I was vnarmed) and well I wot, that in my imagination I felt nothing did hurt me. For, there are feveral motions in vs, which proceed not of our free wil.

— Semiaminefque micant digni, ferimumque retractant.

The
The Second Booke.

The halfe-dead fingers stirre, and feele,
(Though it they cannot stirre) for feele.

Those that fall, doe commonly by a natural impulsion cast their arms abroad before their falling, which sheweth, that our members have certaine offices, which they lend one to another, and possesse certaine agitations, apart from our discourse:

Faeloseros memorant currus abscindere membra,
Vi tremere in terra videatur ab arctibus jacto
Decidit abfeffum, cum mens tamen atque dominus vts
Mobilitate malo non quit sentire dolorem.

They say, isfehe-bearing chariots limbs bereave,
So as on earth, that which cut-off they leave,

Doth seeme to quake; when yet mans force and minde
Doth not the paine, through so quicke motion, finde.

My glomacke was surcharged with clotted blood, my hands of themselves were still running to it, as often as they are wont (yea against the knowledge of our will) where we feel it to itch. There are many creatures, yea and some men, in whom after they are dead, we may fee their muscles to close and stirre. All men know by experience, there be some partes of our bodies, which often without any consent of ours, doe stirre, stand and lie downe againe. Now these passions, which but exteriorly touch vs, can not properly be termed ours; For, to make them ours, a man must wholly be engaged vnto them: And the paines that our seete or handes feele whilest we sleepe, are not ours. When I came neere my house, where the tidings of my fall was already come, and those of my housholde met me, with such outreries as are vfed in like times, I did not onely anowe some words, to what I was demanded, but some tell me, I had the memory to command my men to give my wife a horse, whom I perceived to be over-tired, and labouring in the way, which is very hilly, fowle, and rugged. It feemeth this consideration proceeded from a vigilant foule: yet was I cleanly distracted from it, they were but vaine conceits, and as in a cloud, only moved by the fenes of the eye and ears: They came not from my selfe. All which notwithstanding, I knew neither whence I came, nor whither I went, nor could I vnderstand or consider what was spoken vnto me. They were but light effects, that my fenes produced of themselves, as it were of custome. Whatsoever the foule did afflict it with, was but a dreame, being lightly touched, and only sprinkled by the soft impression of the fenes.

In the meantime my state was verily most pleasant and easie: I felt no manner of care or affliction, neither for my selfe nor others. It was a blumbery, languishing and extreme weakenesse, without any paine at all. I saw mine owne house and knew it not; when I was lade in my bedde, I felt great care in my reit, for I had beene vilely hurred and haled by those poore men, which had taken the paines to carry me vpon their armes a long and weary some way, and to say truth, they had all beene wearied twice or thrice over, and were faine to shifte severall times. Many remedies were prefently offered me, but I took none, supposing verily I had beene deadly hurt in the head. To say truth, it had beene a very happy death: For the weakenesse of my discourse hindered me from judging of it, and the feeblenesse of my body from feeling the same. Me thought I was yeelding vp the ghost to gentle, and after so eafe and indolent a manner, that I feele no other action leffe burthenome then that was. But when I beganne to come to life againe and to recover my former strength,

vid Trif. d. 17.
vt tuodem... consolavere me.
At last when all the spites I beare,
Recall'd and recolleced were.

which was within two or three hours after, I prefently felt my selfe full of aches and paines all my body over; for, each part thereof was with the violence of the fall much bruised and tainteed; and for two or three nights after I found my selfe so ill, that I verily suppos'd I should have died no other death: But more feeling and sensible (and to speake plainely) I feele my bruises yet, and feare me fall do while I live: I will not forget to tell you, that the laste thing I could rightlie fall into againe, was the remembrance of this accident, and I made my men many times to repeate it over and over againe, whether I was going, whence I came, and at what houre that chance befell me, before I could thoroughly conceive it. Concerning the maner of my falling, they in favour of him who had beene the caufe of it, concealed the truth
from me, and told me other flem flam tales. But a while after, and the morrow next when my memorie beganne to come to it of felfe againe, and represent the state vnto me, wherein I was at the instant, when I perceived the horfe riding over me (for being at my heeles, I chance-
ed to efpie him, and helde my felle for dead; yet was the conceite fo folidaine, that fearre had no leaue to enter into my thoughts) me seemed it was a flashing or lightning, that smote my foule with shaking, and that I came from another world. This discourse of so flight an accident, is but vaine and frivolous, were not the inventions I have drawne thence, for my vfe: For truly, for a man to acquaint himfelfe with death, I finde no better way, than to approach vnto it. Now as Plaibur faith, every man is a good discipline vnto himfelfe, alwayes provided he be able to prie into himfelfe. This is not my doctrine, itis but my studies. And not another mans lefion, but mine owne. Yet ought no man to blame me if I impart the fame. What serves my turne, may happily serve another man; otherwife I marre nothing, what I make vfe of, is mine owne. And if I play the foole, it is at mine owne cost, and without any other bodies intereft. For it is but a kinde of folly, that dies in me, and hath no traine. We have notice but of two or three former ancients, that have trodden this path; yet can we not say, whether altogether like vnto this of mine, for wee know but their names. No man since hath followed their fleppes, it is a thorny and robbed enterprize, and more then it makes shew-of, to follow to strange and vagabond a path, as that of our spirit: To penetrare the fudie, and enter the thicke-covered depths of these internall winding cranks: To chufe fo many, and lette fo feverall aires of his agitations: And a new extraordinary ammusing, that diftracts vs from the common occupations of the world, yea and from the moft recommended. Many yeares are past since I have no other aine, whereeto my thoughts bend, but my felfe, and that I controle and study nothing but my felfe. And if I study any thing else, because it is not what I have learnt by this, although I greatly content not my felfe with the progress I have made therein. There is no description fo hard, nor fo profiflable, as the description of a man, owne felfe. Yet muft a man handfomely trimme vp, yea and dispose and range himfelfe to appear on the theatre of this world. Now I continually tricke vp my felfe; for I vnceffantly defcribe my felfe. Custome hath made a mans fpeech of himfelfe, vicious. And obfolutely forbids it in hatred of boasting, which ever femeeth clofely to follow ones felfe witnedfes, whereas a man shoulde wipe a childef nofe, that is now called to vn-nofe him.

In vicium ducis culpe fuga.

Some shunning of some fime,
Doth draw some further in.

I finde more evil then good for this remedie: But suppose it were true, that for a man to entertaine the company with talking of himfelfe, were necceffarily prefumption: I ought not following my generall intent, to refuse an action, that publifheth this crazed quallity, since I have it in my felfe: and I shou'd not conceale this fault, which I have not onely in vfe, but in profession. Neverthelfe to speake my opinion of it, this custome to condemne wine is much too blame, because many are therewith made drunke. Only good things may be abused. And I believe this rule hath only regard to popular defects: They are infinues whereat neither Saints nor Philosophers, nor Divines, whom we heare fo gloriously to speake of themselves, will in any sorte be bridled. No more doe I, though I be no more the one then other. Ifthey write purposely or directly of it, yet when occaion doth conveniently lead them vnto it, faigne they not, headlong to call themselves into the lifites? Whereof doth Se-
cretes treat more at large, then of himfelfe? To what doth he more often direct his discurfes, then to speake of themselves, not of their bookees lefion, but of the offence and moving of their foul? We religiously shrift our felves to God and our confedtor, as our neighbours to all the people. But will some anfwere mee, we repute but accusations; wee then reporte all: For, even our vertue it felfe is faultie and reportable. My arte and pro-
feffion, is to live. Who forbids mee to speake of it, according to my felle, experience, and custom? Let him appoint the Architect to speake of buildings, not according to himfelfe, but his neighbours, according to another skill, and not his owne. If it be a glory, for a man to publish his owne worth himfelfe, why doth not Cicero preferre the eloquence of Hortensius, and Hortensius that of Cicero? Some may peradventure fuppofe that by deedes and ef-

V 2 fefts
feets, and not simply by words, I witness of myself. I principally set forth my cogitations, a shapeless subject, and which cannot fall within the compass of aوجه-مانتيلکه production: with much ado can I set it down in this airy body of the voice. Wiser men, and more learned and devout, have lived avoiding all apparent effects. Effect would speak more of fortune, then of me. They witness their part, and not mine; vnlees it be conjuratorily and uncertainly: Parcells of a particular shew, I wholly set forth and expose my selfe: It is a 
Ketiras; where at first sight appear at the veins, muscles, gristles, finewes, and tendons, each severall part in his due place. The effect of the cough produceeth one part, that of paleneesse or panting of the heart anothe, and that doubtfully, I write not my selfe, but my selfe and my effence. I am of opinion that a man must be very wise to effence himselfe, and equally confentiens to give testimony of it: be it low, be it high indifferentely. If I did absolutely frame good and wise unto my selfe, I would boldly declare it. To speake leffe of himselfe then he possesseth, is folly and not modestie. To pay himselfe for himselfe then he is worth, is bafenelle and pulilanimie, faith Aristoile. No vertue aside itselfe with falsehood: and truth is never a matter of error. And yet for a man to say more of himselfe, then he can well prove, is not ever presumption, though often forttinelle. For a man to over-weene, & please himselfe exceedingly with what he is, and fall into indiscreet love with himselfe, is in my conceit, the substance of this vice. The bext remedie to cure him, is to do cleanly contrary to that which those appoint, who in prohibiting men to speake of themselves, do consequently also inhibit more to think of themselves. Pride consists in conceit: The tongue can have no great share in it. For one to ammufe on himselfe, is in their imagina
tion to please himselfe: And for a man to frequent and practice himselfe, is at over-dare a
rage to endeare himselfe. But this excelle doth onely breede in them, but supremely feel and search themselves, that are seene to follow their affairs, which call idleneffe and fondnese, for a man to entertaine, to applaud and to endeare himselfe, and frame Chimaeras, or build castles in the ayre; deeming themselves as a third person and strangers to themselves. If any be befotted with his owne knowledge, looking upon himselfe, let him call his eyes towards former ages, his pride shall be abated, his ambition shall be quelled; for there shall he find many thousands of spirits, that will cleare superflues and tredex him under. If he fortune to enter into any selfe-preumption of his owne worth, let him but call to remembrance the lives of Scipio and Epaminondas so many armies, and so many nations, which leave him so farre behind them. No particular qualitie shall make him proud, that therewith shall reckon so many imperfecte and weake qualities that are in him, and at last the nullitie of humane condition. Forsomuch as Socrates had truly onely niled on the pre
cipt of his God, to know himselfe, and by that fludie had learned to contenme himselfe, he alone was esteemed worthy of the name of Wife. Whosoever shall so know himselfe, let him boldly make himselfe knowne by his owne mouth.

The seventh Chapter.

Of the recompences or rewards of Honour.

Thus which write the life of Augustus Caesar, note this in his militarie discipline, that hee was exceeding liberal and lavish in his gifts to such as were of any benefic; but as spare
ring and fruite-handed in more recompences of honour. Yet is it that himselfe had bin li
tially gratified by his Vnkle with military rewards, before ever hee went to warres. It hath beene a witty invention, and received in most partes of the worlds common-wealths,
etablished and ordaine certaine vaine and worthlesse marks, therewith to honor and recompence vertue: As are the wreathes of Lawrell, the Chaplets of Oake, and the Garlands of myrtle, the forme of a certaine peculiar garments; the priviledge to ride in Coche through the Cutty, or by night to have a torch carried before one. Some particular place to sit in in common assemblies; the prerogatives of certaine furnishmes and titles, and proper additions in armes, and such like things; the vse whereof hath beene diversely received according to the opinions
opinions of Nations, which continueth to this day. We have for our part, together with di-
vers of our neighbour-Nations, the orders of Knight-hood, which only were establishted to
this purpose. Verily it is a most laudable vie, and profitable custome, to find means to re-
ward the worth, and acknowledge the value of rare and excellent men, to satisfy and con-
tent them with such payments, as in no sort charge the common wealth, and put the Prince
to no cost atall. And that which was ever knowne by ancient experience, and at other times
we have plainly perceived amongst our selves, that men of qualitie, were ever more jea-
lous of such recompenses, then of others, wherein was both gaine and profite: which was
not without reason and great apperance. If to the prize, which ought simply to be of ho-
nor, there be other commoditie and riches joynd, this kind of comminging, in stead of
encouraging the estimation thereof, doth empairte, dissipate, and abridge it. The order of
the Knights of Saint Michael in France, which of so long continuance hath bin in credite
amongst vs, had no greater commoditie then that it had no manner of communication with
any other advantage or profite, which hath hereunto beene the cause, that there was no
charge or state of what quality soever, where to the nobilitie pretended with so much desire,
or aspired with more affection, as it did to obtaine that order, nor calling, that was followed
with more respect or greatnesse. Vertue embracing with more ambition, and more wil-
lingly aspiring after a recompence, that is mearely and simply hir owne, and which is rather
glorious, then profitable. For, to say truth, other giffes have no vse so worthy; insomuch,
as they are employed to all manner of occasions. With riches a man doth reward the service
of a groome the diligence of a messenger, the hiking of a dancer, the tricks of a vaulter, the
breath of a lawyer, and the bafe office a man may receive; yea, with the fame poulty pelf
money, vice is payed and sinner required, as flattery, murther, treason, Magnificence, and
what not. It is then no marvell, if vertue doth left willingly desire this kind of common
trash, mony, then that which is only proper and peculiar to hir selfe, and is altogether noble
and generous. Augustus had therefore reason, to bee much more niggardly and sparing of
this last, then of the former, forasmuch as honour is a privilidge which draws his principall
essece from rarenees: and so doth vertue in selfe.

Cui malum est nemo, quis bonus eje potest?
To him who good can see me,
Who doth none bad esteem?

We shall not see a man highly regarded, or extraordinarily commended, that is curiosifie
carefull to have his children well nurtured, because it is a common action, how just and
worthy praise forever it be: no more then one great tree, where the forest is full of such. I
do not thinke that any Spartan Citizen did boastingly glorifie himselfe for his valor, be-
cause it was a popular vertue in that Nation: And as little for his fidelitie, and contempt of
riches. There is no recompence fells unto vertue, how great soever it be, it if once have paeste
into custome: And I wot not whether we might call it great, being common. Since then
the rewards of honor, have no other prize and estimation then that which few enjoy, there
is no way to dissimul them, but to make a largeesse of them. Were there now more menne
found diserving the fame than in former ages, yet should not the reputation of it be corrup-
ted. And it may easilie happen that more deferue-it: For, there is no vertue, doeth so easilie
spread it selfe as military valiance. There is another, true, perfect, and Philosophical, where-
of I speake not (I vie this word according to our custome) farre greater and more full then
this, which is a force and assurance of the soule, equally commingled all manner of contrarie
accidents, vpright, uiforme, and conflant, where of ours is but an easie and glemmering rie.
Custome, institution, example and fashion, may effect what ever they lift in the establis-
shing of that I speake-of, and easilie make it vulgar, as may plainly bee seene by the experience
our civil warss gives vs of-it. And whosoever could now joyne vs together, and eau-
egantly fleeth all people to a common enterprize, we should make our ancient military name
and chivalrous credit to florish againe. It is most certaine that the recompence of our order
did not in former times only concernne prowes, and respect valorit se had a further ayme. It
was never the reward or payment of a valiant foundier, but of a famous captaine. The skil to
obey could not deferve so honourable an hire: for, cast we backe our eyes to antiquite, wee
shall perceive, that for the worthie obtaining thereof, there was required more vniverfall
warre-like expertnesse, and which might embrace the greatest part, and most partes of a-

V 3

litarie
The second Booke.

Of the affection of fathers to their children.
To the Lady of Ethifac.

Adame, if strangeneffe do not save, or novelty shilde mee, which are wont to give things reputation, I shall never, with honestie, quit my selfe of this enterprize; yet is it so fantastical, and beare not so different from common custome, that may haply purchase it free passIJg. It is a melancholy humour, and consequentially a hateful enemy to my natural completion, brede by the anxiety, and produced by the anguish of carking care, whereinto some yeares since I cast my selfe, that first put this humorous concept of writing into my head. And finding my selfe afterward wholly unprovided of subject, and voyde of other matter, I have presented my selfe viuto my selfe for a subject to write, and argument
gument to descent upon. It is the only booke in the world of this kinde, and of a wilde extravagant defigne. Moreover, there is nothing in it worthie the marking but this fantasticalle. For, to so vain an ground and base a subject, the worldes beft workman, could never have given a fiction deferving to be accompted of. Now (worthy Lady) thence I must pourtray my felfe to the life. I should have forgotten a part of importance, if therewithall I had not represented the honour I have ever yeelded to your deports, which I have especielly beeie willing to declare in the forefront of this Chapter: Forasmuch as amongft your other good partes and commendable qualities, that of loving amite, which you have shewn to your children, holde one of the first rates. Whosoever shall unnderstand and know the age, wherein your late husband the Lord of Effiffac left you a widowe, the great and honorable matches have been offered you (as worthy and as many as to any other Lady in France of your condition) the constant resolution, and resolute constancy, wherewith so many yeeres you have sustained, and even in flight, or a-thwart so manifold thorny difficulties; the charge and conduct of their affaires, which have toiled, hurried, and removed you in all corners of France, and still holde you besieged; the happy and successeful forwards, which you, only through your wisedome or good fortune have given them, he wil easly say with me, that in our age we have no pattern: of motherly affection more exemplare, than yours. I praise God (Madam;) it hath been so well employed: For, the good hopes, which the young Lord of Effiffac, your sonne giveth of himselfe, foret-hew an undoubted assurance, that when he shall come to yeeres of discretion, you shall reape the obedience of a noble, and find the acknowledgement of a good childe. But because by reason of his childhood, he could not take notice of the exceeding kindnesse and millefold offices, hee hath received from you; my meaning is, that if ever thefe my compositions shall haply one day come into his handes (when peradventure I shall neither have mouth nor speak to declare it vnto him) he receive this testimonie in all verite from me; which shall also more lively be testified vnto him by the good effects, (whereof, if I do please God, he shall have a fenfible feeling) that there is no Gentleman in France, more endeued to his mother then he; and that hereafter he cannot yeeld a more certaine proofe of his goodnesse, and testimonie of his vertue, then in acknowledging and confessing you for such. If there be anie truly-natural law, that is to sy, any infinct, vniverfally and perpetuall imprinted, both in beastes and vs, (which is not without contrary) I may, according to mine opinion, say, that next to the care, which each living creature hath to his preservation, and to fly what doth hurt him; the affection which the engenderer beareth his ingenice or handie-worke, holdes the second place in this rande. And forasmuch as nature feemeth to have recommended the same vnto vs, ayming to extend, increafe, and advance the successeful partes or parcells, of this hire frame. It is no wonnder if fariver he it is not so great from children vnto fathers. This other Aristotelian confideration remembred: That hee who doth beneite another, loveth him better, than he is beloved of him againe: And he to whom a debt is owing, loveth better, than he that oweth: And every workman loveth his worke better, then hee should be beloved of it againe, if it had fene or feeling. Forasmuch as we love to be; and being confident in moving and action. Therefore is every man, in some fort or other in his own workmanship. Whosoever doth a good deed, exerciseth a faire and honest action: Whosoever receiveth, exerciseth onely a profitable action. And profite is nothing so much to bee esteemed or loved as honestly. Honenly is firm and permainent, affording him that did it, a constant gratification. Profite is very flaperne, and easely loft, nor is the memorie of it so sweete or so freth. Such things are deere vnto vs, that have cost vs most: And to give, is of more cost then to take. Since it hath pleased God to endowe vs with some capacitie of discurfe, that as beamts we should not servilely be subjeected to common lawes, but rather with judgement and voluntarie liberty apply our selves vnto them; we ought somewhat to yeeld vnto the simple autbority of Nature: but not suffer her tyrannically to carry-ys away: only reason ought to have the conduct of our inclinations. As for me, my taste is strangely disflasted to it's propensions, which in vs are produced without the ordinance and direction of our judgement. As vpon this subject I speake of, I cannot receive this passion, wherewith some embrace children fearfully borne, having neither motion in the soule, nor forme wel to be distinguished in the body, whereby they might make themselves lovely or amiable. And I could never well endure to have them brought vp or nurfed neere about me. A true and well ordered affection,
ought to be borne & augmented, with the knowledge they give vs of themselves, and then, if they deserve it (natural inclination marching hand in hand with reason) to cherish and make much of them, with a perfect fatherly love & loving friendship, & conformable to judge of them if they be otherwise, always yielding our selves vs unto reason, notwithstanding natural power. For the most part, it goeth clean contrary, and commonly, we feele our selves more moved with the sports, idlenesse, wantonness, and infant-tilles of our children, than afterward we doe with all their actions, when they bee men: As if we had loved them for our pastimes, as we doe apes, monkeys, or perroties, and not as men. And many a father doth very prodigiously beflow much vpon his childe, that afterward will spare and miehe very niggardly for necessary things about him, when he is of ripe yeares. Nay, if euen that the je-
loufie wee have to see them appear in, and enjoy the world, when wee are ready to leave them, makes vs more sparing and close-handed toward them. It vexeth and grieveth vs when wee see them following vs at our hecles, supposing they solicate vs to bee gone hence. And if we were to fear that, since the order of things bear that, they cannot indeede, neither be, nor live, but by our being and life, we should not meddle to be fathers. As for mee, I deeme it a kind of cruelie & injustice, not to receive them into the share and societie of our goods, and to admit them as partners of our domesticall affaires (if they bee once capable of it) and not to cut off and frut-vp our commodities to provide for theirs, since we have en-
gendred them to that purpose. It is more injustice to see an old, crazed, ftrainowe, ffraken, and nigh-dead father sitting alone in a chimney-corner, to enjoy so many goods as would suffice for the preferment and enter tainment of many children, and in the meantime, while, for want of means, to suffer them to lose their belt daises and yeares, without thuffling them into publike service and knowledge of men, whereby they are often cast into dupeaire, to fecke, by some way how unlawful foever to provide for their necessaries. And in my daies, I have seene divers yong men, of good houses, so given to feeling and filching, that no cor-
etion could divert them from it. I know one very well alied, to whom, at the instance of a brother of his (a most honest, gallant, and vertuous Gentleman) I spake to that purpose, who boldly anwered and confessed unto me, that onely by the rigor and covetise of his father he had beene forced and driven to fall into fuch lewdines and wickednes. And even at that time he came from feeling certaine jewels from a Ladie, in whose bed-chamber hee fortooke to come with cervative other Gentlemen when he was staving, and had almoft beene taken. He made me remember a tale I had heard of an other Gentleman, from his youth so fessioned and inclined to this goodly trade of pilfering, that comming afterward to be heire and Lord of his owne goods, resolved to give over that manner of life, could notwithstanding (if hee chance to come neere a shop, where he sawe any thing he stode in neede of) not chufe but feale the fame, though afterward he would ever send mony and pay for it. And I have seene divers so inured to that vice, that amongst their companions, they would ordinarily feale fuch things, as they would restore againe. I am a Gacine, and there is no vice wher-
in I have leffe skill: I hate it somewhat more by complexion, then I accuse it by discourse. I doe not so much as defire another mans goodes.

And although my countrymen be indeede somewhat more taxed with this fault, then oth-
er Provinces of France, yet have we seene of late daies, and that sundry times, men well borne and of good parentage in other partes of France in the hands of justice, and lawfully convicted of many most horrible robberies. I am of opinion, that in regard of these de-
bauches and lewd actions, fathers may, in some fort, be blamed, and that it is onely long of them. And if any shall anwere me, as did once a gentleman of good worth and vnderstand-
ing, that he thriftily endeavored to hoard-vp riches, to no other purpose, nor to have any vfe and commoditie of them, then to be honoured, respected and suingly-fought vnto by his friends and kinsfolkes, and that age having bereaved him of all other forces, it was the onely remedy he had left to maintain himselfe in authority with his household, and keepe him from falling into contempt and disdain of all the world. (And truly according to A-
rifate, not onely old-age, but each imbecillie, is the promoter and motive of covetousness) That is something, but it is a remedy for an evil, whereof the birth should have beene hindered; and breeding avoyded. That father may truely be saide miferable, that holdeth the affection of his children tied vnto him by no other meanes, then by the neede they have of his helpe, or want of his assistance, if that may be termed affection: A man should feed him-
sel
The second Booke.

The very cinders of so rich a matter, have their value: to have the bones and reliques of honourable men, whom we hold in respect and reverence. No age can be so crazed and drooping in a man that hath lived honourably, but must needs prove venerable, and especially vnto his children, whose minds ought so to be directed by the parents, that reason and wisdom, not necesse and neede, or ruderesse and compulsion, may make them know and performe their dutie.

--- & errat longe, mea quidem sententia,
Qui imperium credat esse gravius aut stabilius,
Dignifit, quam illud quod amicitia adungit.
In mine opinion he doth much mistake,
Who, that command may give, more firme doth take,
Which force doth get, then that friendship makes.

I utterly condemn all manner of violence in the education of a yong spirit, brought vp to honour and libertie. There is a kind of slavery in church-rigor, and servilitie in compulsion; and I hold, that that which cannot be compassed by reason, wisedome and discretion, can never be attained by force and constraint. So was I brought vp: they tell me, that in all my youth, I never felt rod but twice, and that very lightly. And what education I have had my selfe, the same have I given my children. But such is my ill hap, that they die all very yong; yet hath Leonora my onely daughter escaped this misfortune, and attained to the age of six yeares, and somewhat more: for the conduct of whose youth, and punishment of her childish faults (the indulgence of her mother applying it selfe very mildly vnto it) was never other mens vfed but gentle words. And were my desire frustrate, there are divers other causes to take hold of, without reproving my discipline, which I know to be just & natural.

I would also have beene much more religious in that towards male-children, not borne to serve as women, and of a freer condition. I should have loved to have stored their minde with ingenuitie and libertie. I have seene no other effects in rods, but to make childrens minds more remitle, or more maliciously head-strong. Desire we to be loved of our children? Will we remove all occasions from them to with our death? (although no occasion of so horrible and unnaturall wishes, can either be juft or excusable) nullum fetus rationem habet, no ill deedes hath a good reason.

Let vs reasonably accommodate their life, with such things as are in our power. And thereby will not we marrie so yong, that our age do in a manner confound it selfe with theirs. For this inconvenience doth vnavoidably caft vs into many difficulties, and encumbrances. This I speak, chiefly vnto Nobilitie, which is of an idle disposition, or loitering condition, and which (as we say) liveth onely by her landes or rents: for else, where life standeth vpon gaines, pluralitie & company of children is an easelie furtherance of husbandrie. They are as many new implements to thrive, and instruments to grow rich. I was married at thirty years of age, & commend the opinion of thirtie-five, which is faide to be Aristotelis. Plato would have no man married before thirtie, and hath good reason to faffe at them that will deferre it till after fiftie-five, and then marrie; and commendeth their breede as vnworthy of life and suffentience. Thales appointed the best limites, who by his mother, being instantly vrged to marry while he was yong, answered that it was not yet time: and when he came to be old, he faide it was no more time. A man must refuse opportunity to every important action. The antient Gautes deemed it a shamefull reproach, to have the acquaintance of a woman before the age of twenty yeares: and did especially commend vnto men that sought to be trained vp in warres; the carefull preservation of their maidenhead, until they were of good yeares, for much as by loosing it in youth, courages are there by much weakened, and greatly enpaired, and by copulation with women, diverted from all vertuous actions.

Maihor cognitno a giovinetta sposa,
Licto homai de figli era invito
Ne gli affetti di padre e di marito.
But now conj own'd to a fresh-springing spouse,
Joy'd in his children, he was thought-abased,
In passions twixt a Sire, and husband placed.

Muleasses king of Tunnies, he whom the Empourer Charles the fift restored vnto his owne
owne flate againe, was wont to vpbraide his fathers memorie, for so disolutely frequenting of women, terming him a sloven, effeminat, and a luftfull engenderer of children. The Greeke florie doth note leuus the Tarquines, Cyno, Ajfins, Diopomus and others, who to keepe their bodies tough and strong for the service of the Olympicke courtes, wrestlings, and such bodily exercises, they did, as long as they were poffessed with that care, heedfully abstaine from all venerian acts, and touching of women. In a certaine country of the Spaniish Indies, no man was suffred to take a wife, before he were forty yeares olde, and women might marry at tenne yeares of age. There is no reason, neither is it convenient, that a Gentleman of five and thirtie yeares, should give place to his sonne, that is but twenty: For then is the father as feemly, and may as well appeare, and set himfelfe forward, in all manner of voyages of warres, awell by land as sea, and doe his Prince as good service, in court, or else-where, as his sonne: He hath neede of all his partes, and ought truly to impart them, but fo, that hee forget not himfelfe for others: And to fuch may justly that anfwer be ferve, which fathers have commonly in their mouths: I will not put off my clothes before I be ready togoeto bed. But a father over-burthened with yeares, and crazed through fickeneffe, and by reason of weakenefte and want of health, barred from the common societie of men, doth both wrong himfelfe, and injure his, idely and to no vfe to hoorde vp, and keepe clofe a great heap of riches, and deale of pelfe. He is in ftae good enough, if he be wife to have a defire to put off his clothes to goe to bed. I will not faie to his Shirte, but to a good warme night-gowne: As for other pompe and trauf whereof hee hath no longer vfe or neede, hee ought willingly to deftribute and beftow them amongeft tooth, to whom by natural decree they ought to belong. It is reason hee should have the vfe, and bequeathe the fruition of them, since nature doth also deprive him of them, otherwife without doubt there is both envy and malice flirring. The worthieft action, that ever the Emperour Charles the fifth performed was this, in imitation of some ancients of his qualitie, that hee had the discretion to know, that reason commanad vs, to fliepe or shift our felves when our cloathes trouble and are too heauie for vs, and that it is high time to goe to bed, when our legges faile vs. He refrigned his meanes, his greatneffe and Kingdome to his Sonne, at what time he found his former vndant resolution to daeace, and force to conduct his affaires, to droope in himfelfe, together with the glorie hee had thereby acquird.

Soliue fenee fententiae rumen amans equum, no
Pecct ad extremum videndus, & alia ducat.
If you be wife, the horse growne-old betimes caft-off,
Leafe he at laft falle lame, fouler, and breede a skoffe.

This fault, for a man not to be able to knowe himfelfe betimes, and not to feel the im-puifance and extreme alteration, that age doth naturally bring, both to the body and the minde, which in mine opinion is equall, if the minde have but one halfe, hath loft the reputa-tion of the moft part of the greates men in the world. I have in my daies both feene and familarly knowne some men of great authoritie, whom a man might eafily deccerne, to be strangely fallen from that ancient suficientie, which I knowe by the reputation they had thereby attained vnto in their best yeares. I could willingely for their honors fave them with the at-home about their owne bufines, difcharged from all negotiatiions of the common-wealth and employments of warre, that were no longer fitt for them. I have sometimes beene familier in a Gentlemanes house, who was both an olde man and a widdower, yet lustie of his age. This man had many daughters mariage-able, & a fonne growne to mans flate, and rea-die to appeare in the world; a thing that drew-on, and was the caufe of great charges, and many visitations, wherein hee tooke but little pleafure, not only for the continual care hee had to fave, but more by reafon of his age, hee had betaken himfelfe to a manner of life farre different from ours. I chanced one day to tell him somewhat boldly (as my custome is) that it would better beforme him to give vs place, and refigne hischiefe house to his fonne (for he had no other manner house conveniently well furnifhed) and quietly retire him-felfe to some farme of his, where no man might trouble him, or incommode his reft, since hee could not otherwife avoide our importunitie, seeing the condition of his children; who afterward followed my counsell, and found great eafe by it. It is not to be faid, that they have any thing given them by such a way of obligacion, which a man may not recalle againe: I, that am ready to play such a part, would give over vnto them the full possessiion of my house,
house, and enjoying of my goods, but with such libertie and limited condition, as if they should give me occasion, I might repent my selfe of my gift, and revoke my deed. I would leave the use and fruition of all unto them, the rather because it were no longer fit for me to weal the same. And touching the disposing of all matters in grosse, I would reserve what I pleased unto myselfe. Having ever judged, that it must be a great contentment to an aged father, himselfe to direct his children in the government of his household-affaires, and to be able whilst himselfe liveth, to checke and controulle their demeanors: fostering them with instruction and aduised counsel, according to the experience he hath had of them, and himself to address: the ancient honour and order of his house in the hands of his successours, and that way warrant himselfe of the hopes hee may conceive of their future conduct and after succeffe. And to this effect, I would not shumne their company. I would not be far from them, but as much as the condition of my age would permit, enjoy and be a partner of their sports, mirths, and feasts. If I did not continually live amonst them as I could not well without offending their meetings and hindering their recreations, by reason of the peevish frowardnesse of my age, and the trouble of my infirmities, and also without forcing the rules, and refiling the frame of life, I should then follow) I would at least live neere them, in some corner of my house, not the best and fairest in then, but the most easelie and commodious. And not as some yeeres since, I saw a Deane of S. Hillarie of Poletsters, reduced by reason and the incommoditie of his melancholy to such a continuall solitariness, that when I entred into his chamber he had never removed one steppe out of it in two and twenty yeares before: yet had all his faculties free and easie, only a rheume excepted that fell into his stomake. Scarce once a weeke would he suffer any body to come and fee him. He would ever be shut vp in his chamber all alone, where no man should come, except a boy, who once a day brought him meate, and who might not tarry there, but as soon as he was in, must goe out againe. All his exercise was sometimes to walke vp and downe his chamber, and now and then read on some booke (for he had some understanding of letters) but obstinately resolved to live and die in that course, as he did shortly after. I would endeavour by a kind of civill demeanour and milde conversation, to breed and settle in my children a truly-harty-loving friendship, and vnfained good will towards me. A thing easelie obtained amongst well-borne minde: For, if they prove, or be such surly-furious bastes, or given to churlish disobedience, as our age bringeth forth thousands, they must as bastes be hated, as choler neglected, and as degenerate avoided. I hate this custome, to forbid children to call their fathers father, and to teach them another strange name, as of more reverence: As if nature had not sufficiently provided for our authoritie. We call God-almightie by the name of father, and disdaine our children should call vs so. I have reformed this fault in mine owne householde. It is also folle and injustice to deprive children, especially being of competent age, of their fathers familiarities, and ever to shew them a surly, affere, grim, and disdainefull countenance, hoping thereby to keepe them in awefull sorne and dureous obedience. For, it is a very unprofitable proceeding, and which maketh fathers yrike some into children, and which is worse, ridiculous. They have youth and strengthe in their hands, and consequently, the breath and favour of the world, and doe with mockerie and contempt receive theses churlish-fierce, and tyrannicall countenances, from a man that hath no lustie bloud left him, neither in his heart, nor in his veins; meeere bugge-beares, and scar-crowes, to scare birds withall. If it lay in my power to make my selfe feared, I had rather make my selfe beloved. There are so many sorte of defects in age, and so much impuissance: It is so subject to contempt, that the best purchase it can make, is the good will, love and affection of others. Commandement and feare are no longer her weapons. I have knowne one, whose youth had bin very imperious and rough, but when hee came to mans age, although hee live in as good plight and health as may be, yet he chafeth, he scoldeth, he brawleth, he fighteth, he sweareth, and biteth, as the most boisterous and tempestuous master of France, he frets and confines himselfe with care, and care and vigilance (all which is but a juggling & ground, for his familie to play upon, and dozen him the more) as for his goodes, his garners, his cellars, his coffers, yea his purse, whilst himselfe keeps the keys of them, close in his bosome and vnder his boylter, as charily as he doth his eies, others enjoy and command the better part of them, whilst he pleafeth and flattereth himselfe, with the niggardly sparing of his table, all goeth to wracke, and is lavishly wafted in diverse corners of his house, in play, in riotous spending,
spending, &c in loothingly entertaining the accounts or tales of his vaine chafing fore-sight and providing. Every man watcheth and keppeth feninell against him, if anyeely or heed-lesse servant do by fortune apply him selfe vnto it, he is presently made to suspense him: A qualite on which age doth immediately bite of itselfe. How many timez hath he vaunted and applauding himselfe tolde me of the strict orders of his house, of his good husbandrie, of the aue he kept his housethold-in, and of the exact obedience, and regardzfull reverence he received of all his famifie, and how cleare-sighted he was in his owne busines:

Ille fatus necit annos. 
Of all things none but he, 
Most ignorant must be.

I know no man that could produce more parts, both naturall and artificiall, sitt to preserve his maiterrie, and to maintaine his absoluteness, than he doth; yet is hee cleane false from them like a childe. Therefore have I made choice of him, amongst many such conditions that I knowe, as most exemplarie. It were a matter beffeming a scholafticall question, whether it be better fo, or otherwife. In his presence all things give place vnto him. This same courze is ever left vnto his authoritie, that he is never gaineaid. He is had in awe, he is feared, he is beleved, he is respected his belly-full. Dooth he discharge any boy or servant? he presently truffeth vp his packe, then is he gone; but whither? onely out of his sight, not out of his house. The steps of age are so slowe, the f彭es fo troubled, the minde so distraeted, that hee shall live and do his office, a whole yeere in one same house, and never be perceived. And when fitte time or occasion ferveth, Letters are procured from farre places, humbly suing, and pittifully complaining, with promises to doe better, and to amend, by which he is brought into favour and office againe. Doth the maiter make any bargaines, or dispatch that pleaseth not? it is immediately immothered and supprezzed, foone after forging causes, and deviting colourable excuses, to excuse the want of execution or answer. No forraine Letters being first presented vnto him, hee feeth but such as are fitte for his knowledge. If peradventure they come vnto his hands, as hee that truffeth some one of his men to reade them vnto him, he will presently devise what he thinketh good, whereby they often invent, that such a one feemeth to ask him forgivenesse, that wrongeth him by his Letter. To conclude, hee never lookes into his owne busines, but by a dispofed, designed and as much as may be pleasing image, so contrived by such as are about him, because they will not spurre vp his cholr, move his impatience, and exasperate his rowardnes. I have seen under differernt formes, many long and conffant, and of like effect. Economics. It is ever proper vnto women, to be ready bent to contradict and crosse their husbands. They will with might & maine hand-over head, take holde of any colour to thwart and withfland them: the first excuse they meete with, serves them as a plenarie justificat- ion. I have seen some, that would in grossesse steals from their husbands, to the end (as they tolde their Confessors) they might give the greater almes. Trust you to such religious dis- pensations. They thinke no libertie to have, or managing to possesse sufficient authoritie, if it come from their husbands content: They must necessarily vfurpe it, either by wilie craft or maine force, and ever injuriously, thereby to give it more grace and authoritie. As in my Discourse, when it is against a poore old man, and for children, then take they holde of this Title, and therewith gloriously serve ther turne and passion, and as in a common fer-vitude, easily vfurpe and monopolize against his governement and domination. If they be men-children, tall, of good spirit and forward, then they presently suborn, either by threats, force or favour, both Steward, Bailiff, Clarke, Receiver, and all the Fathers Officers, and Servants. Such in have neither wife nor children, doe more hardly fall into this mischief: but yet more cruddy and vnworthily. Olde Cato was woon to say. So many servantes, so many enemies. Note whether according to the distance, that was betweene the puritie of his age, and the corruption of our times, he did not fore-warn vs, that Woves, Children, and Servants are to vs so many enemies. Well sittis it decrepitely to flore vs with the sweete bene- fife of ignorance and vnperceiving facility wherewith we are deceived.

If we did yeld vnto it, what would become of vs? Doe we not see that even then, if we have any futes in law or matters to be dicided before judges, both Lawyers and Judges, will commonly take part with, and favour our childrens cause? Against vs, as men intereded in the fame? And if I chance not to spie, or plainly perceive how I am cheated, cozoned and beguiled,
beguiled, I must of necessity discover in the end, how I am subject and may be cheated, beguiled, and decozened. And shall the tongue of man ever bee able to express the unvaluable worth of a friend, in comparison of these civil bonds? The lively image and Idea, whereof, which I once perceived to be amongst the best of. Oh with what religion doe I respect & observe the same? If others receive mee, yet do I not deceave mee, to extenuate mee capable, & of power to make vnto my selfe, nor to trouble my braines to yield my selfe vnto it. I doe beware and keep my selfe from such treasurers, and slyly-catchinge in mine owne bosome, not by an vnquiet, and tumultuary curiosity, but rather by a diversion and resolution. When I heare the state of any one reported or discouerfed-of, I amuse not my self on him, but presently call mine eyes on my selfe, and call my wits together, to see in what state I am, & how it goeth with me. Whosoever concerneth him, the same bath relation to me. His fortunes forwarne me, and summon vp myspirites that way. There is no day nor houre, but we speake that of others, we might properly speake of our selves; could we as well unfold, as we can unfold our consideration. And many Authours doe in this manner wound the protection of their cause, by over-rashly running against that, which they take hold of, thinking such dates at their enemies, that might with much more advantage be call at them. The Lord of Mon- tue, late one of the Lord Marshalls of France, having loft his home, who dyed in the Island of Madera, a worthy, forward and gallant yong Gentleman, and truly of good hope, amongst other his griefes and regrets, did greatly move me to condole, the infinite dispルature and hartes-borrow that he felt, in asmuch as he had never communicatd and openued himselfe vnto him: for, with his austere humor, and continuall endeavoring to holde a grimm-sernefatherly gravitie over him, he had loft the means, perfectly to finde & throughly to know his Sonne, & to manifeﬆ vnto him, the extreme affection he bare him, & the worthy judgement he made of his vertue. Alas! (was he wont to say) the poore lad, saw never anie thing in me, but a severe-farly countenance, full of disdaine, and happylie was poffesed with this conceit, that I could neither love nor extenuate him according to his merits. Ay-me, to whom did I refere, to discover that singular and loving affecion, which in my soule I bare vnto him? Was it not he that should have had all the pleaſure and acknowledgemen thereof? I have forced and tormented my selfe to maintaine this vaine maske, and have vittely loft the pleaſure of his converstion, and therewithall his good will, which furily was but faintly-cold towards me, forsoomuch as he never received but rude entertainment of me, and never felt but a tyrannicall proceeding in me towards him. I am of opinion, his complaint was reasonable and well grounded. For, as I know by certaine experience, there is no comfort so sweete in the loffe of friends, as that our owne knowledge or confidence tells vs, whenever omitted to tell them every thing, and expostulate all matters vnto them, and to have had a perfect and free communication with them. Tell mee my good friend, am I the better or the worse by having a taste of it? Surely I am much the better. His griefe doth both comfort and honour me. Is it not a religious and pleasing office of my life, for ever to make the obsequies thereof? Can there be any pleaſure worth this privation? I doe unfold and open my selfe as much as I can to owne owne people, and willingly declare the state of my will and judgement toward them, as commonly I doe towards all men: I make haste to produce and present my selfe,for I would have no man mistake me, in what part ever. Amongst other particular occasions, which our ancient Gauls had, (as Cesar affirmeth) this was one, that children never came before their fathers, nor were in anie publicke assembly feene in their company, but when they beganne to bear arms, as if they would interre, that then was the time, fathers should admitt them to their acquaintance and familiaritie. I have also observed another kindes of indiscerption in some fathers of our times, who during their owne life, would never bee induced to acquaint or impart vnto their children, that share or portion, which by the Law of Nature, they were to have in their fortunes: Nay, some there are, who after their death bequeath & commit the same au thoritie, over them and their goods, vnto their wives, with full power and law to dispose of them at their pleaſure. And my selfe have knowne a Gentleman, a chief officer of our crowne, that by right and hope of succession (had he lived vnto it) was to inherit above fifty thousand crownes a yeere good land, who at the age of more then fifty yeeres fell into such necesseTele and want, and was runne so farre in debt, that he had nothing left him, and as it is supposd dyed for very need; whilst his mother in his extreme deprectude, enjoyed all his lands and poffesed all his goods, by vertue of
of his fathers will and testament, who had lived very near four and more \text{years}. A thing (in my conceit) no way to be commended, but rather blamed. Therefore doe I thinkke, that a man but little advantaged or bettered in estate, who is able to live of himselfe, and is out of debt, especially if he have children, and goeth about to marry a wife, that must have a great joynter out of his lands, assuredly there is no other debt, that brings more ruine vnto house, then that. My predeceasaours have commonly followed this counsell, and fo have I, and all have found good by it. But thofe that dissivade vs from marrying of rich wives, left they might prove over discontentful, and peevish, or leffe tractable and loving, are also deceived, to make vs negleft and for-moe a reall commodity, for so frivolous a conjecture. To an unreasonable woman, it is all one cost to hir, whether they passe vnder one reason, or vnder another. They love to be where they are most wronged. Injustice doeth allure them; as the honour of their vertuous actions enticeth the good. And by how much richer they are, so much more milde and gentle are they: as more willingly and gloriously chaffe, by how much fairer they are. Some colour of reason there is, men should leave the administration of their goods and affaires vnto mothers, whilft their children are not of competent age, or fit according to the Lawes to manage the charge of them: And I'll hath their father brought them vp, if he cannot hope, that comming to years of discretion, they shall have no more wit, reason, and sufficiency, then his wife, considering the weakenesse of their sexe. Yet truely were it as much against nature, fo to order things, that mothers must wholly depend of their children discretion. They ought largely and competently to be provided, wherwith to maintain their estate, according to the quality of their house and age: because neede and want is much more unequally and hard to be endured in women, then in men: And children rather then mothers ought to be charged therewith. In general, my opinion is, that the best distribution of goods, is when we die, to distribut them according to the custome of the country. The Lawes have better thought upon them then we: And better is it to let them erre in their election, then for vs rashly to hazard to faile in ours. They are not properly our owne, since without vs, and by a civil prescription, they are appoynted to certaine succesours. And al-beit we have some further liberty, I thinke it should bee a great and most apparent caufe to induce vs to take from one, and bare him from that, which Fortune hath allotted him, and the common Lawes and Justice hath called him vnto: That against reason we abuse this liberty, by sifting the fame vnto our private humours and frivolous fantasies. My fortune hath beene good, inasmuch as yet it never presented mee with any occasions, that might tempt or divert my affections from the common and lawfull ordinance. I fee some, towards whom it is but labour lost, carefullly to endeavour to doe any good offices. A word doth taken deftice the merite of our secret. Happy he, that at this last passage is ready to soure and applaud their will. The next action transporteth him; not the best and most frequent offices, but the freuest and present works the deedee. They are people that play with their wils and testaments, as with apples and roddes, to gratifie or chalize euerie action of those who pretend any interest therevnto. It is a matter of overlong puruit, & of exceeding consequence, at euerie instance to be thus dilated, and wherein the wifer fort estabhlish themselves once for all, chiefly respecting reason, and publike observance. Wee somewhat overmuch take these masculine substitutions to hart, and propose a readicous eternity vnto our names. We alfo over-weigh such vaine future conjectures, which infant-spirites give vs. It might peradventure have beene deemed injustice, to displaice me from out my ranke, because I was the dullest, the slowest, the unwillingest, and most leadden-pated to learn my leson or any good, that ever was, not oney of all my brethren, but of all the children in my Countie; were the leson concerning any exercise of the minde or body. It is folio to trie anie extraordinary conclusions upon the truth of their divinations, where we are so often deceived. If this rule may be contradicte, and the delites corrected, in the chiose they have made of our heires, with so much more apparance, may it bee done in consideration of some remarkable and enormus corporall deformities; a constant and incorrigible vice; and according to vs, great effemers of beaute; a matter of important prejudice. The pleasent dialogue of Plutus the lawe-giver, with his citizens, will much honor this passage. Why then (say they) perceiving their ende to approach, shall wee not dispise of that, which is our owne, to whom and according as we please? Oh Gods what cruelty is this? That it shal not be lawfull for vs, to give or bequeath more or leffe according to our fantasies, to such as have
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served vs, and taken paines with vs in our fickenes, in our age, and in our busines? To whom the law-giver answereth in this manner; my friends (faith he) who doubtlessshall shortly die, it is a hard matter for you, both to knowe your selues, and what is yours, according to the Scripture inscription: As for me, who am the maker of your lawes, I am of opinion that neither your felues are your owne, nor that which you enjoy. And both you and your goods, part and to come, belong to your familie; and moreover both your familys and your goods, are the common: where this; Wherefore, leaft any flatterer, either in your age, or in time of fickenes, or any other passion, shoule vnadvisedly induce you to make any vnlawfull conveyance or vnjust will and testament, I will looke to you and keepe you from it. But having an especiall respect both to the vniverall interest of your Citie, and particular state of your houses, I will establish lawes, and by reason make you perceiue and confesse, that a particular commoditie ought to yeeld to a publicke benefit. Followe that course merely, whereunto humane necessitie doth call you. To me it belongeth, who have no more regarde to one thing, then to another, and who as much as I can, take care for the generall, to have a regardfull respect of that which you leave behind you. But to returne to my former discourse, I thinkes, we behold a man that woman borne, to whom the superiorteit of majestie over men is due, except the motherly and natural; vnles it be for the chastishment of such, as by some fond-fabricant humor have voluntarily submitted themselves vnto them: But that doth nothing concern euery woman, of whom we speake here. It is the appearance of this consideration, hath made vs to frame, and willingly to establish this lawe (never seen eit where) that barreth women from the succession of this crowne, & there are few principalities in the world, where it is not alledged, aswell as here, by a likely & apparant reason, which authoriseth the same. But fortune hath given more credit vnto it in some places, then in other some. It is dangerous to leave the dispensation of our succession vnto their judgement, according to the choye they shall make of their children, which is most commonly vnjust and fantastical. For, the same vnrule appetite, and dissatisfied relish, or strange longings, which they have when they are great with child, the same have they at all times in their minds. They are commonly seen to affect the weakest, the simplest and most abject, or fuch (if they have any) that had more neede to succie. For, wanting reasonable discourse to chuse, and embrace what they ought, they rather suffer themselves to be directed, where natures impressions are most sngle, as other creatures, which take no longer knowledge of their yong-ones, then they are succing. Moreover, experience doth manifestly shew vnto vs, that the same naturall affection, to which we ascribe so much authoritie, hath but a weake foundation. For a very finall chance, we daily take mothers owne children from them, and induce them to take charge of ours; Doe we not oft en procure them to bequeathe their children to some fond, filthie, flutish, and vnhealthy nurce, to whom we should be very loth to commit ours, or to some brutish Goate, not onely forbinding them to nurce and feede their owne children (what danger for ever may betide them) but also to have any care of them, to the end they may the more diligently follow, and carefully attend the service of ours? Whereby we soone see through coulume a certaine kindes of bastard-affection to be engendred in them, more vnhappiment then the natural, and to be much more tender and careful for the welfare and preservation of other children, then for their owne. And the reason why I have made mention of Goates, is, because it is an ordinarryie thing round about me where I dwell, to see the country women, when they have not milke enough to feede their infants with their owne breasts, to call for Goates to helpe them. And my selfe have now two lackesis waiting upon me, which except it were eight daies never sucke other milke then Goates; They are prentelye to come at call, and give yong infants succie, and become so well acquainted with their voice, that when they hear them cry, they runne forth with vnto them. And if by chance they have any other childe put to their teares, then their nurfeling, they refuse and reject him, and so doth the childe a strange Goate. My selfe saw that one not long since, from whom the father tooke a Goate, which he had sucked two or three daies, because he had but borrowed it of one of his neighbours, who could never be induced to sucke any other, whereby he shortly died; and as I verely thinke, of mere hunger. Beasts as well as we doe one alter, and easily bastardice their natural affection. I beleive, that in that, which Herodotus reporteth of a certaine province of Libia, there often followeth great error and mistaking. He faith, that men doe indifferently vs, and as it were in common frequent women;
And that the child as foone as he is able to goe, comming to any solemn meetings and great assemblies, led by a natural instinct feedeth out his owne father: where being turned loose in the midst of the multitude, looke what man the child doth first adtree: his steepes vnto, and then goe to him, the same is ever afterward reputed to be his right father. Now if we shall duly consider this simple occasion of loving our children, because we have begotten them for which we call them our other selves. It seems there is another production comming from vs, and which is of no leffe recommendation and confluence. For what we engender by the mind, the fruities of our courage, suuificience, or spirit, are brought forth by a faire more noble part, then the corporall, and are more, our owne. We are both father and mother together in this generation: Such fruities cost vs much dearer, and bring vs more honour, and chiefly if they have any good or rare thing in them. For, the value of our other children, is much more theirs, then ours. The faire we have in them is but little, but of thefe, all the beautie, all the grace, and all the worth is ours. And therefore doe they represent, and remembre vs much more lively then others. Plato addeth moreover, that there are immortal tisues, and immortalize their fathers, yea and deifie them, as Licurgus, Salom, and Minos. All histories being full of examples of this mutuall friendship of fathers toward their children, I have not thought it amiffie to let downe some choyfe-one of this kind. Heisodorus that good Bishop of Tricca, lauded rather to loose the dignity, profit and devotion of so venerable a Prelate, then to for-goe his daughter, a yong woman to this d.y commended for his beautie, but happily somewhat more curiously and wantonly pranked vp then before named the daughter of a churchman and a Bishop, and of over-amorous behavior. There was one: Labienus in Rome, a man of great worth and authority, and amongst other commendable qualities, most excellent in all manner of learning. who (as I thinke) was the sonne of that great Labienus, chief of all the captains that followed and were vnder Cæfar in the warres against the Gauls, and who afterward taking great Pompeyes part, behaved himselfe so valiantly and so constantly, that he never forsooke him vntill Cæfar defeated him in Spanne. This Labienus of whom I speake, had many that envied his vertues; But aboute all (as it is likely) courtiers, and such as in his time were admired of the Emperors, who hated his frankenes, his fatherly humors, and distille he bare full against tyrannie, wherein he may be supposed he had stuffed his bookes and compositions. His adversaries vehemently purfued him before the Magistrate of Rome, and prevailed to farre, that many of his worke which he had publishe were condemned to be burned. He was the first on whom this new example of punishment was put in practice, which after continued long in Rome, and was executed on divers others, to punish learning, studies, and writings with death and consuming fire. There were neither means enough, nor matter sufficient of cruelitie, vnlesse we had entremingled amongst them things, which nature hath exempted from all sense and sufience, as reputation, and the inventions of our minde: and except we communicated corporall miscalks unto discipline & monuments of the Muses. Which losse Labienus could not endure, nor brooke to survive those his deare, and highly-esteemed issues: And therefore cauied himselfe to be caried, and shut vp alive within his auencors monument, where, with a dreadfulre resolution, he at once provided, both to kill himselfe and be buried together. It is hard to fiew any more vehement fatherly affection, then that. Caius Severus, a most eloquent man, and his familiar friend, seeing his Booyes burnt, exclaimed, that by the same sentence he should thencewithall be condemned to be burned alive, for hee full bare, and kept in minde, what they contained in them. A like accident happened to Germanius Cordus, who was accusation to have commended Brutus and Caius in his Booye. That base, servile, and corrupted Senate, and wortie of a faire worse matter then Tibenus, adjudged his writings to be consumed by fire. And he was pleased to accompany them in their deathys, for he pined away by abstaining from all manner of meat. That notable man Lucane, being adjudged by that lewd vallet Nero to death; at the latter end of his life, when all his blood was well-nigh spent from out the veins of his body, which by his Phisitian he had caufed to be opened, to haften his death, and that a chilling cold began to seize the vttermost parts of his limbs, and approch his vitale spirits, the last thing he had in memory, was some of his owne verses, written in his booye of the Pharalathar warres, which with a distinft voice hee repeated, and so yeelded vp the ghost, having those last words in his mouth. What was that, but a kinde, tender, and fatherly farewell which he tooke of his children? representing the
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last adewes, and parting embracements, which at our death we give vnto our dearest issues? And an effect of that naturel inclination, which in that last extremity puts in minde of those things, which in our life-time we have held dearest and most precious? Shall we imagine that Epicurus, who (as himselfe said) dyaing tormentted with the extreme paine of the chollike, had all his comfort in the beautie of the doctrine, which hee left behinde him in the world, would have received as much contentment of a number of well-borne, and betterbred children (if he had had any) as he did of the production of his rich compositions? And if it had beene in his choise, to leave behinde him, either a counterfeite, deformd, or ill-borne child, or a foolish, trivial, and idle booke, not onely he, but all men in the world besides of like learning and sufficiencie, would much rather have chosen, to incurre the former than the latter mischief. It might peradventure be deemed impietie, in Saint Augustine (for exampl-fake) if on the one parte one should propose vnto him, to burne all his bookees, whereso our religion receiveth so much good, or to interre his children (if in case he had any) that he would not rather chuse to bury his children, or the issue of his loynes, then the fruitts of his minde. And I wot not well, whether my selfe should not much rather desire to beget and produce a perfectly-well-shaped, and excellently-qualified infant, by the acquaintance of the Muses, then by the copulation of my wife. Whatsoever I give to this, let the world allow of it as pleafe, I give it as pure and irrevocable, as any man can give to his corporall children. That little good which I have done him, is no longer in my disposition. He may know many things, that my selfe know no longer, and hold of me what I could not hold my selfe: and which (if needes should require) I must borrow of him as of a stranger. If I be wifher then he, he is richer then I. There are few men given vnto Poets, that would not esteeme it for a greater honor, to be the fathers of Virgils Aeneid, then of the goodliest boy in Rome, and that not rather endure the losse of the one then the perishing of the other. For, according to Aristotle, Of all workemen, the Poet is principally the most amorous of his productions and conceived of his Labours. It is not easie to be beleived, that Epanomidas, who wanted to leave some daughters behinde him, which vnto all posteritie, should one day highly honour their father (they were the two famous victories, which he had gained of the Macedonians) would ever have given his free consent, to change them, with the best-born, most gorgeous, and goodliest damsells of all Greece: or that Alexander, and Caesar, did ever with to be deprived of the greatnesse of their glorious deeds of warre, for the commoditie to have children and heires of their owne bodies, how absolutely-perfect, and well accompliished ever they might be. Nay, I make a great question, whether Phidias or any other excellent Statuary, would as highly esteem, and dearely love the preservation, and succefeful continuance of his naturall children, as he would an exquisite and matchless-wrought image, that with long stude, and diligent care he had perfected according unto arte. And as concerning those vicious and furious passions, which sometimes have enflamed some fathers to the love of their daughters, or mothers towards their fonnnes the very fame, and more partially-earnest is also found in this other kinde of childe-bearing and alliance. Wittefse that which is reported of Pignation, who having curiously framed a goodly stature, of a most singularly-beauteous woman, was so strange-fondly, and passionatly surprisid with the lustfull love of his owne workmanship, that the Gods through his raging importunitie were faine in favour of him to give it life.

Tentaturn mellest eber, postos rigore
Subsidu digitis.
As he adiisit, thy vorie softened much,
And (hardnes left) did yeeld to fingers touch.

The ninth Chapter.

Of the Parthians Armes.

IT is a vicious-fond fashion of the nobilitie and gentrie of our age, and full of nice-tenderneffe,never to betake themselves to armes, except upon some vrgent and extreme necessitie.
fithe; and to quit them as soothe as the perceive the leaft hope or apperance, that the danger is past: Whence eftine many did forfe, and inconveniences: For, every one running and calling for his arms when the alarum is given, some have not yet buckled their currace, when their fellowes are already defeated. Indeed our forfathers would have their Caske, Lance, Gauntlets, and Shields carried, but fo long as the service lasted, themselves would never leave off their other pieces. Our troops are now all confounded and disordered, by reason of bag and baggage, of carriages, of lackies, and foote-boyes, which because of their maiflers arms they carry, can never leave them. 

Tutus Livius, speaking of the French, Intolera-

rantiffima laboris corpora vix arma humeris gernabat. Their bodies most impacient of labour could hardly bear armour on their backes. Diverse nations, as they did in former times, so yet at this day, are seene to goe to the warres, without any thing about them, or if they had, it was of no defence; but were all naked and bare.

Tegmina quibus captim raptus de subere cortex.

Whose caske to cover all their head,

Was made of barme from Corke-tree flead.'

Alexander the more daring and hazardous Captaine that ever was, did very seldome arme himselfe: And those which amongst vs negleget them, do not thereby much emparie their reputation. If any man chance to be blame for want of an armour, there are as many more that miscarie with the over-heavy burden of their arms, and by them are engaged, and by a counterbufF are bruised, or otherwise defeated. For in truth, to see the vnweydie weight of our and their thicknesse, it seemeth we but endeavoure to defend our selves, and we are rather charged then covered by them. We have enough to do, to endure the burden of them, and are so engived and shacketed in them, as if we were to fight but with the shock or brute of our arms: And as if we were as much bound to defend them, as they to shield vs. Cor-

debis Tactus doth plesantely quip and jeft at the men of warre of our ancient Gaules, so armed, only to maintaine themselves, as they that have no meane, either to offend or to bee offended, or to raise themselves being overthrowne. Lucullus seeing certaine Median men, at armes, which were in the front of Thygres armie, heavily and vnweildy armed, as in an yron-prison, apprehended thereby an opinion, that he might easily defeate them, and beganne to charge them first, and got the victorie. And now that our muskettiers, are in such credite, I thinke we shall have some invention found to Immure vs vp, that so wee may be warranted from them, and to traine vs to the warres in skones and baffions, as those which our fathers caufed to be caufed by Elephants. A humour farre different from that of Scipio the younger, who sharply reproved his fooldiers, because they had scattred certaine Calthrops under the water aloflft a dike, by which thofe of the Towne that he besieged might fallie out upon him, saying: That those which afforded, should resolve to enterprize and not to feare: And had some reason to feare, that his provision might fecure and lull their vigilance, all of them guard themselves. Moreover he said to a young man, that shoved him a faire shield he had; Indeede good youth, it is a faire one, but a Roman souleier ought to have more confidence in his right hand, than in his left. It is onely custome that makes the burthen of our armes intolerable vnto vs.

L’usbergo in dofo haveano, & l’elmo in selia,

Due di quelli guerrieri de i quali io canto,

Ne nosto o di afo ch’entraro in questa

Stanza, gl’i haue in mai messi da canto;

Che facile da portaro come la selia

Era lor, perché in vofol have an tanto.

Cuiraffo on backe did thofe two warriors beare,

And caske on head, of whomes I make report,

Nor day, nor night, after they entred there,

Had they them laide aside from their support:

They could with ease them as a garment weare,

For long time had they vfitte them in fuch fort.

The Emperor Caracalla in leading of his army was ever wont to march afoot armed at all aifayes. The Roman footmen carried not their morions, sword, & target only; as for other arms (faith Cicero) they were so accustomed to weare them continually, that they hindered them
them no more then their limbes: *Arma enim, membra militis esse dicit:* for they say armor and weapons are a soldiers limbs. But therewithal such victuals as they should need for a fortnight and a certaine number of flakes, to make their rampards or palisadoes with; so much as weighed three score pound weight. And *Marinus* his soldiers thus laden, marching in battell array, were taught to march five leagues in five hours, yea ifxie if need required. Their military discipline was much more laborome then ours: So did it produce far different effects. *Secipit* the yonger, reforming his army in Spaine, appointed his soldiers to eate no meate but standing, and nothing foden or rost. It is worth the remembrance how a Lacedemonian soldier being in an expedition of warre, was much noted and blamed, because hee was once scene to fecke for helter vnder a house: They were so hardened to endure all manner of labor & toyle, that it was counted a reprochful infamie for a foildier to be seen vnder any other roofe then that of heavens vault, in what weathere foreuer: Were we to do so, we should never leade our men far. *Marcellinus* a man well trained in the Roman warres, doth curiously observe the matter, which the Parthians vsed to arm themselves, and noted it so much the more, by how much it was faire different from the Romans. They had (faith hee) certaine armes so curiously enter-wrought, as they seemed to be made like feathers, which nothing hindered the tittling of their bodies, and yet so strong, that our darts hitting them, did rather rebound, or glance by, then hurt them (they be the skales our ancestors were so much wont to vfe.) In another place, they had (faith hee) their horses stiffe and strong, covered with thicke hides, and themselves armed from head to foote, with maffe yron plates so artificially contrived, that where the joynts are, there they furthered the motion, and helped the tittling. A man would have said, they had beene men made of yron: For they had pieces so handomely fitted, and so lively representing the forme and partes of the face, that there was no way to wound them, but at certaine little holes before their eyes, which served to give them some light, and by certaine chinkes about their nothbils, by which they hardly drew breath.

*Flexilis indutus lamina membris,*

*Horribilia visu, credas simulacra moveri*

*Ferrea, cognatae, viros fervar metalla.*

*Par Felliuis equus, ferrata fronte minantium,*

*Ferriae, movent secures uniformis armos.*

The bending plate is hook't on limbes ore-spread,

Fearfull to fight, fleele images seem'd ledde,

And men to breathe in mettall with them breede.

Like furniture for horse, with steeled head,

They threat, and safe from wound,

With hard'd limbs tread the ground.

Loe-heere a description, much resembling the equipage of a compleate French man-at-armes, with all his barded. *Piatark* reporteth that *Demetrius* caufed two armours to be made, each one weighing fixe score pounds, the one for himselfe, the other for *Alcimus*, thechiefe man of warre, that was next to him, whereas all common armours weighed but three score.

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**The tenth Chapter.**

Of Books.

Make no doubt but it shall often befal me to speake of things, which are better, and with more truth handled by such as are their crafts-maisters. Here is simply an Essay of my natural faculties, and no whit of those I have acquired. And hee that shall taxe mee with ignorance, shall have no great victory at my handes; for hardly could I give others reason for my discourses, that give none vnto my selfe, and am not well satisfied with them. He that shall make search after knowledge, let him seek it where it is there is nothing I professe lesse.
These are but my fantasies, by which I endeavour not to make things known, but my selfe. They may haply one day be knowne vnto me, or have bin at other times, according as fortune hath brought me where they were declared or manifester. But I remember them no more. And if I be a man of some reading, yet I am a man of no remembering. I conceive no certainty, except it bee to give notice, how faire the knowledge I have of it, doth now reach. Let no man busie himselfe about the matters, but on the fashion I give them. Let that which I borrow be surfaide, and then tell me whether I have made good choice of ornaments, to beautifie and set forth the invention, which ever comes from mee.

For, I make others to relate (not after mine owne fantasie, but as it beft falteeth out) what I can not so well express, either through vnskill of language, or want of judgement. I number not my borrowings, but I weigh them. And if I would have made their number to prevaile, I would have had twice as many. They are all, or almost all of so famous and ancient names, that me thinkes they sufficiently name themselves without me. If in reason, companions and arguments, I transplante any into my foyle, or confound them with mine owne, I purposely conceale the Author, thereby to bridle the rashnesse of thefe haifie censures, that are so headlong cast upon all manner of compositions, namely young writings, of men yet living; and in vulgare, that admitte all the worlde to tale of them, and which feemeth to convince the conception and publique designs alike. I will have them to give Plutarch a bobbe vpon mine owne lippes, and vex themselves in worongning Seneca in mee. My weakenesse mufte be hidden vnder such great credits. I will love him that shall trace, or vn-feather me; I meane through clearenesse of judgement, and by the onely distinction of the force and beautifie of my Discourses. For my selfe, whoso for want of memorie, am ever to seleke, how to trie and refine them, by the knowledge of their country, knowe perfectly, by measuring mine owne strength, that my foyle is no way capable, of lone over-presetious flowers, that therein I find yet, and that all the frutes of my encreafe could not make it amends. This am I bound to anwer-for, if I hinder my selfe, if there be either vanitie, or fault in my Discourses, that I perceive not, or am not able to difcover, if they be flawed me. For, many faults doe often escape our eyes; but the infiniteme of judgement confifteth in not being able to perceiue them, when another discovereth them vnto vs. Knowledge and truth may be in vs without judgement, and we may have judgement without them. Yea, the acknowledgement of ignorance, is one of the best and surest testimonies of judgement that I can finde. I have no other Sergeant of band to marshall my rapifodes, than fortune. And looke how my humours or conceites preuent them-selves, so I shufle them vp. Sometimes they preste out thicke and three-fold, and other times they come out languishing one by one. I will have my natural and ordinarie pace feene as loose, and as shuffling as it is. As I am, so I goe on plodding. And besides, there are matters, that a man may not be ignorant of, and rashly and caualiter speake of them. I would wish to have a more perfect understanding of things, but I will not purchase it for deare, as it cost. My intention is to passe the remainder of my life quietly, and not labouoriously, in rest, and not in care. There is nothing I will trouble or vexe my selfe about, no not for Science it selfe, what efteemes everie it be of. I doe not search and toffe over Bookes, but for an honest recreation to please, and pastime to delight my selfe: or if I study, I only endevor to find out the knowledge that teacheth or handleth the knowledge of my selfe, and which may instruct me how to die well, and how to live well.

Has mens ad metas sidet oportet equeus,
My horse mult sweating runne,
That this goale may be wonne.

If in reading I fortune to meete with any difficult points, I fret not my selfe about them, but after I have given them a charge or two, I leave them as I found them. Should I earnestly plod vp them I should looke both time and my selfe for I have a skipping wit. What I see not at the first view, I shall see it, if I opinionate my selfe vpon it. I do nothing without blithnes; & an over-oblitrate continuation, & plodding contention, both daze, dull, and ware the fame: My fight is thereby confounded, and diminished. I must therefore withdraw it, and at fittes goe to it again. Even as to judge well of the luffre of scarlet, we are taught to caft our eyes over it, in running it over by divers glances, fodeine glimpses, and reiterated reprifings. If one booke seeme tedious vnto me, I take another, which I follow not with
The second Book.

The second Book.

with any carnalnes, except it be at such houes as I am idle, or that I am weary with doing nothing. I am not greatly afficted to new booke, because ancient Authors are in my judgment more full and pithie: nor am I much adict to Greeke booke, forasmuch as my understanding cannot well rie his worke with a childish and appetitive intelligence. Amongst moderne booke, I feeme Bocace his Decameron, Rabelais, and the histories of John the second (if they may be placed vnder this title) worth the paines taking to rede them. As for Amandus and such like trash of writings, they had never the credit so much as to allure my youth to delight in them. This I will say more, either boldly or rashly, that this old and sheive-paed minde of mine, will no more be pleased with Ariosto, or tickled with good Ovid: his facile, and quaint inventions, which heretofore have so ravished me, they can now adaite fearely entertaine me. I speake my minde freely of all things, yea of such as peradventure exceede my sufficiency, and that no way I hold to be of my juri-duction. What my conceit is of them, is also to manifest the proportion of my infligbt, and not the measure of things. If at any time I find my felle disaftred of Plataes Aenichus, as of a forcelesse worke, due regarde had to such an Author, my judgement doth nothing believe it felle: It is not fo fond-hardy, or felle-conceived, as it daft dare to oppose it felle against the authority of so many other famous ancient judgements, which he repueth his regents and maisters, and with whom hee had rather erre. He chafeth with, and condemneth himfelfe, either to rely on the superficial fense, being vnable to pierce into the centre, or to view the thing by some false lintre. He is pleased only to warrant himfelfe from trouble and vnntines: As for weaknesses he acknowledgeth and ingeniously attoweth the fame. He thinkes to give a just interpolation to the apperances which his conception pretents vnto him, but they are shallow and imperfect. Most of Aenices fables have divers fenses, and severall interpretations. Thoſe which Mythologie them, chafe some kind of colour well-fitting with the fable: but for the most part, it is no other then the firft and superficial gloss: There are others more quicke, more finmous, more essentiall and more internal, into which they could not penetrate; and thus I thinke with them. But to follow my course: I have ever deemed that in Poetic, Virgil, Lucretius, Catullus and Horace, doe doubleth by farre hold the firft ranke: and especially Virgil in his Georgies, which I feeme to be the most accomplifhed piece of worke of Poetic: In companion of which one may easily discern, that there are some paffages in the Aenides, to which the Author (had he lived) would no doubt have given some review or correction: Thoſe foever if (in my mind) the moft absolutely perfect. I also love Lucane, and willingly reade him, not so much for his stile, as for his owne worth, and truth of his opinion and judgement. As for good Terence, I allow the quaintnes and grace of his Latine tongue, and judge him wonderfull conceited and apt, lively to reresift the motions and passions of the minde, and the condition of our manners: our actions make me often remember him. I can never reade him so often, but still I discover some new grace and beautie in him. Thoſe that lived about Virgils time, complained that some would compare Lucretius vnto him. I am of opinion, that verely it is an unequall companion; yet can I hardly affure my felle in this opinion, whensoever I finde my felle entangled in some notable paffage of Lucretius. If they were moved at this companion, what would they say now of the fond-hardie and barbarous (upriditie of those which now adait compare Ariosto vnto him? Nay what would Ariosto say of it himselfe?

O faculum infipiens & infaciatum!
O age that hath no wit,
And small conceit in it.

I thinke our ancestors had also more reason to cry out against those that bluffed not to equal Plautus vnto Terence (who makes more shew to be a gentleman) then Lucretius vnto Virgil. This one thing doth greatly advantage the effimation and preferring of Terence, that the father of the Romane eloquence, of men of his qualitie doth so often make mention of him; and the cenfure, which the chiefe judge of the Romane Poets giveth of his companion. It hath often come vnto my minde, how such as in our daies give themselves to compoſing of comedies (as the Italians who are very happie in them) employ three or foure arguments of Terence and Plautus to make vp one of their. In one onely comedie they will huddle vp five or sixe of Bocaces tales. That which makes them so to charge themselves with matter, is the disfrut they have of their owne sufficiency, and that they are not able to undergoe
The second Booke.

d’ersey booke hereafter with their owne strength. They are forced to finde a body on which they may rely and leane themselves: and wanting matter of their owne wherewith to pleaseth them, they will have the flower or tale to busie and amuse vs: where as in my Author it is cleane contrarie: The elegancies, the perfectiones and ornamentes of his manner of speech, makes vs neglect and looche the longing for his subject. His quainnes and grace doe still retaine vs to him. He is ever where pleasantly conceited.

and doth so replenish our minde with his graces, that we forget those of the fable. The same consideration draws me somewhat further. I perceive that good and ancient Poets have shunned the affectionation and enqueft, not onely of fantastical, new-fangled, Spagniolized, and Petrarchifical elevations, but alfo of more sweete and sparing inventions, which are the ornament of all the poeticall workees of succeeding ages. Yet is there no competent judge, that findeth them wanting in those ancient ones, and that doth not much more admire that smooth-fly equall nestenes, continued sweetnes, and florishing comelines of Catullus his Epigrams, then all the sharpe quippes, and witty girts, wherewith Martial doth whet and embellift the conclusions of his. It is the same reason I spake of erewhile, as Martial of himselfe. Minus igitur laborandum-fruit, in cuinis locum materia succedere at. Hee needed the leffe woorkes with his witte, in place whereof matter came in supplie; The former without beinge moved or pricked cause themselves to bee heard lowd enough: they have matter to laugh at every where, and neede not tickle themselves, where as these must have foraine helpe; according as they have leffe spirit, they must have more body. They leape on horsebacke, because they are not sufficiently strong in their legs to march on foot. Even as in our dances, those base conditioned men that keepe dancing-schooles, because they are vnfit to repreftent the porte and decencie of our nobleline, endeavour to get commendation by dangerous loftie trickes, and other strange tumbler-like frisks and motions. And some Ladies make a better shew of their countenances in those dances, wherein are divers changes, cuttings, turnings, and agitations of the body, then in some dances of state and gravitie, where they need but simply to tread a naturall measure, represent an unaffected carriage, and their ordinarie grace; And as I have also scene some excellent Lourdans, or Clownnes attired in their ordinarie workie-day clothes, and with a common homely countenance, afforded vs all the pleasure that may be had from their art: Prontifes and learners that are not of so high a forme, to bemear their faces, to disguise themselves, and in motions to counterfeit strange visages and antickes, to endure vs to laughter. This my conception is no where better difcerned, than in the comparison betweene Virgili Amadis, and Orlando Furioso. The first is feast to foare aloft with full-spread wings, and with so high and strong a pitch, ever following his point; the other faintly to hover and flutter from tale to tale, and as it were skipping from bough to bough, alwaies distruffing his owne wings, except it before some short flight, and for feare his strength and breath should faile him, to fit downe at every fields-end.

The Loe here then, concerning this kinde of subiects, what Authors please me best: As far as my other lefson, which somewhat more mixeth profit with pleasure, whereby I learne to range my opinions, and addresse my conditions; the Bookes that serve mee thereunto, are Plutarkes (since he spake French,) and Senecae; Both have this excellent commoditie for my humour, that the knowledge I seek in them, is there so flatteringly and loofely handled, that whooeuer readeth them is not tied to plod long vpon them, whereof I am vn-capable. And so are Plutarkes little workees, and Senecae Epifles, which are the best and most profitable partes of their workees. It is no great matter to drawe mee to them, and I leave them where I find. For, they suceede not, and depend not one of another. Both jumpe and fute together, in most true and profitable opinions: And fortune brought them both into the world in one age. Both were tutors vnto two Roman Emperours: Both were Strangers, and came from farre countreys; both rich and mightie in the common-wealth, and in credite with their maisters. Their instruction is the prime and creame
The second Booke.

creame of Philosophe, and presented with a plaine, unaffected, and pertinent fashion. Plutarchke is more vnforme and constant; Seneca more wavine and dierfe. This doth labour, force, and extend himselfe, to armie and strengthen vertue against weaknesses, feare, and various defires; the other seemeth nothing so much to seare their force or attempt, and in a manner formeth to haften or change his pace about them, and to put himselfe upon his guard. Plutarchke opinions are Platonieall, gentle and accommodable vnto civill societie: Senecas Stoicall and Epicuriane, further from common vie, but in my conceit, more proper particular, and more solide. It appeareth in Seneca, that he somewhat inclineth and yeeldeth to the tirannie of the Emperors which were in his dayes for, I verely beleev, it is with a forced judgement, he condemneth the caufe of those nobly-minded murthers of Caifer Plutarchke is every where free & open-hearted, Seneca, full fraught with points and fallies, Plutarchke flufhe with matters. The former doth move and enflaue you more; the latter, content, pleaseth.

pay you better: This doth guide you, the other drive you on. As for Cicero, of all his works, those that treat of Philosophie (namely morall) are they which befit serve my turne, and squat with my intent. But boldly to confess the truth, (For, since the barres of impudence were broken downe, all curbing is taken away) his manner of writing seemeth very tedious vnto me, as doth all such like stuffe. For, his prefaces, definitions, divinitions, and etymologies, consume the greatest part of his Works; whatsoever quicke, witie and pathie conceit is in him is surcharged, and confounded by those his long and farre-fetcht preambles. If I bellow but one houre in reading him, which is much for me; and let me call to minde what substance, or juice I have drawne from him, for the most parte, I finde nothing but winde and ollentation in him: for he is not yet come to the arguments, which make for his purpose, and reasons that properly concerneth the knot or pith I seek after. These Logicall and Arbitrulatorian ordinances are not availefull for me, who onely endeavour to become more wised and sufficient, and not more witte or eloquent. I would have one beginne with the left point: I understand sufficiently what death and vopinouesies are: let not a man baffe himselfe to anatomize them. At the firste reading of a Booke, I seek for good and solide reasons, that may instruct me how to sustaine their affairs. It is neither grammaticall subtilities, nor logickall quiddities, nor the witte contexture of choie worde, or arguments, and syllologisms, that will serve my turne. I like those discourse that give the firste charge to the strongest partes of the doubt; his are but flourishes, and languish every where. They are good for Schooles, as the barre, or for Orators and Preachers, where wee may stumbe; and though wee wake a quarter of an houre after, we may finde and trace him soone enough. Such a manner of speech is fitte for those Judges, that a man woulde corrupt by hooke or crooke, by right or wrong, or for children and the common people, vnto whom a man must tell all, and fee what the event will be. I would not have a man goe about, and labour by circumlocutions, to induce and winne me to attention, and that (as our Herolds or Cifers do) they shall ring out their words. Now heare mee, now listen, or ho. Yes. The Romans in their religion were wont to say, Hoc ages, which in ours we say, Sursum corda. They are so many loft worde for me. I come ready prepared from my house. I neede no allurement nor fawe; my stomake is good enough to digest rawe meate: And whereas with these preparatives and flourishes, or preambles, they thinkke to sharpen my taste, or frite my stomake, they cloe and make it wallowe. Shall the priviledge of times excuse me from this sacrilegious boldnes, to deeme Platoes Dialogismes to be as languishing, by over-filling and fluffing his matter? And to bewaile the time that a man, who had so many thousands of things to utter, spends about so many, so long, so vain, and idle interloquitions, and preparatives? My ignorance shall better excuse me, in that I see nothing in the beaute of his language. I generally enquire after Bookes, that vse sciences, and not utter such as influffe them. Ther two first, and Plutarchke, with others of their rancke, have no Hoc ages in them, they will have to do with men, that have forewarned themselves; or if they have, it is a materiall and substantiall Hoc ages, and that hathe his bodie apart. I likewise love to reade the Epitiles and Atticene, not onely because they containe a moft ample instructin of the Historie, and affaires of his times, but much more because in them I defrey his private humours. For (as I have saide else-where) I am wonderfull curious, to discover and knowe, the minde, the soule, the genuine disposition, and naturall judgement of my Authors. A man ought to judge their sufficiency, and not their customes, nor them by the shew of their writings. Which they sette forth
forth on this worlds Theatre. I have sorrowed a thousand times, that ever we loft the booke, that Brutus writ of Virtue. Oh it is a goodly thing to learn the Theorike of such as understand the pradlife well: But forsoomuch as the Sermon is one thing, and the Preacher an other: I love as much to see Brutus in Plutarche, as in himselfe. I would rather make choice to know certainly, what talk be had in his tent with some of his familiar frends, the night fore-going the battell, then then the speach he made the morowe after to his army: & what he did in his chamber or clofet, than what in the Senate or market place. As for Cicero, I am of the common judgement, that besides learning, there was no exquisites excellence in him: He was a good Citizen, of an honest-gentle nature, as are commonly fat and burly men; for so was he: But to speake truely of him, full of ambitious vanitie, and remiss niceness. And I knowe not well howe to excuse him, in that he deemed his Poefie worthy to be published. It is no great imperfection, to make bad verses, but it is an imperfection in him, that he never perceived how unworthy they were of the glorie of his name. Concerning his eloquence, it is beyond all comparison, and I verely beleive, that none shall ever equal it. Cicero the younger, who refembled his father in nothing, but in name, commanding in Afia, chancied one day to have many Strangers at his boore, and among them others, one Catilinus sitting at the lower end, as the manner is to thurft in at great mens tables: Cicero enquired of one of his men what he was, who tolde him his name, but he dreaming on other matters, and having forgotten what answer his man made him, asked him his name twice or thrice more: the servant, because hee would not be troubled to tell him one thing so often, and by some circumstance make him to know him better. It is, saide he, the fame Catilinus, of whom some have tolde you, that in respect of his owne, makest no accompt of your fathers eloquence: Cicero being sodainely moved, commanded the faide poor Catilinus, to be prentely taken from the table, and well whipt in his presence: Lo-heere an vnchristian and barbarous holt. Even amongst thofe, which (all things considered) have decomed his eloquence matchlesse and incomparable, others there have beene, who have not spared to note some faules in it: As great Brutus said, that it was an eloquence, broken, halting, and disjoyned, &c. &c. Icoherence and incoherence. Thofe Orators that lived aboue his age, reprooved also in him the curious care he had of a certaine long cadence, at the end of his claues, and noted thefe words, &c. &c. &c. which he often vfeh. As for me, I rather like a cadence that falleth short, cut like Iambikes; yet doth he sometimes confound his numbers; but it is feldome: I have efpecially observed this one place. Ego vero me munus dum fenem, efe mallem, quin efe fenem., antequam efeum. But I had rather, nay be an old man so long as I might be, than to be old before I should be. Historians are my right hand; for they are pleafant and eafie: and therewithall, the man with whom I desire generally to be acquainted, may more lively and perfectly be discovered in them, than in any other composition: the variety and truth of his inward conditions, in gross and by retale: the diversitie of the meanes of his collection and composing, and of the accidents that threaten him. Now thofe that write of mens lives, forfoomuch as they amuse and bufie themselves more about counsell than events, more about that which commeth from within, than that which appeareth outward; they are fittf for mee: And that is the reafon why Plutarche above all in that kinde, doth best please mee. Indeede I am not a little grieved that we have not a dozen of Laetz, or that hee is not more knowne, or better vnderftood: for, I am no leffe curious to know the fortunes and lives of these great masters of the world, than to vnderstand the diversitie of their decrees and conceits. In this kinde of studie of Historie, a man must, without diffinction, toffe and turne over all sorts of Authors, both olde and new, both French and others, if hee will learn the things they do diversely treate-of. But me thinkes that Caesar above all doth singularly defe. to be fudied, not only for the vnderstanding of the Historie, as of himfelfe; so much perfection and excellencce is there in him more than in others, although Sallie be reckoned one of the number. Verily I reade that Author with a little more reverence and refpect, than commonly men reade profane and humane Workes: sometimes considering him by his actions, and wonders of his greatnesse, and other times weighing the puritie and inimitable polihing and elegance of his tongue, which (as Cicero faith) hath not only exceeded all Historians, but happily Cicero himselfe, with such sincerite in his judgement. Speaking of his enemies, that except the falfe Cicours, wherewith he goeth about to cloathe his bad caufe, and the corruption and filthinesse of his pestilent ambition. I am perswaded there is nothing in him to be
be found fault-with: and that he hath bin over-sparing to speake of himselfe: for, so many notable and great things could never be executed by him, vnlesse hee had putte more of his owne vnto them, than he fetteth downe. I love those Historians that are either very simple, or moost excellent. The simple who have nothing of their owne to adde vnto the storie, and have but the care and diligence to collect whatsoever comes vnto their knowledge, and sincerely and faithfully to register all things, without choice or culling, by the naked truth leave our judgement more entire, and better satisfied.

Such among others (for example false) plaie and well-meaning Froifard, who in his enterprize, hath searched with so free and genewa a punctue, that having committed some overtight, he is neither ashamed to acknowledge, nor afraid to correct the same, whereover he hath either notice or warning of it: and who representeth vnto vs the diversitie of the newes then currant, and the different reports, that were made vnto him. The subject of an History should bee naked, bare, and formeslesse; each man according to his capacitie or understanding may reape commoditie out of it. The curious and most excellent have the sufficiencies to cull and chuse that, which is worthie to bee knowne, and may sele of two relations, that which is most likely: of the condition of Princes, and of their humors, therby they conclude their counsels, and attribute convenient words vnto them: they have reason to assume authentic vnto them, to direct and sharpen our beleefe vnto theirs. But true to that belongs not to manie. Such as are betweene both (which is the most common fashion) is they that fpoile all they will needs chew our meate for vs, and take vpn them a law to judge, and by consequence to square and enuine the story according to their fantasies for, where the judgment bendeth one way, a man cannot chuse but wret and turne his narration that way. They undertake to chufe things worthy to be knowne, and now & then conceive either a word, or a secret action from vs, which would much better instruct vs; omitting such things as they understand not, as incredible and happily such matters, as they know not how to declare, either in good Latin, or tolerable French. Let them boldly enlaine their eloquence, and discourse: Let them censure on their pleasure, but let them also give vs leave to judge after them: And let them neither alter nor dispose by their abridgements and choise, any thing belonging to the substance of the matter; but let them rather fend it pure and entire with all his denotations vnto vs. Most commonly (as chiefly in our age) this charge of writing histories is committed vnto base, ignorant, and mecanicall kinde of people, only for this consideration, that they can speake well, as if we sought to learn the Grammer of them, and they have some reason, being only hyred to that end, & publishing nothing but their tattle-tale to aime at nothing else so much. Thus with store of choise and quaint words, and wreath drawn frazses, they huddle vp, and make a hodge-pot of a laboured contexture of the reports, which they gather in the market-places or such other assemblies: The only good histories are those that are written by such as commanded or were empoyed themselves in weighthy affairs, or that were partners in the conduite of them, or that are left have had the fortune to manage others of like qualitie. Such in a maner are all the Graecians and Romans. For, many eie-witneses having written of one same subiect (as it hapned in those times, when Graecishe and Knowledge did commonly meet) if any fault or over-light have paffed them, it must be deemed exceeding light, and vp-on some doubtfull accident. What may a man expect at a Phisitian hand, that discouereth of war, or of a bare Scholler, treating of Princes secret designs? If we shall but note the religion, which the Romans had in that, we neede no other example: Asmus Polio found some mistaking or overtight in Cæsar's Commentaries, wherinto he was false, only because he could not possibly oversee all things with his owne eyes, that happened in his army, but was false to reile on the reports of particular men, who often related vtruths vnto himfor else because he had not bene curiously advertised, and distinuetly enformed by his Lieutenants and Captaines, of such matters as they in his absence had managed or effected. Whereby may be scene, that nothing is so hard, or so certaine to be found out, as the certainty of a truth; for thence no man can put any affur confidence concerning the truth of a battell, neither in the knowledge of him, that was General or commanded over it, nor in the folders that fought of any thing, that hath happeen amongst them; except after the maner of a strict point of law, the severall witnessees are brought and examined face to face, and that all matters bee nicely and thorowly sifted by the objects and trials of the succeffe of every accidet. Verily the knowledge wee have of our owne affaires is much more barren and feeble. But this hath sufficiently beene

X handled
The second Booke.

handled by Godine, and agreeing with my conception. Somewhat to ayde the weakenesse of my memory, and to aflift his great defects; for it hath often beene my chance to light upon bookes, which I supposed to be new, and never to have read, which I had notwithstanding diligently read and runne over many yeares before, and all befcribed with my notes: I have a while since accustomed my selfe, to note at the end of my booke (I mean such as I purpos to read but once) the time I made an end to read it, and to set downe what censure or judgement I gave of it; that so, it may at least, at another time represent unto my mind, the aire and general Idea, I had conceived of the Author in reading him. I will here set downe the Coppys of some of mine annotations, and especially what I noted upon my Guiccardine about tenne yeares since: (For what language so ever my bookes speake vnto me, I speake vnto them in mine owne.) He is a diligent Historianographer, and from whom in my concept, a man may as exactly learne the truth of such affaires as passed in his time, as of any other writer whatsoever: and the rather because himselfe hath bin an Actor of most parte of them, and in very honourable place. There is no signe or apparition, that ever he disguised or coloured any matter, either through hatred, malice, favour or vanity; whereof the free and impartiall judgements he giveth of great men, and namely of those by whom he had bin advanced or employed in his important charges, as of Pope Clement the seaventh, bearth undoubted testimony. Concerning the partes wherewith he moft goeth about to prevale, which are his digressions and discourses, manie of them are very excellent, and enrichted with faire ornaments, but he hath too much pleased himselfe in them: for, endeavoring to omit nothing that might be spoken, having so full and large a subiect, and almost infinit, he proveth somewhat languishing, and giveth a taste of a kinde of scholasticall tedious babbling. Moreover, I have noted this, that of so severall and divers armes, successes and effects he judgeth of; of so many and variable motives, alterations, and counsells, that he relateth, he never referreth any one vnto vertue, religion or conscience: as if they were all extinguished and banished the world: and of all actions, how glorious so ever in appearance they be of themselves, he doeth ever impute the cause of them, to some vicious and blame-worthy occasion, or to some commoditie and profit: It is impossible to imagine, that amongst so infinite a number of actions whereof he judgeth, some one have not bene produced and compassed by way of reason. No corruption could ever possesse men so universally, but that some one mutt of necessity escape the contagion; which makes me to feare, he hath had some disfaft or blame in his passion, and it hath haply fortuned, that he hath judged or effed of others according to himselfe. In my Philip de Comines, there is this: In him you shall finde a phlegning-fewe, and gently-gliding speech, fraught with a purely-sincere simplicitie, his narration pure and vnaffected, and wherein the Authors vnpotted good meaning doth evidently appeare, void of all manner of vanity or ostentation speaking of himselfe, and free from all affectation or envy speaking of others: his discourses and perwasions, accompanied more with a well-meaning zeal, and meere verty, then with any laboured and exquisit sufficiency, and all-through, with gravitie and authority, representing a man well-borne, and brought vp in high negotiations. Upon the memories and historie of Monsieur du Bellay: It is ever a well-pleasing thing, to fee matters written by thefe, that have affaide how, and in what maner they ought to be directed and managed: yet can it not be denied, but that in both these Lords, there will manifestly appeare a great declination from a free liberty of writing, which clearly shineth in ancient writers of their kinde: as in the Lord of Fouville, familiar vnto Saint Lewis, Eginard, Chancellor vnto Charlesmaine, and of more fresh memory in Philip de Comines. This is rather a declamation or pleading for King Francis against the Emperor Charles the fifth, then an History. I will not believe, they have altered or changed any thing concerning the generallity of matters; but rather to wreft and turne the judgement of the events, many times against reason, to our advantage, and to omitte whatsoever they supposeth, to be doubtfull or ticklish in their masters life; they have made profession of it: witness the recolynings of the Lords of Memorancy and Byron, which therein are forgotten; and which is more, you shallnot so much as finde the name of the Lady of Eftampes mentioned at all. A man may sometimes colour, and happily hide secret actions, but abolutely to conceale that, which all the world knoweth, and especially such things as have drawne on publicke effects, and of such consequence, it is an inexecutable defect, or as I may say vnpradorabile oversight. To conclude, whosoever desireth to have perfect information and knowledge of King Francis the
the first, and of the things happened in his time, let him addresse himself elsewhere, if hee will give any credite vnto mee. The profite he may reape here, is by the particular deduction of the battles and exploits of warre, wherein these Gentlemen were present; some privie conferences, speaches or secret actions of some Princes, that then lived, and the practices managed, or negotiations directed by the Lord of Langray, in whom doubletcss are very many things, well-worthie to be knowne, and divers discourses not vulgar.

The eleventh Chapter.

Of Crueltie.

Methinks vertue is another manner of thing, and much more noble than the inclinations vnto goodnesse, which in vs are ingendered. Mindes well borne, and directed by themselves, follow one same path, and in their actions reprent the same vantage, that the vertuous doe. But vertue importeth, and foundeth somewhat I wot not what greater and more active, then by an happy complextion, gently and peaceably, to suffer it selfe to be led or drawn, to follow reason. He that through a natural facilitie, & genuine mildnes, should neglect or containe injuries received, should no doubt performe a rare action, and worthy commendation: But he who being toucht & flung to the quicke, with any wrong or offence received, should armes himselfe with reason against this furiously-blinde desire of revenge, and in the end after a great conflict, yeld humfse seluer over-it, should doubletse doe much more. The first should doe well, the other vertuously: the one action might be termed goodnesse, the other vertue. For it seemeth, that the very name of vertue presupposeth difficulties, and infirrmeth resistance, and cannot well exercise it selfe without an enemy. It is peradventure the reason why we call God, good, mighty, liberal and just, but wee term him not vertuous. His worke are all voluntary, unforced and without compulsion. Of Philosophers, not onely Stoicks, but alfo Epicurians (which endearing I borrow of the common received opinion, which is false, whatsoever the nimble lying or witty quippings of Archelaus implieht, who answered the man that upbraided him, how divers men went from his schole to the Epicurian, but none came from thence to him: I easily beleve it (said he) for, of such a many capons made, but no man could ever yet make a cocke of a capon. For truly, in constancy, and vigor of opinions, and strictnesse of precepts, the Epicurian Sect doth in no forth yeeld to the Stoicke. And a Stoicke acknowledging a better faith, then those disputers, who to contend with Epicur, and make sport with him, make him to inferre and say what hee never ment, wresting and wyre-drawing his wordes to a contrary fene, arguing and filologizing by the Grammarians privilege, another meaning, by the maner of his speache, and another opinion, then that they know he had, either in his minde or maners, faith, that he left to be an Epicurian, for this one consideration, amongst others, that he findeht their pitch to be over-high and inaccessible:

et y quodem vobiscumfallunt veritates & colunt & retinent. And those that are called lovers of pleasure, are lovers of base and vile, and doe both reverence and retain all sorts of vertue. (Of Stoicke and Epicurian Philosophers, I say, there are divers, who have judged, that it was not sufficient to have the minde well placed, well ordered and well disposed vnto vertue; it was not enough to have our resolutions and discourses beyond all the affronts and checks of fortunes but that moreover, it was very requisite, to seeke for occasions, whereby a man might come to the triall of it: They will diligently quest and seeke out for pains, smart, necessity, want and contempt, that so they may combate them, and keep their minde in breath: Mutilum fivdadiex virtutis lascivitatum. Vertue provoked addes much to it selfe. It is one of the reasons why Epaminondas (who was of a third fection) by a very lawfull way refuseth some riches, fortune had put into his handes, to the end (as he saith) he might have cause to strive and resist poverty, in which want and extremity he ever continued after.

Socrates did in my mind more vndantedly assure himselfe to this humor, maintaining for his exercise the peevish forwardnes of his wife, then which no effay can be more vexing, and
and is a continual fighting at the sharpe. Metellus of all the Romaneous senators (he only having undertaken with the power of vertue, to endure the violence of Saturninus Tribune of the people in Rome, who by maine force went about, to have a moft vnjust law passe in favour of the comunalty: by which opposition, having incurred all the capital pains, that Saturninus had imposed on such as should refuse it, entertained those that led him to the place of execution, with such speeches: That so doe evil was a thing very ease, and too demifely base: and to doe well where was no danger, was a common thing; but to doe well, where was both peril and opposition, was the peculiar office of a man of vertue. These words of Metellus doe clearly represent unto vs, what I would have verified: which is, that vertue reieth faciatae to be hir companion: And that an eafefull, pleafant and declining way, by which the regular steps of a good inclination of nature, are directed, is not the way of true vertue. She requireth a craggie, rough and thorny way: She would either have strange difficulties to wrestle with all (as that of Metellus) by whose means fortune hir selfe is pleased to breake the roughnes of his course; or inward encombrances, as the disordinate appetites & imperfections of our condition bring vnto hir. Hitherto I have come at good cafe: but at the ende of this discourse, one thing commeth into my minde, which is, that the foule of Socrates, which is absolutely the perfectest that ever came to my knowledge, would, according to my account, prove a foule deserving but little commendation: For, I can perceiue no manner of violence or vicioes concupiscence in hir: I can imagine no manner of difficultie or compulsion in the whole course of his vertue. I knowe his reaion so powrefull, and so absolute mistris over him, that the can never give him way to any vicious desire, and will not suffer it so much as to breede in him. To a vertue so exquisit, and so high-raifed as his, I can perfwade nothing: Me thinks I see it march with a victorious and triumphant pace, in pompe, and at cafe, without let or disturbance. If vertue cannot shine but by refitting contrarie appetites, shall we then say, it cannot passe without the assistance of vice, and oweth him this, that by his means it attained to honour and credit? What should also betide of that glorious and generous Epicurian voluptuousnes, that makes accoempt, effeminately to pamper vertue in hir lappe, and there wantonly to entertaine it, allowing it for hir recreation, fame, reproch, aues, povertie, death, and tortures? If I preicipitpoe, that perfect vertue is knowne by combating sorrow, and patiently undergoing paine, by tolerating the fits and agones of the goute, without thrrenging out of his place if it, for a necessarie object, I appoint her sharpeners and difficultie: what shal become of that vertue, which hath attained so high a degree, as it doth not onely despice all manner of paine, but rather rejoyneth at it, and when a strong fit of the collique shall affaile it to cause it selfe to be tickled; as that is, which the Epicurians have established, and whereof divers amongst them, have by their actions left most certaine proofs vnto vs? As also others have, whom in effect I finde to have exceeded the very rules of their discipline, witnesse Cato the yonger; when I see hir die, tearing and mangled his entrails; I cannot simply content my selfe to beleive, that at that time, he had his soule wholly exempted from all trouble, or free from vexation: I cannot imagine, he did onely maintaine himselfe in this march or course, in which the rules of the Stoike feath had ordaine to him, selved, without some alteration or motion, and impaffibilitie. There was, in my conceit, in this mans vertue overmuch cherefulnes, and youthfulness to stay there. I verily beleive, he felt a kinde of pleaifure and sensualitie in fo noble an action, and that therein he more pleased himselfe, then in any other, lie ever performed in his life. Sic abi sunt vires, vel saepe morienti naeolum se effe gauderet. So departed he his life, that he rejoyned to have found an occasion of death. I doe so constantly beleve it, that I make a doubt, whether he would have had the occasion of so noble an expoynte taken from him. And if the goodness which induced him to embrace publike commodities more then his owne, did not budge me, I should easily fall into this opinion, that he thought himselfe greatly beholding vnto fortune, to have put his vertue vnto fo noble a triall, and to have favored that robber, to tread the ancient libertie of his countie under foote. In which action me thinkes I read a kinde of vnpeaceable joy in his minde, and a motion of extraordinarie pleaifure, joyned to a manlike voluptuousnes, at that time it beheld the worthines, and considered the generositie and haughtines of his enterprize.

Deliberata morte fercior.

Then moft in fiercenes did he passe,
When he of death resolved was.
not verg'd or fet-on by anie hope of glorie, as the popular and effeminate judgements have judged: For, that consideration is over bafe, to touch so generous, so haughtie, and so constant a heart; but for the beautie of the thing, it felfe in it felfe, which he, who managed all the springs, and directed all the warders thereof, sawe much more clearer, and in it's perfection, then we can doe. Philosophie hath done me a pleasure to judge, that so honorablie an action, had beene vndecently placed in any other life, then in Caesars, and that onely vnto his it appertaine to make such an end. Therefore did he with reason perswade both his fonne, and the Senators that accompanied him, to provide otherwise for themselves. Cato quidem incredibilem natura tribuitis gravitatem, sibiique ipse perpetua confiantia oboravit, tempereque in proposito confilia permanefit: moriendum potius quam tyranni vultus apripiendo esse. Whereas nature had afforrded Cato an incredible gravity, and he had strengthened it by continuall confiance, and ever had floud foine in his purposd deffign, rather to die then hold the Tyrants face. Each death should be such as the life hath beene. By dyeing we become other then we were. I ever interpret a mans death by his life. And if a man shall tell me of any one vnattend in apparence,joynted vnto a weake life, I imagine it to proceed of some weake cause, and futable to his life. The eafe therefore of his death, and the facilitie he had acquired by the vigor of his minde, shall we say, it ought to abate something of the lustre of his vertue? And which of those, that have their spirites touched, best-never to loole, with the true finiture of Philosophie, can content himselfe to imagine Socrates, onely, free from fear and passion, in the accident of his imprisonment, or his fetters, and of his condemnation? And who doth not perceive in him, not onely confiance and resolution (which were ever his ordinarie qualities) but also a kind of I wot not what new contentment, and carrefulrejoycing in his laft behaviour, and difficours! By the harling at the pleasure, which he feelth in clawing of his legges, after his fetters were taken-off, doth he not manifeftly declare an equal glie and joy in his foule, for being ridde of his former incommodities, and entring into the knowledge of things to come? Cato shall pardon me (if the pleasure) his death is more tragical, and further extended, whereas this in a certaine manner is more faire and glorious. 

Aristippus answered thosse, that bewailed the same; when I die, I pray the Gods send me such a death. A man shall plainly perceive in the mindes of these two men, and of such as imitate them (for I make a question whether ever they could be matched) so perfect an habitude vnto vertue, that it was even converted into their complexion. It is no longer a painefull vertue, nor by the ordinances of reaon, for the maintaining of which their minde must be strengthened: It is the very effence of their foule, it is hir natural and ordinarie habite. They have made it fuch, by a long exercice and observing the rules and precepts of Philosophie, having lighted upon a faire and rich nature. Thofe vifious passions, which breade in vs, finde no entrance in them. The vigor and confiance of their foules, doth fupperfe and extinguish all manner of conuincuences,fo foone as they be begonne to move. Now that it be not more glorious, by an vnattendand divine resolution, to hinder the growth of temptations, & for a man to frame himselfe to vertue, so that the very feeds of vice be cleare rooted out, then by maine force to hinder their progresse, and having suffred himselfe to be surprifed by the first assaults of passions, to armie and bannide himselfe, to stay their course and to fuppresse them: And that this second effect be not alfo much fairer, then to be simply flowered with a facile and gentle nature, and of it felfe deflafi and in dislike with licentiousnes, I am perswade there is no doubt. For, this third and laft manner, fecmeth in some for, to make a man innocent, but not vertuous; free from doing ill, but not sufficiently apt to doe well. This condition is so neere vnto imperfection and weakness, that I knowe not well how to cleare their confines and distinctions. The very names of goodnes and innocencie, are for this respect in ferio forte names of contempt. I fee that many vertues, as chastifie, sobriety, and temperance, may come vnto us by meanes of corporall defects and imbecillitie. Conflancein dangers (if it may be termed conftance) contempt of death, patience in misforune, may happen; and are often feene in men, for want of good judgement in such accidents, and that they are not apprehended for such as they are indeede. 

Lack of apprehension and simplicitie, doe sometimes counterfeit vertuous effects. As I have often feene come to paffe, that some men are commended,for things they rather deere to be blamed. An Italian gentleman did once hold this position in my presence, to the prejudice & disad-
The second Booke.

ons was so great, that they foresewe such dangers and accidents as might betide them so farre-off, that it was not to be deemed strange, if in times of warre, they were often seene to provide for their safety, yea before they had perceived the danger: That we and the Spaniards, who were not so wary and fubtile, went further; and that before we could be frightened with any peril, we must be induced to see it with our eyes, and feel it with our hands, and that even then we had no more holde: But that the Germanes and Switzers, more shallow and leaden-headed, had scarce the sense and wit to re-advice themselves, at what time they were even overwhelmed with miferie, and the axe readie to fall on their heads. It was peradventure but in jest, that hee spake it, yet is it most true, that in the art of warre-fare, new trained Souldiers, and such as are but novices in the trade, doe often headlong, and hand over head caft themselves into dangers, with more inconsideration, then afterward when they have seene and endured the first blowe, and are better trained in the schoole of perills.

— *hand ignarus, quantum nox gloria in armis,*

*Et proculus decus primo certamine posuit.*

Not ignorant, how much in armes new praise,
And sweetest honor in first conflict weights.

Lo here the reason why when we judge of a particular action, we must first consider many circumstances, and throughly obserue the man, that hath produced the fame before we name and confirme it. But to speake a word of my selfe: I have sometimes noted my friends to terme that wifedom in me, which was but meerse fortunes; and to deeme that advantage of courage and patience, that was advantage of judgement and opinion; and to attribute one title for another vnto me, sometimes to my profit, and now and then to my losse. As for the rest, I am so farre from attaining vnto that chiefe and mout perfect degree of excellencie, where a habitude is made of vertue, that even of the second, I have made no great triall. I have not greatly thrived to bridle the defires, which I have found in my selfe vrged and prefed. My vertue, is a vertue, or to say better innocencie, accidental and casuall. Had I beene borne with a little regular complection, I imagine my state had beene very pittifull, and it would have gone hard with me: for, I could never perceive any great confiancie in my soule, to resift and vndergoe passions, had they beene any thing violent. I cannot soler quarel, or endure contenion in my house. So am I not greatly beholding vnto my selfe, in that I am exempted from many vices:

— *suisum mediocribus, & mea pauce*  
*Mendax est natura, aliquis refta velut f*  
*Egregius infperos reprehendis corpore numeros.*  
*If in a few more fault's my nature faile,*  
*Right otherwise: as if that you would raile*  
*On prettie moles well placed, on body seemly grazed.*

I am more endeved to my fortune, then to my reason for it: She hath made me to be borne of a race famous for integritie and honestie, and of a very good father. I wot not well whether any part of his honors have descended into me, or whether the dometike examples, and good institution of my infancy have insensibly for their helping hand vnto it; or whether I were otherwise borne:

— *Sce libra, semin serpens aspicis*  
*Formidolofus, pars violentior*  
*Natalis horae, fert tyrannus*  
*Hesperia Capricornus unde.*

Whither the chiefe part of my birth-hour were  
*Ascendent Libra, or Serpens full of feare,*  
*Or in my Horoscope were Capricornus,*  
*Whose tirannic neere western Seas is borne.*

But so it is, that naturally of my selfe, I abhorre and detest all maner of vices. The answere of *Antitheses* to one, that demanded of him, which was the best thing to be learned: To un-learne evil, seemeth to be fixed on this image or to have an atme at this. I abhorre them(I say) with so natural, and so innated an opinion, that the very fame infnitely and impression, which I fetched from my nature, I have so kept, that no occasions could ever make me alter the
the same: No not mine owne diffcures, which because they have bin somwhat lavish in not-
ing or taxing somthing of the common course, could easilie induce me to some actions, which this my natural inclination makes me to hate. I will tel you a wonder, I will tel it you in-
deed: I therby find in many things, more flate and order in my maners; then in my opinion: and my concupiscence leffe debauched, then my reason. Aristippus establisht certaine opinions so bold, in favour of voluptuousnes and riches, that he made al Philosophie to mutiny against him. But concerning his maners, Diomene the tyrant, having preseret him with three faire yong Wenches, that he might chuse the fairest; he answeret he would chuse them, all three, and that Paphi had very ill successe, forasmuch as he had preferred one above his fellowes. But they being brought to his owne house, he fent them backe againe, without ta-
them. His servent one day carrying flore of mony after him, and being so over-
charged with the weight of it, that he complained, his master commanded him, to caft so much thereof away, as troubled him. And Epicurus, whose posities are irreligious and delicate, demeaned himselfe in his life very laboriously, and devoutly. He wrote to a friend of his, that he lived but with browne bread and water, and entretied him to send him a piece of cheefe, against the time hee was to make a folemne feast. May it be true, that to bee perfectly good, we must be so by an hidden, natural and universal propriety, without law, reason and exam-
ple. The disorders and excesses, wherein I have found my selfe engaged, are not (God bee thanked) of the worst. I have rejected and condemned them in my selfe, according to their wor-th; for, my judgement was never found to be infected by them. And on the other side, I accute them more rigorously in my selfe, then in another. But that is all, as for the reft I applie but little refilience vnto them, and suffer my selfe over-easily to encline to the other side of the Ballance, except it be to order and empeach them from beeing commixt with oth-
ers, which (if a man take not good heed vnto himselfe) for the most part entertaine and en-
terHon themselves the one with the other. As for mine, I have as much as it hath laine in my power, abridged them, and kept them as fingle, and as alone as I could:

Errorem. foveo.
Not doe I cherish any more,
The error which I did before.

For, as touching the Stoics opinion, who say, that when the wife man worketh, hee
worketh with all his vertues together; howbeit, according to the nature of the action, there
be no more apparant than others (to which purpose the limitute of mans body might, in
some sorte, serve their turne; for, the action of choller cannot exercoe it selfe, except all the
humours fet-to their helping-hand, although choller be predominant) if thence they will
drawe alike consequence, that when the offender trespaseth, he dooth it with all the vices
together. I doe not so easily beleive them, or else I understand them not; for, in effect, I
feele the contrarie. They are sharpe-wittie fubtilities, and without fubftance, about which
Philosophie dooth often bufe it selfe. Some vices I shunne; but otherfome I efchew as
much as any Saint can do. The Peripatethes doe also dasuow this connexitie, and indif-
foule knitting together. And Aristote is of opinion, That a wife and inft man may be both
intemperate and incontinent. Socrates avowed vnto them, who in his Philosonomic percei-
vome inclination vnto vice, that indeece it was his natural propension; but that by dis-
cipline he had corrected the fame. And the familiar friends of the philofopher Stilpo were
wont to say, that being borne subjeft vnto wine and women, he had, by study, brought him
selfe to abftaine from both. On the other side, what good I have, I have it by the lot of my
birth: I have it neither by lawe nor preceptio, nor by any apprenticeship. The innoc-
cie that is in me, is a kinde of fimple-pane innocencie, without vigor or arte. Among it all
other vices, there is none I hate moore, than crueltie, both by nature and judgement, as the
extremeffe of all vices. But it is with fuch an yearning and faint-heartenes, that if I fee but
a chickenes necke pulled off, or a pigge fluck, I cannot chooze but grieve, and I cannot well
endure a feely dew-bedabled hare to groane, when she is feiz'd vpon by the howndes; al-
though hunting be a very sport. Thofe that are to withstand voluptuousnes, doe will-
ingly vfe this argument, to fhow, it is altogether vicious and unreasonable: That where
she is in her greatest prime and chief strength, shee doth so over-sway vs, that reason can
have no accesse vnto vs, and for a further trall, alleadge the experience we feele and have

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of it, in our acquaintance or copulation with women.

-Lucv. 4. 1087.

The second Booke.

Asque in eo est Venus, vs muchebia conserat arma.

When now the body doth light-joyes fore-knowe,
And Venus lett the womans fields to fowe.

Where they thinke pleasure doth fo far transport vs beyond our selves,that our Difcourfe, then altogether overwelmed, and our reaion wholly ravished in the gulf of sensuality,cannot by any meanes discharge her function. I knowe it may be otherwife: And if a man but please, he may sometimes, even upon the very infant, caft his mind on other conceits. But the must be strained to a higher key, and heedfully purfued: I knowe a man may gour.
mandize the earnest and thought-confounding violence of that pleafure: for I may with some experience speake of it; and I have not found Venus to be so imperious a goddesse, as many, and more reformed than myfelfe witnes hit to bee, I thinke it not a wonder, as dooth the Queene of Natuarre, in one of the Tales of her Heptameron (which respecting the subject it treateth-of, is a very prettie booke) nor doe I deeme it a matter of extreme difficulty, for a man to ware-out a whole night, in all opportunities and libertie, in company of a faire mistrefse, long time before fised-viewed, and by him desired,religiously keeping his word,if he have engaged himfelfe,to be contented with fimple kiffes & plaine touching.

I am of opinion, that the example of the fporte in hunting would more fit the fame: where-in as there is leffe pleafure, so there is more distraction and surprifing, whereby our reafon being amazed, loseth the leaffe to prepare her felf againft it: when as after a long queftioning and beating for fome game, the beaft doth fadanely flart, or rowze vp before vs, and happily in fuch a place, where we left expected the fame. That fadanely motion, and riding, and the earnifhes of fhowing, jubeting and hallowing,ftill ringing in our ears, would make it very hard for thofe, who love that kinde of clofe or chamber-hunting, at that verie infant, to withdrawe their thoughts else-where. And Poets make Diana victorious to triumph both over the firebrand and arrows of Cupid.

Quis nam malorum quas amor curas habet
Hac inter obviviscitur?

While this is doing, who doth not forget
The wicked cares wherewith Love hearts doth fret?

But to returne to my former difcourfe, I have a very feeling and tender compassion of oth-er mens afflictions, and should more eafeily wepe for company fake,if possibly for any occa-

sion whatsoever, I could fied tears. There is nothing more mooyveth tears in mee, then to fee other wepe,not onely fainey, but howsoever,whether truely or forcedly. I doe not greatly waile for the dead, but rather envie them. Yet doe I much waile and moane the dying. The Canibales and favage people do not fo much offend me with roafting and eat-

ing of dead bodies,as thofe, which torment and perfecute the living. Let any man be execu-
ted by law, how defendedly foever, I cannot endure to behold the execution with an enre-

lent eye. Some one going about to witnes the clemencie of Julius Caesar: He was (faith he)traftable and milde in matters of revenge. Having compelled the Pirates to yeeld them-
selves unto him, who had before taken him prifoner, and put him to ranzome, forasmuch as he had threatened to have them all crucified, he condemned them to that kinde of death, but it was after he had caufed them to be stranged. Philomen his secretarie, who would have poyned him, had no sharper punishment of him,then an ordinarie death. Without mentioning the Latin Author, who for a testimonie of clemencie dareth to alledge, the onely kill-
ing of thofe,by whom a man hath beene offended, it may eafeily be gufled,that he is tainted with vile and horrible examples of crueltie, fuch as Romane Tyrants brought into fashion. As for me,even in matters of justice, Whatfoever is beyond a fimple death, I deeme it to be more cruel: And especcially amongst vs,who ought to have a regardfull reffept,that their foules should be sent to heaven,which cannot be,having first by intolerable tortures agitated,and as it were brought them to dispairre. A Souldier, not long fince, being prifoner, and percei-
ving from a loft a Tower, where he was kept, that flore of people flocked together on a greene, and Carpenters were bufte at worke to erect a fcaffold, supposing the fame to be for him,as one desperat,refolved to kill himfelfe, and fearching vp and downe for something to make himfelfe away, found nothing but an olde rustie carte-naile, which fortune prefen-
tred him with; he took it, and therewithall, with all the strength he had; Brooke and wounded himselfe twice in the throte, but seeing it would not ridde him of life, he then thrufle it into his belly up to the head, where he left it fast-sticking. Shortly after, one of his keepers comming in unto him, and yet living, finding him in that unferable plight, but weeping in his gore-blood, and reading to gaze his last, told the Magistrates of it, which, to prevent time before he should die, hastened to pronounce sentence against him: which when he heard, and that he was oneley condemmed to have his head cut-off, he seemed to take heart of grace againe, and to be forie for what he had done, & took some comfortable drinks, which before he had refuced, greatly thanking the Judges for his vnhooded gentle condemnation: And tolde them, that for fear of a more sharply-cruell, and intolerable death by lawe, he had resolved to prevent it by some violent manner of death, having by the preparations he had feene the Carpenters make, and by gathering of peoples togethers, conceived an opinion, that they would torture him with some horrible torment, and seemed to be desirous of death, only by the change of it. Were I worthie to give countell, I would have these examples of rigor, by which superior powers goe about to keepe the common people in awe, to be onely exercized on the bodies of criminall malefactors: For, to see them deprived of christian burial, to fet them haled, disembowelled, parboyled, and quartred, might happily touch the common force so much, as the panes, they make the living to endure: howbeit it be little or nothing, as faith God, Qui corpus occidit, & pelleam habet quod faciunt. Thofe that cut the body, but have afterward no more to doe: And Poets make the hortor of this picture greatly to prevale, yea and above death.

It was my fortune to bee at Rome, vpon a day that one Catena, a notorious high-way thief, was executed: at his strangling no man of the company seemed to bee moved to any ruft, but when he came to be quartered, the Executioner gave no blowe that was not accompanied with a piteous voyce, and heartie exclamation, as if every man had had a feeling of sympathie, or lent his fentes to the poore mangled wretch. Such inhuman outages, and barbarous excesses should be exercized against the rufle, and not praftifed against the quicke.

In a cafe somewhat like vnto this, did Artaxerxes affwage and mitigate the sharpenes of the ancient lawes of Peria, appoyning that the Loides, which had trespassed in their estate, whereas they were wont to be whipped, they shoule be stripped naked, and their clothes whipped for them: and where they were acclimated to have their hair pulled off, they shoule onely have their hatte taken off. The Egyptians do devour and religious, thought they did sufficiently satisfie divine Justice, infracrifying painted and counterfet hoggies vnto it: An over-hardy invention, to goe about with pictures and shadowes to appeafe God, a subfance so effentiel and divine. I live in an age, wherein we abound with incredible examples of this vice, through the licentiousnes of our civill and intollernar waters: And reade all ancient stories, be they never fo tragical, you shall finde none to equall thofe, wee daily see praftifed. But that hath nothing made mee acquainted with it. I could hardly bee persuaded, before I had feene it, that the worlde could have afforced to marble-hearted and savage-minded men, that for the onely pleasure of murther would commit it: then cut, mangle, and hacke others members in pieces: to rouze and sharpen their wittes, to invent vnited tortures and vnheard-off tormentes; to devife new and unknowne deaths, and in that colde blood, without any former enmitie or quarrel, or without any gaine or profit; and onely to this end, that they may enjoy the pleasing spectaclar of the languishing gaiters, pittfull motions, horror-moving yellings, deeps-feitch groanes, and lamentable voyces of a dying and drooping man. For, that is the extreme point whereunto the crueltie of man may atteaine. Ut bona hominum, non irata, non timet, tantum spectaculum occidit. That one man should kill another, neither being angry, nor afraid, but only to looke on. As for me, I could never so much as endure, without remorse and griefe, to see a poore, silly, and innocent beaft purfied and killed, which is harmes and void of defence, and of whom we receive no offence at all. And as it commonly happeneth, that when the Stagge begins to be emboft, and finds his strength to faile-him, having no other remedie
left him, doth yeeld and bequeath himselfe vnto vs that pursue him, with teares fusing to vs for mercie,

--- uestique cruentus:

**Argae implorant simulis:**

With blood from throte, and teares from eyes,

It seemes that he for pittie cryes.

was ever a grievous spectacle vnto me. I feldom take any beast alive, but I give him his libertie. Pythagoras was wont to buy fishes of fishears, & birds of fowlers to set them free againe.

--- primique à cade feruem:

**Incautum fum maculatum, ignum ferum.**

And first our blades in blood embrude, I deeme

With slaughter of poore beafts did racking feme.

Such as by natura new themselves bloodie-minded towards: harmelesse beafts, winnes a naturall propension vnto crueltie. After the ancient Romans had once enured themselves without horror to beholde the slaughter of wilde beafts in their thoues, they came to the muter of men and Gladiators. Nature (I feeme) hath of his owne felfe added vnto man a certaine infinct to humanity. No man taketh delight to see wilde beafts sport and wantonly to make much one of another: Yet all are pleased to see them tugge, and mangle and enterteare one an other. And left any body should jeaf at this inphantie, which I have with them, Divin ite it felfe willeth vs to thowe them fome favoure: And confidering, that one felfe-fame mafter (I meane that incomprehensiblie worlde-framer) hath placed all creatures in this his woondous pallice for his service, and that they, as well as we, are of his houfhold: I fay, it hath fome reafon to enjoyne vs, to thowe fome reft to them and affection towards them. Pythagoras borrowed Metempsychos of the Egyptians, but since, it hath beene received of divers nations, and especcially of our Drusides:

--- ueste carnem asace, seperrige prior relicha.

Sede novis domibus vauum, habantique recepser.

Our death-leffe foules, their former fefts restrained,

In harbors new live and lodge entertained.

The religion of our ancient Gaules, inferred, that foules being eternall, ceaft not to remove and change place, from one body to another: to which fantasie was also enetermed some confideration of divine justice: For, according to the foules behaviors, during the time she had beene with Alexander, they faide, that God appointed another body to dwell-in, either more or leffe pufmall, and futable to his condition.

--- muta ferarum:

Cogite vincula pati, truculentos ingerit oris,

Predonefas, lupias, fallaces ulubibus additis.

**Argae vihi per varias annos per mille figuram.**

Egit letheo purgatos flammum tandem

Rurias ad humanas revocat primordia formas.

Dumque bandes of beafts he makes mens foules endure,

Blood-thirftie foules he doth to Beares enure,

Crafts to Foxes, to Wolfebs bent to tapes;

Thus when for many yeares, through many fapes,

He hath them driv'in in Lethe lake at laft,

They purged he turn's to mans forme whence they paffed.

If the foule had bin valiant, they placed-it in the body of a Lion; if voluptuous, in a swine; if feare-hatted, in a fcape or a hare; if malicious, in a fox, and fo of the ref, vntill that being punifhed by this punishment, it reaflueme and tooke the bodie of fome other man againe.

--- Ipse ego, nam memini, Troianum tempore bello

Pantheides Euphorbus eram.

**When Troy was wonne, I, as I call to mind,**

Euphorbus was, and Panthus fonne by kind.

As touching that alliance betweene vs and beafts, I make no great account of it; nor do I greatly admit it; neither of that which divers nations, and namely of the moft ancient and noble
noble, who have not only received beatles into their societie, and company, but allowed them a place farre above themselves; sometimes deeming them to bee familiar and favored of their Gods, and holding them in a certaine awfull respect and reverence, more than humane, and others acknowledging no other God, nor no other Divinitie, then they. Beline a barbaris proper beneficium conferrare. Beatles by the Barbarians were made sacred for some benefit.

And the very fame interpretation, that Plutarch giveth vnto this error, which is very well taken, is also honourable for them. For, he faith, that (for example, fakely,) it was neither the Cat nor the Dog, that the Egyptians adored, but that in those beatles, they worshipped some image of divine facultes. In this, patience and vtility, and in that, vivacity, or (as our neighbours, the Borgonians, with all Germany) the impatience to fee themselves (but vs,) Wherby they represented the liberty, which they loved and adored, beyond all other divine faculte, and of others. But when amongst the most moderate opinions, I meete with some discourses, that goe about and labour to shew, the mere resemblance betweene vs and beatles, and what share they have in our greatest Priviledges, and with how much likely-hood they are compared vnto vs, truly I abate much of our presumption, and am easily removed from that imaginary Sovereignite, that some give and ascrib vnto vs above all other creatures. If all that were to be contradicted, yet is there a kinde of respect, and a general duty of humanitie, which is, not only vnto brute beatles that have life and sense, and are Sensitives, but vnto trees and plants, which are but Vegetatives. Vnto men we owe justice, and to all other creatures, that are capable of it, grace and benevole. There is a kinde of enter-changeable com- merce, and mutual bond betweene them and vs. I am not ashamed nor afraide to declare the tenderness of my childlike Nature, which is such, that I cannot well reft my Dog, if he chance (although out of season,) to fawne vpon me, or begge of me to play with him. The Turks have almes, and certaine Hospitals appoynted for bruite beatles. The Romans had a publike care to breed and nourish Geese, by whose vigilance their Capitol had beene faved. The Atheniens did preciziely ordaine, that all maner of Mules, which had servd or bin employed about the building of their Temple, called Hecatompedon, should be free, and suffered to feede where ever they pleased, without any let or empeachment. The Agrippines had an ordinary custome, seriously and solemnly to bury all such beatles, as they had held deare, as horses of rare worth and merit, speciall dogs, choyse or profitable birds, or such as had but servd to make their children sport. And the sumptuous insufignificence, which in all other things was ordinary and peculiar vnto them, appeared also most notable in the flately fumpuouslines, and costly number of monuments erected to that end, which many ages after have endured and beene maintained in pride and state. The Egyptians were wont to bury their Woolues, their Dogges, their Cats, their Beares, and Crocodiles in holy places, embalming their carcasses, and at their deaths to wear mourning weedes for them. Cymon causd a flately-honourable toome to be erected for the Mares, wherewith he had three times gaine the prize at running in the Olimpikes games. Ancient Xenippus causd his Dog to bee entered vs. in a hill by the fsea foare, which ever since hath bin named by him. And Plutarch (as himselfe faith) made it a matter of conscience, in hope of a small gaine, to fell or send an Ox to the shambles, that had servd him a long time.
Knowledge is without all contradiction, a most profitable and chief ornament: Those who despise it declare evidently their foolishness: Yet does not I value it so excessive a rate, as some have done; namely Ieretus the philosopher, who grounded his chief felicity upon it, and held that it lay in her power to make vs happy and wise: which I cannot believe, nor that which others have faide, that Knowledge is the mother of all errour, and that all vice proceedeth of ignorance. Which if it be, it is subject to a large interpretation. My house hath long since most freely open to men of understanding, and is very well known to many of them: for, my father, who commanded the same fifteen yeeres and upward, set on fire by that new kind of earnestness, whereby Francis the first embraced Letters, and raised them into credite, did with great diligence, and much cost, yet without purchase the acquaintance of learned men: receiving & entertaining them as holy persons, and who had some particular inspiration of divine wisdom; collecting their sentences and discourses, as if they had been Oracles; and with so much more reverence and religious regard, by how much the like authority he had to judge of them: for, he had no knowledge of Letters, no more than his predeceurers before him. As for me, I love them indeed, but yet I worship them not. Amongst others, Peter Bune (a man in his time, by reason of his learning, of high esteem) having so journeyed a few days at Montaigne with my father, and others of his counte, being ready to depart thence, presented him with a booke entituled Theologia naturalis, five libri creaturarum magistrar Raimondi de Sebondo. And forsooth as much as the Italian and Spanish tongues were very familiar unto him, and that the booke was written in a kind of Latinized Spanish, whereof diverse words had Latine terminations: he hoped, that with little ayde, he might reap some small profit by it, and commended the same very much unto him, as a booke most profitable, and filling the days in which he gave it. It was even at what time the new-fangled of Luther began to crepe in favor, and in many places to shake the foundation of our ancient belief. Wherein he seemed to be well adviised, as he who by discourse of reason foresaw, that this budding infaledge would easily turne to an execrable Atheisme: For, the vulgar many, wanting the facultie to judge of things by themselves, suferring it to be carried away by fortune, and led on by outward apparences, if once it be possessed with the boldnesse to despise, and malapertness to impugne the opinions which before it held in awefull reverence (as are those wherein confieth their salvation) and that some articles of their religion be made doubtfull and questionable, they will soon and easily admit an equall vncreteness in all other partes of their belief, as they that had no other grounded authorticke or foundation, but such as are now shaken and weakened, and immediately reject (as a tyrannically yoke) all impressions, they had in former times received by the authorticke of lawes, or reverence of ancient custome.

_Lucr. 5.1150._

Nam cupidè conceuctur nimis ant metatum,

That which we feared before too much,

We gladly scorn when its not fuch.

vndertaking thenceforward to allow of nothing, except they have first given their voice and particular consent to the fame. My father, a few dayes before his death, lighting by chance upon this booke, which before he had neglected, amongst other writings commanded mee to translate the same into French. It is easie to translate such authours, where nothing but the matter is to be represented; but hard & dangerous, to vndertake such as have added much to the grace and elegance of the language, namely to reduce them into a smaller and poorer tongue. It was a strange task, and new occupation for me: but by fortune being then at leisure, and able to gainesay the commandement of the best father that ever was, I came ere long (as well as I could) to an end of it; wherein he took singular delight, and commanded the same to be printed, which accordingly was after his decease performed. I found the conceits
conceits of the author to be excellent, the contexture of his worke well followed, and his Project full of piety. Now forasmuch as diversie amuse themselues to read it, and especially Ladies, to whom we owe most service, it hath often beene my hope to help them, when they were reading it, to discharge the booke of two principal objections, which are brought against the same. His drift is bold, and his scope adventurous; for, he undertaketh by humane and natural reasons, to establish and verifie all the articles of Christian religion against Atheists. Wherein (to say truth) I finde him so resolute and so happy, as I deeme it a thing impossible to doe better in that argument, and thinke that none equalleth him. Which booke seeming to me both over-rich and exquisite, being written by an author, whose name is so little knowne, and of whom, all we know, is, that he was a Spaniard, who about two hundrde yeeres since professed Phisicke in Thoulouse. I demanded once of Adriamus Turnebus (a man who knew all things) what such a booke might be, who answered, that he deemed the same to be some Quintessence, extraceted from out Saint Thomas Aquinas: For, in good truth, only such a spirit fraught with so infinite erudition, and so ful of admirable subtiltie, was capable of such and so rare imaginations. So it is, that whatsoever be the author or deviser of it (the title whereof ought not without further reason to be taken from Sebonde) he was a very sufficient-worthie man, and endow'd with fundry other excellent qualities. The first thing he is reproved for, in his Booke, is, that Christians wrong themselves much, in that they ground their beliefs upon humane reasons, which is conceived but by faith, and by a particular inspiration of God. Which objection seemeth to contain some zeale of piety; by reason whereof we ought to as much more mildnesse and regarde, endeavour to satisfie them that propose it. It were a charge, more befitting a man conversant, and suitable to one acquainted with the holy Scriptures, than me, who am altogether ignorant in them. Neverthelesse I thinke, that even as to a matter so divine & high, and so much exceeding all humane understanding, as is this Venetie, wherewith it hath pleased the goodness of God to enlighten vs, it is most requisite, that he affoord and lend vs his helpe. And that, with an extraordinarie and privileged favour, that so we may the better conceive and entertaine the fame: For, I suppose that means meerely humane can no way be capable of it; which if they were, so many rare and excellent minde, and fo plenteously stord with naturall faculties, as have been in times past, would never in their discouerse, have mifl the attaining of this knowledge. It is faith onely, which lively and assurely embraceth the high mysteries of our Religion. And no man can doubt, but that it is a most excellent and commendable enterprisse, properly to accommodate and fit to the service of our faith, the naturall helpe and humane implements which God hath befoole vpon vs. And no question is to be made, but that it is the most honourable employment we can put them vnto; and that there is no occupation or intent more worthy a good Christian, than by all means, studies and imaginations, carefully to endeavoure, how to embellish, amplify and extend the truth of his beliefs and religion. It is not enought for vs to serve God in spirit and soule, we owe him besides, and we yeeld vnto him a corporall worshippings; we applic our limmes, our motions, and all externall things, to honour him. The like ought to be done, and we shoule accompany our faith with all the reason we possesse: Yete alwayes with this proviso, that we thinke it doth not depend of vs, and that all our strength and arguments can never atteine to so supernaturall and divine a knowledge: Except it seaze vpon vs, and as it were enter into vs by an extraordinarie infusion: And vntele it alfo enter into vs, not onely by discouerse, but alfo by humane meanes, she is not in her dignitie, nor in her glorie. And verely I fear therefore, that except this waie, we shoule not enjoy it. Had we faft-holde on God, by the enterposition of a lively faith, had we hold-fall on God by himselfe, and not by vs; had wee a divine foundation, then should not humane and worldly occasions have the power so to shake and totter vs, as they have. Our holde would not then yeeld to so weak a battere: The love of noveltie the constraint of Princes; the good success of one partie, the rash and casuall changing of our opinions, should not then have the power to shake and alter our belief. We shoule not suffer the same to be troubled at the will and pleasur of a new argument, and at the perswasion, no, not of all the rhetorike that ever was: we shoule withstand these boisterous billowes with an inflexible and unmooverable constancie.
The second Booke.

As huge rocks doe regorge th' inuective waves,  
And dissipate the billowes brawling braves,  
Which these gannitt those still bellowe out,  
Those being big and standing out.

If this raie of Divinitie did in any fort touch vs, it would everie where appeare. Not only our words, but our actions, would beare some shew and luftrine of it. Whateuer should pro-
ceed from vs, might bee conce in lightened with this noble and matchles brightness. We should blufh for shame, that in humane fects, there was never any fo faditious, what difficultie or
strangenefsse foever his doctrine maintained, but would in some fort conforme his behaviors
and fquare his life vnto it: Whereas so divine and heavenly an infitution never markes chri-
ftians but by the tongue. And will you fee whether it be fo? Compare but our maners vnto a
Turke, or a Pagan, and we must needs yeild vnto them: Whereas in respect of our reli-
gious superriorite, we ought by much, yea by an incomparable distance, out-shine them in ex-
cellency. And well might a man say, Are they so infat, so charitable, and so good? Then must they be Chritians. All other outward fheues and exterior apperances are common to all reli-
gious: As hope, affiance, events, ceremonies, penitence and martyrdome. The peciular badge of
our truth should be verite, As it is the heavenskeft and moft difficult marke, and worthie pro-
duction of Verity it self. And therefore was our good Saint Lewis in the right, when that Tar-
tarian king, who was become a Chriftian, intended to come to Lions, to kiffe the Popes feet,
and there to view the lanctirie, he hoped to find in our lives and maners, presently to divert
& dissipate him from it, fearing left our diffolute maners, and licentious kind of life, might
scandalize him, and fo alter his opinion fore-conceived of, so fared a religion. Howbeit the
contrary happened to another, who for the fame effect being come to Rome and there view-
ing the diflomtenesse of the Princes and people of those dayes, was so much the more confir-
med in our religion; considering with himself what force and divinity it muft of conquence have, since it was able, and in many corruptions, and fo viciously-poluted hands, to main-
taine her dignite and splendor. Had we but one only graine of faith, wee should then be able to
remove mountains from out their place, faith the holy Writ. Our actions being guided, and
accompanied with divinitie, should not then be meerely humane, but even as our believe
contains fome wonder-cauing thing. Brevis est institutio vitae honesta, breuis ficedes. The
instituition of an honest and blessed life is but fhort, if a man believe. Some make the worlde be-
leeve, that they believe the thing they never do. Others (and they are the greater number)
peruade themselves they doe fo, as vnable to conceive what it is to beleive. We thinke it
strange if in warres, which at this time doe fo oppresse our flate, we fee the events to fioate
fo strangely, and with fo common and ordinarie a manner to change and alter: The rea-
son is, we add nothing vnto it but our owne. Juflice, which is on the one side, is vfed but for a
cloake and ornament; she is indeed alleaged, but not received, nor harboured, nor wed-
ed. She is as in the mouth of a Lawyer, and not as the ought in the heart and affection
of the partie. God oweth his extraordinary affiitance vnto faith and religion, and not to our passions.
Men are but directors vnto it, and vfe religion for a fhow: It ought to be cleane contrarie.
Doe but marke if we do not handle it as it were a piece of waxe, from out fo right and fo
firme a rule, to drawe fo many contrary shapes. When was this better feene than now-a-
dies in France? Those which have taken it on the left, and those who have taken it on the
right hand; Such as speake the fale, and fuch who speake the truth of it, do fo alike employ
and fitte the fame to their violent and ambitious enterprizes, proceede vnto it with fo con-
formable a proceeding in rioutousnes & injustice, that they make the diuersitie they pretend
in their opinions doublyf, and hard to be believed, in a thing from which depends the con-
duct and law of our life. Can a man fee from one fame Schoole and Discipline, more visted
and alike customs and fashions to proceede? View but the horrible impudence wherewith we
foffe divine reafons to and fro, and how irreligiouslly wee have both rejected and taken
them againe, according as fortune hath in thofe publike flomres tranported vs from place
to place. This fo folemne propofition, Whether it be lawfull for a fubiect, for the defence of
religion, to rebeall and take armes againft his Prince: Call but to minde, in what mouthes but a
twelve-moneth agoe the affirmative of the fame was the chiefe piller of the one parte; the
negative was the mane-vnderpropping of the other: And listen now from whence com-
eth
mest the voice and instruction of one and other: and whether armes clatter and clang leffe for this, than for that cause. And we burne those men, which say, that truth must be made to abide the yoke of our needes: And how much worfe doth Prince, than speake it? Let vs confesse the truth; he that from out this lawfull army should call out, fist those who follow it for meer zeale of a religious affection, than such as only regard the defence and protection of their countries lawes, or service of their Prince; whether hee could ever erect a compleat company of armed men. How comes it to passe, that so few are found, who have full hold one fame wil and progress in our publique revolutions, and that we see them now and then but faintly, and sometimes, as fast as they can headlong to runne into the action? And the same men, now by their violence and rash effe, and now through their flaws, demnities and heavines, to spoile, and as it were overthrow our affaires, but that they are thrut into them by casuall motives, and particular considerations, according to the diversities wherewith they are moved? I plainly perceive, we lend nothing unto devotion but the offices that stater our passions. There is no holliete so excellent, as that which is absolutely Christian. Our zeal worketh wonders, when ever it secondeth our inclination toward hatred, cruelitie, ambition, avarice, defection, or rebellion. Towards goodnes, benignitie, or temperance, it goeth but slowly, and against the haires, except miraculously, some rare complexion leadeth him vnto it, it neither runnes nor fleeth to it. Our religion was ordained to roote out snares, but it throweth, falseth and provoketh them. As commonly we say, We must not make a fool of God. Did we believe in him, I say not through faith, but with a simple believe, yea (I speake it to our confusion) did we but believe and know him, as we doe another other thing, or as one of our companions, we should then love him above all other things, by reason of the infinite goodnes, and vnspokeable beauty that is, and thines in him: Had he but the same place in our affections, that riches, pleasures, glory and our friends have: The best of vs doth not so much feare to wrong him, as he doth to injure his neighbour, his kinsman, or his minester. Is there so simple a mine, who on the one side having before his eye the object of one of our vicious pleasures, and on the other to his full viewe, perfect knowledge and affured perpetuation, the state of an immortal glorie, that would enter into contention of one for the other? And if we often refuse it through meer contempt: for, what enemie draws us to blasphemying, vndefe it be at all adventures, the envy is selse of the offence? The Philosopher Antiphones, when he was initiated in the mysteries of Orphena, the prieft, saying, vnto him, that such as vowed themselves to that religion, should after death receive eternall and perfect felicitie, replied, if thou believe it, why doth thou not die thy self Diogenes more roughly (as his manner was,) and further from our purpose, answered the prieft, who perversed him to be one of his order, that so he might come vnto, and attain the happinnesse of the other world: Wilt thou have me believe, that those famous men Agesilaus and Epaminondas, shall be miserable, and that thou, who art but an afe, and dost nothing of any worth, shalt be happy, because thou art a prieft? Did we but receive these large promises of everlafting blessednes with like authority, as we do a philosophicall discourse, we should not then have death in that horror as we have:

Non tamen moriens disolvisti conquerentes,  
Sed magnis ferit auro, veiterni, relinquere vs anguis  
Gauderes, prologa senex aut cornus cervus,  
He would not now complaine to be dissolved dying,  
But rather more rejoice, that now he is forth-flying,  
Or as a Snake his coate out-worne,  
Or as olde Harts, doth cast his horne.

I will be free, would we say, and be with Iesus Christ. The forcible power of Platoes discourse, of the immortalitie of the soule, provoked diverse of his Schollers vnto death, that so they might more speedily enjoy the hopes he told them of. All which is a most evident token, that we receive our religion, but according to our fashion, & by our own hands, & no other than other religions are received. We are placed in the countre, where it was in vs, either we regard her antiquitie, or the authoritie of those who have maintained the same; let vs either feare the menaces, wherewith the threatneith all mis-beleeuers, or let vs followe her promises. These considerations ought to be applied and employed to our bleeue, but as Subsidiaries they be humane bondes. Another countre, other testimonies, equall promises.
miles alike menaces, might semblably imprint a clean contrary religion in vs: we are christians by the same title, as we are either perigordins or germans. And as plate faith, there are few so confirmed in atheisme, but some great danger will bring unto the knowledge of gods divine power. This parte doth not touch or concerne a good christian: it is for mortall and worldly religions, to be received by a humane convoy. What faith is that like to be, which warrioufe of heart doth plant, and weakeesse establish in vs? A goodly faith, that beloveth that which beloveth, only because it wanteth the courage not to vnbelieue the fame. A vicious passion, that of unconfiance and aflomishment is, can it possibly ground any regular production in our minds or foules? they establish (faith he) by the reason of their judgement, that whatsoever is reported of hell, or of after-comming paines, is but a fiction, but the occasion to make trial of it, offering it selfe, at what time age or sickenesse doth some mon them to death: the terror of the same, through the horror of their future condition, dooth then replenish them with an other kinde of beleefe. And because such impreffions make mens hearts fearfull, hee by his laws, inhabiteth all infection of such threats, and the persuasion, that any evil may come vnto man from the gods, except for his greater good, and for a medicinable effect, whensoever hee falleth into it. They report of biau, that being infected with the atheismes of theodorus, he had for a long time made but a mockerie of religious men; but when death did once seize upon him, he yielded vnto the extremest superflitious: as if the gods would either be removed, or come againe, according to biau bufinesse. Plato and these examples conclude, that wee are brought to beleive in god, either by reason, or by compulsion. Atheifme being a proposition, as vnnatural and monstrous as it is harde and vnsafe to be established in any mans minde, how inoffent and vnruly forever hee may be. Many have beeene former, to have conceived, either through vanity or sickenesse, strange and feld-knowne opinions, as if they would become reformers of the world, by affecting a profession only in contemnance: who though they be sufficiently foolish, yet are they not powerfull enough, to ground or settle it in their conffiences. Yet will not such leave to lift vp their joyned hands to heaven, give them but a floccado on their breast: and when seeare shall have suppreft, or sickenesse vanquished this licentious fervour of a wavering minde, then will they suffer themselves gently to be reclaimed, and difcretely to be perfwaded, to give credite vnto true beleefe and publike examples. A decree seriously digested is one thing, and these shallow and superflicall impreffions another, which, brede by the disflouitenece of a loose spirite, do rashly and uncerttainly floate vp and downe the fantastic of a man. Oh men most braine-fickke and miserable, that endeare to be worse than they can! the error of paganifme, and the ignorance of our sacred trueth, was the cause of this great foules-fall; but only great in worldly greatnes, also in this next abufe, which is, that children and olde men, are found to be more suscepti- ble or capable of religion, as it were bredde and had her credite from our imbecilitie. The bond which should bind our judgement, tie our will, enforce and igne our foules to our creator, should be a bond taking his doubtings and forces, not from our considerations, reasons and passions, but from a divine and supernatural compulsion, having but one forme, one countenance, and one grace; which is the authoritie and grace of God. Now our heart being ruled, and our foule commanded by faith, reason willett, that hee drawe all our other partes to the service of her intent, according to their power and facultie. Nor is it likely, but that this vaft worldes-frame must beare the impreffion of some markes, therein imprinted by the hand of this great-wondrous Architetc, and that even in all things therein created, there must be some image, somewhat refembling, and having conuenience with the workeman that wrought and framed them. Hee hath left imprinted in these high and mysterious works, the chara- cters of his divinitie: and onely our imbecilitie is the cause, wee can nor discover, nor reade them. It is that which himselfe telleth vs; that by his visible operations, hee doeth ma- nifell those, that are invisible to vs. Second hath much travelled about this woorthie stu- die, and sheweth vs, that there is no parcell of this worlde, that either behet the famous his maker. It were a manifell wronging of Gods goodnesse, if all this vniuerse did not confer and sympathize with our beleefe. Heaven, earth, the elements, our bodies, our foules; yea all things-cle, confpire and agree vnto-it: onely the means how to make vse of them must be found out: They will instruct vs sufficiently, be wee but capable to leane and apt to vnderstand. For, this world is a most holy temple, into which man is brought, there
The second Booke.

there to behold substantial images, not wrought by mortal hand, but such as the secret thought of God hath made sensible, as the Sunne, the Starres, the Waters and the Earth, thereby to represent the intelligible unto vs. The invisible things of God (saith Saint Paul) do evidently appear by the creation of the world, judging of his eternall Wisdom and Divinitie by his works.

Argue adeo facient calign non invideo orbis.
Ipsa deus, voluntas, seors corpus, recludit.
Semper voluendo; sejus ipsum inculcat & offert
Videre cognosco posset, docerat, videndo
Quae est, docerat, non attendere leges.

God to the world doth not heav'n's face envie,
But by still moving it doth notifie
His face and essence, doth himselfe applie,
That he may well be knowne, and teach by seeing,
How he goes, how we should marke his decreeing.

Now our reason and humane discourse, is as the lumpish and barren matter, and the grace of God is the forme thereof. 'Tis that, which giveth both fashion and worth vnto it. Even as the vvarious actions of Socrates and Cato, are but frivolous and unprofitable, because they had not their end, and regarded not the true and obedience of the true creator of all things; and namely, because they were ignorant of the true knowledge of God: So is it of our imaginations and discourse; they have a kind of body, but a shallow leafe, without light or fashion, vnlesse faith and the grace of God be joyned thereunto. Faith, giving as it were a tincture and luftre vnto Sebond's arguments, makes them the more firme and solide: They may well serve for a direction and guide to a young learner, to lead and set him in the right way of this knowledge. They in some forte fashion and make him capable of the grace of God, by means whereof our belief is afterward atti¢ed and made perfect. I know a man of authority, brought vp in letters, who confessed vnto me, that he was reclamed from out the errors of mid-believing by the Arguments of Sebond. And if it happen, they be disposed of this ornament, and of the help and approbation of faith, and taken but for meere humane fantasies, yet to combate thefe, that hee long are fallen into the dreadful error, and horrible darkness of religion, even then, shall they be found as firme and forcible, as any other of that condition, that may bee opposed against them. So that wee shall stand upon termes to say vnto our parties,

Simelius quid babes, accesse, velit imperium se.
If you have any better, send for me,
Or else that I bidde you contented be.

Let them either abide the force of our proceedes, or shew vs some others, vppon some other subject, better compact and more full. I have in a manuer vnawares halfe engaged my self in the second objection, to which I had purposed to frame an answer for Sebond. Some say his Arguments are weak, and simple to verify what he would, and undertake to front him easily. Such fellows must somewhat more roughly be handled: for they are more dangerous, and more malicious then the rest. Man doth willingly apply other mens sayings to the advantage of the opinions he hath fore-judged in himselfe. To an Atheist all writings make for Atheisme. He with his owne Venom opposeth the innocent matter. These have some pre-occupation of judgement that makes their taste wallowish, and tastelesse, to conceive the reasons of Sebond. As for the rest, they think to have faire play offered them, if they have free libertie to combate our religion with meere worldly weapons; which they durt not charge, did they beholde him in his Majestie,full of authoritie and commandement. The meaines I use to suppress this frenzie, and which fecmeth the fittest for my purpose, is to brasse, to crush, and trample this pride and fiercence of men vnder-footes: and violently to pull out of their hands, the filthy weapons of their reason, to make them flooppe, and bite and snarl at the ground, vnder the authoritie and reverence of Gods Majestie. Only to his be-longeth science and wisdom, it is the alone can judge of his selfe; and from her wee steale whatsoever wee receive, value, and count our selves to be.

Ou ρας έν θεοντες ο θαν αδικον η αυθεν.
The second Booke.

Of greater, better, wiser mind than he,
God can abide no mortal man should be.

Let vs suppose this over-weening, the first foundation of the tyrannie of the wicked spirit: Deus superbia refultit: humilitas autem dat gratiam. God resfleth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble. Plato saith, That intelligence is in all the Gods, but little or nothing at all in men. Meanwhile it is a great comfort unto a Christian man, to see our mortal implements, and fading tools, so fitly sorted to our holy and divine faith; that when they are employed to the mortal and fading subjects of their Nature, they are never more forcible, nor more joyneft, appropriated unto them. Let vs then see whether man hath any other stronger reasons in his power, then Seboni, and whether it lie in him, by argument or discourse, to come to any certainty. For, Saint Augustine, pleading against these kind of men, because he would vpheld them with their injustice, in that they hold the parts of our belief to be false, and that our reason faileth in establishing them. And to shew, that many things may bee, and have beene, whereof our discourse can never ground the nature and the cause: He proposeth and setteth downe before them certaine knowne and undoubted experimentes, wherein man confesseth to see nothing, which hee doth, as all things else, with a curious and ingenious search. More must be done, and they must be taught, that to convince the weakness of their reason, we need not goe farre to call out rare examples: And that it is so defective and blinde, as there is no facility to cleare, that is cleare enough unto hisfelfe that easie and vnaefie is all one to him; that all subjects equally, and Nature in Generall disfavorith his jurisdiction, and interposition. What preacheth truth vnto vs, when it biddeth vs flie and thunne worldly philosophy; when it doth telles, that at our wildebe is but falsely before God? the al vanities, man is the greatest; that man, who presumes of his knowledge, doth not yet know what knowledge it; and that man, who is nothing if he but thinke to be something, seduceth and deceiveth himselfe? These sentences of the Holy-Ghoft, doe follow and manifetly express, what I would maintain, as I should neede no other proofe against such as with all submiffion and obedience would yeeld to his authoritie. But these will needs be whipt to their owne cost, and cannot abide their reason to be commutated, but by itselfe. Let vs now but consider man alone, without other help, armed but with his owne weapons, &vproviding of the grace & knowledge of God, which is all his honour, all his strength, and all the ground of his being. Let vs see what holde, or free: hold he hath in this gorgeous, and goodly equipment. Let him with the utmost power of his discourse make me understand, upon what foundation, he hath built those great advantages and odds, he supposeth to have over other creatures. Who hath persuaded him, that this admirable movings of heavens-vaults, that the eternal light of these lamps so fiercely rowling over his head, that the horror-moving and continual motion of this infinite vast Ocean, were established, and continue for manie ages, for his commoditie and service! Is it possible to imagine any thing so ridiculous, as this miserable and wretched creature, which is not so much as matter of himselfe, exposed and subject to the offences of all things, yet dare we call himselfe Master and Emperor of this Vniverfe? In whose power it is not to know the least part of it, much leffe to command the same. And the privilege, which he so fondly chargeth, to be the only absolute creature in this huge world-frame, perfectly able to know the absolute beautie, and several parts thereof; and that hee is only of power to yeald the great Architect thereof, due thankes for it, and to keep account both of the receipts and layings out of the world. Who hath soaled him this patent? Let him shew vs his letters of privilege, for so noble and so great a charge. Have they beene granted only in favour of the wife? Then concern they but a few. Are the foolish and wicked worthie of fo extraordinary a favour? Who being the worst part of the world, should they be preferred before the rest? Shall we believe him, Quorum victor causa quis ductit effedlram esse mundana? Eorum seifiet animantium, qua ratione stantur. His sunt di, & homines, quis profellis nobil erit melius. For whose cause then shall a man say, that the world was made? In sooth, for those creatures fake, which have the wife of reason? Those are Gods and men, then whom assuredly nothing is better. We shall never sufficiently battle the impudency of this conjoining. But seely wretch, what hath he in him worthy such an advantage? To confider the incorruptible life of the celestiall bodies, their beautie, greatnesse, and agitation, continued with so just and regular a course: ———cum suscipimus magni celestia mundi

Templa
To consider the power and domination, these bodies have, not only upon our lives, and condition of our fortune.

Fala et torms, & vitae hominum suspendit ab astra.
For on the stars he doth suspend
Of men, the deeds, the lives, and end.

But also over our dispositions and inclinations, our discours; and wills, which they rule, provoke, and move at the pleasure of their influences, as our reason finds and teacheth vs.

---peculatique longe
Depredit tacita dominatia legibus astra.
Et totum altera mundum ratione moveri,
Fatorumque vices certis discernere signis.
By speculation it from farre discerns,
How stars by secret laws do guide our stars,
And this whole world is mov'd by entercourse
And by sure signes of fates to know the courfe.

Seeing that not a man alone, nor a King only, But Monarchies and Empires, yea, and all this world below is moved at the shaking of one of the least heavenly motions.

Quantaque quum parvi faciunt de crimina motus,
Tantum et regnum quod regibus imperat ipsis.
How little motions make, how different affection:
So great this kingdom is, that hath Kings in objection.

If our vertue, vices, sufficiency and knowledge, and the fame discours we make of the power of the Planets, and the comparison betwixt them and vs, commeth as our reason judgeth by their meanes and through their f. your.

---fure alter amore
Est punctum tranare potest & vertere Troiam,
Alterius fors est, scrivendi legibus aptat.
Ecce patrem natis permittit, natis, patres,
Mutuus, arnatis comen in quinere fratres,
Non nostrum hoc templum est, coquinur tanta movere,
Inque quas ferri ponat, jaceret etaque membra,
Hoc quaque fatale est sic ipsum expenderes fatum.
One with love madded, his love to enjoy,
Can crose the seas, and over-turne all Troy;
Anothers lot is to set lawes sever.
Loc sonnes kill fathers, fathers sonnes destroy,
Brothers for mutuell wounds their armes doe beare,
Such warre is not our owne, forc't are we to-it,
Drawne to our owne paines, our owne limbs to teare;
Fates for observe it is fatal, we must doe-it.

If we hold that portion of reason, which we have, from the distribution of heaven, how can the make vs equal unto it? How can the submit his essence and conditions vs into our knowledge? Whatsoever we behold in those huge bodies doth affright vs: Que motus, que ferramenta, qui velites, que machines, qui minusfrant operis fuerunt? What workmanship? What youn-braces? What move beams, what engines? What Masts and Carpenters, were to so great a works? Why doe we then deprive them of foule, of life, and of discours? Have we discovered or knowe any unmoveable or insensible fluiditie in them? We, who have no commerce but of obedience with them? Shall we say, we have seene the life of a resolvable soule, in no other creature, but in man? What? Have we seen any thing comparable to the Sunne? Leaveth he to be, because we have seen nothing semblable unto it? And doth he
leave his moving, because his equal is no where to be found? If that which we have not scene, is not, our knowledge is wonderfully abridged? Que sunt tane animam angustiae? What narrowmes of any heart is such? Be they not dreams of humane vanity, to make a celestiall
earth, or world of the Moone? As Anaxagoras did? And therein to plant worldly habitations, and as Plato and Plutarch doe, effect their colonies for our use? And to make of our
knowne earth a bright-shining, pleasant Planet? Inter easter mortalitatis incommoda, & hoc est caling
mensium: nec tanum necessitati errandi, sed errorum amor. Amongst other discomodities of our
mortalitatis this is one, there is darkness in our mindes, and in us not only a necessitie of erring, but a
love of errors. Corruptible corpus aggrandit animam, & deprimit terran habitatio fenian
multa coequantem. Our corruptible body doth ever lode our foule, and our dwelling on earth weighs
downe our sense, that is set to think of many matters. Presumption is our natural and originall
infinitie. Of all creatures, man is the most miserable and frail, and therewith all the proued and
disuifetie, Why perceiveth and seeth himselfe placed here, amidst the thirde and mirre of the
world, salt tide and nailed to the worst, most senceles, and drooping part of the world, in the vifite
corner of the house, and faftheth from heavens-coope, with those creatures, that are the worse of the three conditions; and yet dareth imaginably place himselfe above the
circle of the Moone, and reduce heaven vnder his feete. It is through the vanitie of the same
imagination, that he dare equall himselfe to God, that he ascribeth divine conditions vnto
himselfe, that he seleccteth & separateth himselfe from out the ranke of other creatures; to
which his fellow-bretren and comperees, he cuts out and shareth their parts, and alloteth them
what portion of meanes or forces he thinketh good. How knoweth he by the virtue of his understanding the inward and secret motions of beasts? By what comparison from
them to vs doth he conclude the brutishnes, he ascribeth vnto them? When I am playing
with my Cat, who knowes whether she have more spore in dallying with me, then I have
in gaming with hir? We entertaine one another with mutuall spyll tricks, If I have my
hour to begin or to refuse, so hath the hirs. Plato in setting forth the golden age vnder Sa
turne, amongst the chiefe advantages that man had then, reporteth the communication he
had with beasts, of whom enquiring and taking in fruition, he knew the true qualities, and
differences of every one of them: by, and from whom he got an absolute understanding and
perfect wisedome, whereby he led a happier life, then we can doe. Can we have a bet
better proofe to judge of mans impudence, touching beasts? This notable Author was of opinione, that in the greatest first of the corporall forme, which nature hath bestowed on them, the hath onely respecteth the life of the prognostications, which in his daies were there
by gathered. That defect which hindreth the communication betweene them and vs, why
may it not as well be in vs, as in them? It is a matter of divination to guesse in whom the
fault is, that we understand not one another. For, we understand them no more then they
vs. By the same reason, may they as well effecte vs beasts, as we them. It is no great mar
well if we understand them not; no more doe we the cornish, the Welch, or Irish. Yet have
some boasted that they vnderstand them, as Apollonius Thyeneus, Melampus, Tirefaus, Thales
and others. And ift be (as Cosmographers reporte) that there are nations, who receive and
admit a Dogge to be their King, it must necessarily follow, that they give a certaine inter
pretation to his voice and moving. We must note the paritie that is betwene vs. We have
some meanes understanding of their sences, so have beasts of ours, about the same meaure.
They flatter and fauour vpon vs, their threat, and entreate vs, so doe we them. Touching oth
er matters, we manifextly perceive, that there is a full and perfect communication amongst
them, and that not onely those of one same kinde understand one another, but even such as
are of different kindes,
kindenes, which we see in them, we easily inferre, there is some other mean of entercommunication: their jeftures treatre, and their motions difcoufre.

Non alia longe rarae atque ipsa videtur
Prostrabere ad geslum, pueros infantia lingue.

No otherwiſe then, for they cannot speake,
Children are drawne by jeftures their minde to breake.

And why not, as well as our dombe-men dispute, argue, and tell histories by jeftures? I have seen some so ready, and fo excellent in it, that in good faith they wanted nothing to have their meaning perfectly vnderfoode. Doe we not daily see lovers with the lookes and rowling of their eyes, plainly shew when they are angrie or pleased, and how they entreate, and thanke one another, affigne meetings, and expresse any passion?

Æsilente animo sole
Hauer priegebi & parole.
Silence also hath a way,
Words and prayers to convey.

What doe we with our hands? Doe we not fume and entreate, promise and performe, call men vnto us, & discharge them, bid them farwell, and be gone, threaten, pray, befeech, deny, refuse, demand, admire, number, confede, repent, fear, be ashamed, doubt, instruct, command, enclimate, encourage, sweare, witness, accuse, condemn, absoleve, injure, despire, despeight, flatter, aplaude, bleffe, humble, mocke, reconcile, recommend, exalt, shew gladnes, rejoice, complaine, waile, sorrow, discomfort, dispaire, cry-out, forbid, declare silence and affumishment? And what not? With so great variation, and amplifying, as if they would contend with the tongue. And with our head, doe we not enuie and call to vs, discharge and fend away, avowe, disavowe, be-rie, welcome, honour, worship, disdain, demand, direct, rejoice, affieme, deny, complaine, cherish, blandish, chide, yeld, submire, brag boaste, threaten, exhort, warrant, affure, and enquire? What doe we with our eye-lids?

And with our shoulders? To conclude, there is no motion, nor jefture, that doth not speake, and speakes in a language, very easie, and without any teaching to be vnderfoode: nay, which is more, it is a language common and publike to all: whereby it followeth (seeing the variety, and several use it hath from others) that this must rather be deemed the proper and peculiar speech of humane nature. I omit that, which necessity in time of neede, doth particularly instruct and sodainely teach such as neede it; and the alphabets upon fingers, and grammars by jeftures; and the sciences, which are onely exercised and expresed by them: and the nations Plutarch reporteth to have no other speech. An Ambaffador of the CITIE of ABCDDE, after he had talke a long time vnto Agis King of Sparta, said thus vnto him: O King, what answer wilt thou that I bare backe vnto our citizens? Thus (answered he) that I have suffered thee to speake all thou wouldest, and as long as thou pleasedst, without ever speaking oneword. Is not this a kind of speaking silence, and easie to be vnderfoode? And as for other matters; what sufficiencie is there in vs, that we must not acknowledge from the induftrie and labors of beasts? Can there be a more formall, and better ordred politie, divided into so severall charges and offices, more constantly entertained, and better maintaine, then that of Bees? Shall we imagine, their so orderly disposing of their actions, and manning of their vacations, have so proportioned and formall a conduct without discourse, reason and forecast?

His quidam signis atque haec exempla sequuti,
Ete apibus partem divinum mentis, & hausim
Æthereos discere.
Some by these signes, by these examples moved,
Said that in Bees there is and may be proved
Some taste of heav'nly kinde,
Parte of celestiall minde.

The Swallows, which at the approche of spring-time, we see to priе, to fearch, and ferre at the corners of our houses; is it without judgement they fceke, or without discretion, they chufe from out a thousand places, that which is fitteft for them, to builde their nefts and lodge in? And in that prettie-cunning contexture, and admirable framing of their houses, would birds rather fit themselves with a round, then a square figure, with an obtune, then a right angle,
The second Booke.

angle, except they knewe both the commodities and effects of them? Would they (suppose you) fill take water, and then clay, vnlesse they guessed that the dardnes of the one is softened by the moistnes of the other? Would they floore their pallice with moss, or downe, except they foresaw, that the tender partes of their yong-ones, shall thereby lie more soft and eafe? Would they shroud and shelter themselves from stormie weather, and build their cabbins toward the East, vnlesse they knew the different conditions of windes, and considered that some are healthfull and safe for them, then some others? Why doth the Spider spin his artificial webbe thicke in one place, and thin in another? And now vse one, and then another kno, except she had an imaginariae kind of deliberation, forethought and conclusion? We perceiue by the greater part of their worke, what excellencie beastes have over vs, and how weake our art and short our cunning is, if we doe about to imitate them. We see notwithstanding, even in our grosser worke, what faculties we employ in them, and how our minde employs the vtenemost of his skill and forces in them; why should we not thinke of much of them? Wherefore doe we attribute the worke, which excell what ever we can performe, either by nature or by arte, vnto a kinde of vnknowne, naturall and surrell inclination? Wherein vnawares, we give them a great advantage over vs, to inferre, that nature, led by a certaine loving-kindnes, leade the and accompany them (as it were by the hand) vnto all the actions and commodities of their life; and that the forfake eth and leaveth vs to the hazard of fortune; And by art to quiet, and finde out those things, that are be- houefull and necessarie for our preservacion: and therewithall denieth vs the meanes, to attaine by any inclination and contention or spirit, to the naturall sufficiency of brute beastes: So that their brutish stoliditie, doth in all commodities exceede, whatsoever our divine in- telligence can effect. Verely, by this accompl, we might have just cause and great reaon, to terme hir a moft unjust and partiall stedfast: But there is no such thing, our policie is not fo deformed and disorderd. Nature hath generally embraced all her creatures: And there is not any, but the had amply stored with all necessarie meanes for the preservacion of their being; For, the daily plaine, which I often heare men make (when the licence of their conceits, doth sometimes raise them above the clowdes, and then headlong tumbe them downe, even to the Antipodes) exclamining, that man is the enely foraken, and out-cast creature, naked on the bare earth, fast-bound and fasted, having nothing to cover and arm himselfe withall, but the poole of others; whereas Nature hath clad and mantled all other creatures; some with shelles, some with huskes, with rindes, with haire, with wooll, with wings, with bristles, with hides, with moss, with feathers, with skales, with fleeces, and with filke, according as their quality might neede, or their condition require: And hath fenced and armed them, with claves, with nails, with talents, with hoofes, with teeth, with wings, and with hornes, both to affayle others, and to defend themselves: And hath more over instructed them in every thing fit and requisit for them, as to swim, to runne, to crepe, to flye, to roare, to bellow, and to sing: where as man onely (Oh silly-wrettched man) can neither goe, nor speake, nor shif, nor feede himselfe, vnlesse it be to whine and wepe one, except he be taught.
The second Booke.

Of throw's, to see first light, from his womb he lets him fall,
Then, as is meete, with morn full crie he fills the place,
For whom so many ills remaine in his lives race.
But divers heards of tame and wilde beasts forward spring,
Nor neede they rattle, nor of nures cockring-kinde
The flattring-broken speech their lullaby neede sing,
Nor feelke they divers coats, as divers seasons binde.
Laffly no armor neede—they, nor high-rear'd wall
Whereby to guard their owne, since all things vnto all
Worke-maister nature doth produce,
And the earth largely to their vfe.

Such complaints are false: There is a greater equalitie, and more vniforme relation in the policie of the world. Our skinne is as sufficiently provided with hardnes against the injuries of the weather, as theirs: Winter divers nations, which yet never knew the vfe of clothes. Our ancient Gaules were but lightly appareled, no more are the Irish-men, our neighbours, in so colde a climate: Which we may better judge by our selves; for, all those parts of our body, we are pleased to leave bare to winde and weather, are by experience found able to endure it: If there be any weaker part in vs, which in like manner should seeme to fare cold, it ought to be the flamke, where digestion is made: Our forefathers vfed to have it bare, and our Ladies (as dainty-nice as they be) are many times seen to go open-breasted, as lowe as their navill. The bundles and swathes about our children are no more necessarie: And the mothers of Lacedemonia, brought vp theirs in all libertie and loafenes of moving their limmes, without swathine or binding. Our whining, our puling and our weeping is common to most creatures, and divers of them are often seen to wale and groane a long time after their birth, forso much as it is a countenance fitting the weaknes wherein they feel themselves. As for the vfe of eateing, and feeding, it is in vs, as in them, natural and without teaching.

Sentiens enim vims quisque suam quampositi abuti.
For every one sees his understanding is
Of his own strength, which he may vse to mischief.

Who will make question, that a child having attained the strength to feeke himselfe, could not quest for his meate, and shift for his drinke? The earth without labor or tillage doth sufficiently produce and offer him as much as he shall neede. And if not at all times, no more doth the vnto beasts; witness the provision, we see the Antes and other silly creatures, to make against the cold and barren seasons of the yeare. The nations, that have lately bin discovered, so plentifully stored with all manner of natural meate and drinke, without care or labor, teach us, that bread is not our onely foode: And that without toying, our common mother nature, hath with great plentiful stored vs with whatsover should be needfull for vs, yea as it is most likely, more richly, and amply, then now a daies she doth, that we have added so much art vnto it:

Et tellus nitis ad fruges viniculque lata
Sponae sua primum mortalis: ipsa creanit,
Ipsa dedit dulces fructus, et pabula lata,
Quae multis vis nostra grandosse simula laboro,
Conerimique boves: et vives agricolarum.
The earth it selfe at first of it owne accord
Did men rich vineyards, and clean fruites afford.
It gave sweete off-springs foode from sweeter voyle
Which yet fare greater growe for all our toyle,
Yet tire therein we doe,
Both plowmen's strength and Oxen too.

The glutinous excessive, & intertemperate lavishes of our appetite exceeding all the inventions, we endeavor to finde-out, wherewith to glut and cloy the same. As for armes and weapons, we have more, that be natural vnto vs, then the greatest part of other beasts: We have more several motions of limbs, and naturally, without teaching: We reap more serviceable vse of them, then they do: Those which are trained vp to fight naked, are seene headlong to cast themselves into the same hazards and dangers, as we doe. If some beasts excels vs in this
this advantage, we exceed many others: And the industrious to enable, the skill to fortify, and the wit to shelter and cover our body by artificial means, we have it by a kind of natural instinct and teaching. Which to prove; the Elephant doth when and sharpen his teeth, he veth in warre (for he hath some he onely veth for that purpose) which he heedfully spareth, and never puts them to other service: When Bulls prepare themselves to fight, they raise, scatter, and with their feet, cast the dust about them: The wilde Boar whets his tuskes when the Ichneuomon is to grapple with the Crocodile, he walloweth his body in the mire, then lets the same die and harden vpon him, which he doth so often, that at last the fame becomes as hard and tough as any well compact crust, which serveth him in stead of a Cuiracc. Why shall we not say, that it is as natural for vs to arm our selves with wood and yron? As for speech, sure it is, that if it be not natural, it is not necessarie. I believe nevertheless, that if a child, bred in some vncoyns solitaries, far from haunt of people (though it were a hard matter to make triall of it) would no doubt have some kinde of words to express, and speake to vter his conceits: And it is not to be imagined, that nature hath refused vs that meane, and barred vs that helpe, which she hath bestowed vpon many and divers other creatures: For, what is that facultie, we fee in them, when they seeme to complain, to rejoyce, to call one vnto another for help, and bid one another to love copulation (as commonly they doe) by the vfe of their voice, but a kinde of speech? And shall not they speake among themselves, that speake and vter their minde vnto vs, and we to them? How many waies speake we vnto our Dogges, and they seeme to vnderstand and anfwere vs? With another language, and with other names speake we vnto, and call them, then doe we our Birds, our Hugges, our Oxen, our Horfes, and fuch like; and according to their different kindes we change our Idiom.

Cafper entro loro schiera bruna
S'ammuialma con l'altra formica,
Forfè à spiar lor vit, e lor fortuna.
So Ants amidd their fable-colored band
One with another mouth to mouth conferre,
Haply their way, or state to vnderstand.

Me semeth that Latianus doth not onely attribute speech vnto beasts, but also laughing. And the same difference of tongues, which according to the diversitie of countries is found amidst vs, is also found amongst beasts of one same kinde. Aristotle to that purpose allegeth the divers calles or purees of Partiges, according to the situation of their place of breeding:

--- varieque voces
Longe aiaio aiiiacini in tempore voce,
Et partim mutans cum temperatibus vno
Ranclionos canthus.
And divers birds, fend-forth much divers found's
At divers times, and partly change the grounds,
Of their hoarse-founding song,
As seafons change a-long.

But it would be knowne, what language such a child should speake: and what some report by divination, hath no great likelihood. And if against this opinion, a man would allege vnto me, that such are naturally deaf, speake not at all: Latine, that it is not onely because they could not receive the instruction of the word by their ears, but rather, in all much as the sense of hearing, whereof they are deprived, hath some affinitie with that of speaking, both which with a natural kinde of ligament or earne, hold and are satisfied together: In such sort, as what we speake, we must first speake it vnto our selves, and before we vter and send the same forth to strangers, we make it inwardly to found vnto our ears. I have faide all this, to maintaine the coherence and resemblance, that is in all humane things, and to bring vs vnto the generall throng. We are neither above nor vnder thee: what ever is vnder the coape of heaven (faith the wise man) runneth one law and followeth one fortune.

Indepedita suis fatalibus omnia vincit.
All things enfolded are,
In fatal bonds as fits their share.
Man must be forced, and marshalled within the limits of this policy. Miserable man with all his wit cannot in effect go beyond it: He is embarrased, and engaged, and as other creatures, of his rancke are, he is subject in like bonds, and without any prerogative, or essential pre-excellence, what ever Privilege he assume vnto himselfe, he is of very meane condition. That which is given by opinion or fantasy hath neither body nor taste. And if it be so, that he alone, above all other Creatures, hath this liberty of imagination, and this licence of thoughts, which reprent vnto him, both what is, and what is not, and what him pleaseth, falsehood and truth, it is an advantage bought at a very high rate, and whereof he hath little reason to glory: For thence springs the chiefest source of all the mischiefs that oppresse him, as sinne, fckenefe, irresolution, trouble and despair. But to come to my purpose, I say therefore, there is no likely hood, we should imagine, that beatles doe the very same things by a natural inclination, and forced guntle, which we doe of our owne free-will and induftrie. Of the very same effects we must conclude alike faculties, & by the richest effects infer the noblest faculties, and consequently acknowledge, that the same discouer and way, wee hold in working, the very same, or perhaps some other better, doe beatles hold. Wherefore shall we imagine that natural compulsion in them, that prove no such effect our selves? Since it is more honourable to be addressed to act, and tyed to worke orderly, by and through a natural and unavoidable condition, and most approaching to Divineitie then regularly to worke, and act, by, and through a causall and rash liberties, and it is safer to leave the reignes of our conduct vnto nature, then vnto our selves. The vanite of our presumpition maketh vs rather to be beholding, and as it were enedebted vnto our owne strength for our sufficiency, then vnto his liberaltie, and enrich other creatures with natural gifts, and yeeld those vnto them, that so we may en-noble and honour our selves with gifts purchased as I me thinketh, by a very simple humour: For, I would prize graces & value gifts, that were altogether mine owne, and natural vnto me, as much as I would those I had begged, and with a long pretensehippe, shifted for. It lyeth not in our power to obtaine a greater commendation, then to be favored both of God and Nature. By that reason, the Foxe, which the inhabitants of Thrace vfe when they will attempt to march vpon the yee of some frozen river, and to that end let his go loose aforde them, should we see him running alonge the river side, approch hir care close to the yee, to listen whether by any faire or neere distance, the may hear the noyse or roaring of the water running under the same, and according as the perceiveth the ice thereby to be thicke or thinne, to goe either forward or backward, might not we lawfully judge, that the same discouer poletfeft hir head, as in case it would ours? And that it is a kind of debating-reason and conquence, drawn from natural senfe? Whatsoever maketh a noyse moveth, whatsoever moveth, is not frozen, whatsoever is not frozen, is liquide whatsoever is liquide, yeelds under any weight? for to impute that only to a quicknes of the senfe of hearing, without discouer or conquence, is but a fond concept, & cannot enter into my imagination. The like must be judged of so many wiles and inventions, wherewith beasts live themselves from the fnares, and scape the baits we lay to entrap them. And if we will take hold of any advantage tending to that purpose, that it is in our power to serue vpon them, to employ them to our service, and to use them at our pleasure; it is but the same odde we have one vpon another. To which purpose wee have our hales or bond-men, and were not the Climaceides, certaine women in Syria, which creeping on al foure vpon the ground, served the Ladies in need of foot-floes or ladders to get vp into their coches? Where the greater part of free men for very light causes, abandon both their life and being, to the power of others. The wives and Concubines of the Thracians strive and contend, which of them shall be chosen, to bee flaine over hir husbands or lovers tombe. Have tyrants ever failed to find many men vowed to their devotion? Where some for an over-pluffle, or supererogation have added this necessi- vity, that they must necessarily accompany them, as well in death, as in life. Whole hoftes of men have thus tyed themselves vnto their Captaines. The tenor of the oath ministr’d vnto
the scollers, that entered and were admitted to the rude school of Roman Gladiators, empli-
ed these promises: which was this. We vow and sweare, to suffer our selves, to be enchained, 
beaten, burned and killed with the sword, and endure whatsoever any lawfull sen-fer ought 
to endure for his master: most religiously engaging both our bodie and soule to the vie 
of his service:

Ure meum suis fiamma caput, & pete ferro 
Corpus, & intro info verebor erga fce,a.

Burnetstyrant (if thou wilt) my head with fire, with sword
My body strike, my backe cut with hard-twisted cord.

Was not this a very strict covenant? Yet were there some yearesten thousand found, that 
entered and loft themselves in those schooles. When the Scithians buried their King, they, 
strangled over his dead body, first, the chiefest and beft beloved of his Concubines, then his 
Cup-bearer, the Master of his horses, his Chamberlain, the Vifier of his Chamber, 
and his ma-
ter cook. And in his anniversarie killed fiftie horses, mounted with fifty Pages, whom be-
fore, they had flaine with thrusting tharpe fakes into their fondament, which going vp an-
long their chine-bone, came out at their throte. Whom thus mounted; they let in orderly 
ranceks about the tombe. The men that serve vs, doe it better cheape, and for a leffe curi-
sous, and favourable entreating, then wee vnto birds, vnto horses, 
and vnto dogs. What care and toyle, apply we not our selves vnto for their fakes? Me thinkes, the vileft 
& baftel servants, will never doe that fo willingly for their Maifters, which Princes are glad to 
doe for their beasts. Diogenes seeing his kinfolkes, to take care how they might redeeme 
him out of thraldome, they are fooles (faid he) for it is my Maifter, that governeth, keepeth 
feedeth and serveth mee: And such as keepe or entertaine beasts, may rather faie they ferv-
eth them, than that they are served of them. And if they have that naturally greater magnani-
mitie, that never Lyon was ever foone to subject himselfe vnto another Lyon, nor one Horfe 
unto another Horfe, for want of hart. As we hunt after beastes, so Tygres and Lyons hunt 
after men, and have a like exercife one vpon another: the Hounds over the Hare, the Pike or 
Luce over the Tenc; the Swallowes over the Graffe-hoppers, and the Sparrow-hawkes 
over Blacce-birds and Larkes.

ferrpentes ecionis pullus 
Nurit, & inventa per devia rura lacerta, 
Et leporem aut capream famula levit, & generosae 
In salitum nematur aces.

The flocks hir yong ones feedes with ferpents pray, 
And lyzers found somewhere out of the way.

Ioseis servantus-Eagles, hawkes of nobler kinde, 
In forrests hunt, a hare or kidde to finde.

We share the fruite of our prey with our dogges and hawkes, as a meede of their paine 
and reward of their industri. As about Amphipoli in Thrace, faulkners, and wilde hawks di-
vide their game equally: And as about the Moctide-fennes, if fishers doe not very honestly 
leave behind them an even share of their fishings for the Wolves that range about those 
coasts, they pretently runne and teare their nets. And, as we have a kinde of fishing, 
rather managed by flight, then strength, as that of hooke and line about our anglinge rodles, so have 
beafts amongst themselves. Aristoteles reporteth, that the Cutte-Fish, cafteth a long gutou-
se of his throte, which like a line fhee fendeth forth, and at her pleafure pull eth it in againe, ac-
cording as the perceiveth some little Fith to come neere him, who being cloe hidden in the 
gravel or ftronde, letteth him nibble or bite the end of it, and then by little and little draws 
it in vnto hir, vntil the Fishe be neere, that with a fadaine leape she may catch it. Touch-
ing strength, there is no Creature in the world, open to fo many wrongs and injuries as man: 
He neede not a Whale, an Elephant, nor a Crocodile, nor any fuch other wilde beaft, of 
which one alone is of power to defeat a great number of men: feele lyce are able to make Sti-
lla give over his Dictatorship: The hart and life of a mighty and triumphall Emperor, is but 
the break-fall of a feelylittle Worne. Why fay we, that skill to discern, and knowledge to 
make choyce (gotten by art, and acquired by discourse) of things good for this life, and avail-
full against fickneffe, and so distinguifh of those which are hurtfull, and to know the vertue 
of Reubarte, qualitie of Oake ferne, and operation of Polipodie, is only peculiar vnto man? 
When
When we see the Goates of Cyclops, being shotte with an arrow, to choose from out a million of impales, the heare Dittamy or Garden-tinger, and therewith cure themselves; and the Torsoe having eaten of a Viper, immediately to seek for Origan, or wild Marjoram, to purge hirselfe: the Dragon to run and clear his eyes with fennel: the Cranes with their bills to mini-
er gritters offer water unto themselves; the Elephants to pull out, not only from themselves and their fellowes, but also from their mafteres (witness that of King Perus, whom Alexander defeated) such javelins or dartes, as in fight have beene thirled or shot at themso mun-
bly & so cunningly, as our selves could never do it so easily, and with so little paine: Why say we not likewise that it is science, and prudence in them? For, if to depress them, some would alledge, it is by the onely instruction and instinct of Nature, they know it; that will not take the name of science, and title of prudence from them: it is rather to ascribe it unto them, then to vs, for the honour of so affured a schoole-maisters. Chrysippus, albeit in other things as disdainfull a judge of the condition of beasts, as any other Philosopher, considering the earnest movings of the dog, who comming into a path, that led three several ways, in search or quest of his Master, whom he had lost, or in pursuice of some prey, that hath e-

This page contains a block of text from a historical document. The text is written in an archaic style and discusses various animals, their behaviors, and the authors' thoughts on these behaviors. The text is rich in detail and uses a variety of archaic English words and phrases. There are references to specific events and figures from history, such as King Perus and Alexander. The text also contains a mix of direct quotes and paraphrased thoughts, reflecting the author's interpretations and analyses of these events. The overall tone is informative and scholarly, with a focus on the natural behaviors of animals and the wisdom that can be gained from observing them. The text is a reflection of the author's interest in natural history and the wisdom to be found in the natural world. The language is intricate and complex, reflecting the intellectual and cultural context of the time.
were so accustomed to that number, as it was impossible by any compulsion to make them draw one more, which talke ended they would lothly flopppe. We are growne triflings before we can tell a hundred; and many Nations have lately bene discovered, that never knew what numbers meant. More discouerie is required to teach others, then to be taught. And omitting what Democritus judged and proved, which is, that beatles have instructed vs in most of our arts: As the spider to weave and sew, the swallow to build, the swanne, and the nightengale Mische, and divers beasts, by immitating them, the Artes of Physicke: Aristotle is of opinion, that Nightengales teach their young-ones to sing, wherein they employ both long time and much care, wherefore it foloweth, that those which we keep tame in cages, and have not had leasure to goe to their parents schoole, loose much grace in their singing. Wherby we may conclude, they are much amended by discipline and studie. And amongst thofe that runne wilde, their song is not all one, nor alike. Ech one hath learnt either better or worse, according to his capacite. And fo jealous are they in their pretence-ship, that to excell one another, they will fo floutely contend for the maiety, that many times, such as are vanquished, die their windes and strength sooner falling, then their voyce. The yong-ones will very fadly fit recording their lefson, and are often fenee laboring how to imitate certaine song-notes: Tho the Scholler listeneth attentivelie to his Maifters Leffon, and carefully yeeldeth ac- countment of it; now one and another fhall hold his peace: Marke but how they endeavour to amend their faults, and how the elder striving to reproove the youngest. Arrisius protesteth to have fenee an Elephant, who on every thighb hanging, and one fainefh to his truncke, at the found of which, all other Elephants daunced in a round, now riifing aloft, then lowing full lowe at certaine cadences, even as the instrument directed them, and was much delighted with the harmonic. In the great fhews of Rome, Elephants were ordinarily fenee, taught to moove and daunce at the found of a voyce, certaine dances, wherein were many ftrange shifts, enter-changes, caprings, and cadences, very hard to be learned. Some have beene noted to konne and prafufe their lefsons, ving much flou- die and care, as being loath to be chidden and beaten of their maifters. But the tale of the Piott is very strange, which Plutarche confidently witnesseth to have fenee: This Jay was in a Barbers fhop of Rome, and was admirable in counterfaeting with fir voyce whatfoe- ver the heard: It fortuned one day, that certaine Trumpeters flayed before this fhop, and there founed a good while; and being gone, all that day, and the next after, the Piott beganne to be very fadde, filent, and melancholie, whereat all men maruelled, and furmized that the noyle or clang of the Trumpets had thus affrighted and dizzyed her, and that with her hearing the had alfo loft her voyce. But at laft they founed, fhe was but in a deepie flou- die, and dumplie retracting into her felfe, exercifing her minde, and preparing her voyce, to repreffent the foun, and expreff the noyle of the Trumpets fhe had heard: And the firft voyce fhe vtered was that, wherein the feightly expresfion their ftraines, their clozes, and their changes; having by her newe pretence-ship altogether quitted, and as it were, scorned what-ever she could prate befpre. I will not omit to alleadge another exa- mple of a dogge, which Plutarche alfo fayth to have fenee (as for any order or methode, I know very well I do but confound it, which I obfaeve no more in ranging thefe examples, than I doe in all the reft of my businesse) who being in a fhip, noted that this Dogge was in great perplexitie how to get fome oyle out of a deepie pitchier, which by reafon of it's narrow mouth, he could not reach with his tongue, fperate him prefently some pibble-stones, and put fo many into the jarre, that he made the oyle come vp fo near the brimme, as he could easilie reach and like some. And what is that but the effet of a very subtile spirite? It is reported, that the Ravens of Barbarie doe the like, when the water they would drinke is too lowe. This action doth somewhat resembel that, which Inba a king of that nation relateth of their Ele- phants; that when through the wiles of those who chafe them, any one chanceth to fall in- to certaine deepete pittes, which they prepare for them, and to deceive them, they cover over with reedes, thribbes, and bougis, his fellows will speedilie with all diligence bring great floor of stones and pieces of timber, that fo they may helpe to recover him out againe. But this beast hath in many other effects, fuch affinatie with mans sufficience, that would I parti- cularly trace out what experience hath taught, I shoulde easilie get an affirmation of what I fo ordinarily maintaine, which is, that there is more difference founed betweene such and fuch a man, than betwenee fuch a beast and fuch a man. An Elephants kepper in a private house
of Siria, was wont every meate to steal away halfe of the allowance which was alotted him, it fortuned one day, his maitre would needs feede him himselfe, and having poured that just measure of barly, which for his allowance he had prescribed him, into his manger: the Elephant freely eying his maitre, with his truncke divided the provender in two equall partes, and laide the one a side, by which he declared the wrong his keeper did him. Another having a keeper, who to encrease the measure of his provender, was wont to mingle stones with it, came one day to the pot which with meate in it for his keepers dinner was setting over the fire, and filled it vp with ashes. These are but particular effects; but that which all the world hath seen, and all men knowe, which is, that in all the armies that came out of the East, their chiefest strength consisted in their Elephants, by whom they reaped, without comparison, faire, greater effects, than nowadayes we doe by our great ordnance, which in a manner holds their place in a ranged battell (such as have any knowledge in ancient Histories may easlily guess it to be true.)

A man must needs be assured of the confidence they had in these beasts, and of their discourse, yielding the front of a battell vnto them; where the least play they could have made by reason of the hugeness of their bodies, and least amazement that might have made them turne head vpon their owne men, had bin sufficient to loose all. And few examples have bin noted, that ever it fortuned they turned vppon their owne troupe, whereas we have long thought one vpon another, and so are put to rowr. They had charge given them, not only of one simple moving, but of many and severall parts in the combate: As the Spaniards did to their dogges in their new conquest of the Indies, to whom they gave wages, and imparted their booties; which beasts shewed as much dexteritie in pursuing, and judgement in staying their victorie, in charging, or retreating, and as occasion served in distinguishing their friends from their enemies, as they did earneftly and eagerly: we rather admire and consider strange than common things: without which I should never so long have ammused my selfe about this tedious catalogue. For, in my judgement, he that shall nerely checke, what we ordinarily fee in those beasts that live amongst vs, shall in them finde as wonderfull effects, as those, which with so much tole are collected in farre countries, and passed ages. It is one fame nature, which still doth keepes her course. He that throughly should judge her present estate, might safely conclude, both what shall happen, and what is past. I have seene amongst vs, men brought by sea from distant countries, whole language, because we could in no wise understand, and that their fashions, their countenance, and their clothes did altogether differ from ours; who of vs did not decree them brutish and savage? who did not impute their muteness vnto slasciditie or beastliness, and to see them ignorant of the French tongue, of our kissing the handes, of our low-lownging curtesies, of our behaviour and carriage, by which, without contradiction, humane nature ought to take her pattern? Whatsoever else meth strange vnto vs, and we understand not, we blame and condemne. The like befalleth vs in our judging of beasts. They have diverse qualities, which somewhat symbolize with ours: from which, we may comparativcly drawe some conjecture, but of such as are peculiar vnto them, what knowe we what they are? Horses, Dogges, Oxen, Sheepe, Birds, and the greater number of fenitue creatures that live amongst vs, knowe our voyces, and by it suffer themselves to be directed. So did the Lamprey which Grafin had, and came to him when he called it; so do the Elees that breede in Arabian waters. And my selfe have seene some fish-pounds, where, at a certaine crie of those that kept them, the fish would presently come to thoare, where they were wont to be fed.

—— nomen habent, & ad magistri
Vocem, quisque sui venit citatun.

A 3 They
By which we may judge, and conclude, that Elephants have some apprehension of religion, for so much as after diverse washings and purifications, they are seen to lift vp their truncke, as we doe our armes, and at certaine hours of the day, without any instruction, of their owne accord, holding their eies fixed towards the Sunne-rising, fall into a long meditating contemplation: yet, because we see no such appearance in other beasts, may wee rightly conclude, that they are altogether voyde of religion, and may not take that in payment, which is hidden from vs. As we perceive something in that action, which the philosopher Cleanthes well observ’d, because it somewhat draws neere vnto ours. Hee lawe (as himselfe reporteth) a company of Emmets go from their nest, bearing amongst them the bodie of a dead Ant, toward another Emmets nest, from which many other Ants came, as it were to meete them by the way to parle with them, who after they had continued together awhile, they which came last, returned backe, to confult (as you may imagine) with their fellow-citizens, and because they could hardly come to any capitulation: they made two or three voyages to and fro: In the end, the last com, brought vnto the other a worme from their habitation, as for a ranfome of the dead, which worme the first company tooke vpon their backes, and carried it home, leaving the dead body vnto the other. Loe here the interpretation that Cleanthes gave it: Witnessing thereby, that theoee which have no voice at all, have nevertheless mutual commerce, and enterchangeable communication, whereof if we be not parakers, it is onely our fault; and therefore doe we fondly to confume it. Many holde opinion, that in the left and famous sea-fight, which Antonie loft against Augoustus, his Admiral-galle was in her course flayed by that little fifth, the Latines call Remora, and the English a Sucke-fone, whose propriety is, to stay any fish he can fasten himselfe vnto. And the Emperor Caligula, sailing with a great flete along the coast of Romania, his owne galle was ffordainely flayed by such a fish, which he caufed to be taken flicking faft to the keele, moodyly raging, that fo little a creature had the power to force both sea and winde, and the violence of all his oares, onely with her bill flicking to his gallie (for it is a kind of chel-fish) and was much more amazed when he perceived the fish, being brought aboard his ship, to have no longer that powerfull vertue, which it had, being in the Sea. A certaine citizen of Cyzique, whom purchased vnto himselfe the reputation to be an excellent Mathematician, because he had leaue not the qualitie of the hedge-hogge, whose propriety is to build his hole or denne, open diverce ways, and toward severall winds, and for seeing rising storms, he presently floppeth the holes that way; which thing the foreside citizen heedfully observing, would in the Cuttie forretall any future storms, and what windes should blowe. The Cameleon taketh the colour of the place wherein hee is. The fifth called a Pourcontrell, or Many-feete, changeth himselfe into what colour he list, as occasion offereth it felfe, that so he may hide himselfe from what heearth, and catch what he seeketh for. In the Cameleon it is a change proceeding of passion, but in the Pourcontrell a change in action; our selves do often change our colour, & alter our countenance, through fordaine feare, choler, shame and fuch like violent passions, which are wont to alter the hue of our faces: but it is by the effect of suffrance, as in the Cameleon. The jandifie hath power to make vs yelow, but it is not in the disposition of our wills. The effects we perceive in other creatures, greater than ours, witneffe some more excellent facultie in them, which is concealed from vs; as it is to be suppos’d, diverse others of their conditions and forces are, whereof no apperance or knowledge commeth to vs. Of all former predictions, the ancientsfelf and most certaine were such as were drawn from the flight of birds: we have nothing equall vnto it, nor fo admirable. The rule of flattering, and order of chaking their wings, by which they conjure the consequences of things to ensue, must necessearily be directed to fo noble an operation by some excellent and supernaturall meane: For, it is a wresting of the letter, to attribute wondrous effects, to any natural decree, without the knowledge, content, or discourse of him, that causeth & produceth them; & is a most falle opinion: Which to prove, the Torpedo or Cramp-fish hath the property to benume & affonish, not only the limbs of those that touch it, but also theirs, that with any long pole or fishing line touch any part thereof, the doth transmit and convey a kind of heavie-numming into the hands of those that flire or handle the same: Moreover, it is aver’d, that if any matter be cast vpon them, the affonsohment
The second Booke.

ment is sensiblie felt to gain vpward vntill it come to the handes, and even through the wa-ter to the highfith the feeinge. Is not this a wonderfull power! Yet is it not altogether vnproufible for the Cramp-fit, fhe both knowes and makes ufe of it: for, to catch the prey the pursueth, she is fene to hide herself vnder the muddle, that, other fishes swimming over her, strucken and benummed with her exceeding coldenesse, may fall into her clauws. The Cranes, Swallowes and other wandring bidles, changing their abode, according to the feaons of the yeare, fhew evidently the knowledge they have of their fore-divining facultie, and often put the fame in ufe. Hunters affure us, that to chufe the beft dogge, and which they purpofe to keepe from out a litter of other yong whelpes, there is no better meane than the damme of her felle: for, if they be remoued from out their kennell, him that the firft brings thither againe, shall always proove the beft; or if one but encompass her kennell with fire, looke which of her whelpes the firft seeketh to fave, is vndoubtedly the beft: where- by it appeareth, they have a certaine ufe of prognosticating, that we have noted els some hid- den vertue, to judge of their yong ones, different and more lively then ours. The manner of all beafts breeding, engendering, nourifhing, working, mooving, living and dying, being fo neere to ours, what ever we abridge from their mooving-caufes, and add to our condition above theirs, can no way departe from our reafons discourse. For a regiment of our health, Pithions propofe the example of beafts manner of life, and proceeding vnto vs: for this common faying is always in the peoples mouth:

Tene, chaufl iis peds & lauefe,
Audemaur uoce en beffe.

Kepe warme (tis meete) thy head and feete;
In all the reft, live like a beaff.

Generation is the chiefeft natural action: we have a certaine disposition of some mem- bers, fitteft for that purpoce; nevertheless, they bidde us range our selves vnto a brutifh fu- tuation and disposition, as moft effectuall

more furvarum,
Quadrapedum magis ritu, plurimumque putantur
Concipere uxorier spia fic loca fumere possum,
Pelloribus poaffi, fuadatis femina lumbis.

And reject those indifferete and inofent motions, which women have fo luxuriously found out, as huffuill: conforming them to the example and ufe of beafts of their fexe, as more modest and considerate.

Nam mulier prohibet fe concipere, atque repugnat,
Clunbua spfa viri Venerem fi laetaretraelit,
Acque exoffatio ciet omni pellore fuiitu,
Ejae enim fulci relica regione uixaque
Vomenem, atque loci averir fimius illum.

If it be justice to give every one his due, beafts which ferve, love & defend their benefactors, pursue and outrage strangers, and such as offend them, by so doing they represent some fiew of our justice, as alo in reffering a high kind of equalitie in difpenfing of what they have to their yong-ones. Touching friendfhip, without all companion, they propofe it more lively, and fhew it more constantly, then men. Hircamu: a Dogge of Lyuimachus the King, his maifter being dead, without eating or drinking would never come from off his bed, and when the dead corpes was removed thence, he followed it, and laftly flung himfelfe into the fire, where his maifter was burned. As did also the dogge of one called Pyrrhus, who after he was dead, would never bouge from his maifters cowch, and when he was remoued, suffere- red himfelfe to be carried away with him, and at laft flung himfelfe into the fire wherein his maifter was confumed. There are certaine inclination of affeflion, which without counfell of refton arise sometimes in vs, proceeding of a casual tenuity, which fom call Sympatie:beafts as well as men are capable of it. We fee hores take a kind of acquaintance one of another, fo that often, travelling by the high-way, or feeding together, wee have much ado to keepe them aunder, we fee them bend and apople their affefions to some of their fellowes co- lors, as if it were upon a certaine visage; and when they meete with any fuch, with fitnes of joy, and demonstration of good-will, to joine and accord them, and to hate and fhunme fome other formes and colours. Beaftes, as well as wee, have choife in their loves, and are

A a 4. very
The second Booke.

very nice in chusing of their mates. They are not altogether voide of our extreme and vni-

miable jealousies. Lustfull desires are either natural, and necessary, as eating and drinking;
or else not natural and not necessary, as the acquaintance of males and females: or else neither

necessary nor natural: Of this last kind are almost all mens: For, they are all superfusious

and artificiall. It is wonderful to see with how little, nature will be satisfied, and how little

the hath left for vs to be desired. The preparations in our kitchens, doe nothing at all con-

cern: bires. The Stoikes say, that a man might very well sustaine himselfe with one O-

live a day. The delicacie of our wines, is no parte of her lesson, no more is the surcharge and

refilling, which we add vnto our letcherous appetites.

Magna prog impressum et posseis confituere cumnum.

These strange lustfull longings, which the ignorance of good, and a false opinion have

posset vs with, are in number to infinite, that in a maner they expell all those which are

natural: even as if there were so many strangers in a Cittie, that should either banish and ex-
pell all the natural inhabitants thereof, or vterly suppreffe their ancient power and autho-

ritie, and absolutely vsurpe the fame, take possesston of it. Brute beastes are much more regu-

lar then we; and with more moderation containe themselves within the compass, which

nature hath preferr'd them: yet not fo exactly, but that they have some coherence with

our riotous licentiousnesse. And even as there have beene found certaine furious longings

and vnnatural desires, which have provoked men vnto the love of beastes, so have divers

times some of them beene drawne to love vs, and are possed with monftrous affections

from one kinde to another: witnesse the Elephant, that in the love of an heare-wife, in the

Cittie of Alexandria, was corvall with Aristophanes the Grammarian; who in all offices per-
taining to an earnest woer and passionate user, yielded nothing vnto him: For, walking

through the fruite-maker, hee would here and there snatch vp some with his truncke, and

carry them vnto her: as mush as might be he would never looe the sight of her: and now

and then over her band put his truncke into hir bosome, and feele her breasts. They also re-

porte of a Dragon, that was exceedingly in love with a young maiden: and of a Goofe in the

Cittie of Alope, which dearly loved a yong childe: also of a Ramme that belonged to the

Muffitan Glaufa. Do we not daily see Munkies ragingly in love with women, and furri-

ously to pursue them? And certaine other beastes given to love the males of their owne

sex? Oppium and others reporte some examples, to shew the reverence and manifest the

awe, some beastes in their marriages, beare vnto their kindred: but experience makes vs

often see the contrary:

Ovid, Metam. 10.315.

- nec habitet turpem invence

Ferre paremtergo: fui quo sua fisa conius:

- Quo quo creavit, uti pecudes caper: ipsaque cius

Semine concepta est, ex illo conceptus ale

To beare her Sire the Heifer shameth not:
The Horfe takes his owne Fillies maidenhead:
The Goate gets them with yong, whom he begot:
Birds breed by them, by whom themselves were bred.

Touching a subtile prankse and wittie tricke, is there any so famous as that of Thales the

Philosphers Mule, which, laden with faute, passing through a river chance to stumble, so

that the fackes shee carried were all wet, and perceiving the faute (because the water had me-
ted it) to grow lighter, ceased not, assoone as shee came neere any water, together with her

loade to plunge herselfe therein, until her maister, being aware of her craft, commanded her
to be laden with wooll, which being wet became heauneys the Mule finding her selfe dece-
ved, vfed her former policie no more. There are many of them, that lively represent the

visage of our avarice, who with a greedy kind of desire endeavour to furprize whatsoever comes

within their reach, and though they reape no commoditie, nor have any vfe of it, to hide the

same very curiously. As for husbandry, they exceede vs, not onely in foresight to spare, and
gather together for times to come, but have also many parts of the skill belonging there-

unto. As the Ants, when they perceive their corne to grow mustie, and graine to be soure, for

feare it should rot and putrisfe, spread the same abroad before their needes, that it may aie

and drye. But the caution they vfe in gnawing, and prevention they imploy in paring their

graines
graines of wheate, is beyond all imagination of mans wit: Because wheate doth not alwayes keepe drie nor wholesome, but moisten, melt and dissolve into a kinde of whey, namely when it beginneth to bud, fearing it should turne to seede, and loose the nature of a flower-houfe, for their suffentience, they pare and gnawe off the end whereat it wonts to bud. As for warre, which is the greatest and most glorious of all humane actions, I would faine know, if we will use it for an argument of some prerogative, or otherwise for a testimonie of our imbecility and imperfection, as in truth, the science were vse to defeate and kill one another, to spoile and vterly to overthrow our owne kinde, it seemeth, it hath not much to make it felle to be wished-for in beastes, that have it not.

Yet are not theyaltogether exempted from it: witnesse the furious encounters of bee, and the hostile enterprises of the Princes and Leaders of the two contrary Armies.

This horror-causing aray of fo many thousands of armed men, so great furie, earnest fervor, and undaunted courage, it would make one laugh to see, by how many vaine occa-sions it is raised and fet on fire, and by what light means it is againe suppresed and extinguiished.

The hatred of one man, a fright, a pleasure, a familiar supper, or a jealousie, causes, which ought not to move two scolding fish-wives to scratch one another, is the soule and motive of all this hurly-burry. Shall we beleive them that are the principal authors and causes therof? Let vs but hearken into the greatest and most victorious Emperour, and the mightie that ever was, how pleasantly he laughs, and wittily he phylies, at so many barrells and bloody sights, hazarded both by sea and land, at the blood and lives of five hundred thousand souls, which followed his fortune, and the strength and riches of twoo partes of the world confirmed and drawn drie for the service of his enterprizes:
The second Booke.

The autors name, aut pugnans, quisque si multis viis
Charior effipiantur? Signa canant.
(I see my Latine somewhat boldly, but it is with that leave which you have given me.)
This vaste huge bodie hath so many faces and severall motions, which seeme to threat both heaven and earth.

Virg. i. 274.
Quam multi Lybico volventur marmore singulae
Saxos orbis Orian hypernis condituras undas:
Delictum sole novae denfæ torrentur arisce,
Ant Hermis campo, aut Lyceo flaventibus aravis,
Scentioantes, pulvis, pedum tenuit expulit tenuis.
As many waves, as rowle in Africke marble-foundes,
When fierce Oryon hides in-Winter waves his head:
Or when thick-e-cares of Corne are parch'd by Sunne new spredde.
In Hermus fruitfull fields, or Lyciae yellow grounds,
With noyle of shields and fecte, the trembling earth do foundes.

This many-headed, divers-armed, and furiously-raging monster, is man, wretched, weak and miserable mankind, whom if you consider well, what is he, but a crawling, and ever-moving Ante-neck?
It nigrum campum agnosce:
The fable-coloured band,
Marches along the Land.

A gust of contrarie winds, the crouking of a flight of Ravens, the fallie pate of a Horshe, the caual full flight of an Eagle, a dreame, a foddaine voyce, a fallie signe, a mornings sight, an evening fogg, are enough to overthrow, sufficient to overcome, and able to pull him to the ground.
Let the Sunne but shine hotte vpon his face, he faintes and fletwers with heathe: Caft but a little dust in his eyes, as to the Bees mentioned by our Poet, allour ensignes, all our legions, yea great Pompey himselfe in the forefront of them is overthowe and put to route: For as I remember it was he whom Sertorius vanquished in Spaine, with all thee goodly armes, which also served Eumene against Antigonus, and Surenas against Craesus:
Hi motus animorum, atque, hac certamina tauta,
Pulveris exsanguitu compressa quiscent.
These formidable motions, these contentions great,
Calm'd with a little dust, thrall loothed their heart.

Let vs but vncouple some of our ordinary flies, and let loose a few gnats among them, they shall have both the force to scatter, and courage to confume him. The Portugalls not long since besieging the City of Tamby, in the territory of Xutine, the inhabitants thereof, brought great frote of Hives, (whereof they have plentie) uppon their walls: And with fire drove them fo forcibly vpon their enemies, who as vnable to abide their assaults, and endure their flingings, left their enterpize. Thus by this newe kindes of helpe was the libertie of the Towne gained, and victory purchased; with so happy successe, that in their retreating there was not one townely-man found wanting. The foules of Emperours and Coblers are all cast in one same mold.
Considering the importance of Princes actions, and their weight, wee persuade our selves, they are brought forth by some as weighty and important causes, wee are deceived: They are moved, stirred and removed in their motions, by the same springs and wardes, that we are in ours. The same reason that makes vs chide and braule, and fall out withanie of our neighbours, caufe a warre to follow betweene Princes; The same reason that makes vs whipple or beat a lackey, maketh a Prince (if he apprehend it) to spryole and wastethe whole Province. They have as easie a will as we, but they do use much more. Alasse defires perturbbe both a skinne-worme, and an Elephant. Touching trust and faithfulness, there is no creature in the worldes so treacherous an man. Our histories report the earneft pursuite and harpe chace, that some Dogges have made for the death of their masters. King Pirrhus finding a Dog, that watched a dead man, and understandin he had done so three daies and nights together, commanded the corps to be entered, & took the Dog along with him. It fortuned one day (as Pirrhus was surveying the Generall Musters of his Army) the Dog perceiving in that multitude, the man who had murthered his master, loud-barking, and with great rage ranne furiously vpon him; by which signes he furthered and procured his mailers revenge, which by way of justice, was shortly executed. Even so did the Dogge belonging
longing to Herod, surnamed the wife, having convicted the children of Gunifer of Nauplia, the murder committed on his Maisters Peron. Another Dogge being appointed to watch a temple in Athens, having perceived a seareligious theefe, to carry away the fairest jewels therein, barked at him so long as he was able, and seeing he could not awaken the Sextons or Temple-keepers, followed the theefe, whither-forever he went; day-light being come, he kept himself a looke off, but never left the sight of him; if he offered him meat, he utterly refused it; but if any passenger chanced to come by, on them he fawned, with waging his tale, and tooke whatever they offered him; if the theefe flated to rett himselfe, he also stayed in the same place: The newes of this Dogge being come to the Temple keepers, they as went along, enquiring of the Dogges baire and colour, purfued his tracks so long, that at last they found both the Dog and the theefe in the City of Cromion, whom they brought backe to Athens, where for his offence he was severly punished. And the judges in acknowledgement of the Dogges good office, at the Cittie's charge appoynted him for his suffentance a certaine dayly mesure of corne, and enjoyed the Priests of the Temple, carefully to looke vnto him. Plutarke affirmeth this storie to be most true, and to have happned in his time. Touching gratefude and thankfulnesse, (for me thinks we had neede to further this word greatly) this onely example shall suffice, of which Appian reporteth to have been a spectator himselfe. One day (faith he) that the Senate of Rome, (to please and recreate the common people) caufed a great number of wild beasts to be baited, namely huge great Lions, to be fortunate, that there was one among the rest, who by reason of his furious and flatte ratiety, of his unmatchd strength, of his great lames, and of his loud and terror-cauing roaring, drew all by -standers eyes to gaze upon him. Amongst other flaves, that in sight of all the people were prefent, to encounter with thefe beasts, there chanced to be one Androcles of Dafa, who belonged vnto a Roman Lord, by office a Conful. This huge Lyon, having eyed him a faire off, first made a sodaine flappe, as strucken into a kinde of admiration, then with a mylde and gentle countenance, as if he would willingly have taken acquaintance of him, faire and softly approached vnto him: Which done, and letting affured he was the man he tooke him for; begunne fawningly to washe his tale, as dogges doe that fawned vpon their new-found masters, and lieke the poore and miserable flaves handes, and thighs, who through feare was almost out of his wits and halfe dead. Androcles at last taking hart of grace, and by reason of the Lyones myldenesse having roused vp his spirits, and withly fixing his eies vpon him, to see whether he could call him to remembrance; it was to all beholders a singular pleasure to obferve the love, the joy, and blanfshments, ech endeve red to enter-shew one another. Whereat the people raifing a loud cry, and by their fhowing and clapping of handes seeming to be much pleased; the Emperor willed the flave to bee brought before him, as desirous to underftand of him the caufe of the strange and feldome an accident: Who related this new, and wonderful story vnto him.

My maister (saide he) being Procosfull in Aftrica, for somuch as he caufed me every day to be moft cruelly beaten, and held me in fo rigorous bondage, I was constrained, as being weary of my life, to runne away: And safely to scape from iminent a perfon, and who had so great authoritie in the countie, I thought it best to get me into the desert, and moft unfrequentd wildernesse of that region, with a full resolution, if I could not commafs the means to sustayne my felfe, to finde one way or other, with violence to make my felfe away. One day, the Sunne about noone-tide being extremly hot, and the fcorching heate thereof intolerable, I forfunt to come vnto a wilde-vnhanted cave, hidden among stags, and almost inaccessible, and where I imagined no footinge had ever beene; therein I hid my felfe: I had not long beene there, but in comes the Lion, with one of his paws fore hurt, and bloody-goared, wailing for the smart, and groaning for the paine he felt; at whose arrivall, I was much dismayd, but he seeing mee he clofe-cowring in a corner of his denne, gently made his approaches vnto me, holding forth his goared paw toward me, and feme with fiewing the fame humbly to sue, and fuppliantly to beg for help at my hands. I moved with ruth, taking it into my hand, pulled out a great splint, which was gotten into it; and shaking off all feare, first I wrung and crifht his fone, and caufed the filth and matter, which therein was gathered, to come forth; then, as tenderly as for my hart I could, I cleansed, wiped, and dried the fame. He feeling some caife in his griefe, and his paine to caufe, still holding his fote betweene my hands, begane to fleape and take some reft. Thence forward here and I lived
The second Booke.

lived together, the full space of three yeares in his denne, with such meete as he Shifted for: For, what beasts he killed, or what prey either he tooke, hee ever brought home the better parte, and shared it with me, which for want of fire, I rosted in the Sunne, and therewith nourished my selfe all that while. But at last wearied with this kind of brutish life, the Lion being one day gone to purchase his wonted prey, I left the place, hoping to mend my fortunes, and having wandred vp and downe three days, I was at last taken by certaine Souldiers, which from Africa brought me into this Citie to my maister againe, who immediately condemned me to death, & to be devoured by wilde beasts. And as I now perceive, the same Lion was also shortly after taken, who as you see hath now required me of the good turne I did him, and the health which by my meane he recovered. Behold here the historie, Androclus reported vnto the Emperour, which after he caused to be declared vnto all the people, at whose generall request, he was forthwith set at libertie, and quit of his punishment, and by the common consent of all, had the Lion bestowed vpon him. Appius faith further, that Androclus was daely scene to leade the Lion vp and downe the streets of Rome, tied onely with a little twine, and walking from taverne to taverne, receive such mony was given him, who would gently suffer himselfe to be handled, touched, decked, and threw with flowers, all over and over, many saying when they met him: yonder is the Lion that is the mans hoste, and yonder is the man that is the Lions Phisitian. We often mourne and wepe, for the losse of those beasts we love, so doe they many times for the losse of vs.

Poet bellator equi positis insignibus Achilles.
It larmians, gustisque hominum grandium oras.
Next, Achilles hoste of warre, all ornaments laide downe,
Goes weeping, with great drops bedewes his cheekes adowne.

As some of our nations have wives in common, and some in severall, each man keeping himselfe to his owne, so have some beasts; yea some there are, that obserue their marriages, with as great respect as we doe ours. Touching the mutuall societie, and reciprocall confederacion, which they devise amongst them selves, that so they may be fast combined together, and in times of neede helpe one another, it is apparant, that if Oxen, Hogs, and other beasts being hurtt by vs, chance to crie, all the hear runners to ayde him, and in his defence will join all together. The fifth, called of the Latines Epidea, having swallowed the fishes hooke, his fellows will presently flocke about him, and nibble the line in fnder and if any of them happen to be taken in a bow-net, some of his fellows turning his head away, will put his talion in the necke of the net, who with his teeth fast-holding the same, never leave him, vntill they have pulled him out. The Barble fishes, if one of them chance to be engageed, will let the line against their backes, and with a finne; they have, toothed like a tharpe faw, presently faw and fct the same adunder. Concerning particular offices, which wee for the benefit of our life draw one from another, many like examples are found amongst them. It is assuredly believed, that the Whale never swammeth, vnlesse she have a little fihn going before her as her vanguard, it is in shape like a gudgeon, and both the Latines and we, call it the Whales-guide; for, the doth ever follow him, suffering her selfe, as easily to be led and turned by him, as a ship is directed and turned by a steerage: for requisite of which good turne, whereas all things else, beit beastes, fish, or velliff, that comes within the horrible Chaer of this monstrous mouth, is presently lost and devoured, this little fish, doth safely retire himselfe therein, and there sleepe very quietly, and as long as heelep, the whale never stirres, but assoone as he awaketh and goeth his way, wherevther hee takes his course the alwaies followeth him, and if the fortune to loosen he, the wanders here and there, and often shriketh upon the rocks, as a ship that hath nor mast nor rudder. This, Pindar the wise, fifteth to have beene in the Iland of Anticins. There is such a like societie betweene the little bird called a Wren and the Crocodill: For, the Wren serveth as a sentinell to fo great a monster: And if the Ichneumon, which is his mortall enemie, approache to fight with him, the little birdlet, left he might surprize him whilst he sleepeeth, with his singing and pecking him with his bill, awakens him, and gives him warning of the danger he is in. The bird liveth by the scapers, and feedeth vpon the leavings of that monster, who gently receiveth him into his mouth, and suffereth him to pecke his jawes and teeth for such mawmocce of flesh as sticketh betweene them: And if he purpose to close his mouth, he dooth first warn him to be gone, faire and easie cloathing it by little and little, without any wht crusthing or hurting him. The shell-
The second Booke.

Being fiis called a Nacre, liveth even so with the Pinnother, which is a little creature like vs to a Crabfish, and as his porter or other waifes vp upon him, attending the opening of the Nacre, which he continually keeps flap, vnll he fee some little fishe enter in, fit for their turne, then he creepes into the Nacre, and leaves not pinching his quicke flesh, vnill he makes him close his shell, and so they both together fast in their hold, devour their prey. In the maner of the Tunnies life, may be discovered a singular knowledge of the three parts of the Mathemakes. First for Astrologie, it may well be said that man doth learn of it them: For, wherefore the winter Solstitym doth take them, there do they lay themselves, & never stirr till the next Aequinocitium, and that is the reason why Aristotle doth so willingly- admire them: Then for Geometrie and Arithmetike, they alwayes frame their hole of a Cubike figure, every way square, and so forme a solide, close, and wel-ranged battailon, encompassed round about of six equall sides. Thus orderly marshalled, they take their course, and if such that their journey tends, as broad and wide behind as before: So that he that seeth and telleth but one man, may easilly number all the troope, for the number of the depth is equal unto the breadth, and the breadth unto the length. Touching mag- nanimitie and haughty corage, it is hard to set it forth more lively, and to produce a rater pattern, than that of the Dog, which from India was sent vs to Alexander: to whom was first presented a Stag, then a wilde Boare, and then a Bear, with each of which he should have fought, but he seemed to make no account of them, and would not so much as remove out of his place for them, but when he saw a Lion, he pretently rowzed himselfe, shewing evidently he meant onely to noble a beast worthy to enter comate with him. Concerning repentance and acknowledging of faults committed, it is reported, that an Elephant having through rage of choller flame his governor, conceived such an extremme inward griefe, that he would never afterward touch any food, and suffer'd himselfe to pine to death. Touching eleemencie, it is reported of a Tigre (the fiercest and most inhumane beast of all) who having a Kid given her to feede vpon, endured the force of gnawing hunger, two days together, rather then she would hurt him; the third day with maine strength brake the cage, wherein she was kept pent, and went elsewhere to thirst for feeding: as one unwilling to seize vpon the feely Kid her familiar & guest. And concerning privilidges of familiarite and sympathie, caused by conversation, is it not oft seen, how some make Cars, Dogs and Hares so tame, so gentle & so milde, that without harming one another they shall live and continue together? But that which experience teacheth sea-faring men, especially those that come into the seas of Sicilie, of the qualitie & condition of the Halcyon bird, or as some callit Alcedo or kings-father, exceeds all mens conceit. In what kind of creature did ever nature so much preferre both their hatching, fitting, brooding and birth? Poets feaine, that the land of Delos, being before wandering and fleetinge vp and downe, was for the delivery of Latona made firme and settled. But Gods decrese hath beene, that all the watter wilderneffe should be quiet and made calm, without raigne, wind or tempeft, during the time the Halcyon fiteth and bringeth forth his young ones, which is much about the Winter Solstitium, and thereof day in the yeare: By whose Privilidge even in the hart & dearest time of Winter we have seven calm days, and as many nights to argue without any danger. Their Hennes know no other Cocke but their own: They never forsake him all the days of their life, and if the Cocke chance to be weake and crazed, the Henne will take him vpon her neck, and carry him with her, whereforever he goeth, and serve him even vntill death. Mans witte could never yet attain to the full knowledge of that admirable kind of building or structure, which the Halci- oneth in contriving of her neast, no, nor devise what it is of.

Plutarch, who hath seene and handled many of them, thinkes it to be made of certaine fishe-bones, which he fo compacts, and conjoineth together, enterlacing some long, and some crossel-waves, adding some foldings and roundings to it, that in the end the frameth a round kind of vessel, ready to float and swim vpon the water: which done she carryeth the same where the Sea-waves beate most; there the Sea gentle beating vpon it, shews her how to daube and patch vp the parts not well closed, and how to strengthen those places, and fashion those ribbes, that are not fiit, but firre with the Sea-waves: And one the other side, that which is closely wrought, the Sea beating on it, doth so fasten and conjoyne together, that nothing, no, not stone or yron, can any way loofen, divide or break the same, except with great violence; and what is most to be wondered at, is the proportion and figure of the con-
cavities within; for, it is so composed and proportioned, that it can receive or admit no manner of thing, but the Bird that built it; for, to all things else, it is so impenetrable, close and hard, that nothing can possibly enter in: no, not so much as the Sea-water. Loe here a most plain description of this building, or construction taken from a very good Author: yet me thinks, it doth not fully and sufficiently resolve of the difficulties in this kind of Architecture. Now from what vanity can it proceed, we should not fully entertain, and disdainfully interpret the effects, which we can neither imitate nor conceive? But to follow this equalitie or correspondentie betweene vs and beasts somewhat further, the privilidge whereof our soule wants to bring to hir condition whatsoever it conceiveth, and to dispose what of mortall and corporall qualities belongs vnto it, to marshall those things, which the decemeth worthy hir acquaintance, to dispose and deprive their corruptible conditions, and to make them leave as superfuous and base garments, thickness, length, depth, weight, colour, smell, roughnes, smoothnes, hardnes, softnes and all sensiblie accidents else, to strike and appropriate them to hir immortal and spirittual condition: so that Rome and Paris, which I haue in my soule; Paris which I imagine; yea I imagine and conceive the same without greatness and place, without stone and manner, and without wood: Then say I vnto my selfe, the same privilidge feemeth likewise to be in beasts: for, a Horse accustomed to hear the sound of trumpets, the noyse of shot, and the clattering of armes, whom wee see to snot, to sartle, and to neigh in his sleepe, as he lyeth long upon his litter, even as he were in the hurly-burly: it is most certain, that in his minde he apprehends the sound of a drum without any noyse, and an armie without armes or bodie.

That Hare, which a grey-hound imageth in his dreame, after whom as he sleepeth we see him bay, quist, yelp and snot, sartle our hir tale, shake his legges and perfectly represent the motions of his course; the same is a Hare without bones, without haire.

Venantiumque canes in mollis saper quiete,
Tantant cruris tamen subito, vocetique repente
Mittunt, & crebras reducunt navibus auras,
Vestigias sì teneant inventa servarum:
Expergiffique, sequantur inanis, saper
Cervorum simulacra, fruges quæ deedit cernant:
Donec discessit redest exerribus ad se.
Oftimes the hunters dogs in easie rest
Saw their legs, sodainly, open, and quist,
And send from noffrelles thicke thicke snuffing sent,
As if on traille they were of game full-bent:
And wakned so, they follow the shadows vaine
Of deere in chace, as if they fled amaine:
Till, their fault left, they turne to seme againe.

Those watching. Dogs, which in their sleepe we sometimes see to grumble, and then barking to sartle sodainly out of their slumber, as if they perceived some stranger to arrive: that stranger which their minde feemeth to see, is but an imaginarie man, and not perceived without any demension, colour, or being:

-- Confusa domi catulorum blandis propago
Degere, sepe tuem ex oculis voloriumque soporem
Dissecre, & corpus de terra corripere infint,
Proinde quavisnotas facies atque oras sequatur.
The fawning kind of wholes, at home that liv's,
From eyes to shake light-swift sleepe often fritv's,
And from the ground their startling body fie,
The second Booke.

As if some unknown stranger they did spie.

Touching corporall beautie, before I goe any further, it were necessarie I knew whether we are yet agreed about hir description. It is very likely that we know not well, what beautie is either in nature or in general, since we give so many, and attribute to divers forms to humane behalfe, yea, and to our beautie: Of which if there were any natural or lively description, we should generally knowe it, as we doe the heate of fire. We imagine and faire hir formes, as our fantasies leade vs.

Tuirps Romanic Religious ore color.
A Dutch-froes coloure hath no grace,
Scene in a Romanes Ladys face.

The Indians deseribe it blacke and swarthly, with blabberd-thicke lippes, with a broade and flat nose, the inward gristle whereof they load with great-golden rings hanging downe to their mouth, and their neather-lippes with great circlets beset with precious stones, which cover all their chines, deeming it an especiall grace to shew their teeth to the roots. In Peru, the greatest eares are ever esteemed the fairest, which with all art and idultrie, they are continually stetching out; and a man (who yet breth) sweareth to have scene in a province of the East-Indias the people so carefull to make them great, and so to load them with heaviy jewel, that at ease he could have thurft his arme through one of their ear-holes. There are other nations, who endeavor to make their teeth as blacke as jet, and skorne to have them white; and in other places they die them red. Not onely in the province of Banke, but in other places, women are accounted fairest when their heads are shaven; and which is strange, in some of the northerly frozen-countries, as Plutarch affirmed. Those of Mexico, esteem the littleines of their foreheads, as one of the chiefest beauties, and whereas they have their haire over all their body besides, by artificiall meanes they labor to nanth and make it growe onely in their foreheads, and so to love to have great dugs, that they strive to have their children fucke over their shoulders. So would weget forth oldfavored. The Italians proportion it big and plump; The Spaniards sympye and lanke, and amongst vs one would have hir white, another broune, one soft and delicate, another strong and lustie: some desire wantones and blithnes, and other some frigidity and majestie to be joyned with it. Even as the preheminence in beautie, which Plato affirneth into the Sphærical figure, the Epicurians refirce the fume unto the Pyramidal and square; and say they cannot swallow a God made rounde like a bawe. But howsoever it is, nature hath no more priviledged vs in that, then in other things, concerning common laws. And if we impartially enter into judgement with our selves, we shall finde, that if there be any creature or beastie leffe favored in that, then we, there are others (and that in great numbers) to whom nature hath beene more favorable then to vs. A multus animalibus decore vincimus. We are excellent in conshapes, by many loyning creatures: Yea of terrestrial creatures that live with vs. For, concerning those of the Sea, omitting their figure, which no proportion can containe, so much doth it differ, both in coloure, in neatenes, in smoothnes and in disposition, we must give place unto them: which in all qualities we must likewise do to the airy ones. And that prerogative, which Poets yeeldd unto our uprighyt natur, looking towards heaven whence hir beginning is,

Proinde eum splendens animalia cetera terrarum,
O horti sublime dedat, cælæmque videre
Lustit, & crevetur ad sidera tollere transit.

Where other creatures on earth looke and lie,
A lofie looke God gave man, had him prie
On heav'n, rais'd his high count'race to the skie.

is meere poetical, for there are many little beastes, that have their sight directly fixed towards heaven: I finde the Camels and the Efridges necke much more raised and uprighnt, then ours: What beastes have not their face aloft and before, and looke not directly oppot, as we; and in their natural posture descrie not as much of heaven and earth, as man doth? And what qualities of our corporall constitution, both in Plato and in Cicero cannot fit and serve a thousand beastes? Such as most resembale man are the vilest and filthiest of all the rout: As for outward appearance and true shape of the visage, it is the Munkie or Ape:

Simia quam similis, turpisima bestia, nobis!
The second Booke.

An Apo, a most il-favored beaft,
How like to vs in all the refi:
as for inward and vitall parts, it is the Hog. Truely, when I confider man all naked (yea beall in that fea, which feemeth to have and challenge the greatefl share of eye-pleaing beautie) and view his defects, his natural fulbjeclion, and manifold imperfections, I finde we have had much more reason to hide and cover our nakednes, then any creature else. We may be excused for borrowing those which nature had therein favored more then vs, with their beauties to adorn vs, and vnder their spoiles of wooll, of haire, of fethers, and of filke to file out vs. Let vs moreover obferve, that man is the onely creature, whose wants offends his owne fellows, and he alone that in naturall actions must withdrawe and fequefter him-felte from those of his owne kinde. Verely it is an effect worthie the consideration, that the skillfulfe maisters of amorous dalliances appoint for a remedie of venetian passions, a free and full suruy of the body which one length and seekes after: and that to coole the longing and afwage the heats of friendship, one neede but perfectly view and throughly confider what he loueth.

Videt in corpore partes

And although this remedie may happily proceede from a fquemeish and cold humor: yet is it a wonderfull signe of our imbecile, that the vic and knowledge should so make vs to be cloyd one of another. It is not bashfullnes so much, as art and foresight makes our Ladies fo circumfect and vnwillinge to let vs come vnto their clofets before they are fully redie, and throughly painted, to come abroade, and shew themselves;

Nec veneres nostras hoc saltu, quod magis ipse
Omnia summo pere bos visse posse, fensam celant,
Quos restinuere voluit adnataque esse in amore.

Our Miftris knowe this, which make them not disclose Parts to be plaid within, especially from thofe Whom they would fervants hold, and in their love-bands clofe.

Whereas in other creatures, there is nothing but we love, & pleafeth our fenes; so that even from their excrements & ordure, we draw not only dainties to eat, but our richest ornaments and perfumes. This discours of beautie toucheth only our common order, and is not fo fceneious as it intendeth or dareth to comprehende those divine, supernaturall, and extraordinarie beauties, which sometimes are feene to shine amongst vs, even as flares vnder a corporall and tereftiall vaiue. Moreover that part of natures favors, which we impart vnto beafts is; by our owne confeffion much more advantageuous vnto them. We allume vnto our felves imaginatory and fantasticall goods, future and abfent goods, which humane capacitie can noe-way warrant vnto hir felfe; or some other, which by the overweening of our owne opinion, we falsely ascribe vnto our felves; as reafon, honor and knowledge; and to them as their proper share we leave the effentiall, the manageable, and palpable goods, as peace, reft, fecuritie, innocencie, and health: Health I say, which is the goodliest and richeft prefent, nature can impart vnto vs. So that even Stoike Philofophers dareth to affirm, that if Heraclitus and Pherecydes could have changed their wife-dome with health, and by that means, the one to have rid him-felte of the droppes, and the other of the lowfe-evil, which fo fore tormentcd them, they would fully have done it: whereby they alfo yelde fo much more honor vnto wife-dome, by comparing and counterposing the fame vnto health, then they doe in this other proportion of theirs, where they say, that if Ciron had prefentcd Philo- lics with two kindes of drinke, the one to turne a wifeman into a fool, the other to change a foolie into a wifeman, he would rather have accepted that of folly, then have bee pleased, that Ciron should transforme his humane fhape into a beafts. And they say, that wife-dome hir felfe would thus have spoken vnto him: Meddle not with me, but leafe me rather then thou fhouldft place me under the fhape and body of an Affe. What? This great and heavenly wise-dome? Are Philofophers contented then, to quit it for a corporall and earthy vaiue? Why then it is not for reafons fake, nor by discouere, and for the folle, we fomuch excell beafts: it is for the love we beare vnto our beauty, vnto our faire hew, & goodly disposition of limbs, that
The second Booke.

that we reject, and set our understanding at nought, our wisdom, and what else we have. Well, I allow of this ingenious and voluntary confession: surely they knew those parts, we so much labor to pamper, to be mere fantasies. Suppose, beasts had all the virtue, the knowledge, the wisdom and sufficiency of the Stoics, they should still be beasts; nor might they ever be compared unto a miserable, wretched, and felfeles man. For, when all is done, whatsoever is not as we are, is not of any worth. And God to be esteemed of vs, must (as we will shew anon) draw somewhat neere it. Whereby it appeareth, that it is not long of a true discourse, but of a foolish-hardines, and selfe-presuming obstinacy, we prefer our selves before other creatures, and leque to our selves from their condition and situation. But to return to our purpose, we have for our part inconsiderance, irresolution, uncertainty, sorrow, superstition, carefulness for future things (yea after our life) ambition, covetousnes, eloufie, envy, inordinate, mad and vntainted appetites, wrath, falsehood, disloyality, detraction, and curiositie. Surely we have strangely overpaid this worthless discourse, whereof we so much glory, and this readiness to judge, or capacitate to know, if we have purchased the same with the price of so infinit passions, to which we are unceasently enthralled. If we be not pleased (as Socrates is) to make this noble prerogative over beasts, to be of force, that whereas nature hath prescribed them certaine reasons, and bowndes for their natural lust and voluptuounes, the hath given vs at all hours and occasions the full reins of them. Ut virum agrotis, quia profect

rare, noxet sapissime, melius est non addubere omnino, quam, sic dubia salutis in apertam perriciem
currere: Sic, &c.; sic an melius fuerit humano generis motum ilium celerem, cognitiones acumen,
sofes, quam rationem vocantm, quoniam pofitera sunt multis, admodum punctis salutaria, non
darum omnino quam tam munifici & tam large dari. As it is better not to v/e wine at all in fierce pers-
sons, because it seldome doth them good, but many times much hurt, then in hope of doubtful health
to runne unto undoubted dangers? & doe I not know, whether it were better that this swift motion
of the thought, this sharopenes, this conception, which we call reason, should not at all be given to man-
kine (because it is perricius unto many, and healthfull to very few) then that it should be gi-
ven so plentifully and so largely. What good or commodity may we imagine this faire-unders-
standing of so many things brought ever vnto Varro, and to Aristotle? Did it ever exempt,
or could it at any time free them from humane inconveniences? Were they ever discharged
of those accidents that incidently follow a selle labouring man? Could they ever draw
any ease for the gout from logicke? And howbeit they knew the humor engendering the
same to lodge in the joynts, have they felt it the leffe? Did they at any time make a covenant
with death, although they knew full well that some nations rejoyce at his coming; as also
of Cukoldhip, because they knew women to be common in some countries? But contrari-
wise having both held the first ranke in knowledge, the one amongst the Romanes, the other
amongst the Graeci, yea and at such times wherein sciences florished most, we could ne-
ever learne, they had any special excellency in their life. Wee see the Graecian hath beene
put to his plunges in seeking to discharge himselfe from some notable imputations in his life. Was it ever found that fenualitie, and health are more pleasing vnto him that vnderstands
Astrologie and Grammar?

(IIlustratim minimi servirigent)
As supr vnlearned sinnewes land.
As theirs that much more vnderstand.)
or shame and poverty leffe importunate and vexing?
Scutet & morbis, & debilitate caritis,
Et illiusm, & curam effugere, & tempora vite
Longas tibi positi facie meliores dabitur.
Thou shalt be from disease and weakeenesse free,
From moane, from care, long time of life to thee.
Shall by more friendly fate afforded be.

I have in my dayes seen a hundred Artificers, and as many laborers, more wife and more
happy, than some Rectors in the university, and whom I would rather resemble. Me thinkes
Learning hath a place amongst things necessarie for mans life, as glory, noblenesse, dignitie,
or at most as riches, and such other qualities, which indeed stoode the samel but a far-off, and
more in concepet, than by Nature. We have not much more need of offices, of rules, and
laws how to live in our common-wealth, than the Graeces and Antes have in theirs. Which

Bb 3

notwith-
notwithstanding, we see how orderly, and without instruction they maintain themselves. If men were wise, he would value every thing according to its worth, and as it is either more profitable, or more necessary for life. He that shall number vs by our actions and proceedings, shall double the more. He finds many more excellent ones amongst the ignorant, than among the wiser. I mean him in all kinds of Virtues. My opinion is, that ancient Rome brought forth many men of much more value and sufficiency, both for peace and warre, than this late learned Rome, which with all her wisdome hath overthrown her erft-flourishing cflate. If all the rest were alike, then should beneficie and innocencie at least belong to the ancient; for she was exceedingly well placed with simplicity. But I will shorten this discourse, which happily would draw me further then I would willingly followe: yet this much I will say more, that only humility and submission is able to make a perfect honest man. Every one must have not the knowledge of his duty referred to his owne judgement, but ought rather to have it prescribed unto him, and not be allowed to chuse at his pleasure and free-will: otherwise according to the imbecillie of our reason, and infinite variety of our opinions, we might paradoxe ourselues, and devise such dutie as shall make vs (as Epicurus thought) to endeavour to destroy and devour one another. The first law that ever God gave unto man, was a Law of pure obedience. It was a bare and simple commandement, whereof man should enquire & know no further; forasmuch as to obey is the proper duty of a reasonable soule acknowledging a heavenly and supeior benefactor. From obeying and yeeding unto him proceed all other vertues, even as all finnes derive from selfe-over-weening. Contrary-wise, the first temptation that ever fized on humane Nature was disobedience, by the Divels infalligation, whose first poiion, to farre inflamet it selfe into vs, by reason of the promises he made vs of wisedome and knowledge, Erris sequintur bonum & malum. Thou shalt be like Gods, knowing both good and evil. And the Syrens, to deceive Ulysses, and allure him to fall into their dangerous and confounding snares offer to give him the full fruition of Knowledge. The opinion of Wisedome is the plague of man. That is the occasion why ignorance is by our religion recommended unto vs, as an instrument fitting beleefe, and obedience. Certe, praeuis decipiet per Philosophiam & inanis sedulationes, secundum elementa mundi. Take heed, lest an ignorant man deceive you by Philosophie and vaine seductions, according to the rudiments of the world. All the Phylophopers of all the sects that ever were, do generally agree in this point, that the chiefest felicitie of summum bonum consisteth in the peace and tranquillitie of the soule and body: but where shall we find it?

It seemeth verely, that Nature for the comfort of our miserable and wretched condition, hath allotted vs no other portion but presumption. It is therefore (as Epicurus faith) that man hath nothing that is properly his owne, but the use of his opinions. Our hereditary portion is nothing but smoke and wnde. The Gods (as faith Phylophie) have health in true effence, and fikkeneffe in concept. And hence come contrary, pofteffeth goods in imagination, and evils essentially. We have had reason to make the powers of our imagination to bee of force: For, all our felicities are but in concept, and as it were in a dreame. Heare but this poore and miserable creature vaunte himzelfe. There is nothing (faith Cicero) so delightfully and pleasant as the knowledge of Letters; of Letters I say, by whose means the infinite of things, the incomprehensible greatness of nature, the heavens, the earth, and all the seas of this vast univerfe, are made knowne unto vs. They have taught vs religion, moderation, flowtowne of courage, and redeemed our foule out of darkenesse, to make her fee, and distinguishing of all things, the high as well as the lowe, the first as the last, and those betwixt both. This is they that flore and supply vs with all such things as may make vs live happily and well, and instruct vs how to passe our time without sorrow or offence. Seemeth not this goodly Orator to speake of the Almighties and everlasting Gods condition? And touching effects, a thousand poore feely women in a country towne have lived, and live a life much more repofed, more peaceable, and more constant; then euer he did.
Of observe what glorious and noble words these be: yet but a slight accident brought this wisdom under standing to a fairer worfe condition: that of a simple sheep heard not withstanding this divine Teacher, and this heavenly wisdome. Of like impudence is the promise of Democritus his Booke. I will now speake of all things: And that fond title which Aristocles gives vs of mortall gods, and that rash judgment of Chrysonor, that Dion was as virtuous as God: And my Senecae, he acknowledgeth that God had given him life, but how to live well, that he hath of himselfe. Like unto this other, In virtute est gloriam: quod non contingere, sed damum a Deo, non a nobi habebemus. We rightly want us of reverence, which we should not dose, if we had it of God, not of our selves. This also is Senecae, that the wise woman hath a fortitude like unto Gods; but humane weakness, wherein he excelleth him. There is nothing more common, than to meete with such passages of temerity: There is not any of vs that will be so much offended to see him selfe compared to God, as he will deeme himselfe wronged to be deprived in the tanke of other creatures. So much are wee more jealous of our owne interest, than of our Creators. But we must tread this foolish vanity under foote, and boldly shake off, and lively reject those fond ridiculous foundations, whereon these false opinions are built. So long as man shall be perswaded to have means or power of himselfe, so long will he deny, and never understand what he oweth unto his Maker: he shall always (as the common saying is) make shift with his owne: Hee must be stribed into his shirt. Let vs consider some notable example of the effect of Philosophie. Passidome having long time beene grieved with a painfull lingering disease, which with the smaritng-paine made him to wring his hands, and gnath his teeth, thought to scorne griefe, with exclaming and crying out against-it: Doe what thou liest, yet will I never say that thou art perill or paine. Hee feeleth the same passions that my lackey dooth, but hee boasteth himselfe, that at least he containeth his tongue under the lawes of his feet. Re lucumere non sporteas vero buli gloriamem: It was not for him, to yeeld in deedes, who had so bravely it in words. Arceboles laying fiek of the gowt, Carmades comming to visti him, and seeing him to frowne, supposing he had beene angry, was going away againe, but he called him backe, & fiewing him his feet and breast, laid vnto him, there is nothing come from thence hither. This hath somewhat a better garbe; for hee feeleth himselfe grieved with fickenesse, and would bee ridde of it, yet is not his heart vanquished or weakened thereby, the other stands vpon his thiffenesse (as I fare) more verball then essentiaall. And Dianfus Hexadecemes being tormented with a violent smariting in his eies, was at last perswaded to quitte these Stoicke resolutions.

Beit supposed that Learning and Knowledge should worke those effects they speake of, that is, to blunt and abate the hardnesse of those accidents or mischances, that followe and attend vs; doth hee any more than what ignorance effecteth much more evidently and simply? The Philosophie Pyrrho being at sea, and by reason of a violent storme in great danger to be cast away, presented nothing vnto those that were with him in the ship, to imitate but the securitie of an hog which was aboarde, who nothing at all dismade, seemed to behold and out-flare the tempest. Philosophie after all her precepts gives vs over to the examples of a Wrestler or of a Muleter, in whom we ordinarily perceive much leffe feeling of death, of paine, of griefe, and other inconveniences, and more vndainted constantie, then euer Learning or Knowledge could store a man withall, vnselle he were borne, and of himselfe through some naturall habitue, prepared vnto it. What is the case, the tender members of a childre, or limbs of a horse are much more easily, and with leffe paine cut and incised then ours, if it be not ignorance? How many, onely through the power of imagination, have
have falne into dangerous diseases? We ordinarilie see diverse that will cause themselves to be let blood, purged, and dieted, because they would be cured of diseases, they never felt but in conceit, when essential and true maladies faile vs, then Science and Knowledge lends vs hir: This colour or complexion (faith the) prefageth some humattike defluxion will enue you: This foulltring hot feaon menaceth you with some fublicitate, commotion; this cutting of the vitall line of your left hand warmeth you of some notable and approaching indifposition. And at laft the will roundly addressth her selfe vnto perfect health; saying, this youthly vigir and folaine joy can not possibly fay in one place, her blood and strength muft be abated, for feare it turne you to some mischiff. Compare but the life of a man subject to thefe-like imaginations, vnto that of a day-labouring swaine, who follows his natural appetites, who mefreth all things onely by the present sene, and hath neither learning nor prognostications, who feeleth no disease but when he hath it: whereas the other hath of ten the flone imaginarily, before he have it in his reines: As if it were not time enough to endure the fickneffe when it shall come, he doth in his fanifie prevent the fame, and headlong runneth to meeke with it. What I speake of Phisicke, the fame may generally be applied and drawne to all maner of learning. Thence came this ancient opinion of those Philofophers, who placed chiefes felicitie in the acknowledging of our judgements weakeffe. My ignorance affords mee as much cause of hope as of feare: and having no other regimen for my health, then that of other mens examples, and of the events, I fee meanwhile in like occasions, whereof I finde some of all fortes: And relie vpon the comparisons, that are moft favourable vnto me. I embrace health with open armes, free, plaine and full; and prepare my appetite to enjoy-it, by how much more, it is now leffe ordinary and more rare vnto mee: So farte is it from none, that I with the bitterneffe of some new and forced kinde of life, trouble her deft, and molest her cafe. Beafles doe manifeelly declare vnto vs, how many infirmities our mindees agitation brings vs. That which is told vs of those that inhabit Brefil, who die onely through age, which some impute to the clearenneffe and calmenffe of their aire, I rather ascribe to the calmenffe and clearenneffe of their mindes, voyde and free from all pasions, cares, toiling, and vnpleafant labours, as a people that passe their life in a wonderfull kinde of simplicitie and ignorance, without letters, or lawes, and without Kings or any religion. Whence comes it (as we daily fey by experience) that the ruddelt and grosseft clownes, are more tough-strong, and more defired in amorous executions? And that the love of a Multert is often more acceptable, then that of a perfumed-quaint courtie? But because in the latter, the agitation of his minde doth so distract, trouble and weary the force of his body; as it also troublith and wearieith it selfe, who doeth bele, or more commonly caft the fame downe even into madneffe, but her owne promptitude, her point, her agility, and to conclude her proper force? Whence proceeds the sublittest folly, but from the sublittest wifdom? As from the extremeff friendships proceede the extremeff enmyes, and from the soundest healthis, the mortallift diseases; fo from the rarest and quickest agitations of our mindes ensue the most diftempered and outrageous frenziez. There wants but half a pegs turne to patience from the one to the other. In mad mens actions, we fee how filthy folly fuiteth and meets with the strongeft operations, of our minde. Who knowes not how vunpercievable the neigbhourhood betweene folly with the livelift elevations of a free minde is; and the effects of a suprme and extraordinary virtue? Plato affirneth, that melancholy minds are more excellent and disiplinable, So are there none more inclinable vnto folly. Diverse spirits are fene to be overthowne by their owne force, and proper nimbleneffe. What a flart hath one of the moft judicious, ingenious, and moft fitted vnto the ayre of true ancient poeifie, lately gotten by his owne agitation and felfe-gladneffe, above all other Italian Poets that have bin of a long time? Hath not he wherewith to be beholding vnto this his killing viuacity? vnto this clearenneffe, that hath fo blinded him? vnto his exaft and faire-reaching apprehension of reafon, which hath made him voyde of reafon? vnto the curious and laborious purfuite of Sciences, that have brought him vnto fottifhneffe? vnto this rare aptitude to the exercifes of the minde, which hath made him without minde or exercise? I rather spited then pitied him, when I saw him at Ferrara, in fo pitieous a plight, that he survived himselfe misacknowledging both himselfe and his labours, which vnwitting to him, and event to his face, have beene published both vncorrected and maimed. Will you have a man healthy, will you have him regular, and in constant and safe condition? overthrowe him in the darke pit.
The second Booke.

pit of idleness, and dulness. We must be befotted ere we can become wife, and dazzled before we can be led. And if a man shall tell me, that the commoditie to have the appetite cold to griefes, and wallowith to evils, draws this incommoditie after-it, it is also con-

sequently the same, that makes vs leffe harpe and greedy to the enjoying of good, and of plea-

sures: It is true, but the miserie of our condition beareth, that we have not so much to en-

joy, as to thum, and that extreme voluptuoues doth not so much pinch vs as a light smart: Se-

nus homines bona quum mala fortunis. Men have a duller feeling of a good turne, then of an ill, 

we have not so sense a feeling of perfect heath, as we have of the leaft sickenesse.

In utro vix summa violentus plagula corporis, 
Quando valete nihil quemquam movet. Hoc iuvat vi num
Qnod me non torguet latus aut pes, catena quisquam
Vix quae aut sumum esse, aut sentire valentem.
A light stroke that dooth scarce the top-skinne wound,
Greaves the gall'd body, when in health to be,
Dost scarce move any: only ease is found,
That neither side nor foote: tormenteth me:
Scarse any in the rest can feele he's found.

Our being in heath, is but the priviemon of being it. See wherefore the sect of Philofophie, 
thath most preferred fenfuallitie hath also placed the same but to indolence and vnfeeling of 
paine. To have no infirmite at all is the chiefest possession of health, that man can hope-
for (as Ennius faide:)

Nimmium boni est cui nihil est mal. 
He hath but too much good, 
Whom no ill hath withflood.

For, the fame tickling and pricking, which a man doth feele in some pleasures, and feme 
uses beyond simple health, and indolence, this active and moving fenfuallitie, or as I may terme-it, 
itching and tingling pleasure aymes but to be free from paine, as her chiefft cope. The luft-
full longing which allures vs to the acquaintance of women, feekes but to expell that paine, 
which an earnest and burning defire doth poffeffe- vs with, and defireth but to alay-it, there 
by to come to rest, and be exempted from this fever, And fo of others. I fay therefore, that 
simplicitie directeth vs to have no evil, it also addresseth vs, according to our condition to a 
molt happy estate. Yet ought it not to be imagined to dull and heavy, that it be altogether 
femles. And Cranmer had great reafon to withfand the vnfenfuallitie of Epicures, if it were 
so deeply rooted, that the approching and birth of evils might gainsay-it. I commend not 
that vnfenfuallitie, which is neither possible nor to be defir'd, Tam weel pleafed not to be 
sickle, but I be, I will know that I am fond, if I be cauherized or cut, I will feele it. Verely 
he that would root out the knowledge of paim, shoud there withall extirp the knowledge of voluptu-
ouis, & at Ieft bring man to nothing. I.Nihil dolere, non fimilitudines mercedes contingit immami-
tatis in animo, flupor in corpore. This very point, not to be offended or grieved with any thing, befalls 
not freely to a man, without eftem inhumanitie in his minde, or feme fenfues in his body. Sicknesse 
is not amiffe vnto man, comming in hir turne: Nor is it lewly to humane paine, nor e-
ver to follow fenfuallitie. It is a great advantage for the honour of ignorance, that Science it 
felle throwes vs into hir armes, when the finds her felve bufe to make vs strong against 
the affaults of evils: she is forced to come to this composition, to yeeld- vs the bridle, and 
give vs leave to throwd welvelfes in hir lap, and submit our felues into her faviour, to shel-
ter us against the affaults and injuries of fortune. For, what meaneth the elfe, when the per-
fiuates vs to withdraw our thoughts from the evils that poffeffe- vs, and entertain them with 
fore-gon pleasures, and feede- vs as a comfort of present evils with the remembrance of 
fore-paff felicitie, and call a vanifh'd content to our help, for to oppose it against that 
which yeeth vs? 

Levitationes a grammata in avocatione a cogitatione, & revocatione 
ad contemptendas voluptates ponit. Eatas of griefes he repofeth either in calling from the thought 
of offende, or calling to the contemplations of some pleasures. Vs ifle he be, that where force faies 
hir the will fefc policie, and threw a trike of nimblenesse and turne away, where the vigor 
both of her body and armes shall faile her. For, not onely to a strict Philofopher, but sim-
ply to any felled man, when he by experience feeth the burning alteration of a hote-fever,
what currant payment is it to pay him with the remembrance of the sweetnesse of Greke wine? It would rather empare his bagaine.

Che ricordarfi il ben doppia la noia.
For to think of our joy,
Redoubles our annoy.

Of that conditions this other counsell, which Philosophic giveth, only to keepe forepast felicitas in memorie, and thence blot out such grieves as we have felt; as if the skill to forget were in our power: and counsell, of which we have much leffe.

Suavis est laborum prateritiorum memoria.
Of labours overpast,
Remembrance hath sweete tafte.

What shall philosophie, which ought to put the weapons into my hands, to fight against fortune; which should harden my courage, to suppress and lay at my feete all humane adverfities, will the too faint, as to make me like a fearefull cunny crepe into some lurking-hole, and like a crafen to tremble and yeld? For, memory representeth unto vs, not what we chuse, but what pleaseth her. Nay, there is nothing so deeply imprinted any thing in our remembrance, as the desire to forget the fame: It is a good way to commend to the keeping, and imprint any thing in our minde, to folicate her to lose the fame. And that is false. Eft

fustum in nobis, et adversa, quasi perpetua oblivione obtrauemus, & secunda incendio, & sinuiter meminoramus. This is engraffed in vs, or at least in our power, that we both bury in permanent oblivion things past against vs, and records with pleasure and delight whatsoever was for vs.

And this is true, Memine etiam qua solo; oblivisci non possum quia volo. I remember even those things I would not, and can not forget what I would. And whose counsell is this? his, Qui se

venerantem profiteri se ausus. Who when durat professe humefse a wise man.

Ler. I. 13. 1086.
Ernur.

Qui sentiat humanes ingenium superavit, & omnes Praetorius sileas, exorsum vsi atrosus fuus.
Who from all mankinde baze for wit the prize,
And dimm'd the flares as when skies Sunne doth rise.

To empte and diminifh the memorie, is it not the ready and onely way to ignorance?

Inerti malorum remedium ignorantia est.

Ofills a remedie by chance,
And very dull is ignorance.

We see diverse like precepts, by which we are permitted to borrow frivolous apparrances from the vulgar sorte, where lively and strong reason is not of force sufficient: always provided, they bring vs content and comfort. Where they can not cure a sore, they are pleased to flufifie and hide the same. I am perswaded they will not deeme me this, that if they could possibely add any order or constance to a mans life, that it might thereby be still maintained in pleasure and tranquilitie, by, or through any weakenesse or infirmite of judgement, but they would accept it.

Inci[piam], patrique vel incolumitas haberi:
I will beginne to shew flowers, and drink free,
And suffer witheffe, thrifeffe heeld to bee.

There should many Philosophers be found of Lycos his opinion: This man in all other things being very temperate, and orderly in his demeanors, living quietly and contentedlie with his family, wanting of no duty or office both toward his owne house hold and strangers, very carefully preferring himselfe from all hurtfull things: notwithstanding through some alteration of his fentes or spirits, he was so posseffed with this fantastical concept or obstinate humour, that he ever and continually thought to be amongst the Theaters, where he still saw all manner of spectacles, pastimes, sportes and the beat Commedies of the world: But being at last by the skill of Physitians cured of this maladie, and his offending humour pursed, he could hardly be held from putting them in fute, to the end they might restore him to the former pleasures and contents of his imagination.

Non servatis, ait, cui sic extorta voluptas,
Et demptus verum mens gratissimus error.
You have not say'd me, friends, but slaine me quite,
(Quoth he) from whom so rest is my delight,
And error purg'd, which best did please my sight.

Of a raving like vnto th. t. of Thracians, sonne vnto Thracians, who verily believed, that all the ships that went out from the haven of Tyre, yea and all such as came into-it, did only travell about his businesse, rejoicing when any of them had made a fortunate voyage, and welcame them with great gladnesse: His brother Crito, having caufed him to bee cured, and reftored to his better fenses, he much bewailed and grieved the condition wherein he had formerly lived in such joy, and so voyde of all care and griefe. It is that, which that ancient Greeke verie faith; That not to be so advis'd brings many commodities with it:

Ev sam specin yar und er, udiror bios
The sweetefl life I wis,
In knowing nothing is.

And as Ecclesiastes witnesseth: In much wisedome, much sorrow: And who geteth knowledge, purchaseth sorrow and griefe. Even that, to which Philofophie doeth in all terms allow this laft remedie, which the ordaineth for all manner of necessities; that is, to make an end of that life, which we can not endure. Placeat? pare: Non placeat? Graecians vset.

Ci. Tufe. que.

And that saying vfed of the Gracians in their banquets, which they apply vnto it, Ait bibat, ante abat: Either let him carouse, or carry him.

Cic. lib. §.

Out of the booke: which rather fitteth the mouth of Gafoine, then that of Cicero, who very eafily doth change the letter B into V,

Viuere si reile nefis, decede peritis
Lusfi siatis, edili siatis, arque bibi si.
Tempus abire tubi est, ne potus largius agno
Rideat, & pulsat lasciva decentius et as.

Live well you cannot, them that can give place,
Well have you sported, eaten well, dronke well:
'Tis time you part; least wanton youth with grace
Laugh-ar, and knocke you that with swilling swell.

what is it but a confession of his insufficiency, and a vndertaking one backe not onely to ignorance, there to be throwed, but vnto lupiditie it selfe, vnto vnensiblenes and not being?

— Democritus polq wan matura venus
Admonuit memorem, matut languefere mentis
Sponte sua letho caput obsesus obtulit ipse.

When ripe age put Democritus in minde,
That his minde motions fainted, he to finde
His death went willing, and his life refign'd.

It is that which Amblyenes sayd, that a man must provide himselfe either of wit to understand, or of a halter to hang himselfe: And that which Chryfippus alleaged upon the speech of the Poet Tyranius,

De la vertu, ou de mort approcher.
Or vertue to approach,
Or else to death encroach.

And Crates saide, that love was cured with hunger, if not by time; and in him that liked not these two meanes, by the halter. That Sextius, to whom Seneca and Plutarke give so much commendation, having given over all things else and betaken himselfe to the studie of Philosophie, seeing the progress of his studies tedious and slowe, purposed to cast himselfe into the Sea; Ranne vnto death for want of knowledge: Read here what the law, faith vpon this subject. If peradventure any great inconvenience happen, which cannot be remedied, the haven is not farre off, and by swimming may a man save himselfe out of his body, as out of a breaking boare: for, it is feare to die, and not desire to live, which keepes a foole joyned to his body. As life through simplicitie becommeth more pleafant, So (as I earewhile began to say) becommeth it more innocent and better. The simple and the ignorant (faith
The second Booke.

(faith Saint Paul) raise themselves vp to heaven, and take possession of it; whereas we, with all the knowledge we have, plunge our selves downe to the pit of hell. I rely neither upon Vinitianus (a professed enemy to knowledge and learning) nor upon Licinius (both Romane Emperors) who named them the venime and plague of all politicke estates: Nor on Mahomet, who (as I have heard) doth verily interdit all manner of learning to his subiects. But the example of that great Lycurgus, and his authoritie ought to beare cheefe fway, and the reverence of that divine Lacedemonian-policie fo great, fo admirable, and fo long time florishing in all vertue & felicitie, without any institution or exercize at all of letters. Those who return from that new world, which of late hath bin discovered by the Spaniards, can witnesse vnto vs, how those nations being without Magistrates or laws, live much more regularly and formally then we, who have amongst vs more officers and lawes, then men of other professions, or actions.

Di citatoriue piene & di libelli,
D'esamme de carte, & di procre
Hanno le man & l' feno, & gran fultelli
Di chioie di confulti & di delture,
Per cui le faculti de poverelli
Non fono mai ne le cità secure,
Hanno dietro & dinanzi & d ambo i lati,
Notai, procuratori, & advocates.

Their hands and bosoms with writts and citations,
With papers, libells, proxiues, full they bare,
And bundels great of strict examinations,
Of glosse, counsel, readings here and there.
Whereby in townes poore men of occupations
Possesse not their small goods secure from feare,
Before, behinde, on each sides Advocates,
Proctors, and Notaries hold vp debates.

It was that, which a Roman Senator said, that their predecessors had their breath stinking of garlike, and their fomake perfumed with a good conference: and contrarie, the men of his time, outwardly smelt of nothing but sweete odours; but inwardly they sunkle of all wise: Which in mine opinion, is as much to say, they had much Knowledge & Sufficiency, but great want of honestie. In civilitie, ignorance, simplicitie, and rudenes, are commonly joyned with innocencie: Curiositie, luttetie, and knowledge, are ever followed with malicie: Huminitie, feare, obedience, and honestie (which are the principal instruments for the perpetuation of humane societie) require a fingle docile soule, and which presumeth little of his felfe: Christians have a peculer knowledge, how curiositie is in a man a natural, and original infirmities. The care to encrease in wisedome and knowledge was the first overthrowe of man-kinde: It is the way whereby man hath headlong cast himselfe downe into eternall damnation. Pride is his losse and corruption: It is pride, that misleadeth him from common wises; that makes him to embrace all newfangles, and rather chufe to be chiefe of a flarding troupe, and in the path of perdiction, and be regent of some erroneous sect, and a teacher of falsedome, then a disciple in the school of truth, and suffer himselve to be led and directed by the hand of others in the readie-beaten high way. It is happily that, which the ancient Greeke proverb implyeth; Προσκενιος καλος, λογιτηζε, κακον μη πας. Superfition obiethe pride as a father. Oh overweening, how much dost thou hinder vs? Socrates being advertised, that the God of wisedome, had attributed the name of wife vs to him, was thereat much astonisht, and diligently searching and rousing vp himself, and ranfacking the very secrets of his heart, found no foundation or ground for his divine sentence. He knew some that were as just, as temperate, as valiant and as wife as he, and more eloquent, more faire, & more profitable to their country. In fine he resolved, that he was distinguishted from others, and reputed wise, only because he did not so esteem himselve: And that his God deemed the opinion of science and wisedome a singular sofitthee in man; and that his best doctrine was the doctrine of ignorance, and semplicitie his greatest wisedome. The sacred writ pronounceth them to be miserable in this world, that esteem themselvses. Dust and ashes (faith he) what is there in thee, thou shouldst so much glorifie? And in another place. God hath made man like unto a shadow, of which, who shall judge, when the light being gone, it shall vanish away? Man is a thing of nothing.
The second Booke.

So farre are our faculties from conceiving that high Deity, that of our Creators works, though he be his marke belt, and are noth his owne, which we understand least. It is an occasion to induce Christians to believe, when they chance to meete with any incredible thing, that it is so much the more according vnto reason, by how much more it is against humane reason. If it were according vnto reason, it were no more a wonder; and were it to be matchedit were no more singular. 

"Methinks Deu "

And Tacitus, Sanctori, &c. as reverentiis de aetis decorum credere quominus: It is a course of more holines and reverence, to hold beliefs, then to have knowledge of Gods actions. And Plato deemes it to be a vice of impiety, over-conciliously to enquire after God, after the world, and after the first causes of things. 

Tacitus, mor. German. 

But is it difficult to finde out the father of this universe, and when you have found him, its unlawful to reveal him to the vulgar: Saith Cicero, wee eafily pronounce puifance, truth and juftice; they be words importing some great matter, but that we cannot possibly fee it, nor conceive or apprehend the fame, we say that God feareth, that God will be angeie, and that God loveth.

Immortalia mortalis sermone notantes, 
Who with termes of mortalitie 
Note things of immortality.

They be all agitations and emmotions, which according to our forms can have no place in God;nor we imagine them according to his. It only belons to God to know himselfe, to interpret his owne worke; and in our tongues he doth it improperly, to descend and come downe to vs, that are, and groveling on the ground. How can wisedome beleeve him, who is the choyse between good and evil, seeing no evil doth touch him? How reason and intelligence, which we vfe to com from obscure to apparant things, seeing there is no obscure thing in God? 

Secv.1. 

Juflive which distributeth vnervie man, what belongs vnto him, created for the society and conversation of man, how is therein God? How temperance, which is the moderation of corporall sensuallities, which have no place at all in his Godhead? Fortitude patiently to endure forrowes, labours and dangers, appertaining as little vnto him. And therefore Arifotele holds him to be equally exempted from vertue and from vice. Neque gratus, neque saniens potest, quod qua talia essent, intellecta essent omniam. Nor can bee bee possessed with favour and anger, for all that is fatis but weak. The participation which we have of the knowledge of truth, whatsoever theis, is not by our owne strength we have gotten it; God hath sufficiently taught vs, in that he hath made choyle of the simple, common and ignorant, to teach vs his wonderful secrets. Our faith hath not beene purchased by vs: it is a gift proceeding from the liberalitie of others. It is not by our discourse or understanding, that wee have received our religion, it is by a farraine authoritie and commandement. The weakness of our judgement, helps vs more than our strength to compasse the same, and our blindness more then our clear and sighted eyes. It is more by the meanes of our ignorance, than of our skill, that we are wise in heavenly knowledge. It is no marvaile if our natural and terestrial meanings cannot conceive the supernaturall, or apprehend the celestial knowledge.

Let vs adde nothing of our owne vnto it, but obedience & subjection: For, (as it is written,) Iwil confound the Wisedome of our vs, and destroy the under Standing of the prudent, where is the Wisedome? Where is the Scribe? Where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made the Wisedome of this world foolishnesse? For, seeing the world by wisedome knew not God in the wisedome of God; it hath pleased him, by the vanitie of preaching, to vade them that believe, yet must I fee at last, whether it be in mans power to finde what he seeks: for if this long search, wherein he hath continued to many ages, hath enriched him with any new strength, or solid truths. I am perfwaded, if he speake in confidence, he will confesse, that all the benefits he hath gotten by so tedious a purfuite, hath bin, that he hath learned to know his owne weaknesses. That ignorance which in vs was natural, we have with long studie confirmed and averred. It hath happened vnto those that are truly learned, as it happeneth vnto eares of corne, which as long as they are empty grow and raffe their head aloft, vpwright and fliue but if they once become full and bigge, with ripe Corne, they begin to humble and droop downward. So men having tried, and founded all, and in all this Chaos, and huge heap of learning and provision of so infinite different things, and found nothing that is substantially, firme
numbers and steadie, but all wisitie, have renounced their presumption, and too late known their natural condition. It is that, which Delemus vpbrades Ciem and Cicero withall, that they have learnt of Plato, to have learned nothing. Psychology, one of the seven wise, writing to Thea cork, even as he was yeilding vp the Ghost; I have (faith he) appoynted my friends, as one as I shalbe layed in my grave, to bring thee at my writings. If they please thee, and the other Sages, publish them; if not conceale them. They containe no certaintie, nor do they a-ny whit satisfie me. My professio is not to know the truth, nor to attaine it. I rather open, than discover things. The mistle that ever was being demanded what he knew, answered, he knew that he knew nothing. He verified what som say, that the greatest part of what we know, is the least part of what we know not: that is, that that which we think to know, is but a parcel, yea & a final particle of our ignorance. We know things in a dreame (faith Plate) & we are igno-

rant of them in truth. Omnes pent veteres nihil cognosce, nihil percipi, nihil scire possit discrim-
natos senius, interdices animos, breuam curriculam vitem. Almost all the ancients affirmed nothing may be knowne, nothing perceived, nothing understood: that our senses are narrow, our minds are weak, & the race of our life is short. Cicero himself, who ought all he had vnto learning, Valerius faith, that in his age he beganne to diffeete me letters: And whilte he praftised them, it was with-out bond to any special body, following what seemed probable vnto him, now in the one, and now in the other Sect; ever holding himselfe vnder the Academies doubtfulneffe. Descendum est, sed in nam nihil affirmans: quorum omnium, dubitans plurimum, & mihi diffidentes. Speke I misht, but so as I wowe nothing, question at things, for the most part in doubt and distrust of my-selfe. I should have too much a do; if I would consider man after his owne fashion, and in groce; which I might doe by his owne rule, who is wont to judge of truth, not by the weight or value of voyces, but by the number. But leave we the common people,

Qui vixitani steriti,

Who sleepe, while they are awake.

Lucret. 3.1089

Moruita curvar est, prophe iam vnto atque videnti:

Whose life is dead while yet they see,

And in a maner living be.

Who seelth not himselfe, who judgeth not himselfe, who leaveth the greaste part of his natural parts idle. I will take man even in his highest estate. Let vs consider him in this small number of excellent and choyce men, who having naturally beene endowde with a peculiare and exquisitit wit, have also fostered and sharpened the same with care, with studie and with arte, and have brought and straung vnto the highest pitch of vsillome, it may possibly reach vnto. They have fitted their soule vnto all senfes, and squared the same to all byastes; they have strengthened and vnder-propped it with all foraine helpe, that might any way fitte or steade hir, and have enriched and adormd hir with whatsoever they have beene able to bor-
row, either within or without the world for hir avayle: It is in them, that the extreme height of humane Nature doth lodge. They have reformed the worlde with policies and lawes. They have instructed the same with artes and sciences, as also by example of their wonder-

full manners and life. I will but make account of such people, of their wittes and of their experience. Let vs see how farre they have gone, and what holdefaith they have held by. The maladies and defects, which we find finde in that college, the world may boldly allow them to be his. Whoever feekes for any thing, commeth at last to this conclusion, and faith, that either he hath found it, or that it cannot be found, or that he is still in pursuitt after it. Al Philo-

sophie is divided into these three kindees. Hir purpos is to secke out the truth, the know-

ledge and the certainty. The Peiaphathikes, the Epicurians, the Stoikees and others have thought they had found it. These have established the Sciences that we have, and as of cer-
taine notions have treated of them; Clitosmachus, Carneades and the Academikes, have dis-
pairde the finding of it, and judged that truth could not bee conceived by our means. The end of these, is weakness and ignorance. The former had more followers, and the wor-
thieft Sceptaries. Pyrro, and other Sceptikes, or Sceptifet, whose doctrine or manner of teaching, many auncient learned men have thought to have beene drawne from Homer, from the leaven wise men, from Archilochus and Euripides, to whom they joyned Zeno, Democritus and Xenophanes, say, that they are still seeking after truth. These judge that those are infinitely deceived, who imagine they have found-it, and that the second de-

gree is over-boldly vaile in affirming that mans power is altogether vnable to attaine vnto it.

For
The second Booke.

for, to establish the measure of our strength, to know & distinguishing the difficulty of things, is a great, a notable and extreme science, which they doubt whether man be capable thereof or no.

Nihil scire quinquis putat id quod, nequit.

An scriv postis, quos est nullum factur.

Who think s nothing is knowne, knowes not that, whereby bee.

Grantes he knowes nothing, if it knowne may bee.

That ignorance, which is knowne, judged and condemned, is not an absolute ignorance: For, to be so, the must altogether be ignorant of her selfe. So that the profession of the Phryronians is ever to waver, to doubt and to enquire; never to be assured of anything, nor to take any warrant of himselfe. Of the three actions or faculties of the soule, that is to say, the imaginative, the concupiscible, and the contendent, they allow and conceive the two former; the last, they hold and defend to be ambigious, without inclination or approbation, either of one or other side, be it never so light. Zeno in sylle painted forth his imagination upon this division of the foules faculties: the open and out-stretched hand was appearance; the hand halfe-thistle, and fingers somewhat bending, content: the fist close, compression: if the fist of the left-hand were closely clinched together, it signified Science. Now this situation of their judgement, straight and inflexible, receiving all objects with application or content, leads them unto that Ataraxie, which is the condition of a quiet and settled life, exempted from the agitations, which we receive by the impression of the opinion and knowledge, we imagine to have of things; whence proceed, fear, avarice, envy, immoderate desire, ambition, pride, superstition, love of novelties, rebellion, disobedience, obstinacy, & the greatest number of corporall evils; yea by that means they are exempted from the jealousy of their owne discipline, for they contend but faintly: They fear not revenge, nor contradiction in their disputations. When they say, that heavy things descend downward, they would be loath to be believed, but defire to be contradicted, therby to engender doubt, and suspension of judgement, which is their end and drift. They put forth their propositions, but to contend with those, they imagine wee hold in our concept. If you take theirs, then will they undertake to maintain the contrary: all is one to them, nor will they give a penny to chuse. If you propose that snow is blacke, they will argue on the other side, that it is white. If you say it is neither one nor other, they will maintaine it to be both. If by a certaine judgement, you say that you can not tell, they will maintaine that you can tell. Nay, if by an affirmative axiome, you sweare that you stand in some doubt, they will dispute, that you doubt not of it, or that you cannot judge or maintaine, that you are in doubt. And by this extraneous of doubt, which flaggeth it selfe, they seperate and divide themselves from many opinions, yea from those, which divers wayes have maintaine both the doubt and the ignorance. Why shall it not be granted then (say they), as to Dogmatists or Doctrin: teachers, for one to say greene, and another yellow, so for them to doubt? Is there any thing can be proposed unto you, either to allow or refuse, which may not lawfully be considered as ambiguous and doubtful? And whereas others be carried either by the custome of their Country, or by the institution of their Parents, or by chance, as by a Tempest, without choice or judgement, yea sometimes before the age of discretion, to such or such another opinion, to the Stoike or Epicurian Se, to which they finde themselves more engaged, subjected or fast tyed, as to a prize they cannot let goe: Ad quamcumque disciplinam, velut Tempesfite, delatis, adeant tamen ad saxum, adbere sunt. Being carried as it were by a Tempest, to any kind of doctrine, they sink close to it, as it were to a rocke. Why shall not these likewise be permitted, to maintaine their liberty, and consider of things without dute or compulsion? Hoc liberiores, & simplified, quod integrallitatis indicando potest. They are so much the freer and at liberty, for that their power of judgement is kept entire. Is it not some advantage for one to finde himselfe disfigured from neceffitie, whichbrideleth others? Is it not better to remaine in suspension, then to entangle himselfe in so many errors, that humane fantasie hath brought forth? Is it not better for a man to suspend his owne perwaffion, than to meddle with these fudicious and quarellous divissions? What shall I chuse? Mary, what you lift, fo you chuse. A very foolish answer: to which it seemeth nevertheless, that all Dogmatisme arrieth; by which it is not lawfull for you to bee ignorant of that we know not. Take the best and strongest side, it shall never be so sure, but you shall have occasion to defend the same, to close and combat a hundred and a hundred sides? Is it not better to keep out of this confusion? You are suffe-
red to embrace as your honour and life Aristoteles opinion, upon the eternity of the soul, and to believe and contradict whatsoever Plato faith concerning that, and that they be interdicted to doubt of it? If it be lawfull for Panaceum to maintain his judgement about Aurulpices, Dreams, Oracles and Prophecies, whereof the Stoics make no doubt at all: Wherefore shall not a wiseman dare that in all things, which this man dareth in such as he hath learned of his Maiters? Confirmed and established by the Generall content of the Schoole whereof he is a Sectarie and a Professor? If it be a Childe that judgeth, he wotteth not what it is, a learned man, he is fore-stalled. They have reoffered a great advantage for themselves in the combate, having discharged themselves of the care how to throw themselves. They care not to be beaten, so they may strike againe: And all is fish that comes to net with them: If they overcome, your proposition halthe; if you, theirs is lame; if they prove that nothing is known, it is very well: If they cannot prove it, it is good alike: Pyrrhonian� in aemum per paria contrarijs, in partibus momenti inveniuntur, facilis est variae parte affectio suumintur. So as when in the same matter the like weight and moment is found on divers partes, we may the more easily with bold avouching on both partes. And they suppose to finde out more easily, why a thing is false, then true; and that which is not, than that which is: and what they believe not, than what they believe. Their manner of speech, is, I confirme nothing: Iris no more so than thus, or neither: I conceive it not; Apparances are every-where alike: The Law of speaking pro or contra is all one. Nothing seemeth true that may not seeme false. Their Sacramental word is, | を, which is as much to say, as I hold P and firme not. Behold the burdens of their song, and other such-like. Their effect is, a pure, entire and absolute surcribing and suffusion of judgement. They vfe their reason, to inquire and to debate; and not to play and choose. Whoseover shall imagine a perpetual confusion of ignorance, and a judgement vp-right and without staggering, to what occasion forever may chance: That man conceives the true Pyrrhae honeste. I expound this fantazie as plaine as I can, because many deeme it hard to be conceived: And the Authorvs themselves represent it somewhat obscurely and diversly. Touching the actions of life, in that they are after the common fort. They are lent and applied to natural inclinations, to the impulsion and constraint of passions, to the constitution of laws and custome, and to the tradition of Attes: Non enim nos Deus fta seire, sed tantummodo uti volueritis. For God would not have us know these things, but only use them.

By such meanes they suffer their common actions to be directed, without any conceit or judgement, which is the reason that I cannot well fay of this discourse, what is said of Pyrrhae. They assigne him to be stupide and vnmoveable, leading a kind of wild and vnſociable life, not shunning to be hitte with Cartes, presenting himselfe vnto downefalles, refusing to conforme himselfe to the lawes. It is an endearing of his discipline. He would not make himselfe a stone or a blocke, but a living, discoursing and reasoning man, enjoying all pleasures and naturall commodities, buying himselfe with, and vſing all his corporall and spiruittall partes, in rule and right. The fantathical and imaginarie, and false privilidges, which man hath vſerped vnto himſelfe, to vway, to appoint, and to eſtablifh, he hath absolutely renounced and quitted them. Yet is there no Ŝet, but is enforced to allow his wife Ŝetere, in chief to follow diverse things not comprized nor perceivd, nor allowed, if he will live. And if he take shipping, he follows his purpose, not knowing whether it shalbe profitable or not; and yeldes to this, that the shippe is good, that the pilote is skillfull, and that the seaon is fit; circumstances only probable. After which he is bound to goe, and suffer himſelfe to be removd by apparaunces, always provided they have no exprefse contrarietie in them. Hee hath a body, he hath a soule, his senses vruge him forward, his mind moveth him. Although he finde not this proper and singular marke of judging in himſelfe, and that hee perceive hee should not engage his conten, seeing some fullhood may be like vns this truth: He easeth not to direct the offices of his life fully and commodiously. How many arts are there, which profess to confift more in conjecture, than in the science? That distinguiſh not betweene true and fallhood, but onely follow seeming? There is both truth and false (lay they) and there are meanes in vs to feekle it out, but not to lay it when wee touch it. It is better for vs to suffer the order of the world to manage vs without further inquisition. A mind warranied from prejudice, hath a marvellous preferment to tranquility. Men that confine and controul their judges, do never duly submit themselves unto them. How much more docile and tractable
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tactable are simple and vncurious minde found both towards the lawes of religion and politike decrees, then these over-vigilant and nice-wits, teachers of divine and humane causes. There is nothing in mens invention, wherein is so much likelyhood, possibility and profite. This representeth man bare and naked, acknowledging his naturall weakenesse, apt to recive from above some strange power, disurnished of all humane knowledge, and so much the more fitte to harboure divine vsnderstanding, disannulling his judgement, that so he may give more place vnto faith: Neither misbelieving nor establishing any doctrine or opinion repugnant vnto common lawes and observances, humble, obedient, discriminable, and studious; a worse enemy to Hereofie, and by consequence exeusing himselfe from all vaine & irreligious opinions, invention and brought vp by false Seets. It is a white sheet prepared to take from the finger of God, what form soever it shall please him to imprint therein. The more we addresse & commit our felues to God, and receiue our felues, the better ut ut fuerit om. Accept (faith Ecclesiastes) in good part things both in shew and taffe, as from day to day they are presented vnto thee, the rest is beyond thy knowledge. Dominus novit cogitationes hominis, quia anima sua sunt. The Lord knowes the thoughts of men, that they are vaine. See how of three general Seets of Philosophie, two make expresse profession of doubt and ignorances; and in the third, which is the Dogmatists, it is easte to be dispered, that the greatest number have taken the face of assurance; onely because they could set a better countenance on the matter. They have not so much gone about to establish any certainty in vs, as to shew how faire they had waded in seeking out the truth. Quam dolis fugaunt magis quam normans: Which the learned doe neither consent than know.

Tymanus, being to instruct Socrates, of what he knowes of the Gods, of the world and of men, purposeth to speake of it, as one man to another; and that it sufficeth, if his reasons be as probable as another mans: For, exact reasons are neither in his hands, nor in any mortal man; which one of his Sectaries hath thus imitated: "Ut potero, explicabo: nec tam, ut Pythius Apollo, certa aut sit & fixa, quae diversa; sed, ut homunculus, probabilis conscientia sequent. As I can, I will explaine them, yet not as Apollo giving oracles, that all should bee certaine and sette done, that I say, but as a meane man, who followes likelihoods by his consciences. And that upon the discourse of the contemt of death, a natural and popular discourse. Elsewhere he hath translated it, vpon Plato's very words. Si forte, de Deorum natura etca.

Cic. Tusc. lib. 1

Ci Petrus.

It will be no marvell, if arguing of the nature of the Gods and original of the world, we warily reach to that which in our mind we comprehend; for it is meet we remember, that both I am a man, who am to argue, and you who are to judge, so as you seeke no further, if I speake but things likely. Aristoteles ordinarily heardeth vs vp a number of other opinions, and other beliefs, that he may compare his vnto it, and make vs see how farre he hath gone further, and how nether he comes vnto true-likeelihood; For truth is not judged by authoritie, nor by others testimonie. And therefore did Epicurus religiously avoyde to alledge any in his compositions. He is the Prince of Dogmatists, and yet we leame of him, that, to know much, breedeth an occasion to know more. He is often fene, heartily to shelter himselfe vnder no inextrieable obscurite, that his meaning cannot be perceived. In effect, it is a Pyrrousisme vnder a reforming forme. Liffen to Cicero's protestation, who doth declare others fantasies by his owne. Quis requirat, qui de quaue re ipsi feminans? curiosus id facient, qui se necesse est. Hac in philosophia ratio contra amnia differentia, nullamque rem aperire inciderit, proferat a Socrates, repugnat ab Arcesila, confirmata a Carneade vnde ad nostram voce atatem. Hic sumus, qui animus est fulis, quem adimum idem est dicamus, tantam simulacrum, ut in nulla inst certe indicendi et afferendi notae. They that would know, that we concert of every thing, we are more curious than necees. This course in Philosophie to dispute against all things, to indee express of nothing, derived from Socrates, renewed by Arcesila, confirmed by Carneades, it is in force till our time: we are those that advertise some falsehoods entemist with every truth, and that with such theroffe, as there is no sette note in those things for any assuredly to give indeniment or affent. Why hath not Aristote alone, but the greatest number of Philosophers affected difficillie, unless he be to make the vanity of the subject to prevail, and to amassle the curiosite of our minde, seeking to feede it, by gnawing to raw and bare a bone? Clytemachus affirmed, that he could never vnderstand by the writings of Carneades, what opinion he was of. Why hath Epicurus interdicted facilitie.
onto his sectaries? And wherefore hath Heracleitus beene surnamed orwise, a dark mistress censed fellow? Difficultie is a coine, that wisemen make vse of, as juglers doe with passe and repasse, because they will not display the vanitie of their arte, and wherewith humane foolishnesse is easily apaid.

Cicero reproves some of his friends, because they were wont to bestow more time about Astrologie, Law, Logike, & Geometric, then such Arts could deserve; & diverted them from the devours of their life, more profitable & more honet. The Cyrenaise Philosophers equally contemned natural Philopohie and Logike. Zeno in the beginning of his bookes of the Commonwealth, declared all the liberal Sciences to be unprofitable. Christipus said, that which Plato & Aristotele had written of Logike, they had written the frame in jest & for exercise sake; & could not believe that ever they spake in good ernest of so vain & idle a subject. Plutark said the fame of the Metaphysikes, Epicurau would have said it of Rethorike, of Gramar, of Poetic, of the Mathematikes, & (except natural Philosophie) of all other sciences: And Socrates of all, but of the Arte of Civill manners and life. Whateuer he was demanded of any man, he would ever first enquire of him, to give an accompt of his life, both present and past; which he would seriously examine and judge of: Deeming all other apprenticeships as subsequents and of surer aggravation in regard of that. Parmenides placest a hiera eno ad virtutem docteriorum nihil proficere. That learning pleaseth me but a little, which nothing profiteth the teachers of it unto vertere. Most of the Artes have thus beene contemned by knowledge itselfe: For they thought it not amisse to exercise their minds in matters, wherein was no profitable solidite. As for the rest, some have judged Plato a Dogmatist, others a Skeptike or a doubter, some a Dogmatist in one thing, and some a Skeptike in another. Socrates, the fore-man of his Dialogues doth ever ask and propofe his disputations; yet never concluding, nor ever satisficing: and faith, he hath no other Science, but that of opposing. Their author Homer hath equally grounded the foundations of all Sects of Philosophie, thereby to shew, how indifferent he was which way we went. Some say, that of Plato arose ten diverse Sects. And as I think, never was instruction wavering, and nothing avouching, if his be not. Socrates was wont to say, that when Midwives beginne once to put in practive the trade to make other women bring forth children, themselves become barren. That he by the title of wife, which the gods had conferred upon him, had also in his man-like and mental love shaken off the faculties of begetting: Being well pleased to afford all help & favor to such as were engendrest to open their nature, to fille their passages, to ease the issue of their womb, to judge thereof, to baptise the same, to foster it, to strenthen it, to swathe it, & to circumsfte it, exercising & handling his wit to the perrill and fortune of others. So is it with most Authors of this third kind, as the ancients have well noted by the writings of Anaxagoras, Democritus, Parmenides, Xenophanes, and others. They have a maner of writing doubtfull both in substance and intent, rather enquiring then instructing: albeit here and there, they enterlace their stile with dogmaticall cadences. And is not that as well seen in Seneca, and in Plutarch? How much doe they speake sometmes of one face, and sometmes of another, for such as looke neere vnto it? Those who reconcile Lawyers, ought first to have reconciled them every one vnto himselfe. Plato hath (in my meaning) loved this maner of Philosophying. Dialogue wise in good ernest, that whereby he might more decently place in sundrie mouths the diversifie and variation of his owne conceites. Diversify to treatre of matters, is so good and better as to treatre them conformably: that is to say, more copiously and more profitably. Let vs take example by our selves. Definite sentences make the last period of dogmaticall and resoluing speech: yet see we, that those which our parlaments present unto our people, as the most exemplare and fittest to nourish in him the reverence he oweth to this dignitte, espeically by reason of the sufficiencie of those persons, which exercise the same, taking their glory, not by the conclusion, which to them is dayly, and is common to all judges, as much as the debating of diverse, and agitations of contrary reasonings of law: cauSES will admit.
admit. And the largest scope for reprehensions of some Philosophers against others, draweth contradictions and diversities with it, wherein every one of them findeth himselfe fo entangled, either by intent to shew the wavering of mans minde above all matters, or ignorantly forced by the volubilitie and incomprehensiblenesse of all matters: What meaneth this burdent? In a slippery and gliding place let us fix our belief. For as Euripides saith,

Les œuvres de Dieu en diverses

France nous donnent des traverses.

Gods workes doe travers our imaginations,
And croffe our workes in divers different fashions.

Like vnto that, which Empedocles was wont oftentimes to scatter amongst his books, as moved by a divine furie and forced by truth. No no, we feel nothing, we fee nothing; all things are hid from us: There is not one, that we may estabish, how and what it is: But returning to this holy word. Cognitiones mortalium simide & incerte ad inventiones nostrae, & providentiae. The thoughts of mortal men are fearfull, our devices and foresights are uncertain. It must not be thought strange, if men dispersing of the goale, have yet taken pleasure in the chafe of his study, being in it falsely a pleasing occupation, yea so pleasing, that amid fensibilities, the Stoikes forbid also, that, which comes from the exercise of the minde, and require a bridge to it; and finde intermearce in over much knowledge. Democritus having at his table eaten some figges, that raffled of honny, began presently in his minde, to seeke out whence this usuall sweetness in them might proceed; and to be resolved, rofe from the board, to view the place where those figges had beene gathered. His maide-servant noting this alteration in his mafter, smilingly fade vnto him, that hee should no more busie himselfe about it; the reason was, shee had laide them in a vessell, where honny had been; whereas hee seemed to be wroth, in that shee had deprived him of the occasion of his intended search, and robbed his curiousity of matter to worke vpon. Away (quoth hee) vnto her, thou haft much offended mee yet will not I omitte to finde out the cause, as if it were naturally so. Who perhaps would not have mislaid to finde some likely or true reason, for a false and supped effect. This storie of a famous and great Philosopher dooth evidently replete vnto vs this studious passion, which so doth ammufe vs in pursuit of things, of whose obtaining wee dispaire. Plutarch reports a like example of one, who would not be resolved of what hee doubted, because hee would not loose the pleasure hee had in seeking it: As another, that would not have his Phifitian remove the thrust hee felt in his ague, because hee would not loose the pleasure hee tooke in quenching the same with drinking. Satius est ju.-Sen.opp. B. 5. peracuadire, quam misce. It is better to learn more then we neede, then nothing at all. Even as in all feeding, pleasure is always alone and finge; and all we take that is pleasant, is not ever nourishing and wholesome: So likewise, what our minde draws from learning leaveth not to be voluptuous, although it neither nourish nor be wholesome. Note what their saying is: The consideration of nature is a foode proper for our minde; it raiseth and puffeth vs vp, it makes vs by the comparision of heavenly and high things to disdain base and low matters: the search of hidden and great causes is very pleasant, yea vnto him that attaines mought but the reverence and feare to judge of them. These are the very words of their professiion. The vaineimage of this crazed curiousity, is more manifestly feene in this other example, which they for honour-fake have so often in their mouths. Endoxum wifhed, and praid to the Gods, that he might once view the Sunne neere at hand, to comprehend his forme, his greatnesse and his beautie, on condition he might immediately be burnt and consumed by it. Thus with the price of his owne life would he attaine a Science, whereof both wise and professionall that there-with be taken from him; and for so sodaine and fleeting knowledge, looke and forgowe all the knowledge he either now hath, or ever hereafter may have. I can not eaily be persuad-ed, that Epicurus, Plato, or Plutarchus have fold vs their Atomes, their Ideas, and their Numbers for ready payment. They were overwise to estabish their articles of faith vpon things so uncertaine and disputable. But in this obturatiue and ignorance of the world, each of those notable men hath endeavoured to bring some kinde of thew or image of light, and have bulst their minde about inventions, that might at least have a pleasing and wilie appearance, provided (notwithstanding it were false) it might be maintained against contrary oppositions: Vnicoquae ilia progemos fingauntur, non ex Scientis vs. These things are conceited by every man as his wit serues, not as his knowledge stretcheth and reaches. An ancient Philosopher

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being blamed for professing that Philosophie, whereof, in his judgement hee made no effectes answered, that that was true Philosophizing. They have gone about to consider all, to balance all, and have found that it was in occupation fitting the natural curiosities which is in vs. Some things they have written for the behoofe of common societie, as their religions: And for this consideration was it reasonable, that they would not throughly unfold common opinions, that so they might not breede trouble in the obedience of laws and customs of their countries. Plato treateth this mysteries in a very manifeste kind of sport. For, where he writeth according to himselfe, he prefigurit nothing for certainties: When he institutes a Law-giver, he borroweth a very swaying and avouching kind of file: Wherein he boldly entermingleth his most fantastical opinions; as profitable to perfwade the common force, as ridiculous to perfwade himselfe: Knowing how apt we are to receive all impressions, and chiefly the most wicked and enormous. And therefore is he very careful in his lawes, that nothing bee sung in publike but Poetrie; the fabious fictions of which tend to some profitable end: being so apt to imprint all manner of illusions in mans minde, that it is injustice not to feede them rather with commodious lies, then with lies either unprofitable or damagable. He flately faith in his Common-wealth, that for the benefit of men, it is often necessarie to deceive them. It is easie to distinguih, how some Sceptes have rather followed truth, and some profits by which the latter have gained credit. It is the miserie of our condition, that often, what oﬀers it selfe unto our imagination for the likelyest: presents not itselfe unto it for the most beneficall unto our life. The boldest sceptes, both Epicurian, Pyrrhonian and new Academike; when they have cast their account, are compelled to stoop to the civil law. There are other subjects, which they have tossed, some on the left and some on the right hand, each one laboring and striving to give it some semblance, were it right or wrong: For, having found nothing so seer, whereof they have not attempted to speake, they are many times forced to forge divers feeble and fond conjectures: Not that themselves tooke them for a ground-worke, nor to establishe a truth, but for an exercise of their studye. Non tantum sensibile, quod dicoerent quidam exercere ingenuam materiam affidue undiscretum est. They seeme not so much to have thought as they saie, as rather willing to exercise their wits in the difficulty of the matter. And if it were not so taken, how should we chuse so great an inconsistence, variety and vanitie of opinions, which we see to have been producet by these excellent and admirable spirits? As for example, What greater vanitie can there be, then to go about by your proportions and conjectures to goue at God? And to governe both him and the world according to our capacities and loves? And to vfe this small scantlin of suﬀiciencie, which he hath pleasde to impart vnto our natural condition, at the cost and charges of divinitie? And because we cannot extend our sight so farre as his glorious throne, to have removed him downe to our corruption and miseries? Of all humane and ancient opinions concerning religion, I think that to have had more likelyhood and excuse, which acknowledged and confessed God to be an incomprehensible power, chief beginning and preverfer of all things; all goodness, all perfection; accepting in good part the honor and reverence which mortall men did yield him, ynder what vilage, name and manner everet it was.

Jupiter omnipotens rerum, regiumque, Deumque,
Progenitor, genitrixque.

Almighty love is parent faiid to be
Of Things, of Kings, of Gods, both he and she.

This seale hath univerally beene regarded of heaven with a gentle and gracious eye. All Policies have reaped some fruites by their devotion: Men, and impious actions have everywhere had correspondent events. Heathen histories acknowledge dignite, order, justice, prodigies, and oracles, employed for their benefit and instruction, in their fabulous religions: God of his mercy daining peradventure, to foster by his temporal blessings the budding and tender beginnings of such a brute knowledge, as natural reason gave them of him, athenst the false images of their deluding dreams: Not only falle, but impious & injurious are those, which man hath forsooke & devoted by his owne invention. And of all religions Saint Paulus found in crede of Athenes, that which they had constracat unto a certaine hidden and vnknowne divinitie, seemed to be most excusable, Pythagoras shadowed the truth somewhat nearer, judging that the knowledge of this first cause and Entente must be undefined, without any prescription or declaration. That it was nothing else but the extremest
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The image indeed of our imagination, toward perfection, every one amplifying the Idea thereof, according to his capacity. But if *Number* vndertooke to conforme the devotion of his people to this project, to joyn the fame to a religion meereely mentall, without any prefixt object, or material mixture; he vndertooke a matter to no vfe. *Mans minde could never be maintained, if it were still floating up and downe in this infinite deepes of shapeles conceites. They must be framed vnto hir to some image, according to hir modell. The majestie of God hath in some fort suffered it felte to be circumfribed to corporall limits: His supernaturall and celestiall Sacraments, beare signes of our terrestrial condition. His adoration is express by offices and sensible words; for, it is man that beleeveth and praieth. I omit other arguments, that are employed about this subject. But I could hardly be made beleev, that the light of our Crucifixes, and pictures of that pitiful torment, that the ornaments, and cerimonious motions in our Churches, that the voices accomodated and futed to our thoughts;de-votions, and this stirring of our senses, doth not greatly enflame the peoples foules, with a religious passion, of wondrous beneficall good. Of thofe, to which they have given bodies, as necessitate required amid this generall blindness;as for me, I shou'd rather have taken part with thofe who worshipp'd the sunne.

---la lumiere commune,
L'oeil du monde: & si Dieu au chef porté des yeux;  
Les rayons du Soleil font les yeux radieux;  
Qui donnent vie à tous, nous maintenons & gardent,  
Et les facultés humaines en ce monde regardent:  
Ce beau, ce grand Soleil, qui nous fait les foyons;  
Selon qu'il entre on fort de ses douze maysons:  
Qui rempli l'univers de ses vertus cognues,  
Qui d'on traft dé se yeux nous dispoit les nues;  
L'esprit, l'ame du monde, ardent & flamboyant,  
En la source d'un jour tout le Ciel tournoyant,  
Plein d'immenses grandeur, rond, vagabond & ferme:  
Lequel tient desours lay tout le monde pour terme,  
En repos sans repos, oifif, & sans sejourn;  
Fils ailé de nature, & le pere du jour.

The common light,
The worlds eye: and if God beare eyes in his cheefe hauh,  
His most repleadent eyes, the Sunne-beames may be faid,  
Which vnto all give life, which vs maintaine and garde,  
And in this world of men, the worke of men regarde.  
This great, this beauteous Sunne, which vs ourfeasons makes,  
As in twelve haufes, he ingresse or egresse takes,  
Who with his Vertues knowne, doth fill this universfe,  
With one caft off his eyes doth vs all clowdes disperse,  
The spirit, and the soule of this world, flaming,burning,  
Round about heau'n in course of one dayes journey turning,  
Of endless greatnesse full, round, mooveable and faft:  
Who all the world for boundes beneathe himselfe hath plaft:  
In reft, without reft, and full more faide, without lay,  
Of Nature th'eldest Childe, and father of the day.

Forasmuch as besides this greatnesse and matchlesse beautie of his, it is the only glorious piece of this vulte-worldes-frame, which we perceive to be furthest from vs: And by that meanes so little known, as they are pardonable, that entered into admiration, and reverence oft. *Thales*, who was the first to enquire and finde out this matter, eftemed God to bee a spirite, who made all things of water. *Anaximander* thought, the Gods did dy, and were new borne at divers seasons: and that the worlds were infinite in number. *Anaximenes* deemed the ayre to bea God, which was created immense, and alwaies moving. *Anaxagoras* was the first that held the description and manner of all things, to be directed by the power and reason of a spirite infinite. *Alemcan* hath ascribed Divinity vnto the Sunne, vnto the Moone, vnto to Starres, and vnto the Soule. *Pithagoras* hath made God, a spirite dispersèd through the Na.
nature of all things, whence our soules are derived. *Parmenides,* a Circle circumscribing the heavens, and by the heat of light maintaining the world. *Empedocles* said, the foure Natures, whereof all things are made, to be Gods. *Protagoras,* that he had nothing to say, whether they were or were not, or what they were. *Democritus* would sometimes say, that the images and their circuitions were Gods, and othertimes this Nature, which difpeth these images; and then our knowledge and intelligence. *Plato* scattereth his belief after diverse semblances. In his Tymneus, he faith, that the worldes father could not be named. In his Lawes, that his being must not be enquired-after. And else-where in the faide bookees, he maketh the world, the heaven, the starrs, the earth and our soules, to be Gods; and besides, admitteth those that by ancient institutions have beene receivd in every Common-wealth. *Xenophon* reporteth a like difference of *Socrates* his discipline. Sometimes that Gods forme ought not to be enquired after; then he makes him inferre, that the Sunne is a God, and the Soule a GOD: othertimes, that there is but one, and then more. *Spenippos* Nephew vnto *Plato,* makes God to be a certaine power, governing all things, and having a soule. *Aristotle* faith sometimes, that it is the spirit, and sometimes the world; othertimes he appointeth another ruler over this world, and sometimes he makes God to be the heat of heaven. *Xenocrates* makes eighte, five named amongst the planets, the sixth composed of all the fixt starrs, as of his owne members; the seventh and eighth, the Sunne and the Moone. *Heraclides Ponticus* doth but roame among his opinions, and in fine depriveth God of fenne, and makes him remoue and transehange himselfe from one forme to another; and then faith, that it is both heaven and earth. *Theophrastus* in all his fantasies wandereth still in like irreolutions, attributing the worldes superintendancy now to the intelligence, now to the heaven, and now to the starrs. *Socrates,* that it is Nature, having power to engender, to augment and to diminifh, without forme or fenne. *Zenon,* the natural Lawe, commanding the good, and prohibiting the evil, which Lawe is a breathing creature; and removeth the accustomd Gods, *Jupiter, Iuno and Vesta.* *Diogenes Appolloniates,* that it is Age. *Xenophon* makes God, pownd, seeing, heareng, not breathing, and having nothing common with humane Nature. *Aristo* describeth the forme of God to bee incomprehensible, and depriveth him of fennes, and woteth not certainly whether he be a breathing soule or something els. *Cleanthes,* sometimes reason, othertimes the World, now the soule of Nature, and other-while the supreme heat, enfoulding and containing all. *Persius* *Zenoes* disciple hath beeene of opinion, that they were fornamed Gods, who had brought some notable good or benefite vnto humane life, or had invented profitable things. *Chryippo,* made a confused hudder, of all the faide sentence, and amongst a thousand formes of the Gods, which he fineth, hee also accounted those men, that are immortalized. *Diogenes* and *Theodorus,* flatly denied, that there were anie Gods: *Epicurus* makes the Gods bright-shining, transparent and perffible, placed as it were between two Forts, betweene two Worlds, safely sheltered from all blowes, invested with a humane shape, and with our members, which vnto them are of no vfe.

_Egg Dei fit genus esse temper duox, & dicam calidum,
Sed eos non vvere opinor, qui agat humanum genus._

I still thought, and will ef, of Gods there is a kinde; But what our mankinde doth, I thinke they nothing minde.

Trust to your Phylopholie, boaste to have hit the nail on the head, or to have found out the beane of this Cakes, to see this cole and hurly-burly of so many Phylophological wits. The trouble or confusion of worldly shapes and formes, hath gotten this of mee, that customes and concepts differing from mine, does not so much dislike me, as instruct me; and at what time I conferre or compare them together, they do not so much paffe mee vp with pride, as humble me with lowliness. And each other choyle, except that, which commeth from the express hand of God, seemeth to me to choyse of small prerogative or consequencce. The Worlds policies are no lesse contrary one to another in this subiect, than the scholes: Whereby we may learne, that Fortune herself is no more divers, changing & variable, than our reason, nor more blinde and misconserdare. Things most unknowne are fittest to bee deffed. Wherefore, to make gods of our selves (as antiquity hath done,) it excedeth the extreme weakenesse of discoure. I would rather have followed those that worshipped the Serpent, the Dogge and the Ox, forfomuch as their Nature and being is least known to vs, and we may more lawfully imagine what we lift of those beasts, and ascribe extraordinary faukes

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unto them. But to have made Gods of our condition, whose imperfections we should know, and to have attributed desire, choller, revenge, marriages, generation, alliances, love and jealousy, our limmes and our bones, our infirmities, our pleasures, our deaths and our Sepulchres vnto them, hath of necesseity proceeded from a meer and egregious fantastishesse, or drunkenesse of mans vit.

Que procul uique edeo divina ab numeris distant.

Inquie Deum numero quin digna videri.

Which from Divinitie so distant are.

To stand in rancke of Gods vnworthy farre.

Formae, sitae, vestita, ornatae non sunt : genera, conuia, cognationes, omnique traduca ad similitudinem imbecillitatis humanae: nam et perturbatis animis inducentur, accipimus enim Deorum cupiditates, agritudines, creundae. Their fhopes, their ages, their apparel, their furnitures are known, their kindes, their marriages, their kindred, and all translatate to the likenesse of mans weaknesses: For they are also brought in with minde much troubled: for we reade of the last sinners, the griefings, the angerissee of the Gods. As to have ascribed Divinitie, not onely vnto faith, vertue, honour, concord, liberty, victory and pietie but also vnto volupituonesse, fraud, death, envy, age, and mifery yeve vnto feare, vnto aigue, and vnto evill fortune, and such other injuries and wrongs to our fraine and tranlsitory life.

Quidus est hoc, templum nostrum inducere mores?

O curae in terrae anime caelis inanes?

What booteth it into temples to bring manners of our kindes?

O crooked soules on earth, and voyd of heavenly minds.

The Egyptians with an impudent wifedome forbad vpon paine of hanging, that no man should dare to say, that Seraphis and Jhes their Gods, had whom beene but men, when all knew they had beene so. And their images or pictures drawne with a finger across their mouthes, imported (as Varro faith) this misterious rule vnto their priests, to conceale their mortal or spring, which by a necessarie reason disasunated all their veneration. Since man desirde fo much to equall himselfe to God, it had beene better for him (faith Cicero) to drawe those divine conditions vnto himselfe, and bring them downe to earth, then to send his corruption and place his miserie above in heaven: but to take him aight, he hath divers vayes, and with like vanitie of opinion, done both the one and other. When Philosophers blazon and display the Hierarchie of their gods, &c to the vertue of their skil, indevor to distinguis their alliances, their charges, and their powers. I cannot beleev they speake in good earneft, when Plato defeireth vnto vs the orchard of Plato, and the commodities or corporall paines which even after the ruine and consumption of our bodies, waitte for vs, and applyeth them to the apprehension or feeling we have in this life.

Secreti celans colles, & myrtus circums

Pythia est, cura non ipsa in morte relinguint.

Then paths aside conceale, a mirtle grove

Shades them round: cares in death do not remove.

When Mahomet promiseth vnto his followers a paradise all tapistryd, adorned with gold and precious stones, peopled with exceeding beauteous damfels, florid with wines and singular comets. I well perceive they are but scoffer, which sute and applie themselves vnto our foolishhinn, therefore to enhonnie and allure vs to these opinions and hopes fitting our mortall appetite. Even fo are some of our men faine into like errors by promising vs themselues after their resurrection a terrestriall and temporall life, accompanied with all sorts of pleasures and worldly commodities. Shall wee thinke that Plato, who had fo heavenly concepions, and was fo wel acquainted with Divinitie, as of most he purchased the furname of Divine, was ever of opinion, that man (this feely and wretched creature man) had any one thing in him, which might in any forte be applied, and futed to this incomprehensible and unspakeable power? or ever imagined, that our languishing hold-saits were capable, or the vertue of our vnderstanding of force, to participate or be partakers, either of the blef fedness, or eternall punishment? He ought in the behalfe of humane reasone be answered: If the pleasures, thou promisest vs in the other life, are suche as I have felt here below, they have nothing in them common with infinitie. If all my five natural senses were even surcharged with joy and gladness, and my soule polleffed with all the contents and delights, it could
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could possibly desire or hope-for (and we know what it either can wish or hope-for) yet were it nothing; If there be any thing that is mine, then is there nothing that is Divine; if it be nothing else, but what may appertain into this our present condition, it may not be accounted of. All mortal men contentment is mortal. The acknowledging of our parents, of our children and of our friends, if it can not touch, move or tickle vs in the other world, if we still take hold of such a pleasure, we continue in Terrestrial and transitorie commodities. We can not worthily conceive of these high, mysterious, and divine promises; if we can but in any forte conceive them, and so imagine them aright, they must be thought to bee incomprehensible, unspeakable and incomprehensible, and absolutely and perfectly other then those of our miserable experience. No eye can behold, (faith Saint Paul) The happiest that God prepared for his elect, nor can it possibly enter the heart of man. And if to make vs capable of it (as thou faist Plato by thy purifications) our being is reformed and essence changed, it must be by so extreme and univerfal change, that according to philosophical doctrine, we shall bie no more our selves:

Hecator erat tum cum bello certabat, at ille
Tractus ab Aemonio non erat Hecator equo.
Hecator he was, when he in fight vs'd force;
Hecator he was not drawne by th'Aemonian hoste.

It shall be some other thing, that shall receive these recompences.

—— quod mutatur, dissiivitur, interit ergo:
Tractiunitur enim partes aequo ordine migrant.

What is chang'd, is dissolv'd, therefore dies:

Translated parts in order fall and rife.

For, in the Metempsychosi, or transmigration of soules of Pithagoras, and the change of habitation, which he imagined the soules to make; shall we thinke that the Lion in whom a-bideth the soule of Cesar, doth wed the passions which concerned Cesar, or that it is he? And if it were hee, those had some reason, who debating this opinion against Plato, object that the soule might one day bee found committting, with his mother vnder the shapfe of a Mules body, and fuch-like absurdities. And shall we imagine, that in the transmigrations which are made from the bodies of some creatures into others of the same kinde, the new succeeding-ones are not other, then their predecessors were? Of a Phenixes cinders, first (as they say) is engendred a worme, and then another Phenix; who can imagine that this second Phenix be no other and different from the first? Our Silk-wormes are scene to die, and then to wither drie, and of that body breetheth a Butter-fly, &c of that a worme, were it not redicuous to thinke, the same to be the first Silkeworme? what hath once loft his being, is no more.

Nec si materiam nostram collegeris esta
Post obitum, renis tibi ram redigere vs finito esse
Etque iterum nobis fecundum datam ultimam vitae,
Perimum quidquam tamen ad nos id quoque factum,
Interupta semel collectingerit nosra.
If time should recollect, when life is past,
Our stufhe, and it replace, as now is placed,
And light of life were granted vs againe,
Yet nothing would that doe to vs pertaine,
When interrupted were our tunc-againe.

And Plato, when in another place thou faist, that it shall be the spirituall parte of man that shall enjoy the recompences of the other life, thou tellst of things of as small likelihood:

Seliter aquinis radicibus os negunt villam
Displicere ipsis ocubus semintum corpora teto.
Ev nis no eye, by th root's pull'd-out, canse
Ought in whole body feverall to bee.

For, by this reckoning, it shall no longer be man, nor consequently vs, to whom this enjoying shall appertain; for we are multitude of two princiual essentiaall partes, the separation of which, is the death and commuination of our being.

Inter emin. caul. est vivat caula, uagaeque
Deerrantur passionibus ab subtilibus omnes.

A
The second Booke.

A pause of life is interposed; from hence
All motions strayed are, fare wandering thence.
we do not say, that man suffereth, when the wormes gnaw his body and limbes whereby he lived, and that the earth consumeth them.

Moreover, vpon what ground of their justice, can the Gods reward man and be thankfull vnto him after his death, for his good and vertuous actions, since themselves adrelfed and bred them in him? And wherefore are they offended, and revenge his vicious deedes, when themselves have created him with fo defective a condition, and that but with one twinkleing of their will, they may hinder him from sinning? Might not Epicurus with some new of humane reason object that vnto Plato, if he did not often shrowd himselfe vnder this sentence: That it is vnpoffible by mortall nature to eftablith any certaintie of the immortal? She is ever straying, but especially when the medleth with divine matters. Who feelis it more evidently then we? For, although we have ascribed vnto her, affured and infallable principles, albeit wee enlighten her stps with the holy lampne of that truth, which God hath bene pleased to imparte vnto vs, we notwithstanding fey dayly, how little foever she flys from the ordinary path, and that she start or strangle out of the way, traced and measured out by the church, how soone she loofeth, entangleth and confoundeth her selfe; turning, tossing and floating vp and downe, in this vaffe, troublesome and tempestuous sea of mans opinions, without restraint or scope. So soone as the loofeth this high and common way, the devideth and scattereth her selfe a thousand diverse wayes. Man can be no other then he is, nor imagine but according to his capacitie: It is greater presumption (faith Plutarch) in them that are but men, to attempt to reason and discoure of Gods, and of demie-Gods, then in a man merel, ignorant of muficke, to judge of those that sing; or for a man, that was never in warres, to dispute of Armes and warre, presuming by some light conjecture, to comprehend the effects of an arte altogether beyond his skill. As I thinke, Antiquitie imagined it did something for divine Majestie, when thce compared the fame vnto man, attiring his with his faculles, and enriching her with his strange humours, and most shamefull necessitie: offering her some of our cates to feede vpon, and some of our dances, mummeries, and enterludes to make her merry, with our clothes to apperell her, and our houses to lodge her, cherishing her with the sweete odors of incense, and sounds of muficke, adorning her with garlands and flowers, and to draw her ro our vicious passions, to flatter her justice with an inhumane revenge, gladding her with the ruine and dilpation of things, created and preserved by her. As Tiberius Sempronius, who for a sacrifice to Vulcane, cauled the rich spoiles and armes, which he had gotten of his enemies in Sardinia, to be burned: And Paulus Emilius, thce he had obtained in Macedonia, to Mars and Miniver. And Alexander comming to the Ocean very angry, call in favour of Theseus many great rich vefells of gold into the Sea, replenishing moreover his Altars with a butcherly slaughter, not onely of innocent beastes, but of men, as diverse nations, and amongst the rest, ours were wont to do. And I thinke none hath bene exempted from shewing the like Elysays.

Suborne creatas

Vrg. Enl. 19

517.

The Getes deeme themselves immortall, and their death but the beginning of a journey to their God Zanetical. From five to five yeares, they dispatch some one among themselves toward him, to require him of necessarie things. This deputie of theirs is chosen by lotes; And the manner to dispatch him, after they have by word of mouth instructed him of his charge, is, that amongst those which assifit his election, three holde so many javelins vpright, vpon which the others by more strength of armes, throwe him; if he chance to fllicke vpon them
them in any mortal place, and that he die sodainly, it is to them an assured argument of divine favor; but if he escape, they deeme him a wicked and execrable man, and then chuse another. 

Athenaeus mother vnto Xerxes, being become aged, caufed at one time 14. yong striplings of the noblest houses of Persia (following the religion of her coutrie) to be buried alive, thereby to gratifie some God of under-earth. Even at this day the Idols of Temiutan are cimented with the blood of yong children, and love no facrifice but of such infant and pure foules: Oh justice greede of the blood of innocencie.

Tannim religio posti suaderi malorum.
Religion so much mischeefe could Periwade, where it much better shoulde.

The Carthaginians were wont to facrifice their owne children vnto Saturne, and who had none, was faime to buy foume: and their fathers and mothers were enforced in their proper perfon, with cheerfull and pleafant countenance to affift that office. It was a strange conceit, with our owne affiction to goe about to pleafe and appay divine goodnes. As the Macedonians, who flattered and wantonized their Diana, by torturing of yong boyes, whom often in favor of hir they caufed to be whipped to death. It was a savage kinde of humor, to thinke to gratifie the Architector the subversion of his architecture: and to cancel the punishment due vnto the guilte, by punishing the guiltles, and to imagine that poore ibi-genius, in the port of Amides, shoulde by hir death and sacrifice discharge and expiate, towards God, the Grecians armie of the offences, which they had committed.

Et calia incelle subendi tempore in ipo
Hosia considerat maiisla maiia parentis.
She, a chaft offering, grief'd insincerely
By fathers stroke, when she should wed, to die.

And those two noble and generous foules of the Detty, father and fomne, to reconcile, and appease the favor of the Gods, towards the Romans affairs, should headlong caft their bodies awharte the thickeft throng of their enemies. Qua fuit tanta Deorum ignotia, quae placet populo Romanon non proinittis nisi tales suos occidant? What inuifice of the Gods was so great, as they could not be appeased, unless such men perifhed? Confirming that it lies not in the offender to caufe hymself to be whipp'd, how and when he lift, but in the judge, who accompliseth nothing a right punishment, except the torture he appointeth; and cannot impute that vnto punishment, which is in the free choife of him that suffereth. The divine vengeance prefuppofeth our full diffent, for his justice and our paine. And ridiculous was that humor of Polydor, the Tyrant of Saami, who to interrupt the course of his continual happines, and to repomence-it, caft the ritcheft and most precious jwell he had into the Sea, deeming that by this purposed mishappe he should satifie the revolution and vicisimtude of fortune; which to deride his folly, caufed the very fame jwell, being found in a fishes-belly, to returne to his hands againe. And to what purpose are the manlings and difmembrings of the Coribantes, of the Menades, and now a daies of the Mahometans, who skarre, and gath their faces, their flomake and their limnes, to gratifie their profit; seeing the offence con-fifeth in the will, not in the breath, nor eyes, nor in the genitoris, health, sheelders, or throate? 

Tantis est perturbatione mentis & sedibus suas pulsa favor, ut sic di placetur, quemadmodum ne homines quidem senium. So great is the furie of a troubled minde put from the state it should be in, as the Gods must be so pacified, as even men would not be so outrageous. This natural contexcture doth by hir vse not onely respect vs, but alfo the service of God and other mens: it is inuifice to make it mischiefe at our plea"."sire, as vnder what pretence fooner it be to kill our selves. It fcameth to be a great cowardife and manifest treason, to abufe the stupid and corrupt servile functions of the body, to spare the diligence vnto the foule how to direct them accordin vnto reason. Vbi iratos deos timent, quis sic propitious habere merentur. In regia Libidinis voluptas semem cadratant sunt quidam: fed nemo sibi, ne vir effect, invenire domino, manus seunati. Where are they afraid of Gods anger, who in such forte deferve to have his fators some have beene guilted for Princes loufull pleaure: but no man at the Lords command, hath had hands on himselfe, to be lesse then a man. Thus did they replenish their religion and flutte it with divers bad effects.

--- sapius olum.
Religio peperit secluda arque impia suffa.

Religion
Religion hath oft-times in former times, 
Bred excerable facts, vugodly crimes.

Now can nothing of ours, in what manner ever, be either compared or referred vnto divine nature, that doth not blemish or defile the fame with as much imperfection. How can this infinit beautifull power and goodness admit any correspondencie or similitude with a thing so base and abject as we are, without extreme intereat and manifest derogation from his divine greatness? Infinum Dei fortum est hominibus; & Idolum Dei sapientissim est homini- bus. The weaknesses of God is stronger then men: and the foolishness of God is wiser then men. Stulpe the Philosopher, being demanded, whether the Gods rejoayce at our honors and sacrifieces; you are indifcerete (said he) let vs withdrawe our selves apart, if you speake of such matters. Notwithstanding we present him limits, we lay continuall siege vnto his power by our reasons. (I call our dreams and our vanities reason, with the dispensation of Philosophie, which faith, that both the foolie and the wicked do rave and dote by reason, but that it is a reason of severall and particular forme) we will subject them to the vaine and weake apparencces of our vnderstanding; he who hath made both vs and our knowledge. Because nothing is made of nothing: God was not able to frame the world without matter. What? Hath God delivered into our hands the keyes, and the strongest wardes of his infinite puiffance? Hath hee obliged him-selue not to exceede the boundes of our knowledge? Suppofe, oh man, that herein thou haft beene able to marke some signes of his effects: Thinkest thou, he hath therein employed all he was able to doe, and that he hath placed all his forms and ideas in this piece of worke? Thou feest but the order and policé of this little cell wherein thou art placed: The question is, whither thou seeft-it: His divinitt hath an infinite satisfaction farre beyond that: This piece is nothing in respect of the whole.

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This law thou allegeth is but a municipal law, and thou knowest not what the universall is. Take hold of that, to which thou art subject, but let not on him, he is neither thy companion, nor thy brother, nor thy fellow-citizen, nor thy copheme. If he in any fort have communicatcd himselfe vnto thee, it is not to debate himselfe, or to hope to thy smallnes, but to give thee the rod of controllment over his power. Mans body cannot escape vnto the crowdes, this is for thee. The Sunne vnceasantly goeth his ordinarie course: The bounds of the Seas and of the earth can not be confounded: The water is ever fleeting, wavering, and without firmenes: A walle without breach or flawe, inpenetrable vnto a solid body: Man cannot preserve his life amidst the flames, he cannot corporally be both in heaven and on earth, and in a thousand places together and at once. Is it for thee that he hath made these rulesuit is thou they take hold-off. He hath testified vnto Christians, that when ever it pleased him he hath out-gone them all. And in truth, omnipotent as he is, whrefore should he have restrained his forces vnto alimited measure? In favor of whom should he have renounced his priviledge? Thy reason hath in no one other thing more likelihood and foundation, therefore in that periwadeth thee a pluralitie of worlds.

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The famousett wits of former ages have beleevd it, yea and some of our moderne, as forced therewith by the apparance of humane reason. For as much as whatsoever we see in this vall worldes-frame, there is no one thing alone, single and one:

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and that all severall kinde are multiplied in some number: Whereby it seemeth unlikely, that God hath framed this piece of work alone without a fellow, and that the matter of this forme hath wholly beene spent in this onely Individuum.
Wherefore you must confess again, again,
Of matter such like meetings elsewhere again.

As this, these skies in greedy grip contain,
Namely if it be a breathing creature, as its motions make it so likely, that Plato affirseth it, and divers of our sayer affirseth; or dare not impugne it, no more than the old Stoics and the Heaven, the Stars and other members of the World, are Creatures composed both of body and soul; mortal in respect of their composition, but immortal by the Creator's decree. Now, if there be divers Worlds; as Democritus, Epicurus and well-nee are all Philo- sophic hath thought; what know we, whether the principles and the rules of this one concerne or touch likewise the others? Happily they have another semblance and another policy. Epicurus imagineth them either like or unlike. We see an infinite difference and variety in this world, only by the distance of places. There is neyther Corne nor Wine; nor any of our beasts seen in that new corner of the World, which our fathers have lately discovered: All things differ from ours. And in the old time, mark but in how many parts of the world, they had never knowledge nor of Bacchus nor of Ceres. If any credit may be given unto Plato or to Herodotus, there is in some places a kind of men that have very little or no resemblance at all with ours. And there be mongrel and ambiguous shapes, between a humane and brutish Nature. Some Countries there are, where men are borne head-first, with eyes & mouths in their breasts, where all are Herrnaphrodites, where they creep on all fours; Where they have but one eye in their forehead, and heads more like unto a dog than ours; Where from the Navil downward they are halfe fih, and live in the water; Where women are brought a bed at five years of age, and live but eight; Where their heads and the skinne of their browses are so hard, that no yron can pierce them, but wil rather turne edge; Where men never have beaides. Other Nations there are, that never have vfe of fire; Others whose sperme is of a blacke colour. What shall we speake of them, who naturally change themselves into Woolves, into Couls, and then into Men againe? And if it bee (as Plutarch saith) that in some part of the Indies, there are men without mouths, and who live only by the smell of certaine sweete odours; how many of our descriptions be then false? Hee is no more visible; nor perhaps capable of reason and societie: The direction and cause of our inward frame, should for the most part be to no purpose. Moreover, how many things are there in our knowledge, that oppose these goodly rules, which we have alloted and prescribed vnto Nature? And we vnderstand to joyne GOD himselfe vnto him. How many things doe we name miraculous and against Nature? Each man and every Nation doth it according to the measure of his ignorance. How many hidden proprieties and quietnesse do we daily discover? For vs to doe according to Nature, is but to follow according to our understanding, as farre as it can follow, and as much as we can perceive in it. Whatsoever is beyond it, is monstrous and disordered. By this account all shall then be monstrous, to the wisest and most sufficient for even to such, humane reason hath perswaded, that she had neither ground nor footing, no not so much as to warrant her to be white: And Anaxagoras said, it was blacke; Whether there be any thing or nothing; Whether there be knowledge or ignorance; Which Metrodorus Christ denied, that any man might say. Or whether we live as Euripides seemeth to doubt, and call in question, whether the life we live be a life, or no, or whether that which we call death be a life.

Plato.

Cic.  
Herodotus.

Who knowes if thus to live, be called death?
And if it be to dy, thus to draw breath?

And not without apperance. For, wherefore doe we from that instant take a title of being, which is but a twinkling in the infinite course of an eternal night, and so short an interruption of our perpetuall and natural condition? Death possesseth whatsoever is before and behind the moment, and a good part of this moment. Some others affirm, there is no motion, and that nothing stirreth; namely those which follow Menippus. For, if there be but one, neither can this spherical motion serve him, nor the mooving from one place to another,
Plate prooveth, that there is neither generation nor corruption in nature. Protagoras faide, that of things which seeme to bee, no one thing, is no more, then it is not. That nothing is certaine, but uncertaine. Parmenides, that of that which feemeth, there is no one thing in General. That there is but one Zen, that one selfe fame is not: And that there is nothing. If one were, he should eether be in another, or in himselfe: he be in another, then are they two: If he be in himselfe, they are also two, the comprizing and the comprized. According to these rules or docttrines, the Nature of things is but a false or vain shadow. I have ever thought, that this manner of speach in a Chrisitian, is full of indifferency and irreverence. God cannot dy, God cannot game-fay himselfe, God cannot do this or that. I cannot allow, a man should so bound God: heavenly power under the Lawes of our word. And that apperance, which in these propositions offers it selfe unto vs, ought to bee represented more reverently and more religiously. Our speach hath his infirmities and defects, as all things else have. Most of the occasions of this worlds troubles are Grammatical. Our futes and procetles proceed but from the canvassing and debating the interpretation of the Lawes, and moft of our wars from the want of knowledge in state-counsellers, that could not clearly distinguih and fully express the Covenants, and Conditions of accords, between Prince and Prince. How many weightie frities, and important quarrels, hath the doubt of this one filable, discourse, brought forth in the world? examine the plainest sentence, that logike it selfe can pretend unto vs. If you fay, it is faire-Weather, and in fo faying, fay trues, it is faire Weather then. Is not this a certaine forme of speach? Yet, will it deceive vs: That it is fo; Let vs follow the example: If you fay, I lie, and that you fay true, you lie then. The Arte, the reason, the force of the conclusion of this laft, are like unto the other; notwithstanding we are entangled. I fee the Pyrhonian Phylophilofers, who can by no manner of speach exprefle their General concei-fors, they had neede of a new language. Ours is altogether compofed of affirmative propositions, which are directly againft them. So that, when they fay, I doubt, you have them faft by the fleve, to make them avow, that at leaft you are assured and know, that they doubt. So have they beene compell'd to fave themfelves by this comparision of Phyfike, out without which their concite would be inexplicable and intricate. When they pronounce, I know not, or I doubt, they fay, that this propofition tranfportes it selfe together with the refte, even as the Newe barbe doeth, which fewreth ill humour's away, and therewith is carried away himself. This conceit is more certainly conceived by an interogation: What can I tell? As I beare it in an Imprefe of a paire of ballances. Note how some prevale with this keinde of vnreverent and unhallowed speach. In the disputations, that are now-adayes in our religion, if you overmuch vridge the adverfaries, they will roundly tell you, that it lieth not in the power of GOD to make his body, at once to be in Paradise and on earth, and in many other places together. And how that ancient skoffe rade profitable vs of it. At leftl (faith he) it is no small comfort unto man, to fee that GOD cannot doe all things; for, he cannot kill himfelfe, if he wold, which is the greaftest benefite we have in our condition; he cannot make mortal men immortal, nor raise the dead to life againe, nor make him that hath lived, never to have lived, & him, who hath had honors, not to have had them having no other right over what is past, but of forgetfulness. And that this societe between God and Man, may also be combined with some pleafant examples, he cannot make twife ten, to be but twenty. See what he faith, & which a Chriftian ought to abhorr, that ever fuch & so profane words should passe his mouth: Whereas on the contrarie part, it feemeth that fond men endeavour to finde out this foolish-boldneffe of speach, that fo they may tune and winde God almighty according to their meafure.

Nube pulsam pater occupate,
Vel folae puro non tamem irruptions
Quodiqueque retro est efficient, quaene
Diffinget infectumque reddet
Quod fugiens semel hora venit.
To morrow let our father fill the skie,
With darke crowdes, or with cleare Sunne, he thereby

D d 3 Shall

Hor.cer l.3. ad.
39.43
The second Booke.

Shall not make voyde what once is overpast:
Nor shall he vndoe, or in new molde call,
What time hath once caught, that flies hence to fall.

When we say, that the infinitie of ages, as well past as to come, is but one instant with God; that his wife, goodnesse, and power, are one selfe-same thing with his essence; our tongue speakes—it, but our understanding can no whtie apprehend it. Yet will our self-super-woeening fitte his divinitie through our scarce whence are engendred all the varieties and errors wherewith the world is so full-fraught, reducing and weighing with his vnverteine balance, a thing so farre from his reach, and so distant from his weight. Mirum quo procedat improbatus cordis humanus, parvum aliquo superatur successu. It is a wonder, whether the perverse wickednesse of many hearts will proceede, if it be but called-on with any little success.

How solenmely doe the Stoikes charge Epicurus, because he holds, that to be perfectly good and absolutely happy, belongs but only vnto God; and that the wise man hath but a shadow and similitude thereof? How rashly have they joyned God vnto definition? (Which at my request, let none that beareth the surname of a Christian, doe at this day) And Thales, Plato, and Pythagoras have subjected him vnto necessitie. This over-boldnesse, or rather bold-savageness, to secke to discover God, by and with our eyes, hath beene the cause, that a notable man of our times hath attributed a corporall forme vnto divinitie, and is the cause of that which daily happeneth vnto vs, which is; by a particular affection, to impure all important events to God; which because they touch vs, it seemeth they also touch him, and that he regardeth them with more care and attention, then those that are but flight and ordinary vnto vs. Magna dy curvam, parva neglign. The Gods take some care for great things, but none for little. Note his example; he will enlighten you with his reason. Nec in regnis quadam regno ni minimae curvam. Nor doe Kings in their Kingdomes much care for the least matters. As if they were all one to that King, either to remove an Empire, or a leafe of a tree: and if his providence were otherwise exercis'd, inclining or regarding no more the success of a battall, then the slip of a fleas. The hand of his government affords itself to all things after a like tenure, fashion and order; our interest addeth nothing vnto it; our motions and our measures concern the thing nothing and move him no whit. Deus iste artifex magus in magnis, vs minor non fit in parvis. God is so great a workeman in great things, as he is no lesse in small things. Our arrogancie, setteheth ever before vs this blafphemous equality; because our occupations charge vs. Strato hath prestented the Gods with all immunitie of offices, as are their Priests. He maketh nature to produce and preserve all things, and by his weights and motions to compact all parts of the world, discharging humane nature from the feare of divine judgments. Quod bratum eternumque fit, id nec habere, negat et quiquam, nec exhibere alteri. That which is blessed and eternall, nor is troubled is selfe, nor troubled of others. Nature willet that in all things alike, there be also alike relation. Then the infinite number of mortall men, concluded a like number of immorta: the infinite things that kill and destroie, presupposo as many that preserve and profit. As the foules of the Gods, fanfe tongues, fanfe eyes and fanfe cares, have each one in themselves a feeling of that which the other feel, and judge of our thoughts; so mens foules, when they are free and governed from the body, either by sleepe or any distractions divine, prognosticate and feele things, which being conjoynd to their bodies, they could not see. Men (faith Saint Paul) when they professed themselves to bee wife, they became foules, for they turned the glory of the incorruptible God to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man. Marke I pray you a little the jugling of ancient Defectiones. After the great, solemn and proud pome of funerals, when the fire began to burne the top of the Piramide, and to take holde of the bed or heare wherein the dead corpslay, even at that instant, they let flie an Eagle, which taking her flight aloft vpward, signified that the foule went directly to Paradise. We have yet a thousand medals and monuments, namely of that honest woman Fanstina, wherein that Eagle is represented, carrying a cocke-horse vp towards heaven thofe Defied foules. It is pity we should so deceie our selves with our owne foolish devises and apish inventions.

Quod suxere timent.
Of that they fland in seare,
Which they in fancie beare.

as children will be afraid of their fellows visage, which themselves have beseamed and black.
blackt. Quasi quisquam intelhiceit hominem, cui summamenta dominabant. Although anything were more wretched than man over whom his own imaginations bear sway and dominion. To honour him whom we have made, is far from honouring him that hath made us. Augustus had as many Temples as Jupiter, & served with as much religion & opinion of miracles. The Thaïsians, in requital of the benefits they had received of Agestius, came to tell him how they had canonized him. Hath your nation (said he) the power to make those whom it pleasures, Gods? Then first (for example fake) make one of your selves, and when I shall have seen what good he shall have thereby, I will then thank you for your offer. Oh fenced celfe man, who can not possibly make a worme, and yet will make Gods by dozens. Listen to Trismegistus when he praiseth our sufficiency: For man to finde out divine nature, and to make it, hath surmounted the admiration of all admirable things. Loe here arguments out of Philosophies (chooses it felt, Noxe cni Divos & eali numina foli, Ant folis nofire datum.

Only to whom heavns Deities to know, Only to whom is giv'n them not, to know.

If God be, he is a living creature; if he be a living creature, he hath sent; and if he have sent, he is subject to corruption. If he be without a body, he is without a soule, and consequently without action; and if he have a body, he is corruptible. Is not this brave? we are incapable to have made the world, then is there some more excellent nature, that hath set her helping hand vnto it. Were it not a foolish arrogancy, that we should thinke our selves, to be the perfectest thing of this Universe? Then sure there is some bettter thing, And that is God. When you fee a rich & flaunt mansion-house, although you know not who is owner of it, yet will you not say, that it was built for Rats. And this more then humane frame, and divine composition, which we see, of heavens-pallace, must we not deeme it to be the mansion of some Lord, greatest then our selves? Is not the highest ever the moit worthy? And we are seated in the lowest place. Nothing that is without a soule and void of reason, is able to bring forth a living soule capable of reason. The world doth bring us forth, then the world hath both soule and reason. Each part of us, is left then our selves, we are part of the world, then the world is stored with wisdom and with reason, and that more plectanely, then we are. It is a goodly thing to have a great government. Then the worlds government belongeth to some blessed and happy nature. The starrs annoy us not, then the starrs are full of goodness. We have need of nourishment, then so have the Gods, and feede themselves with the vapours arizing here below. Worldly goddes, are not goods vnto God. Then are not they goodes vnto vs. To offend and to bee offended, are equall wittnes of imbecillity; Then it is folly to feare God. God is good by his owne nature, man by his industrie, which is more? Divine wifedome and mans wifedome, have no other distinction, but that the first is eternal. Now lafitngene is not an accession vnto wifedome. Therefore are we fellowes. We have life, reason and libertie, we esteem goodnesse, charitie and justice; these qualities are then in him. In conclusion the building and destroying the conditions of divinite, are forged by man according to the relation to himselfe. Oh what a pattern, and what a model! Let vs raife, and let vs amplifie humane qualities as much as we please. Puffe vp thy selue poore man, yea fwell and swell againe.
with the God Serapis, by the maquerelage of the Priests of that Temple, found his selfe in the arms of a wanton lover of his. Varro the most subtil, and wisest Latin Author, in his bookes of divinitie writeth, that Hercules his Sextaine, with one hand calling lattes for himselfe, and with the other for Hercules, gaged a supper and a wench against him: if he won, at the charge of his offringes, but if he lost, at his owne cost. He lost and paid for a supper and a wench: His name was Laurentina: Who by night saw that God in his armes, saying moreover vnto him, that the next day, the first man the met withall, should heavenly pay his hir wages. It ffortune to be one Tarquinus, a very rich yong-man, who tooke him home with him, and in time left his absolute heire of all he had. And the, when it came to hir turne, hoping to doe that God some acceptable service, left the Romane people heire generall of all hir wealth: And therefore had the divine honors attributed vnto hir. As if it were not sufficient for Plato to defend originally from the Gods, by a two-fold line, and to have Neptune for the common Author of his race. It was certainly beleaved at Athens, that Ariflon desiring to enjoy fairer Perilyone, he could not, and that in his dreame he was warned by God Apollo, to leave hir vntoucht, and vnpolluted, vntill fuch time as the were brought a bed. And these were the father and mother of Plato. How many fuch-like cuckoldries are there in histories, procured by the Gods against feely mortall men? And husbands most injuriously blazoned in favor of their children? In Mahometts religion, by the caitie beleefe of that people are many Merius found; That is to say fatherles children: Spirituall children, conceived and borne devinely in the wombs of virgins, and that in their language beare names, impor ting as much. We must note, that nothing is more deare and precious to any thing, then it's owne being (the Lyon, the Eagle and the Dolphin effeteme nothing above their kind) each thing referreth the qualities of all other things vnto hir owne conditions, which we may either amplify or shorten: but that is all: for besides this principle, and out of this reference, our imagination cannot goe, and guesse further: and it is vnpolluted it should exceede that, or goe beyond it: Whence ariseth these ancient conclusions. Of all formes, that of man is the fairest: Then God is of this forme. No man can be happie without vertue, nor can vertue be without reacon: And no reacon can lodge but in a humane shape: God is then invested with a humane figure. Ita est in narrationibus antiquis mertabum nos tris, quum de Deo cogitet forma occurrit humana. The prejudice foresaid in our mannes is so framed, as the forme of man comes to mans mind, when he is thinking of God. Therefore Xenophanes said pleafantly, that if hee frame any Gods vnto themelves, (as likely it is they doe) they sureely frame them like vnto themselues, and theirselfes as we doe. For, why may not a Goose say thus? All parts of the world behold me, the earth serveth me to treade vpon, the Sunne to give me light, the stars to inspire we with influence: this commodity I have of the winde, and this benefit of the waters; there is nothing that this worlds-vaulte doth so favorably looke vpon, as me selfe; I am the favorite of nature: Is it not man that careth for me, that keepteth me, lodgeth me, and serveth me? For me it is hee foweth, repareth, and grindeth: If he eate me, doth man feede on his fellow, and doth he I on the worms, that consume and eate him. As much might a Crane saye, yea and more boldly, by reacon of his flights-liberti, and the possession of this godly and high-bounding region. Tam blanda conciliatrix, et tam (ui est lena in planeta. So flattering a broker, and bewde (as it were) is nature to it selfe. Now by the fame consequence, the deflenties are for vs, the world is for vs it shineth, and thundrith for vs: Both the creator and the creatures are for vs: It is the marke and point whereat the universitie of things saymeth. Surray but the register, which Philosophie hath kepte these two thound, yeares and more, of heavenly affaires. The Gods never acted, and never spaceth, but for man: She aferbeth no other consultation, nor imputeth other vacation vnto them. Loe how they are vp in armes against vs.

--- domoque Herculea manu
Telluris inuenes, unde pericumum
Fulgens contremitt domus
Saturni veteris.

And yong earth-gallants tamed by the hand
Of Hercules, where by the habitation
Of old Saturnus did in peril stand,
And, thy'd it were so bright, yet fear'd invasion.
The second Booke.

See how they are partakers of our troubles, that so they may be even with vs, forso much as so many times we are partakers of theirs.

\textit{Neptunus munus magnifique emota tridenti}
\textit{Fundamenta quatt quinque a juxta urbem}
\textit{Erini: hic Inno Sceav succissa portas}
\textit{Prima tenet.}
\textit{Neptunus with his great three-folded mace}
S Hiek's the weake walle,and tottering foundation,
And from the site the Cittie doth displac,
Fierce Inno first holds-ope the gates t'invasion.

The Cannians, for the jelousie of their owne Gods domination, vpon their devotion-day arme themselves, and running vp and downe, brandishing and striking the ayre with their glaives, and in this erneft manner they expell all foraine, and banish all strange Gods from out their territorie. Their powers are limited according to our necessitie. Some heale Horses, some cure men, some the plague, some the sclande, some the cough, some one kinde of scabbe, and some another: \textit{Ado minimus etiam rebus prava religio inferit Deos: This corrupt religion engageth and infecteth Gods even in the least matters:} Some make grapes to growe, and some garricke; Some have the charge of bawdrie and undie, and some of marchandise: \textit{To every kinde of trades-man a God.} Some one hath his province and credit in the East, and some in the West:

\textit{hic illius arma}

\textit{Hic currus fuit}

His armor heere.
His chariots there apareae.
\textit{O sante Apollo qui umbilicum certum terrarum obies.}
Sacred Apollo, who enfolded,
The earths fet navell,and it holde.
\textit{Pallada Cerepidea, Minya Creia Dianam,}
\textit{Vulcanam tellus Hippysyea colit.}
\textit{Imunonem Sparte, Peloepadesque Mycene,}
\textit{Pinigerum Fanni Menaia ora caput:}
\textit{Mars Latio venerandus.}
\textit{Th'Athenians Pallars, Minos, Candie coaste}
\textit{Diana, Lemnos Vulcan honor's most.}
\textit{Mycene and Sparta, Inno thinke divine;}
\textit{The coaste of Menaia Faune crown'd with pine;}
\textit{Latium doth Mars adore}

Befieued with blood and goare.
Some hath but one borough or familie in his poitission: Some lodgeth alone, and some in companie, either voluntarily or necessarily.

\textit{Impulque sunt magno templo nepotes avo.}
To the great grand-fires shrine,
The nephewes temples doe combine.

Some there are so seely and popular (for their number amounteth to fix and thirtie thousand) that five or six of them must be stufed vp together to produce an ear of corne, and thereof they take their several names. Three to a doe; one to the boarde, one to the hinges, and the third to the threshold. Four to a child, as protectors of his bandells, of his drinke, of his meate and of his fucking. Some are certaine, others vncertaine, some doubtfully and some that come not yet into paradise.

\textit{Quo, quiniam calisi nondum dignamur honore,}
\textit{Quo dedumus certe terras, habiatur familiaris.}
Whom for as yet with heav'n we have not graced,
Let them on earth by our good graunte be placed.

There are some Phisitians, some poetical, and some civill, some of a meane condition, betwene divine and humane nature, mediators and spoket-men betweene vs and God: worshipped in a kinde of second or diminutive order of adoration: infinite in titles and offices:

\textit{some}
some good, some bad; some old and crazed, and some mortall. For Chrissipus thought, that in the last conflagration or burning of the world, all the Gods should have an end, except Jupiter. Man faineth a thousand pleasant societies betweene God and him. Nay is he not his countrieman? Iovis incommunia Creten.

Ovid Met. 1. 99.

Behold the excele, that Scacola chiefe Bisho, and Uarro, a great Divine in their dayes, give vs upon the consideration of this subject. It is necessary (say they) that man be altogether ignorant of true things, and beleve many false. Quam verutatem, qua liberetur, inquirat: credatur ex expedere, quod fallatur. Since they seek the truth, whereby they may be free, let us beleve it is expedient for them, to be deceived. Manse cannot perceiue things, but by the forms of his knowledge. And we remember not the downefall of miserable Phaeton, forfomuch as he undertooke to guide the reins of his fathers steedes, with a mortall hand. Our mind doth stil relaps into the same depth, & by hir owne temeritie doth dissipate & bruise it selfe. If you enquire of Philosophy, what matter the Sun is composed of? What will it answer, but of yron and stone, or other stuffe for his vfe? Demand of Zeno, what Nature is? A fire (faith he) in Arufu, fit to engender, and proceeding orderly. Archimedes master of this Science, and who in trueth and certaintie affueth vnto him selfe a precedentie above all others, faith, the Sunne is a God of enflamed yron. Is not this a quaint imagination, produced by the inevitable neceffite of Geometrical demonstrations? Yet not fo unavoidable and beneficall, but Socrates hath beene of opinion, that it sufffied to know so much of it, as that a man might measure out the land, he either demifed or tooke to rent: and that Ptolemaus, who therein had beene a famous and principall Doctor, after he had tastfed the sweet fruits of the haze, idle and delicious gardens of Epicurus, did not contemne them, as full of falfhead and apparant vanitie. Socrates in Xenophon, upon this point of Anaxagoras, allowed and esteemed of antiquitie, well feene and expert above all others in heavenly and divine matters, faith, that he weakened his brains much, as all men doe, who over nicely, and greedily will search out those knowledges, which hang not for their mowing, nor pertaine vnto them. When he would needes have the Sunne to be a burning stone, he remembered not, that a stone doth not shine in the fire; and which is more, that it consumes therein. And when he made the Sunne and fire to be all one, he forget, that fire doth not tammie and blake thofe he looketh vpon; that wee fixly looke vpon the fire, and that fire consumes and killes all plants and heares. According to the advis of Socrates and mine, The wifest judging of heaven, is not to judge of it at all. Plato in his Timaeus, being to speake of Demons and Spirits, faith, it is an enterprize farre exceeding my skill and abillitie: we must beleve what those ancient forefathers have faid of them, who have faid to have beene engendred by them. It is against reason not to give creede vnto the children of the Gods, although their sayings be neither grounded upon necessarie, nor likely reasons, since they tel vs, that they speake of familiar and household matters. Let vs see, whether we have a little more inlight in the knowledge of humane and natural things. It is not a fond enterprize, to those vnto, which by our owne confeffion, our learning cannot possibely attaine, to devise and forgue them another body, and of our owne invention to give them a false forme, asis feene in the planetary motions, vnto which because our minde cannot reach, nor imagine their natural conduct, we lend them something of ours, that is to fay, materiall, grosse and corporall springs and wards:

Curvatura rote, radiorum argentem ordo.
The axetree gold, the wheele whole circle gold,
The ruke of raies did all of silver hold.

you would fay, we have had coach-makers, carpenters, and painters, who have gone vp thicker, and there have placed engines with diverfe motions, and ranged the wheeleing, the windings, and enlacetements of the celestiall bodies diaped in colours, according to Plato, about the spindle of necessarie. 

Mundus domus est maxima rerum,
Quam quinque altione fragmine zone
Cingunt, per quam ambus putus hie sex signis,

Stellarumcantibus,
Stellamicibus, alius oblique aether, lune
Bigas acceptas.
The world, of things the greatest habitation,
Which five high-thundering Zones by separation
Engird, through which a fearless depainted faire
With twice six signes starre-shining in the aire.
Obliquely raiifed, the waine
O're th Moone doth entertaine.

They are all dreams, and mad fancies. Why will not nature one day be pleased to open
hir bofome to vs, and make vs perfectly see the meanes and conduct of her motions, and
enable our eyes to judge of them? Oh good God, what abuscs, and what distractions should
we finde in our poore understanding, and weak knowledge! I am deceived, if the hold one
thing directly in it's point; and I shall parte hence more ignorant of all other things, then
mine ignorance. Have I not feene this divine faying in Plate, that nature is nothing but an
enigmaticall poefie? As a man might fay, an overshadowed and darke picture, enter-shining
with an infinite variety of falke lights, to exercife our conjectures Latent ets a omnia
crassiff occultata & cirumfina tenebris vs nullis actes humani ingenii tantum fit, qua penetrare in caelum, terram intrare posset. All these things lie hid fo veiled and environed with mistie darkenesse,
as no edge of man is fo pierant, as it can paufe into heaven, or drue into the earth. And truly,
Philofoeph is nothing else but a sophificated poefie: whence have thefe ancient authors all
their authorities, but from Poets? And the first were Poets themselves, and in their Arte
treated the fame. Plato is but a loofe Poet. All high and more then humane Sciences are decked
and enrobed with a Poetical fable. Even as women, when their natural teeth faile them,
vs some of yuory, and infeade of a true beautie, or lively colour, lay on some artificiall
new; and as they make trunke-leafes of wire and whale-bone bodies, backes of lathes, and
fluffe umbafalled verdugals, and to the open-view of all men paint and embelliſh themselves
with counterfeit feit and borrowed beauties; fo doth learning (and our law hath, as some fay,
certaine lawfull fixtures on which it groundeth the truth of juftice) which in lieu of curant
payment and prefupposition, delivereth vs thofe things, which ftee her felfe teacheth
vs to be mere inventions: For, thefe Epicycles, Excentriques, and Concentriques, which Aemilio
vfe to direft the flate and motions of her staries, fhee giveth them vnto vs, as the
beft she could ever invent, to fit and fute vnto this fubjext: as in all things elle, Philofophe
prefenteth vnto vs, not that which is, or fhee beleeveth, but what fhee inventeth, as having
moft apparence, likelihood, or comelineffe. Plate upon the difcourfe of our bodies-effe,
and of that of beaftes: That what we have faid, is true, wee would be auftured of it, had we
but the confirmation of fome oracle, to confirme it. This onely we warrant, that it is the
likelyeft we could fay. It is not to heaven alone, that the fendeth her cordages, her engines,
and her wheels: Let vs but fome what consider, what the faith of our felves, and of our con-
texture. There is no more retrogradation, trepidation, augmentation, recoiling and violence
in the staries and celeftiall bodies, then they have faimed and deuiled in this poore fee-
ly little body of man. Verily they have thence had reafon to name it Microcosmos, or little
world, so many feveral parts and vifages have they employed to fashion and frame the
fame. To accommodate the motions which they fee in man, the diverse functions and fac-
cultes, that we feele in our felves; Into how many feveral parts have they divided our foule?
Into how many fefts have they placed her? Into how many orders, ftages, and ftations have
they divided this wretched man, beside the naturall & perceptible and to how many different
offices and vaction? They make a publike imaginary thing of it. It is a fubjext, which
they hold and handle: they have all power granted them, to rip him, to ferve him, to range him, to join and reunite him togethersagne, and to fuffle him, every one according
to his fantafie, and yet they neither have nor poiffe him. They cannot fo order or rule
him, not in truth onely, but in imagination, but full some cadence or found is discovered,
which efcapeth their architecture, bad as it is, and bocht together with a thousand falkc patchcs, and fantafficall peeces. And they have no reason to bee excused: For, to Pinters,
when they pourtray the heaven, the earth, the feas, the hills, the feathered Hands, we pardon
them if they but reprefent vs with some flight apparence of them, and of things vnknowne
we are contented with fuch faine shadowes: But when they draw vs, or any other fubjext
The second Booke.

that is familiarly knowne vnto vs, to the life, then seeke we to draw from them a perfect and exact representation of theirs or our true linements, or colours; and some if they miste never so little. I commend the Milesean wench, who seeing Thales the philosopher continually amusing himselfe in the contemplation of heavens-wide-bounding vault, and ever holding his eyes aloft, laid something in his way to make him stumble, thereby to warn and put him in minde, that he should not amuse his thoughts about matters above the clouds, before he had provided for, and well considered those at his feetes. Verily the advised him well, and it better became him, rather to looke to himselfe then to gaze on heaven; For, as Democritus by the mouth of Cicero faith,

Quod est ante pedes, nemo spectat: exifimuntur plagae,

No man lookes, what before his feete doth he,

They seeke and search the climates of the skie.

But our condition beareth, that the knowledge of what we touch with our hands, and have amongst us, as farre from us and above the clouds, as that of the starres: As faith Socrates in Plato, That one may justly pay to him who medleth with philosophy, as the woman paid to Thales, which is, he seeth nothing of that which is before him. For, every philosopher is ignorant of what his neighbour doth, yea he knowes not what himselfe doth, and wots not what both are, whether beasts are men. These people who thinke Seboudes reasons to be weak and lame, who know nothing themselves, and yet will take upon them to governe the world and know all:

Hor. I. epift. 12. 16.

One more compendiant cause, quid temperet ammum,

Stella fonte juxta, inflave magistre Errent;

Quid premat objectum Lume, quid preferat orbem,

Quid velit et posset rerum concordia discors;

What cause doth calme the sea, what clears the yeare,

Whether starres for't, or of selfe-will appeare:

What makes the Moones darke Orbe to wax or wane,

What friendly fewd of things both will and can.

Did they never found amid their books, the difficulties that present themselves to them, to knowe their owne being? We see very well, that our finger flutteth, and our foote moveth, that some parts of our body, move of themselves without our leave, and other some that fir but at our pleasure; and we see that certaine apprehensions engender a blushing-red collour, others a paleness; that some imagination doth only worke in the mist, another in the braines; some one enduseth vs to laugh, another causeth vs to weep, some astonisheth and stupefeth all our senses, and stiseth the motion of all our limmes: at some object the flomake nifieth, and at some others the lower parts. But how a spiritual impression causeth or worketh such a denc or flaw in a masie and solid body or subject, and the nature of the ligament, and compausing of these admirable springs and wards, man yet never knew: Omnia incertae rationes, eac in natura maiestate abditae, Altiuscuneasse in reason, and had in the majesty of nature, Saith Pliny and Saint Augustine, Modus, quo corporibus adherent spiritus, omnino minus, nec comprehendunt ab homine potent, & hoc ipsa homo eft. The meanes is clearly wonderfull, whereby spirits cleane so to our bodies, nor can it be comprehended by man, and that is very man. Yet is there no doubt made of him: For mens opinions are received after ancient beliefs, by authoritie and upon credit, as if it were a religion and a lawe. What is commonly held of it, is received as a gibrath or fullian tongue. This truth with all his framing of arguments, and proportioning of provestes, is received as a firme and solid body, which is no more shaken, which is no more judged. On the other side, every one, the best he can, patcheth up and confirms this received belief, with all the meanes his reason can afford him, which is an instrument very supple, pliable, and yeelding to all shapes. Thus is the world filled with toys, and overwelmed in lies and leasings. The reason that men doubt not much of things, is that common impressions are never throughly tride and fitted, their ground is not founded, nor where the fault and weaknesses lyeth: Men onlye debate and quellion of the branch, not of the tree. They ask not whether a thing be true, but whether it was received or ment thus and thus. They enquire not whether Galen hath spoken any thing of worth, but whether thus, or so, or otherwise. Truly there was some reason, this bridle or restraint of our judgements libertie, and this tyranny over our beliefes should extend it selfe even to schooles and arts. The God of scholastical learning,
The second Booke.

is Aristotle: It is religion to debate of his ordinances, as of those of Lycurgus in Sparta. His doctrine is to vs as a canon law, which peradventure is as false as another. I know not why I should or might not, as soon, & as easily accept, either Plato's Idea, or Epicurus his Atomes and indivisible things, or the fulnes and emptines of Lonicippus and Democritus, or the water of Theocles, or of Anaximander's infinitie of nature, or the aire of Diogenes, or the numbers or proportion of Pythagoras, or the infinitie of Parmenides, or the single-one of Mysaies, or the water and fire of Apollo, or the familiarie and resembling parts of Anaxagoras, or the discord and concord of Empedocles, or the fire of Heraclitus, or any other opinion (of this infinitie confusion of opinions & sentences, which this goodly humane reason, by hit certamine and cleare-fighted vigilance brings forth in whatsoever it medleth withall) as I should of Aristotle conceite, touching this subject of the principles of natural things; which he frameth of three parts, that is to say, matter, forme, and privation. At what greater vanity can there be, then to make varietie itself the cause of the production of things? Privation is a negative: With what humor could he make it the cause and beginning of things that are? Yet durt no man move that but for a exercise of Logick: Wherein nothing is disputed to put it in doubt, but to defend the Author of the Schoole from strange objections: His authority is the marke, beyond which it is not lawfull to enquire. It is easie to frame what one lift upon, without foundations: For, according to the lawe and ordinance of this positive beginning, the other parts of the frame are easie directed without cracke or danger. By which way we finde our reason well grounded, and we discourse without rub or let in the way: For our masters preoccupate, and gaine aore-hand as much place in our belief, as they neede to conclude afterward what they please, as Geometricians doe by their grounded questions: The content and approbation which we lend them, giving them wherewith to drawe vs, either on the right or left hand, and at their pleasure to winde and turne vs. Whoever is believed in his presuppositions, he is our matter, and our god: He will lay the plot of his foundations so ample and easie, that, if hee lift, hee will carrie vs vp, even vnto the clowdes. In this practice or negotiation of learning, we have taken the saying of Pythagoras for current payment; which is, that every expert man ought to be believed in his owne trade. The Logician referreth him-selfe to the Grammarian for the signification of words: The Authorisant borroweth the places of arguments from the Logician: The Poet his measures from the Mufition: The Geometrician his proportions from the Arithmetician: The Metaphisikes take the conjectures of the Phisikes for a ground. For, every art hath his presupposed principles, by which mans judgement is bridled on all parts. If you come to the shocke or front of this barre, in which contains the principal error, they inmediately pronounce this sentence: That there is no disputing against such as deny principles. There can be no principles in men, except divinise hath revealed them unto them: All the rest, both beginning, middle and end, is but a dreame and a vapor. Those that argue by presupposition, we must presuppose against them, the very same axiom, which is disputed of. For, each humane presupposition, and every invention, until reason make a difference of it, hath as much authority as another. So must they all be equally balanced, and first the generall and those that tyrannize vs. Aspersioun of certaintie is a manifest testimonie of foolishnes, and of extreme uncertainitie. And no people are leffe Philosophers and more foolish, then Platicc Physioloques, or lovers of their owne opinions. We must knowe whether fire be hot, whether snowe be white, whether in our knowledge there be any thing hard or soft. And touching the answers, wherefore they tell old tales, as to him who made a doubt of heate, to whom one replied, that to trye he should cast himselfe into the fire; to him that denied the yse to be cold, that he should put some in his bofore; they are most vnworthy the profession of a Philosopher. If they had left vs in our owne natural estate, admitting of strange apparances, as they present themselves vnto vs by our senses, and had suffred vs to follow our natural appetites, directed by the condition of our birth, they should then have reason to speake so. But from them it is, that we have learnt to become judges of the world; it is from them we hold this concept, that mans reason is the generall controller of all that is, both without and within heavens-vaults; which embraceth all, and can do all, by means whereof, all things are knowne and discermed. This answere were among the Caniballs, who without any of Aristotle's precepts, or so much as knowing the name of Phisike, enjoy most happily, a long, a quiet, and a peaceable life. This answere might happily avaine more, and be of more force, then all those they can borrow
The second Booke.

borrow from their reason and invention. All living creatures, yea beasts and all. Where the commandement of the naturall lawe is yet pure and simple, might with vs be capable of this anwerae; but they have renounced it. They shall not neede to tell me, it is true, for you both heare and see, that it is so: They must tell me, if what I thinke I feel, I feel the same in effect; and if I feel it, then let them tell mee, wherefore I feel it, and how and what: Let them tell me the name, the beginning, the tenisons, and the abuttins of heat and of cold, with the qualities of him that is agent, or of the patient; or let them quit me their profession, which is neither to admit, nor approve any thing, but by the way of reason: It is their touchstone, to try all kindes of Essays. But surely it is a touchstone full of falselhood, errors, imperfection and weaknesses: which way can we better make trial of it, then by it selfe? If she may not be credited speaking of her selfe, hardly can she be fit to judge of strange matters: If she knowe any thing, it can be but her being and domicile. She is in the foule, and either a part or effect of the same. For, the true and essentiall reason (whose name we steale by false figures) lodgeth in Gods boforme: There is hir home, and there is hir retreat, thence she takes hir flight, when Gods pleasure is that we shall see some glimmes of it: Even as Pallas stilled out of hir fathers head, to communicate and empart hir felte vnto the world. Now let vs see what mans reason hath taught vs of hir selfe and of the foule: Not of the foule in general, whereof well nigh all Philosopher maketh both the celestiall and first bodies partakers; nor of that which Thales attributed even vnto things, that are reputed without foule or life, drawne therevnto by the consideration of the Adamant stone: But of that which appertaineth to vs, and which we should knowe best.

Ignorant enim quia natura animai
Natura est, anima contra mortem in usiuer,
Et simul inentur nobis rerum morte dirempta,
An teotodoua orci uolat, uolatique lacus,
An pecudes ab oris divinitus insinuer.
What the foules nature is, we do not knowe
If it be bred, or put in those are bred,
Whether by birth divers with vs it goe,
Or fee the darke vast lakes of hell be lowe,
Or into other creatures turne the head.

To Crates and Dicarchus it seemed that there was none at all; but that the body suffred thus with & by a naturall motion: To Plato, that it was a substance moving of it selfe: To Thales, a Nature without rest: To sAesclepiades, an excerstition of the fenes: To Herodotus and Amaximander, a thing compos'd of earth and water: To Parmenides, of earth & fire: To Embpedocles of blood:

Sanguineam vomit ille animas.
His foule of purple-bloode he vomits out.

To Posidonius, Cleenthes and Galen, a heat, or hote complection:
Ignues est offis vigur, & caelestis origo:
A fiery vigor and celestiall spring,
In their original, they strangely bring:

To Hippocrates, a spiritue dispersed through the body: To Varro, an aire received in at the mouth, heated in the lunes, tempered in the hart, and dispersed through all parts of the body: To Zeno, the quintessence of the foure elements: To Heraclides Ponticus, the light: To Zenocrates, and to the Egyptians, a moving number: To the Chaldeans, a vertue without any determinate forme. — Habendum quendam vitalem corporis esse,

Harmoniam Graeciam dicunt.
Thereof the body is a vital frame.
The which the Greekes a harmony doe name.

And not forgetting Aristote, that which naturally causeth the body to move, who calleth it Entelechy, or perfection moving of it selfe (as colde an invention as any other) for he neither speake with the effence, nor of the beginning, nor of the foules nature; but onely noted the effects of it: Locastianus, Seneca, and the better part amongst the Dogmatists, have confessed, they never understood what it was: And after all this rable of opinions: Harmin

seintueriam quae vera est, Deo alique videtur, which of those opinions is true, let some God look.
The second Booke.

1. It, (faith Cicero. I know by my selfe (quoth Saint Bernard) how God is incomprehensible, since I am not able to comprehend the parts of mine owne being: Heracleitus, who held that every place was full of Souls and Demons, maintained nevertheless, that a man could never goe so farre towards the knowledge of the soul, as that he could come unto it; so deep and mysterious was his essence. There is no leffe diffention nor disputing about the place, where he should be feated. Hyprocrates and Epyrophlus place it in the ventericle of the braine: Democritus and Aristoteles, through all the body:


Vt bona saperu ulemento simi destini eft
Corporis & non est noa heam part uia va lentis,
As health is of the body saide to be,
Yet is no part of him, in health we fee.

Epicurus, in the stomake.

Fic exultat enim prvov ac metus, hoc loca circums
Lactici mulcent.
For in these places feare doth domineere,
And necere these places joy keepes merry cheere.

The Stoickeis, within and about the hart: Erasistratus, joyning the membrane of the Epicranium: Empedocles, in the bloud: as also Moites, which was the cause he forbidd the eating of beasts bloud, vnto which their soule is commixed: Galen thought that every part of the body had his soule: Sraato hath placed it betwene the two upper eye-lids: Qua facie quidem sit animus aut ubi facies uere endemides, We must not so much enquire, what face the minde behares or where it dwells: Saith Cicero. I am well pleased to let this man vfe his owne words: For why should I alter the speech of eloquence it self since there is no gaine in stealing matter from his inventions: They are both little vfed, not very forcible, and little knowne. But the reason why Chrysippus, and those of his Sect, will prove the soule to bee about the hart, is not to be forgotten. It is (faith he) because when we will affume or sweare any thing, we lay our hand vpon the stomake; And when we will pronounce, ita, which signifies, my selfe, we put downe our chinne toward the stomake. This passage ought not to be pafT-over without noting the vanity of so great a personage: For besides that his considerations are of themselves very sightfull, the latter prooveth but to the Graecians, that they have their soule in that place. No humane judgement is so vigilant or so arguend, but sometymes shall fall a sleep or stumble. What shall we feare to say? Behold the Stoickeis, fathers of humane wiseome, who devihe that the soule of man, overwhelmed with any ruine, laboureth and panteth a long time to get out, vnable to free his selfe from that charge, even as a Moufe taken in a trappe. Some are of opinion, that the world was made, to give a body in lieu of punishment, vnto the spirits, which through their fault were fallen from the puritie, wherein they were created: The first creation having been incorporeal. And that according as they have more or leffe elonged themselves from their spiritualitie, so are they more or leffe menifie & Giovially, or rudeely and Saturnally incorpored: Whence proceeded the infinite variety of so much matter created. But the spirit, who for his shafftement was invested with the body of the sunne, must of necessitie have a very rare and particular measure of alteration. The extremeties of our curious search turne to a glimmering and all to a dazzling. As Plutarch faith, of the off-spring of Histories, that after the manner of Cardes or Mappes, the utmost limits of knowne Countries, are set downe to be full of thicke marsh grounds, shady forrests, desert and uncoth places. See here wherfore the grossest and most Childish doings, are more commonly found in thence which treat of highest & firstheatmatters, even confounding and overwhelming themselves in their owne curiofite & presumed. The end & beginning of learning are equally accoumpted foolish. Marke but how Plato taketh and raifeth his flight aloft in his Poeticall clowdes, or clowdy Poeties. Behold & read in him the gibbrieth of the Gods. But what dreamd or doubted he on, when he defined man, to be a creature with two feet, and without feathers; giving them that were disposed to mock at him, a pleafant and copable occasion to doe-it? For, having plucked-off the fethers of a live carpon, they named him the man of Plato. And by what simplicitie did the Epicurians first imagine, that the Atomes or Mothes, which they termed to be bodies, having some weight and a naturall moving downeward, had framed the world; vntil such time as they were advised by their advertizes, that by this description, it was not possible, they should joyne and take
The second Booke.

take hold one of another; their fall being so downe-right and perpendicular, and every way engendring Parallel lines? And therefore was it necessarie, they should afterwaide add a casual moving, sliding vnto them: And moreover to give their Atomes crooked and forked tailes, thowe they might take holde of any thing and clasp themselves. And even then, thro' that pursuie with them this other consideration, do they not much trouble them? If Atomes have by chance formed so many forts of figures, why did they never meet together to frame a house or make a shooe? Why should we not likewise believe that an infinit number of greek Letters confusedly scattered in some open place, might one day meet & joine together to the contexture of th' Iliads? That which is capable of reaon (faith Zoano) is better than that which is not. There is nothing better then the world: then the world is capable of reason. By the same arguing Cotta maketh the world a Mathematian, & by this other arguing of Zeno, he maketh him a Musition & an Organist. The whole is more than the part: We are capable of Wisedome, and we are part of the World: Then the World is wise. There are infinite like examples scene, not only of false but foolish arguments, which cannot hold, & which accuse their authors not so much of ignorance as of folly, in the reproches that philosophers charge one another with, about the dif-agreeings in their opinions & Seets. He that should farder- wp a bundle or huddle of the fooletries of mans wisdome, might recount wonders. I willingly assemble some (as a shew or pattern) by some menes or by aie, no leffe profitable then the most moderate instructions. Let vs by that judge, what we are to esteem of man, of his sence & of his reaon: in thee great men, & who have raised mans sufficiencie fo high, there are found so grofe errors, & so apparant defects. As for me, I would rather believe, that they have thus causally treated learning, even as a sporting childes baby, and have sported themselves with reason, as of a vain & frivolous instrument, setting forth all sorts of inventions, devises & fantasies: sometimces more outstretched, & sometimces more loose. The same Plato, who defineth man like vnto a Capon, faith elsewhere in Socrates, that in good sooth, he knoweth not what man is; and that of all parts of the world, there is none so hard to be known. By this variety of conceits, & infability of opinions, they (as it were) lead vs cloeely by the hand to this resolution of their irreolution. They make a profession not alwaies to present their advice manifelt & vnmarked: they have oft concealed the same vnder the fabulous shadows of Poetie, & sometimces vnder other vizards. For, our imperfection admitteth this also, that raw meats are not alwaies good for our homakts: but they must be dried, salted and corrupted, & so do they, who sometimces shadow their simple opinions & judgements; And that they may the better fute themselves vnto common vie, they many times falsifie them. They will not make open profession of ignorance, and of the imbecility of mans reason, because they will not make children afraid: But they manifestly declare the same vnto vs vnder the shew of a troubled Science & vneonstant learning, I periwaded some body in Italy, who labored very much to speake Italian, that alwaies provided, he deside to be vnunderstood, & not seek to excell others therein, he should only employ & vsue such words as came first to his mouth, whether they were Latine, French, Spanish or Gaeconic, & that adding the Italian terminations vnto them, he should never misse to fall vpon some idioame of the Countrie, euyther Tuscan, Roman, Venetian, Piemontoiife or Neapolitan, and amongst so many severall forms of speche to take hold of some one. The very same I say of Philofophie. She hath so many faces, and so much varietie, and hath said so much, that all our dreams and devises are found in hir. The fantasy of man can conceive or imagine nothing; be it good or evil, that is not to be found in hir: Nothing may be spoken so absurdly, but that it is spoken by some of the Phylosophers. And therefore doe I suffer my humours or caprices more freely to palle in publicke. Forasmuch as though they are borne with, and of me, and without any patterns; well I wot, they will be found to have relation to some ancient humour, and some that be found, that will both knowe and tell whence and of whom I have borrowed them. My customes are naturally; when I contrived them, I called not for the helpe of any discipline: And weake and faint as they are, when I have had a desire to expresse them, and to make them appear unto the World, a little more comely and decent, I have somewhat invented to side them with discourse, and shift them with examples. I have woked at my selfe, that by meere chance I have mete with them, agreeing and futable to so many ancient examples and Philophycall discouerces. What regimient my life was of; I never knew nor learned but after it was much worne and spent. An
unpremeditated Phylophorer and a casuall. But to returne vnto our soule, where Plato hath setted reason in the brayne, anger in the hart, luft in the liver; it is very likely, that it was rather an interpretation of the foules motions, then any division or separation he meant to make of it, as a body into many members. And the likelyest of their opinions is, that it is always a soule, which by her rational faculty, remembereth her selfe, comprehended, judgeth, defineth and exerciseth all her other functions, by divers instruments of the body, as the Pilate ruleth and directeth his shipphe according to the experience he hath of it, now stretching, bending or loosing a cable, sometimes hoyning the Mayne-yard, removing an ower, or furling the rudder, causing severall effects with one only power. And that the abideth in the brayne, appeareth by this, that the hurts and accidents, which touch that part, doe presently offend the faculties of the soule, whereas she may without inconvenience descend and glide through other parts of the body:

---medium non deserit omnium

_Cod. Phæbus inter medias tenens omnias insitan._

Never the Sunne foraketh heavy his middle wais,
Yet with his raiseth he light's all, all survaies.
as the Sunne spreadeth his light and indueth his power from heaven, and therewith filleth the whole World.

_Cetera pars animae per tosum diffusa corpus
Parite, et adhuc mentis moventur.
Th' other part of the soule through all the body went
Obeyes, and mov'd is, by the minde's government.

Some have faide, that there was a general soulke, like vnto a great body, from which all particular souls were extract'd and returned thither, always reconjoyning and entyming themselves vnto that Univerfall matter:

---Deum namque ire per omnes

_Terresque trahit, maris calamine profundum;
Hinc pecudes, armatae, viros genus omnis feravor,
Sed qui sibi senny hastentiam accipiter vultus,
Sic necesse redirende se resolutor referri_
_Omniaque mortis ege locutum.

For God through all the earth to passe is found;
Through all Sea-currents, through the heav'n profound,
Hereence men, heardes and all wyld beasts that are,
Short life in birth each to themselves doe share;
All things resolv'd to this pointe restor'd
Returne, nor any place to death assoord.

others, that they did but reconjoyne and fasten themselves to it againe: others, that they were produced by the divine subsance: others, by the Angels, of fire and aire, some from the beginning of the world; and some, even at the time of neede: others, make them to descend from the round of the Moone, and that they returne to it againe. The common sort of antiquitie that they are begotten from Father to Sonne, after the same manner and production, that all other natural things are; argu'd by the resembances, which are betweene Fathers and Children.

_Instituta patria virtus sibi,
Thy fathers Vertues be.
Infilled into thee,
Forte creatur fortibus & bonis,
Of valiant Sires and good,
There comes a valiant brood.

and that from fathers we fee descend vnto children, not only the marks of their bodies, but also a resembalance of humours, of complextions and inclinations of the soule.

_Denique car acrura violentia trifite leonam._
_Seminum sequitur, dolsa vulpibus, & juva cervis
_Apaturis datur, et patrius pavor incitat Artus
Sibi foma quo quia feminte feminoque_
The second Booke.

Vt animi pariter credat cum corpore tota?
Why followes violence the savage Lyons race?
Why craft the Foxes? Why to dece to lic Apace,
By parents is it given, when parents fear incites?
Vnleffe becaufe a certaine force of inward spirit
With all the body growes,
Aseede and seede-spring goes?

That divine justice is grounded thereupon, punishing the fathers offences upon the children: for so much as the contagion of the fathers vices, is in some sort printed, in childrens soules, and that the misgovernment of their will toucheth them. Moreover, that if the soules came from any other place, then by a naturall consequence, and that out of the body they should have beene some other thing, they should have some remembrance of their first being: Considering the natural faculties, which are proper vnto him, to discoure, to reason and to remember.

Lucr. l. 3. 692.

Thus in corpus nascentibus insinuatur,
Cur super anteallam etatem meminisse negvimus?
Nec vestigia gestarum rerum vila tenemus?
If our soule at our birth be in our body eart, Why can we not remember ages over-paft,
Nor any marks retaine of things done first or laft?

For, to make our soules-condition, to be of that worth we would, they must all be presupposed wise, even when they are in their natural simplicity and genuine puritie. So should they have beene such, being freed from the corporall prifon, as well before they entered the fame, as we hope they shall be, when they shall be out of it. And it were necessarie they should (being yet in the body) remember the said knowledge (as Plato said) that what wee learn't, was but a new remembering of that, which we had knowne before: A thing that any man may by experience maintaine to be false and erronious. First, because we doe not prudently remember what we are taught, and that if memorie did meerly execute hir function, she would at leaft suggeft vs with something besides our learning. Secondly, what she knewe being in hir puritie, was a true understanding, knowing things as they are, by hir divine intelligence: Whereas here, if she be instructed, she is made to receive lies and apprehend vice, wherein she cannot employ hir memorie, this image and conception, having never had place in hir. To say, that the corporall prifon, doth so suppres hir natural facultie, that they are altogether extinct in hir: first, is cleane couratrie to this other belief, to acknowledge hir forces so great, and the operations which men in this tranitorie life feele of it, so wonderfull as to have thereby concluded this divinitie, and for-paft eternitie, and the immortalitie to come:

Nam si taceperes eff animi mutatam percefas,
Omnis ut alt. ram exciderit retinentia rerum,
Non ut opinor ea ab initio iam longius errat.
If of our minde the power be so much altered,
As of things done all hold, all memorie is fled,
Then (as I gesse) it is not farre from being dead.

Moreover, it is here with vs, and no where else, that the soules powers and effects, are to be considered, all the rest of her perfections, are vaine and unprofitable vnto her: it is by her present condition, that all her immortalitie must be rewarded and paide, and she is onely accomplisable for the life of man: It were injustice to have abridged her of her means and faculties, and to have disarm'd her against the time of hir captivitie and prifon, of hir weaknesses and fickendness, of the time and season where she had beene forced and compell'd to draw the judgement and condemnation of infinite and endless continuance, and to relee upon the consideration of so short a time, which is peradventure of one or two hours, or if the worst happen, of an age, (which have no more proportion with infinitie, then a moment) defmitively to appoint and establish of all her being, by that instant of space. It were an impious disproportion to wrest an eternall reward in conquence of fo short a life. Plato, to save himselfe from this inconvenience, would have future payments limited to a hundred yeares continuance, relatively vnto a humane continuance: and many of ours have gi-
ven them temporal limits. By this they judged, that her generation followed the common condition of humane things: As also her life, by the opinion of Epicurus and Democritus, which hath most beene received, following these goodly appearances. That her birth was seene, when the body was capable of her, vertue and strength was perceived as the corporall increase: in her infancy might her weakness be discerned, and in time her vigor and ripeness, then her decay and age, and in the end her decrepitit:

---

The mind is with the body bred, we doe behold,
It joyntly grows with it, with it is waxeth old.

The second Booke.

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They perceived her to be capable of diverse passions, and agitated by many languishing and painfull motions, wherethrough she fell into wearesome and grieue, capable of alteration and change, of joy, supreflion and languifhment, subject to her infirmities diseases, and offences, even as the stomack or the foote,

---

 zien tempone sanati corpus et agrum
Cerumini, & alii medicinae paffe videmus:
We see as bodies sicker are cured, so is the minde,
We see, how Phisicke can it each way turne and winde.

---

dazzled and troubled by the force of wine; removed from her seate by the vapours of a burning fever; drouzie and sleepy by the application of some medicaments, and rouzed vp a-gaine by the vertue of some others.

---

corporam naturam animi esse necessis est,
Corporis quoniam telicitique laborat.
The nature of the minde must needs corporall bee,
For with corporall darts and strokes it's griev'd we fee.

---

She was seen to dismay and confound all her faculties by the only biting of a sicker dogge, and to contain no great constancie of discourse, no sufficiency, no vertue, no philosophicall resolution, no containing of her forces, that might exempt her from the subjection of these accidents: The epistle or flattering of a malicious dog shod upon Socrates his hands, to trouble all his wisdome, to distemper his great and regular imaginations, and so to vanquish and annuld them, that no figure or shew of his former knowledge was left in him:

---

vis animi
Conturbatur, & divisa seorsum
Diseetatur codem illo disstragita veneno.
The foules force is disturbed, seperated,
Disbraught by that same poifon, alienated.

---

And the said venome to finde no more resitance in his foule, then in that child of foure years old, a venomeable to make all Philofophie were the incarinate) become furious and mad: So that Cata, who scorned both death and fortune, could not abide the sight of a looking glaffe, or of waters over come with horror and quelled with amazement, if by the contagion of a mad dog, he had faine into that sickenesse, which Phlistians call Hydroforba, or fear of waters.

---

vis morbi disstragita per anus
Tarbat agens animam, fumantes aquae salvo
Venorum ut validi ferverant viribus unde.
The force of the disease dippierd through joyntes offends,
Driving the foule, as in salt seas the wave ascends.
Foming by furious force which the winde raging lends.

---

Now concerning this point, Philofophie hath indeede armed man for the enduring of all other accidents, whether of patience, or if it bee overcostly to be found, of an infallible defeture, in conveying her felie, altogether from the felie: but they are meanes, which ferve a foule, that is her owne, and in her proper force, capable of discourse and deliberation: not to this inconvenience, or with a Philofopher, a foule becommeth the foule of a foole troubled, vanquished and loft, which diverse occasions may produce, as in an over-violent agitation, which by some vehement passion, the foule may beget in her felie: or a hurt in some part of the body, or an exhalation from the stomake, calling vs into some ato-

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nishment

E c 4
The second Booke.

niftment, dazzleing, or giddinesse of the head:

moritis in corporis avius errat
Sepe animus, deminit enim, delirique factur,
Interdumque gravi Lethargie fervum in alium
Aeternique jororem, oculis mutuque cadenti.

The minde in bodies sicknesse often wandering strayes:
For it enraged rave's, and idle talke outrayes:
Brought by sharpe Lethargie sometime to more then deepe,
While eyes and eye-liddes fall into eternall sleepe.

Philosophers have in mine opinion but lightly harpt vp this string, no more then an other of like conquence. They have ever this Dilemma in their mouth, to comfort our mortal condition. The soule is either mortall or immortall: if mortall, she shall be without paine: if immortall, she shall renew. They never touch the other branch: What, if the emperaire and be worse? And leave the menaces of future paines to Poets. But thereby they deal themselves a good game. They are two omissions, which in their discourses doe often offer themselves vnto me. I come to the first againe: the soule loofseth the vfe of that Stoicall chiefe felicitie, so constant and so firme. Our goodly wifedome must necessarily in this place yeald her selfe, and quit her weapons. As for other matters, they also considered by the vanitie of mans reason, that the mixture and societie of two so different parts, as is the mortall and the immortall is unimaginable:

Moreover they felt their soule to be engaged in death, as well as the body:

fintul evo felfa juisiet,
It joyfully faint's in one,
Wearied as age is gone.

Which thing (according to Zenos) the image of sleepe doth manifestely shew vnto vs. For he esteemeth, that it is a fainting and declaration of the soule, as well as of the body. Centrallis animus, & quous labi pateat atque decidere. He thinkes the minde is contracted, and doth as it were fade and fall into doone. And that (which is perceived in some) it's force and vigor maintaineth it selues even in the end of life, they referred and imputed the same to the diverfitie of defaies, as men are scene in that extremitie, to maintaine, some one senfe, and some another, some their hearing, and some their smellinge, without any alteration; and there is no weaknesses or decay scene so vnuuerfall, but some entire and vigorous parts will remaine.

Non also palet quidem spe cuncta dolet agri,
In multo caput interea sit foris dolore.
No other wise, then if, when sick mans foote doth ake,
Meane time perhaps his head no fellow-feeling take.

Our judgements fight referreth it selfe vnto truth, as doth the Owles eye vnto the shining of the Sunne, as faith Aristotle. How should we better convince him, then by so grosse blindness, in so apparaunt a light? For, the contrarie opinion of the foules immortalitie, which Cicero faith, to have first beene brought in (at least by the testimonie of bookees) by Pherecydes Syrus in the time of King Tullus (others ascribe the invention thereof to Thales, and other to others) it is the part of humane knowledge treated most sparringly and with more doubt. The most constant Dogmatists (namely in this point) are enforced to cast themselves under the shelter of the Academikes wings. No man knowes what Aristotle hath establisshed vpon this
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That, and He, and Double, without Christian. Trolled. Without, done, their opinion, to the one, that without the immortality of souls, there should no means be left to ground or settle the vain hopes of glory; a consideration of wonderful ere dice in the world: the other (as Plato faith) that it is a most profitable impression, that those, when they steal away from out the fight and knowledge of humane justice, remaine ever as a blanke before divine Lufter, which even after the death of the guiltie, will severely pursue them. Man is ever possessed with an extreme desire to prolong his being, and hath to the utter most of his skill provided for it. Toombs and Monuments are for the prefervation of his body, and glory for the continuance of his name. He hath employed all his wit to frame him selfe a new, (as impatient of his fortune) and to vnderprophe and uphold humfelfe by his inventions. The foule by reason of his trouble and imbecilite, as vmbile to subfift of his selfe, is ever and in all places queting and searching, comforts, hopes, foundations and foraine circumstances, on which the may take hold and settle his selfe. And how light and fantallicall for ever his invention doth frame them vnto him, hee notwithstanding relieeth more surely vpon them, and more willingly, than vpon himselfe: But it is a wonder to fee how the most obstinate in this so just and manifelt pervasion of our spirites immortalitie, have found themselves short and vmbile to establishe the fame by their humane forces. Somnia sunt non docentia, sed optimum: There are dreams not of one that teacheth, but wilfully what he would have said an ancient writer. Man may by his owne tellunony know, that the truth hee alone discovered, the fame he oweth vnto fortune and chaunce: since even when the is false into his handes, he wanteth wherewith to lay hold on him, and keepre him; and that his reason hath not the power to preval whilst. All things produced by our own discourse and sufficiencies, as well true as false, are subject to uncertainty and dissatisfaction. It is for the punishment of our temerity, and instruction of our mifery and incapacity, that God causeth the trouble, downfall and confusion of Babeth Tower. For whatsoever we attempt without his assistance, whatever we fee without the lampe of his grace, is but vanity and folly: With our weaknenesse wee corrupt and adulator the very eftence of truth (which is unforme and confmall) when fortune giveth vs the possession of it. What course foreuer man taketh of himselfe, it is Gods permission that he ever commeth to that confusion, whose image he so livelie representh vnto vs, by the just punishment, whereby he framed the preumpitious over-weening of Nemeth, and brought to nothing the frivolous enterprizes of the building of his high-towring Pyramids, or Heaven-menacing towre. Perdum sapientiam sapientiam, et prudantium prudentiam pruden- tum reprobabo: I will destroy the wifedom of the wise, and reprove the providence of them that are most prudent. The diversitie of tongues and languages, wherewith he disturbed that works and overthrew that proudy-radiant Pile: what else is it, but this infinit alteration, and perpetuall discordance of opinions and reasons, which accompanieth and entangles the frivolous frame of mans learning, or vaine building of humane science? Which he doth most profitably. Who might containe vs, bad we but one graine of knowledge? This Saint hath done me more pleasure: Ipsa ostiatio occultati, aut humiliatis exspectatio est, aut eloquentiae attritus. The very concealing of the profit, is either an exercise of humilitie, or a beating down of arroganccie. Vnto what point of presumption and infolence, doe we not carry our blindness and foolishnes? But to returne to my purpose: Verily there was great reason, that we should be beholding to God alone, and to the benefit of his grace, for the truth of so noble a belief, since from his liberality alone we receive the fruites of immortalitie, which confisteth in enjoying of eternall blessednesse. Let vs ingenuously confesse, that onely God and faith, hath told it vs: For, it is no lesion of Nature, nor comming from our reason. And hee that shall both within and without narrowly fift, and curiously found his being and his forces without this divine priviledge: hee that shall view and conferder man, without flattering him, shall nor finde nor fee eyther efficacie or facultie in him, that tafteth of any other thing but death and earth. The more we give, the more we owes, and the more we yield vnto God, the more Christian-like are we. That which the Stoike Phylosopher said, he held by the casuall consent of the peoples voyce: had it not bene better he had held of God? Cum de animorum Sen epift. 117. eternitate
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Virt. Emili. 6. 739.

O Pater atque aliquis ad column bine in rea putandum est
Sublimes animas, iterumq; ad terra reveri
Corpora? Quae lucia miferis tam dira cupida?
Multa we think (Father) some soules hence doe goe,
Raized to heaven, thence turne to bodies flow?
Whence doth so dyre defire of light on wretches growe?

Origin makes them eternally to go and come from a good to a bad estate. The opinion that
Varro reporteth is, that in the revolution of the fowre hundred and forty yeares,they reconjoyn
themsevts into their first bodies. Chrysipus, that that must come to passe after a certayne
space of time vnknowne, and not limitted. Platon who faith that he holds this opinion from
Pinarum, and from Ancient Poetrie,)of infinite Victissimedes alteration, to which the soule
is prepared, having no paines nor rewards in the other World, but temporall, as his life in
this is but temporall, concludeth in hir a fingular knowledge of the affaires of heaven, of hell,
and here below, where she hath passe,passe, and fejourne in many voyages, a matter in
his remembrance. Behold hir progreffe els-where: He that hath lived well, rejoyceth himfcvle vnto that Sutter or Planet, to which he is salligned: Who evill, passeth into a Woman:
And if then shee amend not himsclfe, he tranfchiangelhymselfe into a beaft, of condition
agreeing to his vicious custome, and shall never see an end of his Punishments, vntill
he returne to his natural condition, and by vertue of reason hee have deprived himselfe of
those grope, stupiditie, and elementary qualities, that were in him. But I will not forget the
objeccion, which the Epicuriens make vnto this transmigration from one body to another:
Which is very pleasaunt. They demand, what order there should bee, if the throng of the
dying, should be greater then that of such as be borne. For, the soules remuoved from their
abode would throng and thrive together, who should get the beft seat in this new cafe: And
demand besides, what they would passe their time about, whils they should stay, vntill any
other mansion were made ready for them: Or contrarie, wise, if more creatures were borne,
then should dy; they say, bodies should bee in an ill taking, expecting the infliction of their
soule, and it would come to passe, that some of them should dy, before they had ever bin living.

Lucr. 3. 802.

Denique cannubia ad generis, partis et ferarum,
Effe animas prsesto deridendum esse videtur,
Et felare immortales mortua membra
Imnoueros, occurs, certarumque prseprpremant
Inter fcque prima potissimeque instruction.
Lastly, ridiculous it is, soules should be prettly,
To Venus meetings, and begetting of a beast:
That they to mortall limmes immortal be addreft
In number, number, and over, haffe thrive
Which of them first and cheefe should get in there to live.
others have slaid the soule in the deceased bodies, therwith to animate serpents, worms and other beasts, which are said to engender from the corruption of our members, yea, and from our ashes: Others, deuide it in two parts one mortal, another immortal: Others make it corporall, & yet notwithstanding immortal: Others, make it immortal, without any science or knowledge. Nay there are some of ours, who have deemed that of condemned mens soules divels were made: As Plutarch thinkes, that Gods are made of thofe soules which are faved.

For, there be few things that this author doth more resolutely averte, then this; holding every where else an ambiguous and doubtfull kind of speech. It is to be imagined and famifie believed (faith he) that the soules of men, vertuous both according vnto nature and Gods divine Justice, become of Men, Saints, and of Saints, Demi-Gods and after they are once perfectly, as in sacrifices of purgation, cleansed and purifiied, being delivered from all passibility and mortality, they become of Demy-Gods (not by any civil ordinance, but in good truth, and according to manifest reason) perfect and very very Gods: receiving a most bleffed and thrife glorious end. But whatsoever shall fee him, who is notwithstanding, one of the moft sparing and moderate of that faction, so vndantedly to skirmith, and will heare him relate his wonders vpon this subjeft, him I refer to his discourse of the Moone, and of Socrates his demon where as evidently as in any other place, may be averred, that the mysteries of Phyllo phy have many strange conceits, common with thofe of Poets; mans underftanding looking it felle, if it once goe about to found and controule all things to the vtnoft ends; as tiered and troubled by a long, and weary flight of our life, we returne to a kind of doing child-hood. Note here the godly and certaine instructions, which concerning our soules, subject we drawe from humane knowledge. There is no leffe raffinesse in that which theee teacheth vs touching our corporall parts. Let vs make choyle but of one or two examles, else should we loose our selves in this troublesome and vaffe Ocean of Physicall errors. Let vs know whether they agree but in this one, that is to say, of what manner men are derived & produced one from another. For, touching their first production, it is no marvel if in a thing so high and so ancient, man vit is troubled and confounded. Archelaus the Phyltion, to whom (as Aristotle affirme) Socrates was Disciple and Minion, afferued that both men and beasts had beene made of milkie flyme or mudder, expressed by the heat of the earth. Pithagoras faith, that our feed is the fumme or froth of our beft blood. Plato the dis- stuffing of the marrow in the backe-bone, which he argueth thus, because that place feeleth first the wearinelfe which followeth that sweeter Generall buflffe.

Alemone, a part of the braines-subfance, which to prove he faith, their eyes are ever moft troubled, that over-intemperately addit themselves to that exercice. Democritus, a subfance extracted from all partes of this corporall Maffe. Epicurus extracted from the soule and the body: Aristotle, an excrement drewne from the nourishment of the blood, the last that scattereth in felle in our severall members; others, blood, concocted and digested by the heat of the genitories; which they judge, because in the extreme, earnest and forced labours many flied drops of pure blood, wherein some appearance seemeth to be, if from so infinite a confusion any likelihood may bee drawne. But to bring this feede to effeft, how many contrary opiniones make they of it? Aristotle and Democrites hold, that women have no sperme, that it is but a sweate, which by reafon of the pleasure, and frication they call forth, and saileth nothing in generation.

Galen, and his adhentens, contrariwise affirme, that there can bee no generation, except two seedes meete together. Behold the Phiftians, the Philofophers, the Lawyers, and the Divines well-mett together by the cares with our women about the question and disputa- tion, how long women beare their fruite in their wombe. And as for me, by mine owne example I take their part, that maintaine, a woman may goe eleven months with child. The world is framed of this experience; there is no meane woman fo simple, that cannot give her censure upon all these contentions, although we could not agree. This is sufficient to verifie, that in the corporall parte, man is no more infrucled of himelfe, then in the spiritual. We have propofed himelfe to himelfe, and his reafon to reafon, to fee what the can tell vs of it. Me thinks I have sufficiently declared, how little vnderstanding the hath of herfelfe. And he who hath no vnderstanding of himelfe, what can he vnderstanding of? Quis vero hic leg. 2, c. 11.

"men suarum villarum rei positio agere, qui sua neciam. As though he could take measure of anything that knows not his owne measure. Tuely Protagoras told vs prettie tales, when he makes man the
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the measure of all things, who never knew so much as his owne. If it be not he, his dignitie will never suffer any other creature to have this advantage over him. Now he being so contrary unto himselfe, and one judgement so viceeantly subverting another, this favourable proposition was but a jest, which induced vs necessarily to conclude the nullity of the Compasses and the Compasser. When Thales judgeth the knowledge of man very hard unto man, he teacheth him the knowledge of all other things to be impossible unto him. You for whom I have taken the pains to enlarge so long a worke (against my custome) will not thonne to maintain your second, with the ordinary forme of arguing, whereof you are daily instructed, and will therein exercise both your minde and studie: For, this last tricke offence, must not be employed but as an extreame remedie. It is a desperate thraff, gainst which you must forfake your weapons, to force your adversary to renounce his; and a secret sleight, which must seldom and very sparingly be put in practice. It is great fund-hardnessse to lose your selfe for the lesse of another. A man must not die to revenge himselfe, as Gobiern did: who being closely by the ears with a Lord of Persia, Darius chancemed to come in with his rapier in his hand, who feared to strike, for feare he should hurt Gobiern, and hee called unto him, and bade him fo oldly boldly although he should hit both. I have heard, names, and conditions of single combates being desperate, and which he that offered them, put both himselfe and his enemy in danger of an end, inevitable to both, reproved as vnjust and condemned as unlawfull. The Portugese took once certaine Turkes prisoners in the Indian seas, who impatient of their captivitie, revolved with themselves (and their resolution succeeded) by rubbing some nails or spikes one against another, and causing sparks of fire to fall amongst the barrells of powder (which lay not farre from them) with intent to consume both themselves, their masters, and the ship. We but touch the skirts, and glance at the last closings of Sciences, whereon extremeitie, as well as in vertue, is vicious. Keep your selves in the common path, it is not good to be so subtile, and so curious. Remember what the Italian proverb faith, Chier troppo s'affogtta, fi scevazea. Who makes himselfe too fine, Doth bereake himselfe in fine.

I perswade you in your opinions and discourses, as much as in your customes, and in every other thing, to use moderation and temperance, and avoid all newfangled inventions and strangelenesse. All extravagant ways displease me. You, who by the authoritie and praheminence, which your greatnesse hath laide upon you, and more by the advantages, which the qualities that are most your owne, bestow on you, may with a nod command whom you please, should have laide this charge upon some one, that had made profession of learning, who might otherwise have dispoled & enriched this fantastic. Notwithstanding here you enough to supply your wants of it. Epicurus faide of the lawes, that the worst were so necessary unto vs, that without them, men would enter-devoure one another. And Plato verifieth, that without lawes we should live like beasts. Our spirit is a vagabond, dangerous, and fond-hardy implement; It is very hard to joine order and measure to it. In my time, such as have any rare excellencie above others, or extraordinary vivacitie, we fee them almost all so lavish and unbridled in licence of opinions and maners, as it may be counted a wonder to find any one settled and sociable. There is great reason why the spirit of man should be so stricte embarrased. In his studie, as in all things else he must have his steps numbered and ordered. The limits of his pursuite must be cut out by arte. He is bridled and fettered with, and by religions, lawes, customes, knowledge, precepts, paines and recompenes, both mortall and immortal; yet we see him, by means of his volubilitie and dissolution, escape all these bonds. It is a vaine body, that hath no way about him to be seizd on, or cut off: a diverse and deformed body, on which neither knot nor hold may be fastened. Verily there are fewe soules, so orderly, so constant, and so well borne, as may be trusted with their owne conduct, and may with moderation, and without rashnesse, slide in the libertie of their judgements beyond common opinions. It is more expedient to give some body the charge and tuition of them. The spirit is an outrageous glaire, yea even to his owne possessors, except he have the grace, very ordely and dispositely to arm himselfe therewith. And there is no beast, to whom one may more justly apply a blinding-borde, to keepe her fight in, and force her looke to her footing, and keepe from straying here and there, without the rutte which vs and lawes trace her out. Therefore shall it bee better for you to close and bound your selves in the accustomed path;
path; howsoever it be, then to take your flight to this unbridled licence. But if any one of the new Doctors shall undertake, to play the wise or ingenious before you, get the charge of his and your health: to rid you of this dangerous plague, which daily more and more spreads itself in your Courts; this preservative will in any extreme necessity be a let, that the contagion of this venom, shall neither offend you nor your affilience. The liberty then, and the jollity of their ancient spirits brought forth many different Sects of opinions, in Philosophic and humane Sciences: every one undertaking to judge and chafe, so he might raise a faction. But now that men walk, all one way: 

Quis certis quislibetdam destinatiique sententiae adhæret & confecratiss, ut stetiam, que non probant, cogitationem defiderat: Who are added and consecrated to certain set and fore-decree opinions, so as they are enforced to maintain those things which they prove or approve not: And that we receive Artes by civil authoritie and appointment: So that schoolers have but one patterne, alike circumscribed discipline and institution; no man regardeth more what cowes weigh and are worth; but every man in his turne receiveth them according to the value, that common approbation and successon alloteth them: Men dispute no longer of the alloy, but of the vfe. So are all things spent and vented alike. Physick is received as Geometric: and judging tricke, enchantments, bonds, the commerce of deceased spirits, prognostications, dominations, yea, even this ridiculous, wit and wealth-consuming purfuite of the Philosophers stone, all is employed and vtered without contradiction. It sufficeth to know, that Mers his place legith in the middle of the hands triangle, that of Venus in the Thumme, and Mercures in the little finger and when the table-line cuttest the teachers rising it, is a signe of cruelty: When it fallyeth under the middle finger, and that the natural Mediane-line makes an angle with the vital, it doth evidently denote, that she will never be very chaste. I call your felte to witness ifwith this Science onely, a man may not passe with reputation and favour among all companies. Theophrastus was wont to say, that mans knowledge, directed by the feme, might judge of the caues of things, vnto a certaine measure, but being come to the extreme and first caues, it must necessarily stay, and be blunted or abated; either by reason of its weakenesse, or of the things difficulty. It is an indifferent and pleasing kinde of opinion, to thinke, that our sufficiency may bring vs to the knowledge of some things, and hath certaine measures of power, beyond which it is tenticie to employ it. This opinion is plausible and brought in by way of composition: but it is hard to give our spirit any limits, being very curious and greedy, and not tending rather at a thousand, then fentence paces. Having found by experience, that if one had mist to attaine vnto some one thing, another hath come vnto it; and that which one age never knew, the age succeedinge hath found out: & that Sciences and Artes are not call in a mould, but rather by little and little formed and shaped by often handling and polishing them over: even as Beares fathion their yong whelps by often licking them: what my strength can not discover, I eafe not to found and trie: and in handling and knedding this new mater, and with removing and chaffing it, I open some facilite for him that shall followe me, that with more ease he may enjoy the same, and so make it more facile, more supple and more pliable:

Cerem remollesse, trallaiqne police multas
Vortitum in facies, psique sit vtilis vsu.
As the beet-Bees-waxe melteth by the Sunne,
And handled, into many forms doth runne,
And is made aptly fit,
For vfe by vfring it.

As much will the second doe for the third, which that difficultie doth not make me depraue, much lesse my vnabilitie: for it is but mine owne. Man is as well capable of all things, as of some. And if (as Theophrastus faith) he avow the ignorance of the first caues and beginnings, let him hardly quit all the rest of his knowledge: If his foundation faile him, his discourse is overthrown. To dispute hath no other scope, and to enquire no other end but the principles: If this end stay not his course, he casteth himself into an infinite irresolution. Non porro aliquo modo magis minimique comprehendi, quoniam omnino rerum unus in definito comprehendendi. One thing can neither more nor lesse be comprehended then another, since of all things there is one definition of comprehending. Now is it likely, that if the soule knew any thing, the
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first knew her selfe: and if she knew any without and beside her selfe, it must be her vaile and body before any thing else. If even at this day the Gods of Phyfieke are feene to wrangle about our Anatomic,

 MULTIBER in TRoiaem, pro Troia Sabat Apollo, Apollo ftoode for Troy, Vulcan fto be defroy.

When shal we expeet that they will be agreed? We are nearer vnto our selves, then is whitenesse vnto snowe, or weight vnto a stone. If man know not bowse, how can he know his functions and forces? It is not by fortune that some true notice doth not lodge with vs, but by hazard. And forasmuch as by the same way, fatisfaction and conduct, errors are received into our foule, thie hath not wherewithall to delfinuff them, nor whereby to chufe the truth from falsehood. The Academikes received some inclinacon of judgement, and found it over raw, to fay, it was no more likely, snowe should be white then blacke, and that wee shoule be no more assured of the moving of a stone, which goeth from our hand, then of that of the eight Spheare. And to avoide this dificultie and strangeneffe, which in truth can not but hardly lodge in our imagination, howbeit they efftablith, that we were no way capable of knowledge, and that truth is engufled in the deepfet Abifcfe, where mens sight can no way enter; yet aroused they thowe things to bee more likely and possible then others, and receivd this facultie in their judgement, that they might rather thende to one apparence then to an other. They alow them this propenfion, interdicting her all resolution. The Pyrrhonians advice is more hardly and therewith all more likely. For, this Academica inclinacon, and this propension rather to one then another propofition, what else is it, then are acknowledging of some apparent truth, in this then in that? If our vsderftanding be capabile ofthe forme, of the lineaments, of the behaueour and face of truth; it might as well fee it all compleat, as in halfe, growing and imperfect. For, this apperance of gliflimilitude, which makes them rather take the left then the right hand, doe you augment in, this one ounce oflikelihood, which turns the balanc, doe you multiply it, by a hundred, nay by a thoufand ounces; it will in the end come to passe, that the balanc will absolutely resolve and conclude one choife & perfect truth. But how doe they fuffer themselves to be made tratable by likelihood, if they know not truth? How know they the fembleance of that, whereas they vsderftand not the offence? Either we are able to judge absolutely, or absolutely we cannot. If our intellectueall and fenfible faculties are without ground or footing, if they but pull vp and downe and vaunt, for nothing fuffer we our judgement to be carried away to any parte of their operation, what apparence foever it feemeth to prefent vs with. And the freft and moft happy situation of our vsnderftanding fhoule be that, where without wavering or agitation it might maintaine it felfe fterl, vpright and inflexible. Inter vif a, vera, et falsa, ad animam afferens, nihil interest. There is no difference between true and felle vsions, concerning the matter afferent. That things lodge not in vs in their proper formes & enience, and make not their entrance into vs, of their owne power and authoritie, wee fee it most evidently. For, if it were fo, we shoule receive them all alike: wine would bee fuch in a fickle mans mouth, as in a healthie mans. His whofe fingers are chopp through cold, and stifte or benumbed with frost, should find the fame hardness in the wood or vyon he might handle, which another dooth. Then strange subjedts yeilde vnto our mercie, and lodge with vs according to our pleafure. Now if on our part we receive any thing without alteration; if mans hold-faies were capable and sufficiently powerfull, by our proper meanes to feize on truth, those meanes being common to all; this truth would succesfively remove it felfe from one to another. And of fo many things as are in the world, at least one should be found, that by an univerfally contentedal be believed of all. But that no propofition is feene, which is not controverted and debated amongft vs, or that may not be, declareth plainly, that our judgement doth not absolutely and cleereely feize on that which it feizeth: for my judgement cannot make my fellowes judgement to receive the fame: which is a signe, that I have feized vpon it by some other meanes, then by a natural power in me or other men. Leave we aparte this infinite confusion of opinions, which is feene amongst Philosophers themselves, and this univerfally and perpetuall disputation, in and concerning the knowledge of things.

For its most truly presupposed, that men (I mean the wisest, the beft borne, yea and the most sufficient) doe never agree; no not fo much that heaven is over our heads: For, they who doul
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The doubt of all, doe also doubt of this, and such as affirm, that wee cannot conceive any thing, say we have not conceived whether heaven be ever our heads: which two opinions are in number, without any comparison, the most forcible. Besides this diversity and infinite division, by reason of the trouble, which our own judgement layeth upon ourselves, & the uncertainty which every man finds in himselfe, it may manifestly be perceived, that this situation is very uncertain and vastard. How diversely judge we of things? How often change we our fancies? What I hold and believe this day, I believe and hold with all my belief; all my implements, springs and motions, embrace and chafe this opinion, and to the utmost of their power warrant the same. I could not possibly embrace any verity, nor with more assurance keep it, then I doe this. I am wholly and absolutely given to it, but hath it not been my fortune, not once, but a hundred, nay a thousand times, nay daily, to have embraced some other thing, with the very same instruments and condition, which you better advise I have, afterward judged false? A man should at least become wise, at his owne cost, and learn by others harms. When this colour I have often found my self deceived, if my touchstone be commonly found false, and my balance vn-euen and vnjust; What assurance may I more take of it at this time, then at others? Is it not folly in me, to suffer my selfe so often to be beguil'd and counted by one guide? Nevertheless, let fortune remove vs five hundred times from our place, let him do nothing but vnceas'dly empty and fill, as she will, other and other opinions in our minde, the present and last is always supposed certain and infallible. For this mult a man leave goods, honour, life, flace, health and all:

— posterior resilla reperta
Perdus & immutat fenMus ad prsefUa quaqe.
The later thing destroys all found before
And alters senfe at all things like to yore.

Whatsoever is tould vs, and what ever we lerne, we should ever remember, it is man, who delivereth, and man that receiveth: It is a mortall hand, that presents it, and a mortall hand, that receives it. One lything which comes to vs from heaven, have right and authority of perturbation and marks of truth: Which we neither see with our eyes, nor receive by our means: this sacred and great image would be of no force in so wretched a man's, except God prepare it to that yfe and purpose, vnslie God by his particular grace and supernaturall favor, reforme and strengthen the same. Our frail, defective condition ought at least make vs soemeane our selves more moderately, and more circumstently in our changes. We should remember, whatsoever we receive in our understanding, we oft receive false things, and that it is by the fame instruments, which many times contradict and deceive themselves. And no marvell if they contradict themselves, being so eafe to enchele, and upon very flight occasions subject to waver and turne. Certaine it is, that our apprehension, our judgement, and our soules faculties in general, doe suffer according to the bodies motions and alterations, which are continual. Have we not our spirits more vigilant, our memory more readie, and our discourse more lively in time of health, then in sickenes? Doth not joy and blithnes make vs receive the subjects, that present themselves unto our soule, with another kinde of countenance, then lowering vacaction, and drooping melancholy doth? Doe you imagine, that Cantilene or Saphoever verse, delight and please an old covetous chaffe-pennie wretch, as they doe a happy and vigorous young man? Cleomenes the sonne of Anaxanthides being sicke, his friends reproved him, saying he had new strange humors, and vnusuall fancies: It is not vnlikey (answereth he) for, I am not the man I was wont to be in time of health: But being other, so are they fancies and my humors. In the rabble base-cavazing of our pleacomts, this by-word. Gaudeat de bona fortuna, Let him joie in his good fortune, Is much in yfe, and is spoken of criminal offenders, who happen to mee with judges in some milde temper, or well-pleased moode. For, it is most certain that in times of condemnation, the judges doone and sentence is sometimes perceived to be more sharpe, more fickle and froward, and at other times more tratable, facile and enclined to shadow or excufe an offence, according as he is well or ill pleased in minde. A man that commeth out of his house troubled with the paine of the goute, vexed with jelloufie, or angrie that his servant hath robbed him, and whose mind is overcome with grief, and plunged in vacaction, and distracted with anger, there is no question to be made but his judgement is at that instant much distempred and much transported that way. That venerable Senate of the Areopagites, was wont to judge and sentence
by night, for fear the light of the sunes might corrupt the sight. The aire itselfe, and the clearenes of the firmament, doth forebode some change and alteration of weather, as faith that

Greeke verse in Cicero,

Tales sunt hominum mentes, qualis patet ipse
Lupiter, antiferus, saevus, lampade terras,
Such are mens minde, as with encreasefull light
Our father love surveyes the world in flight.

It is not onlye fevers, diuers and great accidents, that over-whelme our judgement: The least things in the world will turne it topfi-turvi. And although we feele it not, it is not to be doubted, if a continuallagine may in the end appresse our minde, a terrane will also (according to his measure and proportion) breed some alteration in it. If an Apeplexie doth altogether flupifie, and extinguish the fight of our vnderstanding, it is not to be doubted but a cold and a rhume will likewise daule the same. And by consequence, hardly shall a man in all his life finde one houre, wherein our judgement may alwaies be found in his right byafe, our body being subiect to so many continuall alterations, and fluxt with so divers sortes of ginnes and motions, that, giving credit to Phisitians, it is very hard to finde one in perfect plight; and that doth not alwaies mistake his marke and statute wide. As for the rest, this disease is not so easily discovered, except it be altogether extreme and remedieless; forasmuch as reason marcheth ever crooked, halting, and broken-lipt and with falseboode as with truth; And therefore it is very hard to discover his mistaking, and miforder. I alwaies call reason, that appearance or fiew of discourses, which every man deviveth or forgeth in himselfe: That reason, of whose condition, there may be a hundred, one contrarie to another, about one selfe same subject: It is an instrument of lead and waxe, stretching, phable, and that may be fitted to all byases, and squared to all measures: There remains nothing but the skill and sufficiencie to knowe how to turne and winde the same. How well over a judge meaneth, and what good minde forever he beareth, if diligent care be not given vnto him (to which few annuall themselves) his inclination vnto friendship, vnto kindred, vnto beautie and vnto revenge, and not onely matters of so weightie consequence, but this innated and casual instinct, which makes vs to favor one thing more then another, and enhance to one man more then to another, and which without any leave of reason, giveth vs the choice, in two like subiects, or some shadow of like vanitie, may insensibly infrinate in his judgement the commendation and applaus, or disfavor and dishonorable of a cause, and give the balance a twitch. I, that nearest pie into my selfe, and who have mine eyes vnceflantly fixt vpon me, as one that hath much elde to doe elsewhere,

---quis sub arco

Rex gelidus, et varius orae,
Quid Tyradatem terrae, unice
Securus,
Onely secure,who in colde coast
Vnder the North-pole rules the roaft,
And thereis feared; or what would fright,
And Tyraetes put to flight.

dare very hardly report the vanitie and weaknesse I feele in my selfe. My foot is so ftaggering and unfaible, and I finde it fo redie to trip, and fo caffie to flumble; and my sight is fo dimme and vncertaine, that falling I finde my selfe other then full-fed: If my health ap-placed me, or but the calmes of one faire day smile vpon me, a then am I lustie gallant; but if a cornewing my roe, then am I pouting, vnpleasante and hard to be pleased. One same pace of a horse is sometimes hard, and sometimes caffie vnto me; and one same way, one time short, another time long and wearisome; and one same forme, now more, now leste agreeable and pleasing to me: Sometimes am I apt to doe anything; and other times fit to doe nothing: What now is pleasing to me, within a while after will be painful. There are a thousand indifferent and casual agitations in me. Either a melancholic humor posselethe me, or a chollerike passion fwayeth me, which having shaken off, sometimes frowardnes and peevishnes hath predominance, and othertimes gladnes and blushinges over rule me. If I chance to take a booke in hand, I shall in some passages perceive some excellent graces, and which ev'n wound me to the foule with delights: but let me lay it by, and reade him another time;
times let me turne and toffe him as I lift, let me apply and manage him as I will, I shall finde

are forfrom much and with care venture not at all times finde the tracke, or ayre of my first imaginations; I wot not my selfe what I would have said, and shall verse and fret my selfe in correcting and giving a newe sence to them, because I have peradventure forgotten or loft the former, which happily was better. I doe but come and goe; my judgement doth not alwaies goe forward, but is ever floting and wandering,

\[\text{velut minuta magnis}\]

\[\text{Depressa navis in mari usfanienta vento.}\]

Much like a pattie skiffse, that's taken short

In a grand Sea, when winde doe make mad sport.

Many times (as commonly it is my hap to doe) having for exercise and sport-fake undertaken to maintaine an opinion contrarie to mine, my minde applying and turning it sence that way, doth so tie me vnto it, as I finde no more the reason of my former conceit, and so I leave it. Where I incline, there I entertaine my selfe, however it be, and am carried away by mine owne weight. Every man would see-re-hand say as much of himselfe, would he but looke into himselfe as I doe. Preachers knowe, that the emotion, which surprizeth them, whilst they are in their emiteit speech, doth animate them towards beleefe, and that being angrie we more violently give our selves to defend our prepossession, imprint it in our selves, and embrace the fame with more vehement and approbation, then we did, being in our temperate and reposed sence. You relate simply your cause vnto a Lawyer, he answers falting and doubtfully vnto it, whereby you perceive it is indifferent vnto him to defend either this, or that side, all is one to him: Have you paid him well, have you given him a good bate or fee, to make him earnestly apprehend it, begins he to be interested in the matter, is his will moved, or his minde enflamed? Then will his reason be moved, and his knowledge enflamed withall. See then an apparant and undoubtedly truth pretends it sence to his understanding; wherein he discourses a new light, and believeth it in good sooth, and so perwades himselfe. Shall I tell you? I wot not whether the heat of proceeding of spight and obstinacies, against the impression and violence of a magistrate, and of danger, or the interest of reputation, have induced some man, to maintaine, even in the fiery flames the opinion, for which amongst his friends, and at libertie, he would never have bene moved, nor have ventured his fingers end. The motions and fittes which our foule receiveth by corporall passions, doe greatly prevail in him, but more his owne; with which it is so fully possed, as happily it may be maintained, the hath no other way, or motion, then by the blift of his winde, and that without their agitation, she should remaine without action, as a ship at Sea, which the winds have utterly foraken. And he who should maintaine that, following the Peripatetike faction, should offer vs no great wrong, since it is knowne, that the greatest number of the foules-actions, proceede and have need of this impulsion of passion; valor (say they) cannot be perfected without the assistance of choler.

\[\text{Semper Aix fortis, fortissimus reneant in furor.}\]

\[\text{Aix ever valor had,}\]

\[\text{Most then, when he was most mad.}\]

Nor doth any man name violent enough upon the wicked, or his enemies; except he be throughly angrie; and they are of opinion, that an Advocate or counsellor at the barre, to have the caufe goe on his side, and to have justice at the judge's hands doth first endeavor to provoke him to anger. Longing-defires moved Themisfoles, and urged Demophoces, and have provoked Philosophers, to long travels, to tedious watchings, and to lingering peregrinations; And lead to sollicitude, to doctrine, and to health; all profitable respects. And this deminefse of the soule, in suffering molestation and tediousnes, serveth to no other purpose, but to breede repentance, and caufe penitence in our confciences; and for our submination to feel the scourge of God, and the rod of politike correction. Compassion seeth as a sting vnto clemencie, and wisedome to preserve and governe ourselves, is by our owne fear roused vp; and how many noble actions, by ambition, how many by presumption? To conclude, no eminent or glorious vertue, can be without some immoderate and irregular agitation. May not this be one of the reasons, which moved the Epicurians, to discharget God of all care and thought of our affaires: Forasmuch as the very effects of his goodnes, cannot exercise themselves towards vs, without disturbing his self, by means of the passions, which

\[\text{Ff 3}\]
are as motives and solicitations, directing the soul to virtuous actions? Or have they thought otherwise, and taken them as tempests, which flamefully debauch the soul from her rest and tranquility? Do you receiptless, faint, lecherous, vagabonds, and contraries of imaginations, doth the diversity of our passions prevent you? What assurance may we then take of so unconstant and wavering a thing, subject by its own condition to the power of trouble, never marching but a forced and borrowed pace? If our judgement be in the hands of sickness it felle, and of perturbation; if by rathless and folly it be retained to receive the impression of things, what assurance may we expect at his hands? Dares not Philosopher think, that men produce their greatest effects, and nearest approaching to divinity, when they are besides themselves, furious, and madde? We amend our selves by the privation of reason, and by his drooping. The two natural ways, to enter the cabinet of the Gods, and there to foresee the course of the destinies, are furie and sleepe. This is very pleasing to be considered. By the dilocation, that passions bring into our reason, we become virtuous; by the extirpation, which either furie or the image of death bringeth vs, we become Prophets and Divines. I never beleved it more willingly. It is a meere divine inspiration, that sacred truth hath inspired in a Philosophical spirit, which against his proposition exacteth from him; that the quiet state of our soul, the well-settled estate, yea the healthful felt that Philosophie can acquire vnto it, is not the well estate. Our vigilance is more drowsie, then sleepe it selfe: Our welcome selfe wise, then folly; our dreams of more worth then our discourses. The world place we can take, in our selves. But thinkes it not, that we have the foresight to mark, that the voyce, which the spirite vtereth, when he is gone from man, so cleare-fighted, so great, & so perfect, & whilst he is in man, so earthly, so ignorant, and so overclouded, is a voyce proceeding from the spirit, which is in earthly, ignorant, and overclouded man; and therefore a trubles and not to be beleived voyce? I have no great experience in these violent agitations, being of a soft and dull complexion; the greatest part of which, without giving it a falture to acknowledge him selfe, doo commonly surprize our soul. But that passion, which in young mens hartes is fain, to be produced by idlenes, although it march but leazurly, and with a measured progress, doth evidently prevent to thofe, that have affaid to oppose themselves against his endeavor, the power of the conversion and alteration, which our judgement suffereth. I have sometimes enterprised to arme my selfe with a resolution to abide, refift, and suppress the fame. For, I am so farre from being in their ranke, that call and allure vices, that vnlife they entertain me, I fearly follow them. I felt, mauger my refistance, to breed, to growe, and to augment; and in the end being in perfect health, and cleare-fighted, to seize-vpon and possesse me; in such sort that, as in drokennes, the image of things, began to appeare vnto me, other wise then it was wont: I sawe the advantages of the subject, I sought after, evidentely to swell and growe greater, and much to encrease by the winde of my imagination; and the difficulties of my enterprize to become more easie and plaines; and my discourse and conscience to shrinke and draw-backe. But that fire being evaporated all on a fadaine, as by the flashing of a lightning, my soul to release an other fhit, another state, and another judgement. The difficulties in my retirate seeming great and invincible, and the very same things of another taste & shew than the sverenece of desire had presented them vnto me. And which more truly, Pyrrho cannot tell. We are never without some infirmity. Fevers have their heat, and their colde: From the effects of a burning passion, we fall into the effects of a chilling passion. So much as I had call my selfe forward, so much do I draw my selfe backe.
The second Booke.

Now I will return, the stones should backe from stand
By tide refuck, soord failing leaves the land.

Now by the knowledge of my volubilitie, I have by accident engendred some conftan-
tie of opinions in my selfe; yet have not much altered my first and natural ones. For, what
apparence ever there be in novelty, I do not easily change, for feare I should looke by the
bargaine: and since I am not capable to chuse, I take the choise from others; and keepe
my selfe in the state, that God hath placed me in. Elfe could I hardly keepe my selfe from
continuall rowling. Thus have I by the grace of God preferred my selfe whole (without a-
tigation or trouble of conscience) in the ancient belief of our religion, in the middile of so
many sects and divisions, which our age hath brought forth. The writings of the ancient
fathers (I mean the good, the holy, and the serious) doe tempt, and in a manner remove me
which way they lift. Him that I see seemeth ever the most forcible. I finde them everie-
one in his turne to have reason, although they contrarie one another. That facilite, which
good wises have to prove any thing they please, likely; and that there is nothing so strange,
but they will undertake to sette good a gloss on it, as it shall easily deceave a simplicitie like
vnto mine, doth manifeely shew the weaknesses of their proofe. The heavens and the pla-
nets, have moved these three thousand yeares, and all the world hath taught vs so, vntill Cle-
minus the Samian, or else (according to Theophrastus) Nicetas the Syracusan, tooke vpon
him to maintaine, it was the earth, that moved, by the oblique circle of the Zodiac, turning
about his axell-tree. And in our daies Copernicus hath so well ground'd this doctrine, that
hee doth very orderly fit it to all Aстрologicall consequences. What shall we reape by it, but
only that we neede not care, which of the two it be? And who knoweth whether a thousand
yeares hence a third opinion will rise, which happily shall overthrow these two precedent.

Six volubenta asas communat tempora rerum,
Quaques fuit pretios, si multa denique bonores,
Porro alius succedit, & contentibus exit,
In qua dies magis appetitur, floresque repertius
Laudibus, & muro eft mortales inter bonores.
So age to be past alter's times of things:
What earst was most esteem'd,
At last nought-worth is deem'd:
An other then succeed's, and from contempt vpspring's,
Is daily more defend'd, flowreth as found but then
With praise and wondrous honor amongst morall men.

Sic when any new Doctrine is presented vnto vs, we have great cause to suspect it, and to
consider, how before it was invented, the contrarie vnto it was in credite; and as that hath
been revered by this latter, a third invention may paradventure succeede in after-ages,
which in like sort shall front the second. Before the principles, which Aristote found out,
were in credite, other principles contented mans reason, as his do now content vs. What
learning have these men, what particular privilege, that the course of our invention
should rely only upon them, and that the possession of our belief, that for ever hereafter be-
long to them? They are no more exempted from being rejected, then were their fore-fa-
thers. If any man urge me with a new Argument, it is in me to imagine, that if I cannot an-
swre it, another can. For, so believe all apparences, which we cannot resolve, is mere simplicitie.
It would then follow, that all the common sort (whereof we are all part) should have his be-
lief turning and windinge like a weather-cock; for, his soule being soft, and without resi-
stance, should unceasingly be enforced to receive new and admit other impressions; for let-
er ever defacing the precedents trace. He that perceives himselfe weak, ought to anwser,
according to law terms, that he will conferre with his learned counsellor, or else referre himself
to the wised, from whom he hath had his prentifeship. How long is it since Phylistic became
first into the World? It is reported that a new Iart-vp fellow, whom they call Paracefus,
changeth and subverteth all the order of ancient, and so long-true-received rules, and main-
taineth that vntill this day it hath only served to kill people. I think he will easily verify it.
But I suppose it were no great wisedome to hazard my life vpon the trial of his new-fanged
experience. We must not believe at men, faith the precept, since every man may say at things.
It is not long since, that one of these professours of noveltyes, and Physicall reformations
told me, that all our forefathers had notoriously abused themselves in the nature and motion of the winds, which, if I would listen unto him, he would manifestly make me perceive. After I had with some patience given attendance to his Arguments, which were indeed full of likely-hood, I demanded of him, whether they that failed according to Theophrastus his Laws, went westward, when they bent their course eastward? Or whether they that failed side-long, or backward? It is fortunate, answered he, for so it is they tooke their marks an snifle: To whom I then replied, that I had rather follow the effects, then his reason. They are things that often shocke together: and it hath beene told me, that in Geometric (which supposeth to have gained the high point of certainty amongst all sciences) there are found unavoidable Demonstrations, and which subvert the truth of all experience: As James Pelleteri told me in mine owne house, that he had found out two lines, bending their course one towards another, as if they would meete and joyne together; nevertheless hee affirmed, that even unto infinity, they could never come to touch one another. And the Pythagorians use their Arguments, and Reason, but to destroy the apperance of experience: And it is a wonder to see how farre the supplemetne of our reason, hath in this deigne followed them, to refit the evidence of effects: For, they affirm, that wee move not, that we speake not, that there is no weight, no heate, with the same force of arguing, that we averre the most likelyst things. Ptolemy, who was an excellent man, had establisht the bounds of the world: All ancient Phylosophers have thought they had a perfect measure thereof, except it were certaine scattered Hacndes, which might cleape their knowledge: It had bin to Pythagorize a thousand yeeres agoe, had any man gone about to make a question of the arte of Cosmography: and the opinions that have beene received thereof, of all men in General: It had beene flat hereafter to avouch, that there were Antipodes. See how in our age an infinite greatness of firme land hath beene discovert, not an Iland only, not one particular country, but a parte in greatnesse vereneere equall into that which we knewe. Our moderne Geographers cease not to affirme, that now all is found, and all is discovert; 

**Num good adeft praefio.plocet, & pollere videtur,**

**For, what is present here;**

Seemes stronget is held most deare.

The question is now, if Ptolemy was heretofore deceived in the grounds of his reason, whether it were not folly in me, to truft what these late fellows say of it, and whether it be not more likely, that this huge body, which we term the World, is another maner of thing, than we judge it. Plato faith, that it often changeth his countenaunce, that the Heaven, the Starres, and the Sunne do sometimes re-eruere the motion we perceiue in them, changing the East into West. The Egyptian Priest, told Herodotus, that since their first King, which was e-leave thousand and oddie yeares (when they made him see the pictures of all their former Kings, drawn to the life in statues) the Sunne had changed his course fourt times: That the sea and the earth do enterchangeably change one into another: that the worldes birth is undetermined: The like said, Aristotle and Cicero. And some one amongst us avergeth, that it is altogether eternal, mortal; and new reviving againe, by many Viciestudes, calling Solomon and Egy to wittesse to avoyde these oppositions, that God hath sometimes been a Creator without a creature: that he hath beene idle, that hee hath vnaide his idlenesse, by setting his hand to this worke, and that by consequencce he is subjecte vnto change. In the most famous Schooles of Greece, the World is reputed a God, framed by another greater and mightier God, and is composed of a body and a soule, which abideth in his centre, spreading it selfe by Muscall numbers unto his circumference, divine, thrife-happy, very most, most wife and eternall. In it are other Gods, as the Sea, the earth, and planets, which mutually entertaine one another, with an harmonious and perpetuall agitacion, and celestial dances; sometimtes meeting, sometimtes elonging themselves, now hiding and now shewing themselves, and changing place, now forward, now backward. Heraclitus firmly maintainted, that the Worlde was composed of fire, and by the deflunies order, it should one day burst forth into flames, and be so consumed into cinders, and another day it should be new borne againe. And e-putius of men faith, that God is a mortal, and mortaly mortall, wholly mortal, altogether everlastinge. And Alexander wripte unto his mother the narration of an Egyptian Priest, drawn fro hence from out their monuments, witnessing the antiquite of that Nation, infinite, and comprehending the birth and progress of other countries to the life: Cicero and Diodorus, said in their daies, that the
the Childreans kept a register of foure hundred and odd yeares. 

Aristotle, Pliny, and others, that Zoroaster lived sixe thousand yeares before Plato. And Plato faith that those of the city of Sais, have memorys in writing of eight thousand yeares, and that the towne of Athens, was built a thousand yeares before the city of Sais. Epicurus, that at one same time, all things that are, looke how we see them, they are all alike, and in the fahion, in divers other Worlds, which he would have spokon more confidently, had he feene the similitudes and correspondencies, of this new-found world of the West-Indies, with ours, both present and past, by so many strange examples. Truly, when I consider what hath followed our learning by the course of this terrestrial police, I have divers times wondred at my felf, to see in fo great a distance of times and places, the simpathy or jumping off so great a number of popular and wide opinions, and of extravagant customes and beliefs, and which by no means feeme to hold with our natural discourse. Mans spirit is a wonderful worker of miracles. But this relation hath yet a kind of I wot not what more Eterocricalis; which is found both in names and in a thousand other things. For, there were found Nations, which (as farre as we know) had never heard of vs, where circumstance was held in request; where great states and common wealths were maintained only by Women, and no men: Where our falls and Lent was represented, adding therunto the abfolute from women; where our croffes were severall wares in great effecte; in forme places they adorned and honored their sepulchers with them, and elsewhere, especially that of Saint Andrew, they employed to shield themselves from nightely vifions, and to lay them upon childrens couches, as good against enchantments and witch-crafts: In another place, they found one made of Wood, of an exceeding height, worshipped for the God of rayne: which was thusft very deepes into the ground: There was found a very expresse and lively image of our Penitentaries: the vis of Mystics, the Priests finge lifte, the Arte of Divination by the entrails of sacrificed beasts; the abfolute from all forts of fleske and fish, for their food; the order among Priests in faying of their divine service, to vs, a not vulgar, but a particular tongue; and this curious and fond concept, that the first God was expell'd his thronne by a younger brother of his: That they were at first created with all commodities, which afterward by reason of their fries, were abridg'd them: That their territory hath beene changed; that their natural condition hath beene much impaire: That they have heretofo beene drowned by the inundation of Waters come from heaven; that none were sawn but a few families, which cast themselves into the crakes or hollowes of high Mountains, which crakes they stopp'd very clofe, so that the Waters could not enterin, having before shutte therein many kinds of beasts: That when they percyved the Raine to cease, and Waters to fail, they first sent out certaine dogs which returning clean-wash'd, & wet, they judged that the waters were not yet much futures & that afterward sending out some other, which seeing to returne all muddy & foule, they ifued forth of the mountains, to repeople the world againe, which they found repleniified only with Serpents. There were places found, where they vset the perpiration of the day of judgement, so that they grew wondrous soth, and offended with the Sramards, who in digging and searching for riches in their graves, scattered here and there the bones of their deceased friends; saying that those dispersed bones could very hardly be reconjiouned together againe. They also found, where they vset trafficke by exchange, and no other wise; and had Faires and Markets for that purpose: They found dwarves, and such other deformed creatures, vset for the ornament of Princes tables: They found the vse of hawkling and fowling, according to the Nature of their birds; tyrannicall subsidies, and grievances vpon subjects; delicate in pleasant gardens, dancing, tumbling, leaping, and jugling; musike of instruments, armories, dieing-houfes, meffe-courses, and caftling of lottes, or innomme-chance, wherein they are often so earnest and moody, that they will play themselves and their liberty with no other physick but by charmes: the manner of writing by figures: believing in one first man, univerfall father of all people: The adoration of one God, who heretofore liv'd man, in perfect Virginitie, fasting, and penance, preaching the law of Nature, and the ceremonies of Religion; and who vanished out of the world, without any natural death: The opinion of Gains the vse of drunkennefse, with their manner of drinks, and drinking and pleading of healths; religious ornaments, painted over with bones and dead-men's flesh-surfices, holy Water, and holy Water sfirencles: Women and Servaunts, which finningly present themselves, to be burned or enterre'd with their deceased husbands, or master, as law that
that the eldest or first-born child shall succeed and inherit all; where nothing is reserved for punies, but obedience a custom to the promotion of certain offices of great authority, and where he that is promoted takes upon him a new name, and quitteth his owne: Where they use to call him upon the knees of new-born children, saying vnto him, from dust thou camest, and to dust thou shalt return; against the Arts of Angers or prediction. These vaine shadows of our religion, which are seen in some of these examples, witness the dignitie and divinity thereof. It hath not only in some forts infinuated it felt, among all the infidelle Nations, on this side by some imitations, but amongst those barbarous Nations beyond, as it were by a common and supernatural inspiration: For, amongst them was also found the belief of Purgatory, but after a new forme: For, what we ascribe vnto fire, they impute vnto cold, & imagine that foules are both purged & punished, by the rigor of an extreme coldness. This example putteth me in minde of another pleasant diversitie: For, as there were some people found, who tooke pleasure to vnhood the end of their yard, and to cut off the fore-skin, after the maner of the Mahometans and Jewes, some there were found, that made to great an convenience to vnhood it, that with little strings, they carried their fore-skin very carefully outstretched and fastened above, for fear that end should see the ayre. And of this other diversity also, that as we honour our Kings, and celebrate our Holy-daies with deckeing and trimming our selves with the best habiliments we have; in some regions there, to shew all disparity and submision to their king, their subiects pretent themselves vnto him in their basest and meanest apparell; and entering into his palacie, they take some old torne garment, and put it over their other attyre, to the end all the glory and ornament may shine in their Soveraigne and Master.

But let vs see on: If nature enclowe within the limits of her ordinary progress, as other things, to the beliefes, the judgements and the opinions of men; if they have their revolutions, their feaons, their birth and their death, even as Cabeched: If heaven doth moove, agitate and rowle them at his pleasure, what powerfull and permanent autonitie doe we ascribe vnto them? If by vncontroled experience we palpably touch, that the forme of our being depends of the aire, of the climate, and of the soile wherein we are borne, and not only the hew, the figure, the complexion and the countenance, but also the foules faculties: Et plaga cadon folium ad robur corporum, fed etiam animorum facit. The climate helpeth not only for strength of body, but of minds, saith Vegetius: And that the Godsdel foundreffe of the Citie of Athens, chose a temperature of a country to situate it in, that might make the men wise, as the Egyptian priests taught: Solon: Athens tenue caedom: ex quo estiam acutiores putatur Attics: craffium Thbesi: inaqua pingues Thebani, & valenses: About Athens is a thirme aire, whereby those countriemen are effectually the harper-witted: About Thebes the aire is grese, and therefore the Thebans were grese and strong of constitution. In such manner that as fruites and beastes do spring vp divers and different; So men are borne, either more or leffe warlike, martiall, just, temperate and docile: here subject to wine, there to theft and whoresomne; here enchlin to superstition, there addicted to mischief: here given to libertinerie, there to fervitude; capable of some one Arte or Sciences; grose-witted or ingenious; either obedient or rebellious: good or badde, according as the inclination of the place beareth, where they are reared; and being remoued from one foile to another (as plants are) they take a new composition: which was the cause, that Cirus would not permitt the Persians to leave their barren, rough and craggie country, for to transporte themselves into another, more gentle, more fertile, and more plaine: saying that far and delicious countrieres, make men manious and effeminates; and fertile soilees yield inferiour spirits. If sometimes we see one arte to flourish, or a belief, and sometimes another, by some heavenly influence, some ages to produce this or that nature, and to encline mankind to this or that biaue: mens spiritus one while flourishing, another while barren, even as fields are seen to be what becomes of all those goodly prerogatives, wherewith we all flatter our selves: Since a wise man may mistake himselfe; yea many men, and whole nations; and as wee say, mans nature either in one thing or other, hath for many ages together mistaken his selfe. What assurance have we that at any time the leaveth her mistaking, and that the continent not even at this day, in her error? Me thinkes amongst other testimonies of our imbecilities, this one ought not to be forgotten, that by wishing it selfe, man cannot yet finde out what he wanteth, that not by enjoying or poisseffing, but by imagnation and full wishing, we can not all agree in
The second Booke.

one, what wee most stand in neede of, and would best content vs. Let our imagination have free libertie to cut out and weave at her pleasure, these cannot so much as desire what is fittell to please and content her.

-quid enim ratione timemus
Ant cupiunt quid tam dextra pede concipis, ut e
Consensus non panis есть, utique pereat!
By reason what doe we feare, or desire?
With such dexteritie what does aspire,
But thou effusiones repenteatis,
Though thy attempt and vow doe hit?

That is the reason why Socrates, never requested the Gods to give him any thing, but what they knew to be good for him. And the publike and private prayer of the Lacedemonians, did merely imply, that good and faire things might be granted them, uniting the election and choice of them to the discretion of the highest power,

Consuetum potissimum partimque vxoris, at illa
Notum qui puer, quaslique sutora sit uxor.
We with a wife, wives breeding: we would know,
What children; shall our wife be sheepe or fow?

And the Chillian befeeceth God, that his will may be done, least hee should fall into that inconvenience, which Poets faine of King Midas: who requested of the Gods, that whatsoever hee toucht, might bee converted into gold: his prayers were heard, his wine was gold, his bread gold, the fethers of his bed, his shirt and his garments were turned into gold, so that he found himselfe overwhelmed in the enjoying of his desire, and being enrich't with an intolerable commodity, he must now vnpray his prayers:

rerum novitatis malis, dolique miseraque,
Effugere opat operis, quemodo viverat, aut.
Wretched and rich, amaz'd at so strange ill,
His riches he would flie, hates his owne will.

Let me speake of my selfe, being yet very young. I besought fortune above all things, that she would make me a knight of the order of Saint Michell, which in those dayes was very rare, and the highest tipe of honour the French Nobilitie appointed. She very kindly granted my request; I had it. In lieu of raising and advancing mee from my place, for the attaining of it, the hath much more graciously entreated me, the hath abused and deprived it, even unto my shoulders and ynder. Clio, Libon, Trophonius and Agamedes, the two first having besought their Gods, the two latter their God, of some recompence worthie their pietie, received death for a rewarde: So much are heavenly opinions differant from ours, concerning what we have neede of. God might grant vs riches, honours, long life and health, but many times to our owne hurt: For, whatsoever is pleasing to vs, is not always healthful for vs. If in lieu of former health, he send vs death, or some worse sicknesse: Virga tua, & baculum tuum ipse me consolat anim: Thy rod and thy staffe hath comforted me. He doth it by the reasons of his providence, which more certainly considereth and regardeth what is meete for vs, then we our selves can doe, and wee ought to take it in good partie, as from a most wise and thrice-friendlie-hand.

Permittes ipsi expendere numinibus, quid
Conueniat nobis, rebisqne sit utile nefris:
Charior est illa homo quam si.
If you will counsell have, give the Gods leave
To weigh, what is most meete we shou'd receive,
And what for our estate most profit were:
To them, then to himselfe man is more deare.

For, to crave honours and charges of them, is to request them to cast you in some battle, or play at hazard, or some such thing, whereof the event is vnknowne to you, and the fruites uncertaine. There is no combate amongst Philosophers so violent and sharpe, as that which anfeth upon the question of mants chiefest felicite: from which ( according to Varroes calculation ) arose two hundred and foure score Cents. Qui antem de summo bomo dissentit, de
The second Booke.

Tres noni convivae propri diffentiae evidentur,
Tofcentes variis multum diversi sunt palato.
Quid demit quid non demi? remiss in quod invictus alter:
Quad petus id sani eff insulam acciditique cubae.

Three gusts of mine doe seeme almost as odds to fall,
Whilst they with diverse taste for diverse things do call:
What should I give? What not? You will not, what he will:
What you would to them twaine, is hateful, sore and ill.

Nature should thus answer their contestations, and debates. Some say, our felicitie consists, and is in Virtue: Others in voluptuousness; Others in yielding unto Nature; Some others in learning: others in feeling no manner of pain or sorrow: Others for a man never to suffer himselfe to be carried away by apparances: and to this opinion seemeth this other of ancient Pythagoras to encline,

"Nihil admirandi est nulla Numine,
Soleque que possit facere & servare beatum.
Sir, nothing I admire is thonly thing,
That may keepe happy, and to happy bring,

which is the end and scope of the Pyrrhonian Sect. Aristo &e scribeth into magnanimity,
to admire and wonder at nothing. And Aristo &e said, that sufferance, and an upright and inflexible state of judgement, were true felicities; whereas contents and applications, were vices and evils. True it is, that where he established it for a certain Axione, he escaped from Pyrrhonisme. When the Pyrrhonians say, that Anaxagoras is the chiefest felicity, which is the immobility of judgement, their meaning is not to speak it affirmatively, but the very wavering of their minds; which makes them to shun precipices and downfalls, and to throw theselves under the shelter of Calmenes, prevents this fantastie unto them, and makes them refuse another. Oh how much doe I desire, that whilst I live, either some other learned men, or Iscias Lippius, the most sufficient and learned man now living; of a most polished and judicious wit, true Coffin-germane to my Turnebus, had both will, health and leisure enough, sincerely and exactly, according to their divisions and forms, to collect into one volume or register, as much as by vs might be scene, the opinions of ancient Pythagoras, concerning the subject of our being and customs, their controversies, the credit, and partaking of factions and sides, the application of the Authors and Sectators, to their precepts, in memorable and exemplary accidents. O what a worthie and profitable labor would it be! Besides, if it befal from our selves, that we draw the regiment of our customs, into what a bottomlesse confusion doe we cast our selves? For, what our reason perivades vs to be most likely for us, is generally for every man to obey the lawes of his country, as is the advise of Socrates, enspired (faith he) by a divine perivasion. And what else meaneth the thereby, but only that our devoir or duty hath no other rule, but causall? Truth hath to have a like and universal usage throughout the world. Law and justice, if man knewe any, that had a body and true esence, hee would not suffer it to the condition of this or that countryes customs. Its not according to the Persians or Indians fantazie, that virtue should take her forme. Nothing is more subject unto a continuall agitation, then the lawes. I have since I was borne, scene these of our neighbors the English men changed and rechanged three or four times, not onely in politike subiects, which is, that some will dispence of constancie, but in the most important subject, that possiblie can be, that is to say in religion, whereof I am so much the more both grieved and affamed, because it is a nation, with which my countrymen have heretofore had so inwarde and familiar acquaintance, that even to this day, there remains in my house some ancient monuments of our former alliance. Nay I have scene amongst our selves some things become lawfull, which erst were deemed capralli: and we that hold some others, are likewise in possibility, according to the vncertainty of warring fortune, one day or other, to be offenders against the Majestie both of God and man, if our justice chance to fall vnder the mercy of injustices; and in the space of few yeares possession, taking a contrary esence. How could that ancient God more evidently accuse, in humane knowledge, the ignorance of divine esence, and teach men that their religion was but a piece of their owne invention,
invention, fit to combine their societie, then in declaiming (as he did) to those which fought the instuction of it, by his sacred Cauldron, that the true worshipping of God, was that, which he found to be observed by the custome of the place, where he lived? Oh God, what bond, or duty is it, that we owe not unto our Sovereign Creator benigneit, in that he hath beene pleased to clear and enfranchise our beliefs from those vagabonding and arbitrary devotions, & fix it upon the eternal Babe of his holy word? What will Philosophie then say to this necessity? that we follow the laws of our country, that is to say, this waving sea of a peoples or of a Princes opinions, which shall paint me forth justice with as many colours, and reforme the same into as many vifages as there are changes and alterations of passions in them. I cannot have my judgement fo flexible. What goodnisse is that, which but yester-day I law in credite and esteem, and to morrow, to have loft all reputation, and that the breach of a River, is made a crime? What truth is that, which these Mountains bound, and is a lie in the World beyond them? But they are pleasant, when to allow the Laws some certaintie, they say, that there be some firme, perpetual and immoveable, which they call natural, and by the condition of their proper essence, are imprinted in man-kinde: of which some make three in number, some foure, some more, some leffe: an evident token, that it is a marke as doubtfull as the reft. Now are they so unfortunate (for, how can I terme that but misfortunate, that of fo infinite a number of laws, there is not fo much as one to be found, which the fortune or tenterie of chance hath granted to be universally received, and by the consent and vaminate of all nations to be admitted?) They are (I say) so miserable, that of these three or foure choice-selected laws, there is not one alone, that is not impugnet or disallowed, not by one nation, but by many. Now is the generall of approbation, the onely likely ensigne, by which they may argue some lawes to be natural: For, what nature had indeed ordained vs, that should we doubtfall follow with one common content, and not one only nation, but every man in particular, should have a feeling of the force and violence, which he should verge him with, that would incite him to contrary and refift that Law. Let them all (for examples fake) shew me but one of this condition. Protagoras and Ariston gave the juicke of the lawes no other essence, but the authority and opinion of the Law-giver, and that excepted, both Good and Honest left their qualities, and remained but vain and idle names, of indifferent things. Thrafimachus in Plate, thinkes there is no other right, but the commoditie of the superior. There is nothing wherewith the world differeth so much, as in customs and lawes. Some things are here accommodated abominable, which in another place is esteemed commendable: as in Lacedemonia, the flight and subtilitie in stealing. Marriages in proximitie of blood are amongst vs forbidden as capi-tall, else where they are allowed and esteemed;

--- gentes effe fcruntur, Inquibus & nato genitrix; & nata parenti
Inquitur, & pietas geminatus crefci amore. There are some people, where the mother weddeth His sonne, the daughter his owne father beddeth, And fo by doubled love, their kindeneffe spreddeth.

the nurrishing of children and of parents; the communication with women; trafficke of robbing and stealings free licence to all maner of senfualitie; to conclude, there is nothing so extreme and horribell, but is found to be received and allowed by the custome of some nation. It is credible that there be natural lawes; as may be seenem in other creatures, but in vs they are lost: this goodly humane reason engraving it selfe among all men, to way and command, confounding and topfe-turning the vifage of all things, according to her inconstant vanitie and vaine inconstancie. Nibiliaque amplius nostrum est, quod nostrum dic, arvis est. Therefore nothing more is ours: all that I callours, belongs to Arte. Subjects have diverse lustres, and several confiderations, whence the diverfitie of opinions is chiefly engendred. One man veweth a subiecte with one vifage, and theceon it flayes; an other with an other. Nothing can be imagined so horribell, as for one to eate and devoure his owne father. Tho people, which antiently kept this custome, hold it neverthelesse for a testimonie of pietie and good affefation: seeking by that meanes to give their fathers the worthieth and most hoorable sepulcre, harboring their fathers bodies and relics in themselves and in their narrow; in some sorte reviving and regenerating them by the transmutation made in their

Gg

quicke
The second Booke.

quicke flesh, by digestion and nourishment. It is easie to be considered what abominati-
on and crueltie it had bene, in men accustomed and trained in this inhuman superiti-
ion, to call the carcases of their parents into the corruption of the earth, as food for beast
and worms. Lycurgus wisely considered in theft, the vivacity, diligence, courage, and nimble-
ness, that is required in surprizing or taking any thing from ones neighbour, and the com-
moditie which thereby redoundeth to the common wealth, that every man heeded more
curiously the keeping of all that is his owne: and judged, that by this twofold insti-
tution to ariall and to defend, much good was drawn for military discipline (which was the
principal Science and chiefe vertue, wherein he would enable that nation) of greater repre-
sentation and more consideration, then was the disorder and injustice of prevailing and taking other
men goods. Dionibus the tyrant offered Plato a robe made after the Persian fashion, long,
damasked and perfumed: But he refused the same, saying, that being borne a man, he would
not willingly put on an woman's garment: But Aristippus took it, with this answer, that no gar-
ment could corrupt a chaste minde. His friends reproved his demisfnes, in being so little
offended, that Dionibus had spoken in his face. Turt turt (said he) Fathers suffer themselves to be
washed over head and ears, to get a gudgion. Diogenes walling of coeworts for his dinner, seeing
him passe by, faide vno him, If thou couldst live with coeworts, thou wouldst not court
and faune upon a tyrant; to whom Aristippus replied, If thou couldst live among men, thou
wouldst not wash coeworts. See here how reason yeeldeth apperance to diverse effects. It is
a pitcher with two ears, which a man may take hold on, either by the right or left hand.

--- belium o terrs bolfsta portas
Bello armantur egi, bellum hoc armenta minantur: Sed tamen iijdem uliun currum succedere fuci
Quadrapedes, & frenamique exponeequorfa ferre,
Spes efi pacis.
O ftranger-harb'ring land, thou bring'ft vs warre;
Steed's ferre for warre;
Thefe heard's doe threaten warre;
Yet horses erft were wont to drawe our waines,
And harnef matches bear agreeing raine;
Hope is hereby that wee,
In peace shall well agree.

Solen being importuned not to shed vaine and bootle sterres for the death of his fonnes; That's the reason (answered he) I may more infully fed them, because they are bootlesse and vaine. Socrates stis wife, exasperated his griefe by this circumsance; Good Lord (faide he) how unifly doe these bad judges put men to death! What? Wouldst thou rather they should ex-
execute them infully? Replide he to his. It is a fashion among vs to have holes bored in our
cares: the Greeks held it for a badge of bondage. We hide our selves when we will enjoy
our wives: The Indians doe it in open view of all men. The Scithians were wont to sacrifi-
cce strangers in their Temples, whereas in other places Churches are Sanctuaries for them.

Inde favor vulgi,good numina vicinorum
Odit quisque locus,ciam solo credas habendos
Eft Deos opsi ipse colit.
The vulgar hereupon doth rage,because
Each place doth hate their neighbours soveraigne laws,
And onely Gods doth deeme,
Those Gods themselfes efteme.

I have heard it reported of a judge, who when he met with any sharp content between
Bartolus and Baldus, or with any cause admitting contraritie, was wont to write in the margin
of his booke, A question for a friend, which is to say, that the truth was so entangled, and dis-
putable, that in such a case he might favour which party he should thinke good. There was
no want but of spirit and sufficiency, if he yet not every where through his books, A Questi-
ton for a friend. The Advocates and judges of our time find in all cases by false too-too-many,
to fit them where they thinke good. To fo infinite a science, depending on the authority of
so many opinions, and of fo arbitrary a subjett, it cannot be, but that an exceeding confusion
of judgements must arise. There are very few proceses so cleere, but the Lawiers advices wpe-
on
on them will be found to differ: What one company hath judged, another will adjudge the contrary, and the very same will another time change opinion. Whereof wee see ordinary examples by this licence, which wondrously blemish the authority and lustre of our Law, never to stay upon one sentence, but to run from one to another Judge, to decide one same case. Touching the liberty of Philosophical opinions, concerning vice and virtue, it is a thing needing no great extension, and wherein are found many advices, which were better unspoken, than published to weak capacities. Aurelius was wont to say, that in paililliarise, it was not worthy to consider, where, on what side, and how it was done. Et obsec- mas voluptatis, si natura requirit, non genere, aut loco, aut ordine sed forma, etate, figura metiendi. 

This experience is diversified by a thousand examples.

Nullis in Orbe finit tota, qui tangere velit

Uxorum gratia Catharina tibum,

Dum licet sed mans poetae custodius ingens

Iliada

Turba
The second Booke.

A Phylosopher being taken with the deede, was daunted, what he did: answered very mildly, I plant man, blushing no more being found so napping, then if he had bin taken fettling of Garlike. It is (as I fuppofe) of a tender and refpective opinion, that a notable and religious Author, holds this action fo necessarily-bound to secrecy and shame, that in Cynike embraces and dalliances, hee could not be perfwaded that the worke should come to him end, but rather, that it lingred and fluid, only to repreff wanton geftures, and lascivious motions, to maintain the impudence of their schooles-profeffion and that to powre forth what shame had forced and bafhfulnes retrained, they had also afterward neede to fecke some fecret place. He had not feene farre-enough into their licenciousnesse: For, Diogenes in fight of all, exercising his Maifteration, bredde a longing-defire, in presence of all, in the by-flanders, that in fuch fort they might fill their bellies by rubbing or clawing the fame. To thofe that asked him, why he fought for no fitter place to fecke in, then in the open frequented high-way, he made anfwere, It is becaufe I am hungry in the open frequented high-way. The Phylmorphers of the Women, which medled with their Seets, did likewise in all places, and without any difcretion medde with their bodies: And Crates never received Hipparchia into his fellowship, but vpon condition, to follow all the cuftomes and fashions of his order. Thefe Phylmorphers fet an extreme rate on vertue and rejected all other difciplines, except the morall yet is it, that in all actions, they afsurred the Sovereigne authority to the elefion of their wife, yea, and above all laws and appoynted no other restraint vnto voluptuosnesse, but the moderation, and prefervation of others liberty. Heraclitus and Protagoras, forfomuch as wine feemeth bitter vnto the ficke, and pleafing to the healthy; and an Oare crooked in the water, and fhght to thofe that fee it above Water, and fuch-like contrary appearances, which are found in fome fubjeets; argued that all fubjects had the caufes of thefe appearances in them, and that, there was fome fidade of bitternesse in the wine, which had a reference vnto the fcimians cafein in the Oare a certaine crooked quality, having relation to him that feeth it in the Water. And fo of all things elfe. Which implieth, that all is in all things, and by confequence nothing in any; for, either nothing is, or all is. This opinion put me in minde of the experience we have, that there is not any one fence or vifage, either ftraight or crooked, bitter or fweete, but man wit fhall find in the writings, which he vnertaketh to runne over. In the pureft, moft vnspotted, and moft absolutely-perfect words, that possibly can be, how many errors, falshoods, and lies have bin made to procede from it? What herefe hath not found testimonies & ground sufficient, both to vnertake and to maintaine it selfe? It is therefore, that the Authors of fuch errors will never go from this proofe of the Tellimony of words interpretation: a man of worth, going about by authority to approve the fearch of the philmorphers fone, wherein he was overwhelmd, aleagd at last five or fix feverall passages out of the holy bible vnto me, vpon which (he faid) he had at first grounded himfelfe, for the discharge of his confience (for he is a man of the Ecclefiaftical profefion) & truly, the invention of them, was not only pleafant, but also very fitly applied to the defence of this goodly & mind-inchanting science. This way is the credit of divineing fables attained to. Ther is no prognosticactor, if he have but this authority, that any one wil but vouffeafe to reade him over, and curiously to fearch all the infoldings & luftres of his words, but a man fhall make him fay what he pleafeth, as the Sibilles. There are fo many means of interpretation, that it is hard, be it flat-ling, fide-ling, or edge-ling, but an ingenious and pregnant wit, fhall in all fubjeets meete with fome ayre, that will fit his turne. Therefore is a drowdy, darke, and ambiguous flue found in fo frequent and ancient cuftome. That the Author may gaine, to draw, allure, and bufie pofterity to himfelfe, which not only the sufficiencie, but the casual favor of the matter, may gaine as much or more. As for other matters, let him be it eyther through foole-himeffe or subtilitie, shew himfelfe somewhat of obscure and diversitie, it is no matter, care not he for that. A number of spirits fitting, and toffing him-over, will finde and express fondrie former, eyther according, or collaterally, or contrary to his owne, all which fhall doe him credite. He fhall fee himfelfe enriched by the meanes of his Disciples, as the Grammer Schoole Maffers. It is that, which hath made many things of nothing, to paffe very currant, that hath brought divers books in credite, and charg'd with all forts of matter, that any hath but defired: one felle fame thing, admitting a thousand and a thousand, and as many feverall images, and divers confiderations, as it beft pleafeth vs. Is it poiffible, that ever Homer meant all that, which
which some make him to have meant. And that he prostituted himself to so many, and to several shapes, as Divines, Lawyers, Captains, Philosophers &c of people else, which, how diversely and contrary, soever it be, they treat of sciences, do notwithstanding wholly receive upon him, & refer them-selves unto him as a General Master for all offices, works, sciences, tradesmen & an universal counsellor in all enterprises: who soever hath had need of O-rades or Predictions, & would apply them to his purpose, hath found them in him for his purpose. A notable man, & a good friend of mine, would make one marvel to hear what strange fancy-fetched conceits, and admirable affinities, in favor of our religion, he maketh to derive from him; and can hardly be drawn from this opinion, but that such was Homer's intent & meaning (yet is Homer so familiar unto him, as I think no man of our age is better acquainted with him.) And what he finds in favor of our religion, many ancient learned men, have found in favor of theirs. See how Plato is tossed and turned over, every man endeavoring to apply him to his purpose, giveth him what conformity he list. He is wrested & infected to all new-fangled opinions, that the world receiveth or alloweth of, and according to the different couple of subject is made to be repugnant unto himselfe. Every one according to his sense makes him to disavow the customs that were lawful in his days, in so much as they are unlawful in these times. All which is very lively and strongly maintained, according as the wit and learning of the interpreter is strong and quick. Upon the ground which Heraclitus had, and that sentence of his; that all things had those shapes in them, which men found in them. And Democritus out of the very same drew a clean contrary conclusion, 1d eft, that some had nothing at all in them of that which we found in them: And forasmuch as honny was sweete to one man, and bitter to another, he argued that honny was neither sweete nor bitter. The Pyrrhonians would say, they know not whether it be sweete or bitter, or both, or neither. For, they ever gain the highest point of doubting. The Cyrenians held, that nothing was perceptible outwardly, and only that was perceptible, which by the inward touch of feeling, touched or concerned vs, as griefe and senstualitie, distinguishing neither tune, nor colours, but only certain affections, that came to vs of them; and that man had no other feate of his judgement. Protagoras deemed, that, to be true to all men, which to all men seemeth so. The Epicurians, place all judgement in the senses, and in the notice of things, and in volupitousnes. Platoes mind was, that the judgement of truth, and that it fell from opinions and senses, belonged to the spirit, and to cognition. This discourse hath drawn me to the consideration of the senses, wherein consisteth the greatest foundation and trial of our ignorance. Whateuer is knowne, is without all peradventure knowne by the facultie of the knowers. For, since the judgement commeth from the operation of him that judgeth, reason requireth, that he performe and act this operation by his means and will, and not by others compulsion: As it would follow if we knewe things by the force, and according to the law of their essence: Now all knowledge is addressed into vs by the senses, they are our masters:

via quam munira sibi
Proxima fort humanum in petibus, et pepleque mentis:
Whereby a way for credit lead's well-linde
Into mans breath and temple of his minde.

Science begins by them & in them is resolved. After all, we should knowe no more then a stone, vsles we know, that there is, found, stat, light, favor, measure, weight, softines, hardines, sharpnes, colour, smoothines, breadth and depth. Behold here the platforme of all the frame, and principles of the building of all our knowledge. And according to some, science is nothing else, but what is knowne by the senses. Whosoever can force me to contradict my senses, hath me falt by the throat, and can not make me recolle one foot backward. The senses are the beginning and end of humane knowledge.

Invenie primos ab sensibus esse creatum
Notitiam veri, necque sensus posse refelli.
Quid maiore fide porro quam sensus haberi
Debet?
You shall finde knowledge of the truth at first was bred
From our first senses, nor can senses be misse-led.
What; then our senses, should

With
With vs more credit hold?

Attribute as little as may be vnto them, yet must this ever be granted them, that all our instruction is addressed by their means & intermission. Cicero saith, that Chrysippus having a fraud to abate the power of his fenes, and of their vertue, presented contrarie arguments vnto him felfe, and to vehement oppositions, that he could not satisfie himselfe. Whereupon Carneades (who defended the contrarie part) boastted, that he vfed the very fame weapons and words of Chrysippus to combat against him; and therefore cried out vpon him. Oh miserable man! thine owne streght hath failed thee. There is no greater absurditie in our judgement, then to maintain, that fire heateth not, that light shineth not, that in yron there is neither weight nor firmenes, which are notices our fenes bring vnto vs: Not believe or science in man, that may be compared vnto that, in certaintie. The first consideration I have vpon the fenes subject, is, that I make a question, whether man be provided of all natural fenes, or no. If we divers creatures, that live an entire and perfect life, some without sight, and some without hearing; who knoweth whether wee also want either one, two, three, or many fenes more? For, if we want any one, our discoure cannot discover the want or defect thereof. It is the fenes privilege, to be the extreame bounds of our perceiving. There is nothing beyond them, that may pleade vs to discouer them: No one fene can discover another.

An poterunt oculos aurem reprehenderere, an aures
Tacitus, an hunc porro talium sapor arguet oris,
An confutabunt nares, ocules revincuent?
Can ears the eyes, or can touch reprehend
The ears, or shall mouths-taste the touch amend?
Shall our nose it confute,
Or eyes gainst it dispute?
They all make the extreamest line of our facultie.

--- seorsum simque potestas
D'viu a est, sae vis aequae est.
To each distinctly might
Is farde, each hath it's right.

It is impossible to make a man naturally blind, to conceive that he sees not; impossible to make him desire to see, and forrow his defect. Therefore ought we not to take assurance, that our minde is contented and satisfied with those we have, seeing it hath not wherewith to seele his owne maladie, and perceive his imperfection, if it be in any. It is impossible to tell that blinde man any thing, either by discourse, argument or similitude, that lodgeth any apprehension of light, colour, or sight in his imagination. There is nothing more backward, that may put the fenes to any evidence. The blind-borne, which we perceive desire to see, it is not to understand what they require; they have learnt of vs, that something they want, and something they desire, that is in vs, with the effect & confquenccs thereof, which they call good: Yet wot not they what it is, nor apprehend it it near or farre. I have seen a Gentleman of a good house, borne blinde, at least blinde in such an age, that he knowes not what sight is; he understandseth so little what he wanteth, that as we doe, he vseth words fitting sight, and applich them after a manner onely proper and peculiar to himselfe. A child being brought before him, to whom he was godfather, taking him in his arms, he said, good Lord what a fine child this is! it is a goodly thing to see him: What a chearful countenance he hath, how prettily he looketh. Hee will say as one of vs. This hall hath a faire prospect: It is very faire weather: The Sunne thines cleare. Nay, which is more; because hunting, hawking, tennis-play, and flushing at buts are our common sportes and exercices (for he hath heard) his minde will be so affected vnto them, and he will so bufie himselfe about them, that hee will think to have as great an interest in them, as any of, and shew himselfe as earnestly passionate, both in likening and disliking them as any else; yet doth hee conceive and receive them but by hearing. If he be in a faire champian ground, where he may ride, they will tell him, yonder is a Hare started, or the Hare is killed, hee is as busily earnest of his game, as he heareth others to be, that have perfect fight. Give him a ball, hee takes it in the left hand, and with the right freeketh it away with his racket; In a piece he flutes at randome, and is well pleased with what his men tell him, be it high or wide. Who knowes
knowes whether man-kind commit as great a folly, for want of some sense, and that by this default, the greater part of the usage of things be concealed from vs? Who knowes whether the difficulties we find in sundrie things, proceede thence? And whether divers effects of beasts, which exceed our capacity, are produced by the faculties of some sense, that we want? And whether some of them, have by that means a fuller and more perfect life then others? We seize on an apple well-nigh with all our senses: We finde rednes, smoothnes, odor and sweetenes in it; besides which, it may have other vertues, either binding or refractive, to which we have no sense to be referred. The proprieties which in many things we call secret, as in the Adamant to drawe yron, is it not likely there should be fenitive faculties in nature able to judge and perceive them, the want whereof breedeth in vs the ignorance of the true effence of such things? It is happily some particular sense that vs Cockes or Channiclares discovereth the morning and midnight houre, and mouveth them to crowe: That teacheth a Hen, before any vs experience, to feare a Hawke, and not a Goole or a Peacocke, farre greater birds: That warmeth yong chickens of the hottest qualitie which the Cat hath against them, and not to distruft a Dog; to fruit and arm themselves against the mewing of the one (in some sort a flattering and milde voyce) and not against the barking of the other (a snarling & quarrelous voice); that instructeth Rats, Walsps, and Emmares, ever to chuse the beft cheefe and fruit; having never tasted them before: And that addreseth the Stag, the Elephant, and the Serpent, to the knowledge of certaine herbs and simples, which, being either wounded or sicke, have the vertue to cure them. There is no fence but hath some great domination, and which by his means affordeth not aniniinfinite number of knowledge. If we were to report the intelligence of sounds, of harmony and of the voyce, it would bring an unimaginable confusion to all the rest of our learning and science. For, besides what is tyed to the proper effect of every sense, how many arguments, consequences and conclusions draw we vs to other things, by comparing one sense to another? Let a skillfull wise man but imagine humane nature to be originally produced without fight and discourse, how much ignorance and trouble such a defect would bring vs to him, and what obcurity and blindness are in our minde: By that shall we perceive, how much the privation of one, or two, or three such senses, if there be any in vs doth import vs about the knowledge of truth. We have by the consultation & concurrence of our five senses formed one Verity, whereas peradventure there was required the accord & content of eight or ten senses, and their contribution, to attaine a perspicuous insight of his, and fee his true effence. Those Sects which combate mans science, do principally combate the same by the uncertainty and feeblenes of our senses: For, since by their means and intermission, all knowledge cometh vs in the report of the senses, vs either corrupt or alter that, which from abroad they bring vs, if the light which by them is transported into our soule bee obscured in the palisage, wee have nothing else to holde by. From this extreme diffidence are sprung all these fazancies, which earie Subject containteth, whatsoever wee finde in it: That it hath not what wee suppose to finde in it: And that of the Epycurians, which is, that the Sunne is no greater than our sight dooth judge it,
The second Booke.

pinion, and not from the instrument. Of all absurdities, the most absurd amongst the Epicureans, is to disavow the force and effect of the fenes.

Primum quod in quoque est his simplicem tempore, verum est.
Et si non potuit ratio, eloquere causam,
Cur ea que fuerint iiuxtim quadrata, procul sunt
Fint eamvulna: tamen praefat rationis agerem
Reddere mendo et causae est huiusque figura,
Quam manibus manifesta suis emittere quoquam
Et volare, siem primam, & convellere tota
Fundamenta, quibus, mixturar vita, falsique,
Non modo enim ratio, sunt omnis, vita quoque ipsa
Concidat extemante, nisi credere senibus aut,
Precipitque locos vitare, et cetera que sunt
In genere hoc fugienda.

What by the eyes is seen at any time, is true,
Though the cause Reason could not render of the view,
Why what was square at hand, a farre-off seemed round,
Yet it much better were, that wanting reasons ground
The causes of both forms we hamp-on, but not hit,
Then let slip from our hands things clearer, and them omit,
And violate our first belief, and rashly rend
All these ground-works, whereon both life and health depend,
For not alone all reason fails, life likewise must
Faile out of hand, unlasse your fenes you dare trust,
And break-neck places, and all other errors shunne,
From which we in this kinde most carefully should runne.

This desperate and so little-philosophical counsel, represents no other thing, but that humane science cannot be maintained but by unreasonable, fond & mad reason; yet it is better, that man vie it to prevail, yea & of all other remedies else, how fantastical forever they be, rather then avow his necessary foolishnes: So prejudical and disadvantageous a verite he cannot avoyde, but fenes must necessarily be the soveraigne masters of his knowledge: But they are uncertain and fallible to all circumstances: There, must a man strike to the utmost of his power, and if his just forces faile him (as they are wont) to use and employ oblimacies, temetiis, and impudence. If that which the Epicureans affirm, be true, that is to say, we have no science, whether the appearances of the fenes be false, and that which the Stoiks say, that it is also true, that the fenes appearances are so false, as they can produce vs no science: We shall conclude at the charges of these two great Dogmatists, that there is no science: Touching the error and uncertainty of the fenes operation, a man may fore himselfe with as many examples as he pleaseth, so ordinarie are the faults and deceits they vie towards us. And the echoing or reporting of a valley, the sound of a Trumpeter seemeth to found before vs, which commeth a mile behind vs.

Exantque procul medio de gurgite montes
Idem apparent longe diversis initter.

Et fugere ad puppim colles compique videntur
Quae agimus protrahere.

ubi in medo nobis equus acer obsolet
Flumine, equi corpus tranvsursum ferre videtur
Vis & in adversum flumen contrudere rapitun.

And hilles, which from the maine far-off to kenning land,
Appear all one, though they farre distant be at hand.
And hilles, and fields doe seeme vnto our bote to fly,
Which we drive by our bote as we doe paffe thereby.
When in midst of a streame a stately Horse doth stay,
The streame's oreshawing seems his body croffe to fly,
And swiftly gainst the streame to thrust him other way.

To roule a bullet vnder the fore-finger, the midlemost being put over it, a man must very much
much enforce himselfe, to affirm there is but one, so assuredly doth our sense present vs to. That the senses do often master our discourse, and force it to receive impressions, which he knoweth and judgeth to be false, it is daily seen. I leave the sense of seeing, which hath his functions nearer, more quicke and substantiall, and which by the effect of the grieve or paine it brings to the body doth so often confound and re-entreate all these goodly Stoical resolutions, and entreathe him, who with all resolution hath established this Dogma or doctrine in his minde, to crie out his belly aketh, and that the cholihe, as every other sicknesse or paine, is a thing indifferent, wanting power to abate any thing of Sovereign good or chiefe felicite, wherein the wise man is placed by his owne vertue. There is no heart so de- mise, but the rattling sound of a drumme, or the clang of a trumpeter, will rouse and enflame nor minde so harsh and sternes, but the sweetnesse and harmony of musike, will move and tickle nor any sonie so skittish and furborne, that hath not a feeling of some reverence, in considering the cloudy vailtie and gloomie cannpties of our churches, the eye-pleasing diversitie of ornamentes, and orderly order of our ceremonies, and hearing the devout and religious sound of our Organs, the moder are, sym- phoniall, and heavenlyt fittie of our voices: Even those that enter into them with an obstinate will and conquering minde, have in their heart a feeling of remorse, of chonine, and horror, that puts them into a certaine diffidence of their former opinion. As for me, I distrust mine owne strength, to heare with a fetted minde some of Horace or Catullus verses sung with a sufficiency well tuned voice, uttered by, and proceeding from a faire, yong, and hart-alluring mouth. And Zeno had reason to say, that the voice was the flower of beauty. Some have gone about to make me beleive, that a man, whom most of vs French men know, in repeating certaine verses he had made, had imposed upon me, that they were not such in writing, as in the aire, and that mine eyes would judge of them otherwise then mine ears: so much credit hath pronunciation to give priie and fashon to those workes that paffle her mercie: Whereupon Philoleum was not to be blamed, when hearing one to give an ill accent to some composition of his, he tooke in a rage some of his potte or bricke, and breaking them, trode and trampled them vnder his feete, saying vnto him, I brake and trample what is thine, even as thou mangiest and marrest what is mine. Wherefore did they (who with an undaunted resolute have procured their owne death, because they would not see the blow or stroke comming) turn their face away? And those who for their healths fake caufe themselves to be cut and cauterized, cannot endure the sharpnesse of the preparations, toole, instruments and worques of the Chirurgion, but because the sight should have no part of the paine or smart? Are not these fit examples to vefir the authority, which senses have over discourse? We may long enough know that such ones lockes or flaring-terres are borrowed of a Page, or taken from some Lackey, that this faire ruby-red came from Spaine, & this white after smoothnes from the Ocean seas yet must fight force vs to find, and deem the subject more lovely and more pleasing, against all reason. For, in that there is nothing of it's owne,

Aferimur culto gemmis, auroque teguntur
Crimina, pars minima eft /psa puella sui.
Saepe vbi sit quod ames inter tam multa requiram:
Decipi hec occulus: Agis, dives amor.
We are misse-led by ornamentes,what is amisse
And gemmes cover, leaft part of her selfe the mayden is.
Mongit things so many you may ask, where your loves lies,
Rich he by this Gorgonian shield deceives thine eyes.

How much doe Poets acribe vnto the vertue of the senses, which make Narcissus to have even fondly loft himelselfe for the love of his shadow?

Cunctique miratur, quius est mirabilis ipse,
Se empt improdun, & qui probat, ipse probatur,
Dimique petit, petitor: pariterque accensus & ardet.
He all admires, whereby himselfe is admirable,
End he, fond of himselfe, to himselfe amiable,
He, that doth look, is lik't, and while he doth desire;
He is desired, at once he burnes and sets on fire.

and Pigmaleon wits so troubled by the impression of the fight of his ivory statue that he loveth and serves it, as if it had life:

Orestes
Let a Philosopher be put in a Cage made of small and thin-set yron-vyres, and hanged on the top of our Ladies Church steeple in Paris; he shall, by evident reason, perceive that it is impossible he should fall downe out of it; yet can he not chuse (except he have beene brought vp in the trade of Tilers or Thatchers) but the sight of that exceeding height must dazzle his sight, and amaze or tume his senses. For, we have much ado to warrant our selves in the walkes or battlements of an high tower or steeple, if they be battlemented and wrought with pillers, and somewhat wide one from another, although of stone, and never so strong. Nay some there are, that can scarcely thinke or heare of such heights. Let a beame or plancke be laide acrosse from one of those two steeplest to the other, as big, as thick, as strong, and as broade, as would suffice any man to walke safely vp on it, there is no Philosophicall wisdome of so great resolution and constancie, that is able to encourage and persuade vs to march vp on it, as we would, were it belowe on the ground. I have sometimes made triall of it vp on our mountaines on this side of Italy, yet am I one of those that will not easily be afeard of such things, and I could not without horror to my minde, and trembling of legges and thighs endure to looke on those infinit precipices and steeple downe-falles, though I were not neere the brim, nor any dangere within my length, and more; and yet I had willingly gone to the perill, I could not possibly have faile. Where I also noted, that how deepe over the bottom were, if but a tree, a shrub, or any out-butting cragge of a Rocke presented it selfe into our eyes, vp on those steeple and high Alpes, somewhat to uphold the fight, and divide the fame, it doth somewhat ease and afforc vs from feare, as it were a thing, which in our fall might either helpe or vpholde vs: And that we cannot without some dread and giddines in the head, so much as abode to looke vpone one of those even and down-right precipices:VI desipis. 40. si forte. etc.

For, they can not looke downe without giddines, both of eyes and minde: Which is an evident deception of the sight. Therefore was it, that a worthy Philosopher pulled out his eies, that so he might discharge his soule of the debauching & diverting he received by them, and the better & more freely apply himselfe vpnto philosophie. But by this accompli, he should also have holp his ears, which (as Theophrastus saide) are the most dangerous instruments we have to receive violent and sondaine impresions to trouble and alter vs, and shoulde, in the end, be deprived himselfe of all his other senses, that is to say, both of his being, and life. For, they have the power to command our discourse and fway our minde: It fits us with fierce quicke, or with vnam venationem animae, & timorem. It comes to passe, that many times our minds are much moreowth with some shadow, many times with deep-founding, or singing voyces, many times with care and feare. Phisitions hold, that there are certaine complexions, which by some foundes and instruments are agitated even unto fury. I have seene some, who without infringing their patience, could not well heare a bone gnawed under their table: and we fece few men, but are much troubled at that sharp, harsh, and tooth-edging noike that Smiths make in filing of brasse, or scraping of yron and steele together: others will be offended, if they but heare one chew his meate somewhat a loude; nay some will be angiie with, or hate a man, that either speaks in the noike, or rattles in the throat. That pyging prompter of Gracius, who moffsied, raifed, and wound his mufters voice, whilst he was making Orations at Rome; what good did he, if the motion and qualitie of the found, had not the force to move, and efficacie to alter the auditories judgement? Verily, there is great cause to make so much ado and keepe such a coyle about the constancie and firmenes of this goodly piece, which suffers it felle to be handled, changed, and turned by the motion and accident of fo light a wunde. The very same cheating and cozening, that fenes bring to our vnderstanding, themselves receive it in their turnes. Our minde doth likewise take revenge of it, they lie, they cog, and deceive one another awhile. What we see and heare, being passionately transported by anger, we neither see or heare it as it is.
The second Booke.

Et solem geminum, & duplices se ostendere Thebae.
That two Sunnes doe appeare,
And double Thebes are there.

The object which we love, seemeth much more faire unto vs, then it is;
Multimoda igitur praeva surpacia videmus.

We therefore see that those, who many waies are bad,
And fowle, are yet below'd, and in chief honor had.

and that much fowler which we loth. To a penfive and hart-grieved man, a clear day seems gloomy and dusky. Our fennes are not only altered, but many times dulled, by the passions of the mind. How many things see we, which we perceive not, if out minde be either busied or distracted else where?

--- in rebu quoque aperit noscere possis,
Si non adversa minima prouide esse, quae omni
Tempore remote fuerint, longeque remote.

We therefore see that those, who many waies are bad,
And fowle, are yet below'd, and in chief honor had.

At all times fever'd farr, remoued cleane.

The foule seemeth to retire his felfe into the innoff parts, and ammuth the fennes faculties: So that both the inward and outward parts of man are full of weaknesses and falsehooe. Those which have compar'd our life unto a dreame, have happily had more reafon to doe, they then were aware. When we drwe, our foule liveth, worketh and exerciseth all his faculties even, and as much, as when it wake; and if more softly, and obscurely; yet very not fo, as that it may admitte so great a difference, as there is betweene a darke night, and a clear day: Yea as betweene a night and a shadow: There it sleepeh, here it slumbereth: More or leffe, they are ever darkenesse, yea Chymierian darkness. We wake sleepe, and slege waking. In my sleepe I see not so cleare; yet can I never finde my waking cleare enough, or without dimnes. Sleepe also in his deepes teft, doth sometymes bring dreames afleepe: But our waking is never fo vigilant, as it may cleerely purge and dissipate the ravings or idle fantazies, which are the dreames of the waking, and worse then dreames. Our reaflon and foule, receiving the fantasies and opinions, which sleepeing feiz'd on them, and authorizing our dreams actions, with like approbation, as it doth the daces. Why make we so doubt, whether our thinking, and our working be another dreaming, and our waking some kinde of sleepeing? If the fennes be our first judges, it is not ours that must only be called to counsell: For, in this facultie beasse have as much (or more) right, as we. It is most certaine, that some have hearing more sharpe then man others their sight others their smelling others their feeling, or taste. Democritus said, that Gods and beasses had the sensuitive faculties much more perfect then man. Now betweene the effects of their fennes and ours, the difference is extreme. Our splette cleeineth and drieth our fores and killethe Serpents.

Tamique in his rebus differentiique eff,
Ut quod alias cibus eff, alias finat acre venenum.

Saepe etiam serpentem, hominum contra falsa,
Differit, ac fele manendo conficit ipsa.

There is such distance, and such difference in these things,
As what to one is meete, another poison brings.

For oft a serpent touch with splette of a man
Doth die, and gnawes his felfe with fretting all he can.

What qualitie shall we give vnto splette, either according to vs, or according to the Serpent? By which two fennes shall we verify it's true effence, which we seeked for? Plinie faith, that there are certaine Sea-hares in India, that to vs are poifon, and we banke them; so that we die if we but touch them; now whether man or the Hare poifon? Whom shall we believe, either the fift of man, or the man of fift? Some quality of the aire infeeteth man, which nothing at all hurteth the Oxe: Some other the Oxe, and not man: Which of the two is either in truth, or in nature the pestilent qualitie? Such as are troubled with the yellowe jandife, deeme all things they looke upon to be yellowish, which seeme more pale and wan to them then to vs.

Lurida
The second Booke.

Lurida pratera sunt quaecumque sinitur
Argenti.

And all that sordid men behold,
They yellow strait or palish holde.

Those which are sick of the disease which Physicians call Hypoflaugma, which is a suffusion of blood under the skin, imagine that all things they see are bloody and red. Those humors that do change the sightes or operation, what knowe we whether they are predominant and ordinarie in bees? For, we see some, whose eyes are as yellow as theirs that have the jaundice, others, that have them all blood-shot with redness. It is likely that the object-colour they looke vpon, seemeth otherwise to them then to vs. Which of the two judgments shall be true? For, it is not said, that the essence of things, hath reference to man alone. Hardnes, whitenes, depth and sharpneffe, touch the service and concerne the knowledge of bees as well as ours: Nature hath given the vfe of them to them, as well as to vs. When we winke a little with our eye, we perceive the bodies we looke vpon to seeme longer and outstretched. Many bees have their eies as wincking as we. This length is then happily the true forme of that body, and not that which our eyes see, being in their ordinarie feate. If we close our eye above things seeme double vs vnto.

\[ \text{Bina incernamnum florentia lumina flammas,} \]
\[ \text{Et duplices hominum facies, \& corpora bina.} \]
\[ \text{The lights of candels double flaming then;} \]
\[ \text{And faces twaine, and bodies twaine of men.} \]

If our eares chance to be hindered by any thing, or that the passage of our hearing be stopp'd, we receive the sound otherwize, then we were ordinarily wont. Such bees as have hearie eares, or that in lieu of an eare have but a little hole, do not by conuenience heare what we heare, and receive the sound other then it is. We see at solemn shewes or in Theaters, that opposing any collour glaffe betweene our eyes and the torches light, whatsoever is in the roomes seemes or greene, or yellow, or red vs vnto, according to the collour of the glaffe.

\[ \text{Et ungu faciant id lutea rufalque veula,} \]
\[ \text{Et ferrugineo cun magnus intenta theatris} \]
\[ \text{Per malos volgata us vitaque tormentia pendens;} \]
\[ \text{Namque ibi concensus cavae subter, \& comemo} \]
\[ \text{Seu faites patrum matrumque despicimus} \]
\[ \text{Inficient, cognitque sua tristite colore,} \]
\[ \text{And yellow, ruflie, rufie curtaines worke this feate} \]
\[ \text{In common fightes abroad, where ever skaffolds great} \]
\[ \text{Stretched on masts, spred over beames, they hang till waving,} \]
\[ \text{All the feates circuit there, and all the flages bravings,} \]
\[ \text{Of fathers, mothers, Gods, and all the circled howe} \]
\[ \text{They double-dide, and in their collours make to flowe.} \]

It is likely, that those bees eyes, which we see to be of divers colours, produce the appearances of those bodies they looke vpon, to be like their eyes. To judge the lentes-operations, it were then necessary we were first agreed with bees, and then betweene our selves; which we are not, but ever-and anon disputing about that one feate, heareth or tasteth, something to be other, then indeed it is; and contende as much as about any thing else of the diversity of those images, our lentes reporte vs vs. A young childe heareth, feareth, and tasteth otherwise by natures ordinary rule, then a man of thirtie years; and he otherwise then another of three-score. The lentes are to some more obscure and dimme, and to some more open and quicke. We receive things differently, according as they are, and seeme vs vnto. Things being then so uncertaine, and full of controversy, it is no longer a wonder if it be told vs, that we may avouch how to seeme white vs vnto, but to affirm that it is in effence and in truth, we cannot warrant our selves: which foundation being so shakend, all the Science in the world must necessarily goe to wracke. What doe our lentes themselves hinder one another? To the sight a picture seemeth to be rais'd aloft, and in the handling flat: Shall we say that muske is pleasing or no, which comforteth our smeling and offendeth our tasteth? There are Herbs and Ointments, which to some parts of the body are good, and to other some
other some hurtfull. Honie is pleasing to the taste, but unpleasing to the sight. Those jewels wrought and fashioned like fethers or pins, which in imprefes are called, fethers without ends, no eye can discern the breadth of them, and no man warrant himselfe from this deception, that on the one end side it growth not broader and broader, sharper and sharper, and on the other more and more narrow, especially being rouled about ones fingers, when notwithstanding in handling it feemeth equal in breadth, and every where alike. Those who to encrease and aide their luxury were anciently wont to vfe perspective or looking glasse, fit to make the object they represented appeare very big and great, that so the members they were to vfe, might by that ocular increas pleafe them the more: to whether of the two fenfes yielded they, either to the sight presenting those members as big and great, as they wishit them, or to the feeling, that presented them little and to be dislaide? Is it our fenfes that lend these diverse conditions vnto subjects, when for all that, the subjects have but one? as we see in the Bread we eate: it is but Bread, but one vfining it, maketh bones, blood, fleas, hair, and nails thereof:

vt cibus in membris atque arvis eum diditur omnes
Disserit, atque alium naturam sufficit e se.
As sitat, distributed into the members dies,
Another nature yet it pershing supples.

The moiftneffe which the roote of a treeucker, becomes a trunke, a leaf and a fruit: And the airc being but one, applied vnto a trumpet, becommeth diverfe in a thousand fortes of sounds. Is it our senfes (say I) who likewise fashion of diverse qualitie those subjects, or whether they have them fo and such? And vpon this doubt, what may we conclude of their truerence? Moreove, since the accidents of sickenesse, of madenesse, or of sleepe, make things appeare other vnto vs, then they seeme vnto the healthie, vnto the wife, and to the walking. Is it not likely, that our right fete and naturall humours, have also wherewith to give a being vnto things, having reference vnto their condition, and to appropriate them to it felfe, as doe inordinate humours; and our health, as capable to give them his virage, as sickenesse? Why hath not the temperate man fome forme of the objects relative vnto himfelfe, as the intemperate: and shall not he likewise impring his Caracter in them? The diftraffed impure wallows in his vnto Wine: the healthie, good taste, and the thiffe brisknesse, relifh and delicacie. Now our condition appropriating things vnto it felfe, and transformimg them to its owne humour: we know no more how things are in ftoth and truth: For, nothing comes vnto vs but falsified and altered by our senfes. Either the compafe, the quadrant or the ruler are crooked: All proportions drawne by them, and all the buildings erected by their measure, are also necessarily defective and imperfect. The vncertaintie of our senfes yealds what ever they produce, also vncertaine.

Denique vt in fabrica, si prava est regula prima,
Normamque si fallax rectis regionibus exit,
Et libella adiqua e partis clandicut bulum,
Omnia mendo sancti, atque obtinha necessum est,
Prava, cubantia prona, capona, atque abona rectia,
Iam suere ut quadam videntur velle, ruantique
Pradice abdice falaxis omnia primis,
Hec ignitor ratio taberum prava necesset esse,
Salisque si falsi quaerunque ad sensibus ars est,
As in building if the first rule be to blame,
And the deceitfull squire erre from right forme and frame,
If any instrument want any jot of weight,
All mutt needs faultie be, and flooping in their height,
The building naughts, abfurdist upward and downward bended,
As if they meant to fall, and all as they intendedi,
And all this as betrayde by judegments formost laide,
Of things the reason therefore needes mutt faultie bee
And falle, which from falle senfes drawes it's pedgree.

As for the rest, who shall be a competent judge in these differences? As we said in controversyes of Religion, that we must have a judge inclined to neither party, and free from partialitie,
tialitie, or affection, which is hardly to be had among Christians, so hapneth it in this: For, if he be old, he cannot judge of ages fenee him selfe being a party in this controversy: and if he be yong, healthy, sick, sleeping or waking; it is all one: We had neede of some bodie voyde and exempted from all these qualities, that without any preoccupation of judgement might judge of these propositions as indifferent vnto him: By which account we should have a Judge, that were no man. To judge of the appearances that we receive of subiects, we had neede have a judicatorie instrument to verify this instrument, we should have demonstration; and to approve demonstration, an instrument: thus are wee ever turning round. Since the fenes cannot determine our disputation, themselues being so full of vn Certainty, it muft then be reafon: And no reafon can be eſtablifh'd without another reafon: then are we ever going backe vnto infinity. Our fantacie doth not apply it self to strange things, but is rather conceived by the interposition of fenes; and fenes cannot comprehend a strange subiect: Nay, not to much as their owne passions; and so, nor the fantacie, nor the appearance is the subiects, but rather the passions only, and sufferance of the fenes: which passion and subiect are divers things: Therefore who judgeth by appearances, judgeth by a thing different from the subiect. And to say, that the fenes passions, referre the quality of strange subiects by refemblance vnto the foule: How can the foule and the vnderstanding rest attuned of that refemblance, having of it selfe no commerce with forraigne subiects? Even as he that knowes not Socrates, feeing his picture cannot say that it refembleth him. And would a man judge by appearances, he it by all it is impossible: for, by their contrarieties and differences they hinder one another, as we fee by experience. May it be that some choice appearances rule and direct the others? This choyse must be verified by an other choyse, the second by a third: and so shall we never make an end. In few, there is no constant existence, neither of our being, nor of the obiects. And we, and our judgement, and all mortal things els, do vnceflantly rowe, turne and paffe away. Thus can nothing be certainly eſtablifh'd, nor of the one, nor of the other; both the judging and the judged being in continuall alteration and motion. Wee have no communication with beings: for every humane nature is ever in the middle between being borne and dying: giving nothing of it selfe but an obscure apperance and shadow, and an uncertaine and weake opinion. And if perhaps you fixe your thought to take it's being: it would be even, as if one should goe about to poyson the Water: for, how much the more he shall close and preffe that, which by its owne nature is ever gliding, so much the more he shall loose what he would hold and claffen. Thus feeing all things are subject to passe from one change to another; reafon, which therein feeketh a real substance, findes hir selfe deceived, as vnable to apprehend any thing subsistent and permanent: for so much as each thing eyther commeth to a being, and is not yet al together; or beginneth to dy before it be borne. Plato faid, that bodies had never an existence, but indeed a birth, supposing that Homer would have made the Ocean Father, & Thetis Mother of the Gods, thereby to thaw vs, that all things are in continuall motion, change, and variation. As he faith, a common opinion amongst all the Philosophers before his time; Only Parmenides excepted, who denied any motion to be in thinges of whose power he maketh no small account. Pythagoras that each thing or matter was ever gliding, and lable. The Stoickes affirme, there is no preuent time, and that which we call preuent, is but a conjoyning and assemblinge of future time and past. Hesychius avereth, that no man ever entred twfe in one fame river. Epicurus avoweth, that who euerwhile borrowed any mony, doth now not owe it: & that he who yester-night was bidden to dinner this day, commeth to day vnbidden: since they are no more themselves, but are become others: and that one mortall substance could not twfe be found in one felle state: for, by the foaineffe and lightneffe of change, sometime it was waine, and otherwise it was affembled; now it comes, and now it goes; in such fort, that he who beginneth to be borne, never comes to the perfection of being. For, this being borne commeth never to an end, nor ever layeth as being at an end: but after the feed proceedeth continually in change and alteration from one to another. As of mans seed, there is first made a shapelesse fruit in the Mothers Wombe, than a shapen Childe, then being out of the Wombe, a fucking babe, afterward he becommeth a ladde, then consequently a striplin, then a full-growne man, then an old man, and in the end an aged decrepitate man. So that age and subsequent generation goeth ever vndoing and wafting the precedent.
And when wee others do foolishly fear a kinde of death: when as we have already past, and dayly passe so many others. For, not only (as Heraclitus said) the death of fire is a generation of ayre; and the death of ayre, a generation of Water. But also we may most evidently see it in our selves. The flower of age dieth, andeth and fleeth, when age comes upon vs, and youth endeth in the flower of a full-grown mans age: Childhood in youth, and the first age, dieth in infancy: and yeasterday endeth in this day, and to day shall dy in to morrow. And nothing remaineth or ever continueth in one state. For, to prove it, if we should euer continue one and the same, how is it then, that now we rejoice at one thing, and now at another? How comes it to passe, we love things contrarie, or we hate them, or we love them, or we blame them? How is it, that we have different affections, holding no more the same fence in the same thought? For, it is not likely, that without alteration we should take other passions, and what admiteth alterations, continueth not the same: and if it be not one self same, than it is not: but rather with being all one, the simple being doth also change, ever becoming other from other. And by consequence Natures fences are deceived and lie falsely; taking what appeareth for what is, for want of truly-knowing what it is that is. But then what is it, that is indeed? That which is eternal, that is to say, that which never had birth, nor ever shall have end; and to which no time can bring change or cause alteration. For, time is a fleeting thing, and which appeareth as a shadow, with the matter ever gliding, always fluent, without ever being stable or permanent to whom rightly belong these terms. Before and After: and it Hath bee, or Shall be. Which at first sight doth manifestly shew, that it is not a thing, which is, for it were great forthshesse, and apparant falsehood, to say, that that is which is not yet in being, or that already hath ceased from being. And concerning these wordes, Present, Infant, Even-now, by which it seemes, that especially we vpbrand and principally ground the intelligenc of times reason discovering the same, dooth forthwith destroy it:for, presently it severeth it afunder, and divideth it into future and past-time, as willing to see it necessarily parted in two. As much happeneth unto nature, which is measured according unto time, which measureth hir: for, no more is there any thing in hir, that remaineth or is subsistent: rather all things in hir are either borne, or ready to be borne, or dying. By meanes whereof, it were a finne to say of God, who is the only that is, that he was or shall be: for these wordes are declinations, passages, or Vicissitudes of that, which cannot last, nor continue in being. Wherefore, we must conclude, that only God is, not according to any measure of time, but according to an immovable and unmovable eternity, not measured by time, nor subject to any declination, before whom nothing is, nor nothing shall be after, nor more new or more recent, but a real being: which by one only Now or Present, filleth the Ever, and there is nothing that truly is, but he alone: Without saying, he hath bee, or he shall be, without beginning, and ends ending. To this so religious conclusion of a heathen man, I will only add this word, taken from a testimonie of the fame condition, for an end of this long and period of this tedious discourse, which might weft furnish me with endlesse matter. Oh, what a vile and abject thing is man (faith he) unless he maye himselfe above humantesie! Observe here a notable speach, and a profitable delire: but likewise aburde. For, to make the handfull greater than the hand, and the embraced greater then the arm: and to hope to frattle more than our legs length; is impossible and monstrous: nor that man should mount over and above himselfe or humanity; for, he cannot see but with his owne eies, nor take holde but with his owne armes. He shall raise himselfe vp, if it please God extraordinarly to lend him his helping hand. He may elevate himselfe by forfaking and renouncing his owne meanes, and suffring himselfe to be elevated and raised by meere Heavenly meanes. It is for our Christian faith, not for his Stoick vertue to pretend or aspire to this divine Metamorphosis, or miraculous transmutation.
When we judge of others' assurance or boldness in death, which without all peradventure, is the most remarkable action of humane life, great hezels is to be taken of one thing, which is, that a man will hardly believe he is come to that point. Few men die with a resolution, that it is their last hour: And no where doth hope-deceite ammune us more. She never ceaseth to ring in our ears, that others have beene ficker, and yet not died; the cause is not so desperate as it is taken; and if the worst happen, God hath done greater wonders. The reason is, that we make to much account of ourselves. It seemeth, that the generalitie of things doth in some form suffer for our annihilation, and takes compassion of our state. For somuch as our sight being altered, representeth unto itself things alike; and we imagine, that things faile it, as it doth to them: As they who travel by Sea, to whom mountains, fields, townes, heaven and earth, seeme to goe the same motion, and keepe the same course; they doe:

Provebium portum, terrenque orbisque recedunt.
We sayling launch from harbor, and
Behind our backes leave townes, leave land.
Who ever sawe old age, that commended not times past, and blamed not the present, charging the world and mens customes with hir miserie, and lowring discontent?

Ps. Al. 5, 73.

Iamque caput quassans grandis suspirat arator,
Et cium temporis temporibus praelia confert
Praeteritii, laudat fortunas sepe parentis
Et crepat antiquum genus ut pietate repetatn.

The gray-beard plow-man sighs, shaking his hoarie head,
Compairestimes that are newe, with times past heretofore,
Praiseth the fortunes of his father long since dead,
And crakes of ancient men, whose honflee was more.

Wee entaine and carrie all with vs: Whence it followeth, that wee deeme our death to be some great matter, and which paileth not fo easily, nor without a solemn conflagration of the Starres: Tot circa venum caput tumultuantes Deus. So many Gods keeping a storre about one mans life. And so much the more we think it, by how much more we prisse ourselves. What? Should so much learning and knowledge be loft with so great dammage, without the Dections particular care? A foule so rare and exemplar, costs it no more to be killed, then a popular and vnprofitable soule? This life, that covereth so many others, of whom so many other lives depend, that, for his wiles doth so great a part of the world; and filleth so many places, is it displaced as that which holdeth by it's owne simple string? No one of vs thinks it sufficient, to be but one. Thence came those words of Caesar to his pilot, more prowdly swolne, then the Sea that threatened him:

Iamque caput quassans grandis suspirat arator,
Et cium temporis temporibus praelia confert
Praeteritii, laudat fortunas sepe parentis
Et crepat antiquum genus ut pietate repetatn.

If Italy thou doe refuse with heauen thy guide,
Turne thee to me: to thee onely juft cause of fear
Is that thy passing thou know it not; stormie tide
Breake through, secure by guard of me, whom thou dost beare.

And these.

credit ism digna pericula Caesar
Fatis esse uix: tantusque evortere (discit)
Me superius labor est, parva quem puppe sedentem,
Ithapneth, Lucan.l

And notwithstanding, have seen

That is not

That it was

That he had

That the sunne

And the sunne did pitch take of Rome when Caesar dide,

When he hit towards the head of obscure stuff did hide.

And a thousand such, wherewith the world suffers it selfe to be so easily conicatch, deeming that our owne interets disturb our heaven, and his infinitie is moved at our least actions:

Non tantum calo societatis nobis semit, ut nostro fatu mortali sit ille quoque siderum fulgor. There is no such societie betweene heaven and us, that by our destinie the joining of the stars should be mortal as we are. And to judge a resolution and constance in him, who thought he be in manifest danger, dooth not yet believe it, it is no reason: And it suficeth not, that he die in that ward, vinele he have directly, and for that purpose put himselfe into it: It hapned, that most men set a stern conteenance on the matter, looke big, and speaks stoutly, thereby to acquire reputation, which if they chance to live, they hope to enjoy. Of all I have seene die, fortune hath disposed their countenances, but not their desaignes. And of those which in ancient times have put themselves to death, the choise is great, whether it were a sodain death, or a death having time and lesure. That cruel Roman Emperor, said of his prisoners, that hee would make them feel death: And if any fortunate to kill himselfe in prison, that fellow hath escaped me (would he say.) He would extend and linger death; and cause it be felt by torment.

Verely, it is not to great a matter, being in perfect health, and well settled in minde, for one to resolve to kill himselfe: It is an easie thing to shew stoutnes and play the wag before one come to the pinche. So that Helagabulis the most dissolute man of the world, amidst his most riuorous lenfualities, intended, whenever occasion should force him to it, to have a daintie death. Which, that it might not degenerate from the rest of his life, he had purposefully cau’d a flately tower to be built, the nether part and fore-court whereof was floored with boards richly fet and encased with gold and precious stones, from off which he might headlong throwe himselfe downe: He had also cau’d corde to be made of gold and crimson silke, therewith to strangile himselfe: And a rich golden rapier, to thrust himselfe through: And kept poison in boxes of Emeraldes and Topazes, to poison himselfe with, according to the humour hee might have, to chuse which of these deaths should please him.

Impiger & foris virtute collata.

A ready minded gallant,

And inforse valiant.

Notwithstanding, touching this man, the wantonneffe of his preparations makes it more likely, that he would have fainted: had he beene put to his trial. But even of those, who most vndeniably have resolved themselfes to the execution, we must consider (say) whether it were with a life-ending stroke, and that tooke away any lesure to feel the effect thereof. For, it is hard to geffe, seeing life droope away by little and little, the bodies feeing entermingling it selfe with the foules, meanes of repentance being offered, whether in so dangerous an intent, constance or obstinacie were found in him. In Caesar civil warres, Lucius Domitius taken in Prussia, having empoisoned himselfe, did afterward rue and repent his deed: It hath hapned in our dayes, that some having resolved to die, and at first not
stricken deep enough, the sweating of his flesh, thrufhing his arm awake, twice or thrice more wounded himselfe anew, and yet could never strike sufficiently deep. Whilft the arrangement of Plantius filius was preparing, Verguliana his grandmother, fent him a poignard, wherewith not able to kill himselfe throughly, hee caufed his owne servants to cutte his veins. Albucilla in Tibertius time, purpofing to kill himselfe, but striking over fantly, gave his enemies leisure to apprehend and imprison him, and appoint him what death they pleased. So did Captaine Demosthenes after his difcomfiture in Sicilia. And C. Fimbria having over feeble wounded himselfe, became a tutor to his boy, to make an end of him. On the other fide, Ofiorius, who forfomuch as hee could not vfe his owne arme, dif- dained to employ his servants in any other thing but to hold his dagger fife and strongly, and taking his running, himfelfe carried his throat to it's point, and fo was whift through. To lay truth, it is a meate a man muft swallow without chewing, vnleffe his throat be foft- foned. And therefore Adrianus the Emperor made his Phifitian to make, and take the juft compaff of the mortall place about his pap, that fo his aine might not faile him, to whom he had given charge to kill him. Loc why Cefar being demanded, which was the death he moft allowed, awnwere, the leaff premeditated, and the shortest. If Cefar faide it, it is no faint- nesse in me to beleive it. A short death (fayth Plinie) is the chiefes happ of humane life. It grie- veth them to acknowledge it. No man can be faide, to be refolved to die, that feareth to purchafe it, and that cannot abide to looke upon, and out-flare it with open eyes. Thofe, which in times of execution are fene to runne to their end, and haften the execution, doe not with resolution, but becaufe they will take away time to consider the faine: it grieves them not to be dead, but to die.

_Cic. Tact., qua. 1_

_Epica._

_Emocinata, sed me esse mortuum, nihil estimo._

I would not die too fooone,

But care not, when its doone.

It is a degree of conftance, vnto which I have experienced to arrive, as those that caft themselves into danger, or into the Sea, with closed eyes. In mine opinion, there is nothing more worthy the noting in Socrates life, than to have thirtie whole dayes to ruminate his deaths-deeree, to have digested it all that while, with an affured hope, without difmay or alteration, and with a courfe of actions and words, rather fuppreff, and loofe-hanging, then out-fretched and raised by the weight of fuch a cogitation. That Pomponius Atticus, to whom Cicero wrieth, being fiek, caufed Agrippa his fonne in lawe, and two or three of his other friends to be called-for, to whom he faide, that having affailed, how he got nothing in going about to be cured, and what he did to prolong his life, did also lengthen and augment his griece, he was now determined to make an end of one and other; intreating them to al- low of his determination, and that by no meane, they would loofe their labour to difwade him from it. And having chosen to end his life by abifnience, his ficknes was cured by ac- cident; The remedy he had employed to make him felfe away, brought him to health againe. The Phifitians, and his friends, glad of fo happy a successe, and rejoicing thereof with him, were in the end greatly deceived; for, with all they could doe, they were never able to make him alter his former opinion, faying, that as he muft one day paife that caariete, and be- ing now fo forward, he would remove the care, another time to beginne againe. This man having with great leasure apprehended death, is not onely no whit discouraged, when hee comes to front it, but refolutely falles vpon it: for, being fatisfied of that, for which he was entred the combate, in a braverie he thrust himfelfe into it, to fee the end of it. It is farre from fearing death, to goe about to tame and favour the fame. The historie of Cleonther the phi- losopher, is much like to this. His goomes being fwoone, his Phifitians perfwaded him to vfe great abifnience; having fafted two dayes, hee was fo well amended, as they tolde him he was well, and might returne to his wonted courfe of life. He contrariely, having already ta- sted fome fweetenes in this fainting, refolveth not to drawe baceke, but finifi what he had fo well begunne, and was fo farre waded into. _Tullius Marcellinus, a young Romane Gentle- man, willing to prevent the houre of his deftinie, to ridde himfelfe of a diseafe, which tor- mented him more than he would endure, although Phifitians promised certainly to cure him, howbeit not fouldainely; called his friends vnto him to determine about it: some (faiedt Seneca) gave him that counfell, which for weaknesses of heart, themselves would have taken, others for flatterie that, which they imagined would be most pleasing vnto him: but a cer-
taine Stoike standing by, fade thus unto him. Tylor not thy selfe Marcellinus, as if thou determined, some weightie matter, to have in no such great thing, thy base grooms and base beholders be about, but it is a matter of consequence to die honestly, safely and constantlty. Remember how long it is, thou dost one same thing, to eate, to drink, and sleepe, to drink, to sleepe, to eate. We are ever unequally walking in this endless circle. Not only bad and intollerable accidents, but the very lastie to live, brings a desire of death. Marcellinus had no neede of a man to counsel; but onely to helpe him: his servants were afraid to meddle with him: but this Philosopher made them to understand, that familiaris are suspected, onely when the question is, whether the masteres death have been voluntary: otherwise it would be as bad an example to hinder him, as to kill him, forsoomuch as,

Invitus qui servat, idem facit accidenti.
Who saves a man against his will,
Doth ev'n as much as he should kill.

Then he advertized Marcellinus, that it would not be vnseemly, as fruit or comfits at our tables, when our belliies be full, are given unto by-standers, to the life ended, to distribute something to such as have beene the ministers of it. Marcellinus being of a franke and liberal disposition, caused certaine summes of money to be divided amongst his servants, and comforted them. And for the rest, there needed neither yron nor blood, hee vndertooke to departe from this life, not by running from it: Not to escape from death, but to taste it. And to have leave to condition or bargain with death, having quitted all manner of nourishment: the third day ensuing, after he had caused himselfe to be sprinkled over with huke-warme water, by little and little he consumed away: and (as he faide) not without some voluptuousnesse and pleasure. Verily, such as have had these faintings and swoonings of the heart, which proceede from weakness, say, that they feel no paine at all in them, but rather some pleasure, as of a passag to sleepe and rest. These are premeditated, and digested deaths. But that Cato alone, may serve to all examples of vertue, heemeth, his good destiny, causeth that hand wherewith he gave himselfe the fatall blowe, to be sicke and sore: that to he might have leisure to affront death, and to embrace it, re-enforcing his courage in that danger, in liew of mollifying the same. And should I have represented him in his proud and state, it should have beene all bloody-gore, tearing his entrailes, and rending his guttes, rather then with a sword in his hand, as did the Stataries of his time. For, this second manner, was much more furious, then the first.

The fourteenth Chapter.

How that our spirit hinders is selfe.

It is a pleasant imagination, to conceive a spirit unjustly balanced betwixt two equall desires. For, it is not to be doubted, that he shall never be resolved upon any match: Forsoomuch as the application and choise brings an inequality of prvide: And who should place vs between a Bottle of wine, and a Hamon of Bacon, with an equall appetite to eate & drinke, doubts there were no remedy, but to die of thirst and of hunger. To provide against this inconvenient, when the Stoikes were demanded, whence the election of two indifferent things commeth into our soule (for which causeth, that from out a great number of Crownes or Angels we rather take one then another, when there is no reason to induce vs to prefer any one before others) they answeare, that this motion of the soule is extraordinarie and inordinate, comming into vs by a strange, accidental and casuall impulsion. In my opinion, it might rather be said, that nothing is prefendt unto vs, wherein there is not some difference, how light soe ever it be: And that either to the sight, or to the feeling, there is ever some choise, which tempteth and draws vs to it, though imperceptible and not to be disinguished. In like manner, he that shall presuppose a twine-third, equally strong all through, it is impossible by all impossibilitie that it breake: for, where would you have the flaw or breaking to beginne? And at once to breake in all places together, it is not in nature. Who should
The second Booke.

also add to this, the Geometricall propositions, which by the certaintie of their demonstration, conclude, the contained greater then the containing, and the centre as great as his circumference: And that finde two lines vneequall approaching euer into another, and ye can never meete and joyns together: And the Philosophers done, and quadrature of the circle, where the reason and the effects are fo opposite: Might peradventure drawe thence some argument to falue and helpe this bold speech of Pline. Solum certum minit esse certi, homine nihil meritorius aut superbus. This onely is sure, that there is nothing sure, and nothing more miserable, and yet more arrogant then man.

The fifteenth Chapter.

That our desires are encreased by difficulitie.

T

Here is no reason but hath another contrarie vnto it, faith the wiser partie of Philosophers. I did erewhile ruminate vpon this notable saying, which an ancient writer alledge for the contempt of life. No good can bring us any pleasure, except that, against whose lost we are prepared: In aqua efl dolor amissi rei, & timor amissenda, Sorrow for a thing lost, and fear of loosing it, are on an even ground. Meaning to gaine thereby, that the fruition of life, cannot perfectly be pleasing vnto vs, if we stand in any fear to lose it. A man might nevertheless lay on the contrarie part, that we embrace and clasp this good so much the harder, and with more affection, as we perceive it to be lesse sure, and fear it should be taken from vs. For, it is manifestly found, that as fire is roused vp by the affiftance of cold, even so our wills is whetted on by that which doth refit it.

Simunquam Danaem habuisset abhena turris,
Non est Danae de luove fulle parent.
If Danae had not beene clos'd in brazen tower
Love had not clos'd with Danae in golden flower.

And that there is nothing so naturally opposite to our taste, as satiety, which comes from eafe and facultie, nor nothing that so much sharpeneth it, as rarenes and dificultie. Omnium rerum voluptas ipso quo debeat fugare periculo crescit. The delight of all things encreaseth by the danger, whereby it rather should terrifie them that affect it.

Gallanega fatiatur amor nisi ganda torquent.
Good wench, deny, my love is cloyed,
Vnlice joyes grieve before enjoyed.

To keep love in breath and longing, Lycurgus ordained, that the married men of Lacedaemon might never converse with their wives, but by health, and that it should be as great an imputation and shame to finde them laid together, as if they were found lying with others. The dificultie of signifying or matches appointed, the danger of being surprized, and the fanchise of enfuing to morrow,

&c. &c. 

&c. &c. 

&c. &c. 

are the things that give relish and tartsnes to the fawce. How many most lasciviously pleasant sports, proceed from modesty and shamefull manner of speech, of the daliances and works of love? Even voluptuousneses seekes to provoke and flire it selfe vp by smarting. It is much sweeter when it itcheth, and endeared when it gaulteth. The curtezane Flora was wont to say, that the never lay with Pompey, but the made him care away the marks of his teeth.

Quod petiere, prementur arde facientique dolorem
Corporis, & dantes invulnus sepe labellas;
Et simulati sunt, qui invigilant sedent idorum
Quos omnesque est rabies unde illa germina surgunt,
So goes it everywhere: Rarenes and difficultie groweth esteeme unto things. Those of Marca d’Ancora in Italy, make their vows, and goe one pilgrimage rather vnto Saint James in Gallicia, and those of Galicia rather vnto our Ladie of Loreto. In the countrey of Liege, they make more account of the Bathes of Luca; and they of Tuscanie esteeme the Bathes of Spawe more then their owne: In Rome the fence-schooles are ever full of French-men, when few Romances come vnto them. Great Cate, as well as any else, was ever cloyed and disaffted with his wife, so long as she was his owne, but when another mans, then withdrew he for hir, and would saie have licet his fingers at hir. I have hereofore put forth an old aiton into a race, who before did no sooner fee or smell a Mare, but was so lustie, that no man could rule him, nor no ground hold him, safe and facilitate, to come to his owne when he lift, hath formerly qualified his horse, and so cloyed him, that he is ware of them: But toward strange Mares, and the first that passeth by his paffure, there is no hoie with him, but sodainly he returns to his old wonted neughings, and furious heat. Our appetit doth contenme and paie over what he hath in his free chofe and owne possesion, to runne after, and pursue what he hath not.

Transvolat in media poesia, & fugientia captat. It over-flies what open lies, Pursuing onely that which flies. To forbid vs anything is the readie way to make vs long for it. misit in servare puellam.

Incipit, incipiet defiere esse meam.
If you begin not your wench to enshrine, She will begin to leave-off to be mine. And to leave it altogether to our will, is but to breed dislike and contemt in vs; So that to want, and to have forre, breedeth one selfe same inconvenience.

Tibi quod super est, mihi quod defici dolet.
You grieve because you have to much;
It grieues me that I have none such.

Wishing and injuring, trouble vs both alike. The rigor of a mistris is yrksome, but eafe and facilitie (to say true) much more; forasmuch as discontent and vexation procede of the estimation we have of the thing, desired, which sharpen love, and set it afire: Whereas

Satiety be gets diasthe: It is a dull, blunt, weare, and drouzie passion.

Si qua voles regnare diuinam ministram amantem.
If any lift long to beare (way), Scorne the hir louer ere the play.

contempti amans,

Sic hoste veneti, si qua neganti hiri,
Lovers, your lovers skorne, contemne, delude, detide; So will the com: to day, that yesterday denide.

Why did Poppee devise to maske the beauties of his face, but to endere them his lovers? Why are those beauties vailed downe to the heelees, which all desire to shewe, which all with so fece? Why doe they cover with so many lets, one ouer another, those parts, where chiefly consifteth our pleasure and theirs? And to what purpose serve those baticades, and verdi-galles, wherewith our women arm their flankes, but to allure our appetite, and enveagle vs to them by putting vs off?

Et fugit ad salices, & se caput ante videri.
She to the willow’s runs to hide,
Yer gladly would the first be spide.

Interdum tunica ductis opera moram.
She cover’d with her cote in play, Did sometyme make a short delay.

Whereof serveth this mayden-like bathfulnesse, this willfull quainnesse, this severe countenance, this seeming ignorance of those things, which they know better than our selves, that goe about to instruct them, but to encrease a desire, and endear a longing in vs, to vanquish, to gourmandize, and at our pleasure, to dispuse all this squemisphere ceremomy, and all these pecvish obiectes? For, it is not only a delight, but a glory to beeffe and debauch this dainty and
and nice swetleness, and this infantine bathfulness, and to subject a marble and sterner gravity to the mercy of our flame. It is a glory (tay they) to triumph over modestly, chastity and temperance; and who distwined Ladies from these parts, betraied both them and himself. It is to be suppressed, that their hart yerneth with fear, that the found of our words, woundeth the punitv of their cares, for which they hate us, and with a forced constraint, agree to withstand our opprim. Beauty with all h> might, hath not wherewith to give a taste of her self without these interpositions. See in *Ital. where more; and of the finest beauty is to be sold, how it is forced to seek other strange means and futile devises, arts and trickes, to yeeld her self pleasing and acceptable; and yet in good sooth, do what it can, being venall and common, it remaineth feele, and is even languishing. Even as vertue, of two equal effects, we hold that the fairest, and worthieft, wherein are proposed more lets, and which affordeth greater hazards. It is an effect of Gods providence, to suffer his holy Church, to be vexed and tur- moyled, as we see, with so many troubles and storms, to rouze, and awaken with this contrat and strife the godly and religious foules, and raise them from our lethall falsehood, and suppi- fied flumber, wherein so long tranquility had plunge them. If wee shall counterpoize the losse we have had, by the number of thofe, that have strayed out of the right way, and the profite that accruieth unto us, by having taken hart of grace, and by reason of combatte raised our zealles and forces; I wot not whether the profite doth furmount the losse. We thought to tie the bond of our marriages the fallet, by removing all means to diflove them; but by how much fatter, that of conftrainth hath buntyed, so much more hath that of our will and affec tion bin flacked and loofed: Whereas on the contrary fide, that, which fo long time held marriages in honour and safety in Rome, was the liberty to breake them who lift. They kept their wives the better, for fomuch as they might leave them; and when divorces might freely be had, there past five hundred yeares and more, before any would ever make viue of them.

Quad lice, nigratum efl, quod non liceit, actum eit.

What we may doe, doth little please.
It worrimes vs more, that hath left me cafe.

To this purpose might the opinion of an ancient Writer be adjoyneyed that tormentes doe rather encourage vices, than suppresseth them; that they beget not a care of well-doing, which is the work of reason and discipline, but only a care not to be surprizd in doing evill.

Latins ex Clare pestis contagia serpunt.

This infection of the plague nigh, spent.
And rooted out, yet further went.

I wot not whether it be true but thus I know by experience, that policie was never found to bee reformed that way. The order and regiment of manners depended of some other meanes. The Grecke stories, make mention of the Argipians, neibouring vpon Scythia, who live without any rode or flaffe of offence, where not one, no man vndertakes to buckle with any other man, but whosoever can but live himfelf there (by reason of their virtu & fanciety of life) is as it were in a Sanctuary: And no man dares fo much as touch him. Manie have recourse to them, to attone and take vp quarteres and differences, which arise amongf men elsewhere.

There is a Nation, where the encloures of Garden and Fields, they intend to keep feveral, are made with a feely twine of cotton, which amongst them is found to be more safe and falt, then arc our ditches and hedges. Purenem signa, & soliciam, Apertis effractions periet. Things sealed up folicite a thafe to break them open: Whereas a common burglar will pefle by quiry things that lie open. Amongft other meanes, cafe and faciety dooth naply cover and fence my house from the violence of civil warres: Incluflure and fencing draws on the enterprise and defiance, the offence. I have abased and weakened the fouldiers defigne, by taking hazard and all meanes of military glory from their exploit, which is wont to serve them for a title, and flade them for an excufe. What is performed coragiously, at what time justice lieth dead, and law hath not her due coufe, is ever done honorably. I yeeld them the conquest of my house daftardly and tretchorous. It is never shut to any that knocketh. It hath no other guardian or provision but a Porter, as an auncient effufione, and vifed ceremoy, who ferveth not fo much to defend my gate, as to offer it more decently and courtiously to all commers. I have nor watch nor fentinell, but what the Starres keepe for mee. That Gentleman is much to blame, who makes a shew to stand vpon his guardes, except the be very strong indeede. Who fo is open on one side, is so every where. Our Fore-fathers

never
The second Booke.

never dreamed on building of fronts: Townes or Castles.

The means to affaiile (I meane without batterie, and troopes of armed men) and to surprize our houses, encruse dayly beyond the meanes of garding or defending. Mens wits are generally exasperated and whetted on that way. An Invasion concerneth all, the defence none but the rich. Mine was sufficiently strong, according to the times when it was made. I have since added nothing unto it that way: & I would feare the strength of it, should turne against my selfe. Seeing a peaceable time will require we shall vsfortifie them. It is danger-rous not to be able to recover them againe, and it is hard for one to be assured of them. For, concerning intestine broiles, your owne servant may be of that faction you stand in feare of. And where religion serveth for a pretence, even alliances and confanguinitie become mis-threatfull under colour of justice. Common rents cannot entertaine our private garions. They shold all be consumed. We have not wherewith, nor are we able to do it, without our apparant ruin, or more incommodiously, and therewithall injuriously, without the common peoples destruction. The state of my losse should not be much worse. And if you chance to be a looser, your owne friends are readier to accuse your improvidence and vnheedliness, then to moane you, and excuse your ignorance and carlesness, concerning the offices belonging to your profession. That so many strongly-garded houses have beene lost, whereas mine continueth still, makes mee suspect they were overthrownne, onely because they were so diligently garded. It is that which affordeth a designe, & ministret a pretence to the affaillant. All gards beare a fiew of warre; which if God be so pleased may light upon me. But so it is, I will never call for it. It is my sanctuary or retreate to rett my selfe from warres. I endeuer to free this corner from the publike storme, as I doe another corner in my foule. Our warre may change forme, and multiply and diversifie how and as long as it last; but for my selfe I never fluirre. Amongst so many barricaded and armed houses, none but my selfe (as farre as I know) of my qualitative, hath mercerly trufted the protection of his vnto the heavens: for I never remoued neither plate, nor hangings, nor my evidences. I will not feare, nor save my selfe by halves. If a full acknowledgement purchaseth the favour of God, it shall laft me for ever vnto the end: if not, I have continued long enough, to make my continuance remarkeable, and worthy the registring. What? Is not thirte yeares a goodly time?

The sixteenth Chapter.

Of Glory.

This is both the name, and the thing: the name, is a voyce which noteth, and signifieth the thing: the name, is neither part of thing nor of substance: it is a stranger-piece joyned to the thing, and from it. God who in and by himselfe is all fulneffe, and the type of all perfection, cannot inwardly be augmented or encreased: yet may his name be encreased and augmented, by the blessing and praise, which we give vnto his exterior worke: which praife and blessing since we cannot incorporate into him, forso much as no accesion of good can be had vnto him, we ascribe it vnto his name, which is a parte without him, and the nece-reft vnto him. And that is the reason why glory and honour appertneth to God only. And there is nothing so repugnant vnto reason, as for vs to goe about to purchase any for our selves: For, being inwardly needless, and our effence imperfect, and ever wanting amendment, we ought onely labour about that. We are all hollow and emptie, and it is not with breath and words we should fill our selves. We have neede of a more folid substance to repair our selves. An hunger-starved man might be thought most simple, rather to provide himselfe of a faire garment, than of a good meates-maker. We must try to that, which most concerneth vs. Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus. Glory be to God on high, and peace in earth among mens. As say our ordinary prayers. We are in great want of beautie, health, wisdom, vertue, and such like essentall partes. Exteriour ornaments may be sought-for when we are once provided of necessarie things. Divinitty doth very amply and pertinently treate
treat of this subject, but I am not very conversant with it. C ry stil. and Diogenes have bin
the first and most constant authors of the contempt of glory. And amongst all sensibilities.
they find, there was none so dangerous, nor so much to be avoided, as that which commeth
unto vs by the approbation of others. Verily experience maketh vs thereby fees and vnder-
goethe many damagable treafons. Nothing so much empiofeorth Princes as flatterie : Nor no-
thing whereby the wicked-minded gaine so eafily crediteth about them; nor any entertainment
so fit, nor panderhipp so ordinary to corrupt the chayftte of women, then to feeke and en-
tertaine them with their praiies. The first entertainmacht the Syrens employed to deceive
Flisse, is of this nature.

\[\text{Dent" vs lou res, dent. a treflovable "fifs,}
Et le plus grand honnere dont la France fteurifie.}

\[Turne to vs, to vs turne. Flisser thirce-renowned.\]

The principal renounve wherewith all Greece is crowned.

Philofophers fayde, that all the worlde glory deserved not, that a man of mifedomande should so much
as ftrich forth his finger to acquire it.

\[\text{Gloria quantalbet quideris, fit gloria tantium of?}\]

Never fo glorious name,

\[\text{Whatifit, be it but fame?}\]

I lay for it alone: for, it draws many commodities after it, by which it may yeeld it
felfe defirable: It purchafeeth vs good will: It makes vs felfe exposed to others injuyes and
offences, and fitch like things. It was: of one of the principal deere dees of Epicurus : for, that
precept of his Sefit. HIDETHYSELF, which forbiddeeth the men to meddle with
publicke charges and negotiations, doth also necfritarily fuppofeth that a man fhould defpife
glory: which is an approbation the world makes of thofe actions we give evidence of. He
that bids vs to hide our life, and care but for our felves, and would not have vs knowe of oth-
ers, would alfo have vs not to be honoured and glorified thereby. So doth he coufell
Idemoneus, by no means to order his actions, by the vulgar opinion and publike reputation:
$vns$e$ff$ it be to aovde other accidentall incommodities, which the contempt of men might
bring vnto him. Thofc diuources are (in mine adive) very true and reasonable: But, I
wot not now, wee are double in our felves, which is the caufe, that whatfwe beleev.
be beleevet not, and cannot rid our felves of that, which we condemne. Let vs fecdier
the laft word of Epicurus, and which hee speakeith as hee is dying: They are notable and
worthy fuch a Philofopher: but yet they have fome badge of his names commendations,
and of the humour which by his precepts he had defcribed. Behold here a letter, which he
endideth both before hee yielded vp his fpirit. Epicurus to Hermachus heath and greetings:
\[\text{Whiff I paffe the happy, and even the laft day of my life I writ this, accompanied nevertheless with}
\[\text{fuch paine in my bladder and anguirh in my entrails, that nothing can be added to the greatness of it;}
\[\text{yet was it recompenced with the pleasure, which the remembrance of my inventions and discourses}
\[\text{brought vnto my soule. Now as requirith the affection, which even from my infancy thousand}
\[\text{borne me and Philofophie, embrace the protection of Metrodorus his children: See here his let-
\[\text{ter. And which makes me interpreteth, that the pleasure which in his soule hee fath to feele of}
\[\text{his inventions, doth in some fette reflect the reputation, which after his death he thereby}
\[\text{hoped to attaine, is the ordinance of his laft will and testament, by which he willette, that A}
\[\text{minonmauchus and Timocrates his heires, should for the celebration of his birth-day every}
\[\text{month of January impulpy all fuch charges as Hermachus should appoint: And also for the}
\[\text{expence he might bee at vpon the twentieth of every Moone for thefeating and en-
\[\text{tertainment of the Philofophers his familiar friends, who in the honour of his memoria}
\[\text{and of Metrodorous should meete together. Corenades hath beene chief of the contrary op-
\[\text{inion, and hath maintained, that glory was in it felfe to be defird, even as we embrace our}
\[\text{poffthumes for themselves, having neither knowledge nor jovissance of them. This opinion}
\[\text{hath not mistled to be more commonly followed, as are ordinarie thoef, that fitteft and}
\[\text{come nearest our inclinations. Arifotle amongst externall goods yeeldeth the firft r. nee}
\[\text{vnto it: And avoide th, as two extreme vices, the immoderation, either in feekeing, or avo-
\[\text{iding it, I believe, that had we the booke which Cicero writ vpon this subject, wee should}
\[\text{hear strange matters of him: for he was fo fond in this passion: as had he dared, he would}
\[\text{(as I think) have eafily fallen into the exceffe, that others fell in; which is, that even ver-}
The second Booke.

eue was nottobe defired, but for the honour, which ever waited on it:

Paulum sepulchri dictat in verba
Celata origin.

There is but little difference betweene,
Vertue conceale, vnskilfulmsse vnfeeene.

Which is so false an opinion, as I am vexed it could ever enter a mans understanding that had the honour to beare the name of a Philosopher. If that were true, a man needed not to be vertuous but in publike: and we should never neede to kepe the soules operations in order and rule, which is the true state of vertue, but only so much as they might come to the knowledge of other. Doth then nothing else belong vnto it, but cravily and subtilely to ceaze? If thou knowest a Serpent to be hidden in any place (faith Carneades) to which he by whose death thou hopeft to reap commodity, goest vnawares to sit vpon, thou committed a wicked act if thou warne him not of it: and so much the more, because thy action should be known but to thy selfe. If we take not the law of well-doing from our selves: If im-
punity be justice in vs, to how many kinds of treacheries are we daily to abandon our selves?

That which Sp. Pudens did, faithfully to restore the riches which C. Phatus had committed to his only truth and secrete, and as my selfe have done ofte: I think not so commendable, as I would deem it execrable, if we had not done it. And I think it benefical we should in our daies be mindefull of Pbatus Sextius Rufus his example, whom Cicero accusation that he had received a great inheritance against his countenance: Not only repugnant, but agreeing with the lawes. And M. Craffius, and Q. Hortenius, who by reason of their authoritie and might, having for certaine Quodities beene called by a stranger to the succession of a forged will, that so he might make his share good: they were pleased not to be partakers of his for-
gery, yet refused not to take some profite of it: Very closely had they kept themselves vnder the countenance of the accusations, witnesses and lawes. Mennineini Demos se habere te-

stem, id est (et Ego arbitrator) memem tum. Let them remember they have God to witnesse, that is, I construe it) their owne minde. Vertue is a vaine and frivolous thing, if it draw his commendation from glory. In vaine should we attempt to make his keepe his rancke apart, and so should we disjoyne it from fortune: for, What is more causal than reputation? Vrofeles fortune in omni re dominatur: Ea res cum facie ex ludum magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuritatem. Fovr
tune governeth in all things, and either advanceth or abateth them rather by forward disposition, then upright judgement. To make actions to be known and see one, is the meere worke of fortune, It is that chance that applieth glory vnto vs, according to her tementritie. I have often seen it to goe before defect; yea and many times to out-goe merite by very much. He that first be-
thought himself of the resemblance betweene shadow and glory, did better than he definned.
They are exceeding vaine things. It also often goeth before his body, and sometimes ex-
ceeds by much in length. Those who teach Nobility to fecke in valour nothing but honor:

Quinquam in honestum quod nihilominus non ita. As though it were not honest, except it were enn-
oble. What gaine they by? But to instruct them never to hazard themselves, vnlesse they be see one of other: and to be very heedy, whether such witnesses are by, that may report
news of their valour, whereas a thousand occasions, to doc well are dayly offered, and no man to be markede. How many notable particular actions, are buried in the throng of a Battell? Whosoever amuseth himselfe to controulle others, in so confused a hurly-burly, is not greatly bufigh about it: and produceth the testimony which hee giveth of his fellowes proceedings or exploits against himselfe. Vera & sapient animi magnitudo hominum studi quod 

Cicili. 

maxime naturam sequitur, in falsis postum, non in gloria indigat. A true and wise magnanimize 
effecteth that honest, which especially followeth Nature, to consist in good actions, and not in glory. All the glory I pretend in my life, is, that I have lived quietly. Quietly not according to M.

trucdor, Arciflineus, or Aristippus, but according to my selfe. Since Philosopher could nev-
ver finde any way for tranquility, that might be generally good, let every man in his particu-
lar fecke for it. To whom are Cesar and Alexander beholding for that infinite greatness of their renowne, but to fortune? How many men hath the suppressed in the beginning of their progresse, and we have no knowledge at all, who bare the same courage that oth-
ers did, if the fortune of their chance had not laid them even in the budding of their en-
terprises? Amongst so many and so extreme dangers (to my remembrance) I never read,
that Cesar received any hurt. A thousand have dyed in leefe danger, than the leafe of those he
escaaped. Many worthy exploits and excellent deeds must be lost before one can come to any good. A man is not always upon the top of a breach or in the front of an army; in the sight of his Generall, as upon a stage. A man may be surprized betweene a hedge and a ditch. A man is sometimes put to his estate shifts, as to try his fortune against a Hens-roost, to ferret out foure feely shotten out of some barne, yea, and sometimes straggle alone from his troops; and enterprise, according as necessity and occasion offereth it selfe. And if it be well noted (in mine advise) it will be found, and experience doth teach it, that the least blazoned occasions, are the most dangerous; and that in our late home-warres, more good men have perished in flight and little-importing occasions, and in contention about a small cottage, than in worthy achievements, and honourable places. Who so thinketh his death ill employed, except it be in some glorious exploite, or famous attempt, in liewe of dignifying his death, he happily obscurth his life; Suffering in the mean time many junt and honor-af-foording opportunities to escape, wherein he might & ought adventure himselfe. And all just occasions are glorious enough, his owne conscience publishing them sufficiently to all men.

"Gloria nostra est testimoniunm conscientia nostra. Our glory is the testimony of our conscience. He that is not an honest man, but by that which other men know by him, and because he shall the better be effemed, being knowne to be so, that will not do well but vpon condition his vertue may come to the knowledge of men; such a one is no man from whom any great service may be drawne, or good expected."

Credo ch' il reso di quel verno, cofe
Faceffe degno di tenerme conto,
Ma far sia quel tempo si nascose,
Che non e colpa mia s'hor non le conto,
Perche Orlando a far'opre virtuose
Piu c' hò narrarle poi sempre era pronta;
Ne mai fu alcuno de' suoi fatti esposto,
Senon quando habbe i testimonio appresso.
Tv'guesse, he of that winter all the reft
Achiev'd exploites, whereof to keepe account,
But they vnill that time were fo suppreft,
As now my fault tis not, them not to count,
Because Orlando ever was more preft
To doe, then tell deeds that might all furmount.
Nor was there any of his deeds related
Vnxesse some witnes were associated.

A man must goe to warres for his deoires fake, and expect this recompence of it, which cannot faile all worthy actions, how secret soever no not to vertuous thoughts: It is the contentment that a well-disposed conscience receiveth in it selfe, by well doing: A man must be valiant for himselfe, and for the advantage he hath to have his courage placed in a constant and affured feate, to withstand all assaults of fortune.}

Virtus repulsa nec his fortide,
Intaminatis fugis honoribus:
Nec suum aut ponit sicures
Arbitrio popularis aura.
Vertue vnskild'd to take repulsa that's base,
In vndefiled honors clearly shines,
At the dispose of peoples airy grace
She shines, of honor tak's not, nor resigne.

It is not onely for an exterior shew or ostentation, that our soule must play her part, but inwardly within our selves, where no eyes shine but ours: There it dooth shroud vs from the feare of death, of forrowes and of shame: There it affureth vs, from the losse of our children, friends and fortunes; and when opportunitie is offerd, it also leads vsto the dangers of warre. Non emultum aliquo sed ipsius honestiae decoro. Not for any advantage, but for the gracefullnes of beneftie is selfe. This benefit is much greater, and more worthy to be wished and hoped, then honor and glorie, which is sought but a favorable judgement that is made of vs. We are often driven to empanell and select a jurie of twelve men out of a whole countrie
concie to determine of an acre of land: And the judgement of our inclinations and actions (the weightiest and hardest matter that is) we referre it to the idle breath of the vaine voice of the common sort and base raskalrie, which is the mother of ignorance, of injustice, and inconstancy. It is reason to make the life of a wise man depend on the judgement of fools? An quodquam flautius, quam quius singulos contemnet, eas aliquid putare esse univeros? Is there any thing more foolish, then to think that altogether they are ought whom every one single you would set at nought? Whosoever aimeth to please them, hath never done: It is a Bur, that hath neither forme nor holdfast. Ni tam inexpressibile ess quam unius multitudinis. Nothing is so incomprehensible to be inflituated as the minudes of the multitude. Demetrius laide merely of the common peoples voice, that he made no more reckoning of that which flowed from out his mouth above, then of that which came from a homely place below, and faith moreover: Et goe inde si quando turpe non sit, venem non esse. Est turpe, quam ida multitudine laudetur: Thius I esteem of it, is it selfe it be not dishoneste, yet can it not but be dishoneste, when it is applauded by the menie. No art, no mildnes of spirit might direct our steps to follow so straggling and disordered a guide. In this breathie confusion of bruites, and frothic Chaos of reports, and of vulgar opinions, which still pull vs on, no good course can be eftablished. Let vs not propose so fleeting and so wavering an end vnto our selves: Let us constantly follow reason: And let the vulgar approbation follow vs that way, if it please: And as it depends all on fortune, we have no hope to hope for it, rather by any other way then by that. Should I not follow a straite path for its straightnes, yet would I doe it because experience hath taught me, that in the end, it is the happiest and most profitable. Dedit hic providentia hominibus munus, hominibus munus! Man's providence hath given him this gift, that honest things should more delight and advinte him. The ancient Sailer said thus to Neptune in a great formne, O God, thou hast made me if thou please, if not, than shall loose mee; yet will I keep my helme till the last. I have, in my dayes, seen a thousand mide, mungrell and ambiguous men, and whom no man thought to be more worldly-wise than my selfe, loose themselves, where I have savied my selfe.

Rofi successus posse carere dolor.
I simile to see that while plots,
Might want success (and leave men forts.)

Paulus Aemilinus going to the glorious expedition of Macedon, adwentized the people of Rome during his absence, not to speake of his actions: For, the licence of Judgements is an especiall lette in great affairs. Forasmuch as all men have not the constancie of Fabius against common, contrarie and detracony voyces: who loved better to have his authoritie dismembered by mens vaine fantasies, then not to performe his charge so well, with favourable and popular approbation. There is a kinde of I know not what naturall delight, that man hath to heare himselfe commended, but we yeeld too too much vnto it.

Lauder maud metumum, negue enim mihi corneas sista est,
Sed reliquit nemum, extremumque esse recuso
Euge tum et bello—
Nor feare I to be prais'd, for my guttes are not horne,
But that the vmoft end of good should be, I come,
Thy O well saide, well done, well plaide.

I care not so much what I am with others, as I respect what I am in my selfe. I will bee rich by my selfe, and not by borrowing. Strangers fee but externall apparances and events; every man can set a good face vpon the matter, when within he is full of care, griefe and infirmities. They see not my heart, when they looke vpon my outward countenance. There is great reacon the hypocrisie that is found in warre should be discovered; For, what is more easie in a man of præcie, then to flinch in dangers, and to counterfeit a gallant and a boaster, when his heart is full of faintnes, and ready to droope for feare? There are so many ways to shumne occasions for a man to hazard himselfe in particular, that wee shall have deceived the worlde a thousand times, before wee neede engage our selves into any perilous attempts: and even when wee finde our selves entangled in it, wee shall not want skill how to cloake our spore with a good face, shew our countenance, and bolde speeches; although our heart doe quake within vs. And hee that hadde the vfe of the Platonicall King, whose vertue was to make him invisible that wore it vpon his finger, if it were
turned toward the flat of the hand; many would hide themselves, when they should most make showe of their worth, and would be forie to be placed in so honorable a place, where necessitie may be their warrant of safetie.

Faehus honor inuat, & mendax infania terret
Quem mii mendoaum & mendacem?
Falle honor tinkle, false difname affright's,
Whom, but the faultis, and falsifie sprights?

See how all those judgements, that men make of outward apparances, are wonderfully vncertaine and doubtfull, and there is no man to fure a testimonie, as every man is to him selfe: How many horse-boys have we in them as partners and companions of our glory? He that keeps his hand in an open trench, what doth he more, but divers poore pioners doe as much before him, who open the way for him, and with their bodies shelter him, for poore fixe pence a day, and happily for leffe.

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non quicquid turbida Roma

Eleve, accedus, examenque improbum in illa
Castiges iratium, nec te quaeris extra.
If troublous Rome let ought at naught, make you not one,
Nor chafflie you vnjust examination
In balance of their lode:
Nor seek ye your felie abrode.

We call that a magnifying of our name, to extend and disperse the fame in many mouthes: we will have it to be received in good part, and that it encreafe redound to his benefite: This is all that is most execuable in it's defcription: But the infirmite of it's excelle proceedes so farre, that many labor to have the world speake of them, howsoever it be. Trogus Pompeius faith of Herofratus, and Titus Livius of Manius Capitolinus, that they were more desirous of great, then good reputation. It is an ordinarie faulte; we endeavor more that men should speake of vs, then how and what they speake, and it sufficeth vs, that our name run in mens mouthes, in what manner forever. It feemeth that to be knowne, is in some fort, to have life and continuance in other mans keeping. As for me, I hold that I am but in my felie, and of this other life of mine, which confieth in the knowledge of my friends, being fimpily and barely confidered in my felie, we I wot, I neither feel fruite or joviellity of it, but by the vanitie of fantaficall opinion. And when I shall be dead, I shall much leffe have a feeling of it: And shall absolutely loose the vfe of true utilities, which sometimes acdidentally follow: I shall have no more fatisnes to take hold on reputation, nor whereby it may either concerne or come vnto me. For, to expect my name shold receive it: First I have no name that is sufficiently mine: Of two I have, the one is common to all my race, yea & alfo to others. There is a family at Paris, and another at Montpelier, called Montaigne, another in Britain, and one in Xamagne, furnamed dela-Montaigne. The removing of one only fillable may so confound our webbe, as I shall have a thare in their glory, and they perhaps a part of my shame. And if my Ancestors have heeretofore beene furnamed Higham, or Eyquem, a furname which also belongs to a house well knowne in England. As for my other name, it is any bodies that shall have a minde to it. So shall I happily honour a Porter in my steade. And suppose I had a particular mark or badge for my felie, what can it matke when I am no more extant? May it designde or fav favour inanitie?

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nunc levior cippe non imprimit offa,
Laudat polteritas, nunc non ir manibusillis,
Nunc non est tumulo fortunatifque fascilla
Nec superter viole?

Doet not the flockes upon such bones sit light?
Polteritie applaudes: from fuch a spright,
From fuch a tomebe, from shhes blesled so,
Shall there not violets (in cart lodes) growe?

But of this I have spokne elsewhe. As for the rest, in a whole battle, where ten thousand are either maymed or slaine, there are not peradventure fentence that shall be much spoken off. It must be some eminent greatnes, or important consequnce, that fortune hath joyned unto
unto it, to make a private action prevaile, not of a meane shot alone, but of a chieftaine:
For, to kill a man, or two, or tenne; for one to present himselfe unadvisedly to death, is in-deede something to every one of vs in particular; for, a man free-hold goes on it: But in regarde of the world, they are such ordinarie things, so many are daily seen, and to fundrie alike must concurre together to produce a notable effect, that we can looke for no particular commendation by them.

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casus multis hic cognitus, ac iams
Tritus, &c. ut media fortune, duces accever.
This case is knowne of many, worne with noting,
Drawne from the mide heap of fortunes doting.

Offso many thousands of worthie valiant men, which fifteen hundred yeares since have died in France, with their weapons in hand, not one hundred have come to our knowledge: The memore not onlye of the Generales and Leaders, but also of the battells and victories left now low-buried in oblivion. The fortunes of more then halfe of the world, for want of a register, these not from their place, and vanish away without continuance. Had I all the unknowne events in my possession, I am perswaded I might easilie supplant thofe that are knowne in all kinds of examples. What? Of the Romans themselves, and of the Grecians, amongst fo many writers and testimonies, and so infinit rare exploits and matchles examples: How are so few of them come to our notice?

Ad nos vex tenus fame plerarum aura.
Scarceely to vs doth passe
Fames thin breath, how it was.

It shall be much, if a hundred yeares hence, the civill warres which lately we have had in France, be but remembred in grofe. The Lacedemomians as they were going to their battells, were wont to sacrifice unto the Mufes, to the end their decedes might be well written, and worthily regiftred; deeming it a divine favor, and vnusual grace, that noble actions might finde testimonials able to give them life and memorie. Think we that at every that hits vs, or at every dangerous attempt we runne into, to have a Clarke present to entrole it? And besides, it may be, that a hundred Clarke's shall write them, whose Commentaries shall not continue three daies, and shall never come to any bodies sight. We have but the thousand part of ancient writings: It is Fortune, which according to her favor gives them either shorter or longer life; and what we have, we may lawfully doubt of, whether it be the worse, since we never saw the rest. Histories are not written upon very small trifles; It is requisite that a man have beene conqueror of an Empire, or of a K Ingdomes; a man must have obtained two and fiftie fat battells, and ever with a leffuer number, as Caesar was and did. Tenne thousand good-fellowes, and many great Captaines have died most valiantly and couragiouly in purfuite of her, whose names have continued no longer then their wives and children lived:

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quos fama obscura recondit.
Whom fame obscura before
Layes vp in unknowne flore.

Even of thofe, whom we fee to doe excellently well, if they have but once continued so three months, or so many yeares, there is no more speech of them, then if they had never bin. Whosoeuer were in due measure proportion, and impardially consider, of what kinde of people, and of what decedes the glory is kept in the memorie of booke's, he shall finde, there are few actions, and very few persons, that may justly pretend any right in them. How many vertuous men have we feeen to follow their owne reputation, who even in their presence have feeen the honor and glory, which in their yong daies, they had right-justly purchafed, to be cleane extinguished? And doe we for three yeares of this fantaffical and imaginarie life, lose and forgoy our right and effential life, and engage our selves in a perpetual death? The wifer forte propose a right-fairer, and much more juft end vnto themselues, to fo vrgent and weightie an enterprize. Reeit be faith, faeit merces eff; officii fruicns, ipsum eff; The reward of wele doiing is the doing, & the fruit of our duty, is oure dutie. It might peradventure be excusable in a Painter, or other artificer, or allo in a Rethorical, or Gramanian, by his labors to endeavor to purchase a name: But the actions of vertue are of themselues too-too noble, to feke any other reward, then by their owne worth and merit, and especialy to fecke it in the vanity

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ven.fat. 13.9

Vig. En. 11.7

Vig. En. 16.8

292.
ofians judgment. If this false-fond opinion doe notwithstanding ferue and lead a common-wealth to holde men in their dutie: If the people be thereby lured vp to vertue: If Princes be any way touched, to see the world bleste and commend the memorie of Traian, and detest the remembrance of Nero: If that dooth mooe them, to see the name of that arch-villaine, heretofore so dreadfull and so much redoubted, soe, boldly curst, and so freely outraged, by the first scholer that venturates him. Let it hardly be encreased, and let vs (as much as it vs beth) still foster the flame amongst our selues. And Plato employing all means to make his Citizens vertuous, doth also persuade them, not to contenue the people good empham. And faith, that through some divine inspiration it commeth to paffe, that even the wicked know often, as well by word, as by opinion, how to distingui sh fully the good from the bad. This man, together with his maister, are wonderfull and bolde workemen, to joyn divine operations and revelations, whereveuer humane force faileth. And therefore did peradventure Timon (deeming thereby to wrong him) furname him the great Forger of miracles. Ut tragi'di poeta confessionem ad Deum, cum explicare argumentum exitum non possum. As Poets that write Tragedies have recourse to some God, when they cannot unfold the end of their argument. Since men by reason of their insufficiency cannot well pay themselves with good lawfull coyne, let them also employ false mony. This meanes hath bin practized by all the lawe-givers: And there is no common-wealth where there is not some mixture, either of ceremonious vanite, or of false opinion, which as a restraint serveth to keeppe the people in awe and dutie. It is therefore, that most of them have such fabulous grounds and trifling beginnings, and enriched with supernaturall mysteries. It is that which hath given credito adulterate and unlawful religions, and hath induced men of vnderstanding to favour and countenance them. And therefore did Numa and Servonas, to make their men have a better beleefe, seede them with this poppetry: the one, that the Nimph Egeria, the other, that his white Hinde, brought him all the counsels he took from the Gods. And the same authority, which Numa gave his Laws vnder the title of this Goddesse patronage; Zoroastre Law-giver to the Babtarians and Persians, gave it to his, vnder the name of the God Ormanius: Trimegistus of the Egyptians, of Mercure: Zawolysis of the Scythians, or Ptolemea: Charonides of the Chalcides, of Saturne: Minos of the Candiots, of Jupiter: Lycurgus of the Lacedemonians, of Apollo: Dracon and Solon of the Athenians, of Minerva. And every common-wealth hath a God to her chief: all others falsly, but that truly, which Messis instituted for the people of Jeremy descended from Egypti. The Bedouns religion (as faith the Lord of Heaven) held among other things, that his soule which among them all died for his Prince, went directly into another more happy body, much fairer and stronger than the first: by means wherof, they much more willingly hazarded their lives for his sake.

Loe here, although very vaine, a most needefull doctrine, and profitable belief. Every Nation hath floure of such examples in it selfe. But this subject would require a severall discourse. Yet to lay a word more concerning my former purpose: I doe not counsell Ladies any longer to call their duty, honour: ut enim conscientia subversa, id est liquet honestum, quod est populus sana gloria: For as custumableprakes, that only is called honest which is glorious by popular report. Their duty is the marke; their honour but the superficies of it. Nor doe I persuade them to give vs this excue of their refufl, in payment; for I suppose, their intentions, their desire, and their will, which are parts wherein honor can see nothing, forasmuch as nothing appereth outwardly thereof are yet more ordered then the effects.

She doth it, though she doth it not, Because she may not doe it (God wot.)

The offence both toward God, and in confience, would be as great to desire it, as to effect the fame. Besides, they are in themselves actions secret and hid; it might easiely be, they would feale some one from others knowledge, whence honour dependeth, had they no other respect to their dutie, and affection, which they bear unto chafltie, in regard of it selfe. Each honorable person obneceth rather to loose his honor, then to forgoe his confience.
Of Presumption.

The second Booke.

The seventeenth Chapter.

T here is an other kind of glory, which is an over-good opinion we conceive of our worth. It is an unconfiderate affection, wherewith we cherish our selves, which presents vs unto our selves other then we are. As an amorous passion addethe beauties, and lendeth graces to the subject it embraceth, and maketh such as are therewith possessed, with a troubled conceit, and distracted judgement, to deeme what they love, and finde what they affect, to bee other, and feeme more perfect, then in truth it is. Yet would I not have a man, for sake of offending in that point, to mislike himselfe, nor thinke to bee lesse then hee is: A true Judgement should wholly and in every respect maintain his right. It is reason, that as in other things, so in this subject hee see what truth presenteth vnto him. If he be Cesar, let him hardly deeme himselfe the greatest Captaine of the world. We are nought but ceremonie: ceremonie doth transport vs, and we leave the substance of things; wee hold fast by the boughs, and leave the trunke or body. We have taught Ladies to blush, onely by hearing that named, which they nothing feeare to doe. We dare not call our members by their proper names, and feare not to employ them in all kindes of dissolutenesse. Ceremonie forbids vs by words to express lawfull and natural things; and we believe it. Reason willeth vs to doe no bad or unlawful things, and no man gyveth credit vnto it. Here I finde my selfe entangled in the lawes of Ceremonie, for it neither allowes a man to speake ill or good of himselfe. Therefore will wee leave her at this time. Those whom Fortune (whether wee shall name her good or bad) hath made to passe their life in some eminent or conspicuous degree, may by their publike actions winne what they are; but those whom shee never employed, but in base things, and of whom no man shall ever speake, except themselves doe it, they are excusable, if they dare speake of themselves to such as have interest in their acquaintance, after the example of Lucius:

Ille velut fidis arcana sodalis ipsis
Credebat libris, neque igitur cessorat, nisi quam
Decurrens alio, neque sit bene qui sit, ubi omnis
Volvit patet veluti descripta tabella
Vitae sem.

He trusted to his booke, as to his truly friend
His secrets, nor did hee to other refuge bend,
How ever well, or ill, with him his fortune went.
Hence is it, all the life is seene the old man spent.
As it were in a Table noted,
Which were vnto some God devoted.

This man committed his actions & imaginations to his paper, and as he felt, so he pour-
trayed himselfe. Nec sed Rutulus & Scaurus citra sedem, aut obriclamationem sibi. Nor was that without credit, or any imputation to Rutillus or Scaurus. I remember then, that even from my tenderest infancy, some noted in me a kind of I know not what fashion in carrying of my body, and gestures, witnessing a certain vaine & foolish fiercenes. This I will first lay of it, that it is not inconvenient to have conditions so peculiar, and propension so incorporated in vs, that we have no meanes to feele, or way to know them. And of such natural inclinations, vn-
knowne to us, and without our content, the body doth easilly retaine some signe or impression. It was an affectation witting of his beauty, which made Alexander to bend his head a little on one side, and Achibades, his speach somewhat effeminate and hisping: Julius Cesar was wont to scratch his head with one finger, which is the countenance of a man furcharged with painfull imaginations: And Cicero (as I remember) had gotten a cutome to wry the his Nose, which signifieth a natural scoffe. Such motions may vnawares and imperceptibly

posse.
The second Booke.

posseffe: vs. Others there be, which are artificiall, whereof I will not speake. As salutations, reverences, or congrees, by which some doe often purchase the honor, (but wrongfully) to be humble, lowly, and courteous: A man may be humble through glory. I am very prodigall of cappings, namely in Summer, and I never receive any from what quality of men soever, but I give them as good and as many as they bring, except he be some servent of mine. I wish that some Princes whom I know, would be more sparing and impartial dispensers of them; for, being so indirectly employed, they have no force at all: If they be without regard, then are they without effect. Amongst disordered countenances, let vs not forget the serene looke of Constantius the Emperor, who in publike held over his head bolt-vpright, without turning or bending the fame on any one side, no not so much as to look on them that haluted him fidelit, holding his body fo stiff and vnmoveable, that let his Coche shake never so much, he kept ftrit right: he durft never lift nor wipe his Nose, nor dry his face before the people. I wot not whether those geltures, which were noted in me were of this first condition, and whether in truth I had any secret propension to this fault, as it may well be: and I cannot answere for the motions of my body. But concerning those of the soule, I will heere ingeniously confesse what I thinke of them. There are two parts in this glory: Which is to say, for a man to efteme himfelfe overmuch, the other, not sufficiently to efteme of others. For the one, first I thinke, these considerations ought somewhat to be accompted: I feele my selfe furcharged with one error of the minde, which both as bad, and much more as imprudent, I utterly dislike. I endeavour to correct it; but I cannot displace it. It is, because I abate the just value of those things, which I posseffe; and enhance the worth of things, by how much they are more strange, absernt and not mine owne. This humour extends it selfe very farre, as doth the prerogative of the authoritie, wherewith husbands looke vpon their owne wives with a vicious disdain, and many fathers upon their children: So doe I, and betwixte two like workes would I ever weigh against mine. Not so much that the jealousey of my preferment, and amendment troubleth my judgement, and hindereth me from pleasing my selfe, as that maisterie herselfe begetts a contempt of that which a man posseffeth and oweth. Policies, farre-cuttomes and tongues flatter me; and I perceive the Latine tongue by the favour of her dignitie to deceive me, beyond what belongs vnto her, as children and the vulgar forte. My neighbours econometrie house, and his horse, though of equall value, is more worth then mine, by how much more it is not mine owne. Besides, because I am most ignorant in mine owne matters: I admire the affurance, & wonder at the promise, that every man hath of himselfe: whereass there is almost nothing, that I wot I know, nor that I dare warrant my selfe to be able to do. I have not my faculties in proportion, or by effate, and am not instructed in them but after the effect: As doubtfull of mine owne strength, as vncaerc of anotheres force. Whence it followeth, if sometimes I chance vpon any one piece of worke, I rather impute it to my fortune, than atribute it to mine industrie; forasmuch as I defigne them all to hazard, and in feare. Likewise I have this in generall, that of all the opinions, which Antiquity hath had of man in generale, those which I most willingly embrace, and whereon I take most hold, are such as most viufifie, contemne, and anhilate vs. Me thinkes Philosopher had never better carde to shew, then when the chefe of our presupption, and crosse the vanitie: when in good sooth the acknowledge her irresolution, her weakenesse and her ignorance. Me fecommeth the over-good conceit, and self-wearing opinion man hath of himselfe, is the rance-mother of the fallet opinions, both publike and particular. Those which accompe-horfe will parch themselves vpon the Epistle of Mercury, and see so farre into heaven, they even pull out my teeth. For in the lude which I professe, the subiect whereof is Man, finding to extreme a variety of judgements, to intractable a labirinth of difficulties one vpon the necke of another, to great diversitie, and to much vncaerc, yes even in the school of wisdomes it selfe: you may imagine since those men could never be resolved of the knowledge of themselves, and of their owne condition, which is continually before their eyes, which is ever within them, since they know not how that moove: which themselves cause to moove, nor how to set forth the springs, and defeipher the wades, which themselves hold and handle, how should I thinke of the true caufe of the flux and reflux of the river Niltis? The curious to know things hath beene given to men (as that holy scripture) for a courge. But to come to my particular, it is very hard (me fecommeth) that some other regarde themselfe...
The second Booke.

When Man. I am exasperated with the spirit of the Poets, in what manner ever, there never came anything from me, that contented me. And others approbation is no current payment for me. My judgement is tender and hard, especially in mine owne behalfe. I feele my selfe to waver and bend through weaknesses: I have nothing of mine owne to satisfy my judgement. My fight is indifferently clear and regular: but if I take any furious work or in hand, it is troubled and dimmed: as I perceive most evidently in Poësie: I love it exceedingly: I have some insight or knowledge in other mens Labours, but in truth I play the Novice when I let my hand ven to it: Then can I not abide my selfe. A man may play the fool everywhere else, but not in Poësie.

Why have we no such people? Dionius the father esteemed nothing in himselfe so much as his poësie. In the times of the Olympike games, with chariots exceeding all other in magnificence, he also sent Poets and Musitians to pretent his verses, with tents and pavilions gilt and most sumptuously tapitured. When they first beganne to reheare them, the favour and excellency of the pronunciation did greatly allure the peoples attention: but when they began to consider the fondness of the composition, they fell as soon to contente them: and being more and more exasperated fell furiously into an uproare, and headlong ranne in most spitefull manner to teare and cast downe all his pavilions. And forasmuch as his rich chariots did no good at all in their course, and the ship which carried his men, returning homeward misted the shore of sicilie, and was by violent storms driven and split vp on the coast of Tarantum, they certainly believed, the wrath of the Gods to have beene the cause of it, as being greatly offended, both against him, and his viles and wicked Poeme: yes and the Marianers themselves that escaped the shipwrecke did much second the peoples opinion: to which the Oracle that foretold his death seemd in some sorte to subscribe: which implied, that Dionius should be neere his end, at what time he had vanquished those that should be of more worth than himselfe: Which he interpreted to be the Carthaginians, who exceeded him in might. And having at any time occasion to fight or grapple with them, that he might not incurre the meaning of this prediction, he would oftentimes and avoyde the victory. But he mistnderstoode the matter, for the God observed the time of advantage, when as through partiall favour and injustice he obtained the victory over the tragicall Poets at Athens, who were much better than he was, where he caufed in contention of them, his Tragedie, entitled the Leneiens, to be publickely actted. After which wonderd victory, he presently deceased: And partly through the excessive joy, hee thereby conceived. What I finde execuable in mine, is not of it selfe, and according to truth: but in comparison of other compositions, worse than mine, to which I see some credit given. I enioye the good kappe of those, which can applaud and gratifie themselves by their owne labours: for it is an easie matter for one to please himselfe, since he draws his pleasure from him selfe: Especially if one bee somewhat constant in his owne wilfulnesse. I knowe a Poet after, gainst whom both weake and strong, in company and at home, both heaven and earth, afirmes and say, he hath no skill or judgement in Poësie, who for all that is nothing dismeased, nor will not abate one jot: of that meane whereunto he hath fitted himselfe: but is ever beginning againe, ever consulting anew, and always persifting: by so much the more fixed in his
his opinion, by how much the more it concerneth him alone, and he only is to maintain it. My compositions are so faire from applauding mee, that as many times as I looke them over, so often am I vexed at them.

Cura relege, scripsisse pudet, quia plurima cerno,

Me quoque qui seci, uttire digna limi.

When I re-read, I shame I write, for much I see,
My selfe, who made them, being judge, blotted to be.

I have ever an Idea in my mind, which pretends me with a better forme, then that I have already framed, but I can neither lay holde on it, nor effect it. Yet is that Idea but of the meaner stamp. I thereby conclude, that the productions of those rich and great minds of former ages, are faire beyond the extreme extention of my with and imagination. Their compositions do not only satise and fille me, but they astonish and wrap me into admiration. I judge of their beautie, I see it, if not to the end, at least so faire as it is impossible for me to aspire vnto it. Whatsoever I undertake (as Plutarch faith of one) I owe a sacrifice to the Graces, hoping thereby to gain their favour.

Si quid enim placet,
Si quid dulce hominum sensibus infinit,
Debeatur lepidus omnia Gratias.
If ought doe please, if any sweete
The fene of men with pleasure greete,
To thanke the Graces it is meete.

They altogether forfake mee: What I do, it is but bunglingly, and wants both polishing and beautie. I can rate them at no higher value, then they are worth. My workmanship addeth no grace vnto the matter. And that's the reason I must have it strong, with good hold-fast, and thinning of itselfe. If I chance to seize on any popular and more gay, its to follow me, who love not a ceremonious prudence and gloomy wifedome, as both the world: and to glad my selfe, nor my fille, who would rather have a grave and severe. If at least I may call that a fitle, which is a formelesse and abrupt speech. A popular gibbirth, and a proceeding without definition, without partition, and faine conclusion, troubled as that of Amphanius, and Rabinius. I can neither please, nor glad, nor tickle. The best tale in the world comming into my hands, becomes wittered and tarnished. I cannot speake but in good earnest, and am altogether barren of that facility which I see in many of my companions, to entertaine first commers, to keep a whole troupe in tace, to amuse a Princes care with all manner of discourses and never to be weary, and never to want matter, by reason of the grace they have in applying their first approachs, and fitting them to the humor and capacite of those they have to doe withall. Princes love not greatly serious and long discourses, nor I to tell tales. The first and easiest reasons (which are commonly the best taken) I can neither employ nor make use of them. I am an ill Orctor to the common fort. I speake the utmost I knowe of all matters. Cicero thanke, in discourses of Philosophie, the exordium to be the hardest part: Is it so be, I wisely lay holde on the conclusion. Yet should a man know how to tune his stringes to all aires: And the shadest comes ever leaft in play. There is at leaft as much perfection in raising vp an empie, as to vphold a weightie thing: A man must sometimes handle matters but superficicall, and at other times dive into them. I wot well that most men kepe themselves on this lowe stage, because they conceive not of things but by the outward shew. I also knowe, that the greatest clarkes, ye Xenophon and Plato, are often seen to yeeld to this lowe and popular faction, in speaking of matters, vpholding it with those grace, which they never want. As for the reff my language hath neither facility nor influence in it, but is harsh and thatpe, having free and vnknowe dispositions: And so it liketh me, if not by my judgement, yet by my inclination. But yet I perceive that sometimes I wade to farre into it, and that forcing my selfe to avoide att and affectation, I fall into it another way.

brevis esse laboro,
Oblivium fo.

To be short labor I?
I darker growe thereby.

Plato faith, that either long or short, are not properties, that either diminish or give price

vnto
vno speech. If I should vnderstaue to follow this other smooth, even and regular style, I should never attaine vnto it. And although the cadences, and breakings or salutare doe best agree with my humor, yet doe I finde Caesar both greater, and leffe easie to be represented. And if my inclination doth rather carrie me to the imitation of Seneca style, I omit not to esteeme Plinieus much more. As well in silence as in speech, I am simply my natural forme, whence happily ensueth, that I am more in speaking then in writing. The motions and actions of the body, give life vnto words, namely in them that move roundly and without affection, as I do, and that will be earneft. Behaviour, the face, the voice, the gowne, and the place, may somewhat endeare those things, which in themselves are but mean, at prating.

Meftale complaineth in Tacitus of certaine freit garments wied in his time, and discommendeth the fashion of the benches whereon the Orators were to speake, saying, they weakened their eloquence. My French tongue is corrupted both in the pronunciation, and else where by the barbarisme of my countrey. I never saw man of these hither-countries, that did not evidently taste of his homespue, & who often did not wound those ears, that are purely French. Yet is it not because I am so cunning in my Periordon: For I have no more vfe of it, then of the Dutch, nor doe I greatly care. It is a language (as are many others round about me) like to that of Poitou, Normogne, Angoulome, Limosin, and Aurigny, quattarling, dragling, and filthy. There is about vs, toward the mountaynes a Gasconie tongue, which I much commend and like, and knowe, pithe, short, signifiant, and in truth manlike and militiration, more then any other Vnderland. As compendious, powerfull, and pertinent as the French is gracious, delicate, and copious. As for the Latin, which was given me for my mother-tongue, by reason of discontinuance, I have so lost the promptitude of it, as I cannot well make vfe of it in speech, and fearely in writing, in which I have heretofore beene so reader, that I was called a matter in it. Loo here my little sufficiency in that behalfe. Beautie is a part of great commendation in the commerce and societie of men. It is the chief meanes of reconciliation betwenee one and other. Nor is there any man fo barabrous, and fo hard-harted, that in somse forte feeleth not hismefelfe strooken with hir sweetenes. The body hath a great part in our being, and therein keeps a speciall ranke: For, his structure and compositio are worthy due consideration. Such as goe about to funder our two principall parts, and separate them one from another, are much to blame: They ought rather to be coupled and joyned fast together. The soule must be enioyed not to retire hir selfe to hir quarter, nor to entertaine hir selfe apart, nor to despise and leave the body (which the cannot well doe, except it be by some counterfaied apish tricke) but ought to combine and cling fast vnto him, to embrace, to cherish, affift, correct, persuade and advice him, and if he chance to swave or stray, then to leade and direct him: In fine, the should wed and serve him in stead of a husband, that so their effects may not seeme contrary and divers, but agreeing and uniforme. Christians have a particular intarction concerning this bond, for they knowe that Gods justice alloweth this societie, and embraceth this conjunction of the body and soule, yeas fo farre as to make the body capable of everlastinge rewards. And that God beholds the whole man to worke, and will have him entirely to receive either the punishment, or the recompence, according to his merits or demerits. The Peripateticke Scest (of all Scests the mos sociable) attributeth this onely care vnto wifedome, in common to procure and provide, the good of these two associated parts: And declareth other Scests to have partialized overmuch, because they had given themselves to the full consideration of this commune; this one for the body, this other for the soule, with one like error and oversight, and had mistaken their subject, which is Man; and their guide, which in generall they avouched to be Nature. The first distinction, that hath bene amongst men, and the first consideration, that gave preheminences to some over others, it is very lesly it was the advantage of beautie.

agro duivsero atque dedere

Pro facie euniusque & viribus ingenioso:
Nam facies multum valuit, virisque vigebant.
Thy land's devised and to each man shared
As was his face, his strength, his wit compared.
For face and strength were then,
Much prized amongst men.

I am of a nature somewhat vnder the meanes. This default hath not onely vncomlines in it,
it, but also incommodities: Yet even in those which have charge and commandement over others: For, the authority which a faire presence and corporall majestie endoweth a man with all is wanting. Caius Marius did not willingly admit any Souldiers in his bands, that were not fixe foote high. The Courtier hath reason to require an ordinarie stature in the Gentleman heframeth, rather, then any other; and to advice all strangers that may make him to be pointed-at: But if he misse of this mediocrity, to chuse that he rather offend in lowenes, then in tallnes. I would not doe it in a militarie man. Little men (faith Aristotle) are indeed prettie, but not beauteous, nor goodly; and in greatness, is a great soul knowne as is beautie in a great and high body. The Ethiopians and Indians (faith he) in chusing of their Kings and Magistrates, had an especiall regard to the beautie and tallnes of the persons. They had reason, for it breethed an awefull respect in those that follow him, and a kind of fear in his enemies, to see a goodly, tall and handsom man march as Chief and General in the head of an armie, or front of a troupe:

Ipse inter primos presstanti corpore Tumna
Veritatis, armamentis, & tuto vertice suprâ efl.

Tumna, a goodly man, mongst them that led,
Stood arm'd, then all they higher by the head.

Our great divine and heavenly King, all whose circumstances ought with much care, religion and reverence to be noted and observed, hath not refused the bodies commendation, Speciosus forma presfllis hominum. In fuer imperialis, supra homines. And Plato witheth beautie to bejoynd into temperance and fortitude in the preservers of his Common-wealth. Is it not a great spite, if being amongst your owne servants, a stranger commeth to your selfe to accuse you where your Lord or Master is? And that you have nothing but the remainder of a capping, which is as well put off to your Barber, or to your Secretarie? As it happened to poore Philopomen, who having left his companie behind, and comming alone into a house where he was expressly looked-for, his hostes who knew him not, & saw him to be soil-favored a fellow, employed him to help his maides to drawe water, and to mend the fire, for the service of Philopomen. The Gentlemen of his traine being come, and finding him so busily at workes (for he failed not to fulfill his hostes commandement) enquired of him what he did, who answered, I pay the forfaiture of my unhandomnesse. Other beauties are for women. The beautie of a handsomely comely tallnes is the onely beautie of men. Where lowenes and littlenes is, neither the largetnes or roundnes of a forehead, nor the whitenes or lovelines of the eyes, nor the prettie fasson of a nose, nor the flendernes of the ear, littlenes of the mouth, order and whitenes of teeth, smooth thicknes of a beard, browne like a chestnut, well-cursed and vplstanding hair, jut proportion of the head, frethes of coloure, the cheerfull aspect of a pleasing face, the sweet-smelling of a body, nor the well decorated composition of all limmes, can make a handsombeautesous man. As for me, I am of a strong and well complaisant nature, my face is not fat, but full, my complexion betweene joviall and melancholy, indifferently fanguine and hote.

Unde regire fatis mibi cura, & pleiora villis :
Whereby my legs and breft,
With rough hair are opprest.

My health is blithe and lustye, though well-strooken in age, seldom troubled with decaftes; Such I was, for I am now engaged in the aproches of age, having long since past over forty yeares: I do not much heed my selfe.

minutatim virens & robor adulturn
Francis, & in partem peiorum liquitum et. 

By little and a little age break's strength,
To worfe and worfe declining mells at length.

What hereafter of me the world will say, I shall be but halfe a being, I shall be no more myselfe. I daily escape, and I will steal my selfe from my selfe:

Singula de nobis annis pradantur euntes,
Yeares as they passe away,
Of all our things make pray.

Of addressing, dexterity, and disposition, I never had any, yet am I the sonne of a wel disposed father, and of to blithe & merry a disposition, that it continued with him even to his extremest
extremest age. He feldome found any man of his condition, and that could match him in all exercises of the body: As I have found few, that have not out-done me; except it were in running, where I was none of the meanest. As for musicke, were it either in voice, which I have most handle, and very vnap, or in instruments, I could never be taught any part of it. As for dancing, playing at tennis, or wrestling, I could never attain to any indifferent sufficiency; but none at all in swimming, fencing, in vaulting, or in leaping. My hands are so stiff and nummish, that I hardly write for my felle, so that what I have once scribbed, I had rather frame it a new, then take the pains to correct it; and I read but little better. I perceive how the auditorine cenfureth me: Otherwife I am no bad Clarke. I cannot very well clofe up a letter; nor could I ever make a pen. I was never good carver at the table. I could never make readie nor arm a Horse: Nor handlyome carry a Hawke upon my fift, nor caft his off or let him fly, nor could I ever speake to Dogges, to Birds, or to Horses. The conditions of my body are in fine, very well agreeing with those of mine, wherein is nothing lively; but only a compleat and constant vigor. I endure labour and paine, yet not very well, vnlefe I carry my felle vnto it, and no longer then my desire leadeth and directeth me.

Molliter ausiferum studiis fallentem laboraem.
While earthenfis for sport or gaine,
Sweetly deceiv's the fourest paine.

Otherwise, if by any pleasure I be not allure, & if I have other direction, then my genuine and free will, I am nothing worth, and I can never fadge well: For I am at fuch a stay, that except for health and life, there is nothing I will take the paines to fete my felle about, or will purchase at fo high a rate, as to trouble my wits for it, or be constrained thereunto.

Omnis arena Tagi quadque in mare voliuitur aerum:
So much I weigh not shadowed Tagus fande,
Nor gold that roule into the Sea from land.

I am extremely lazie and idle, and exceedingly free, both by nature and art. I would as willingly lend my blood as my care. I have a mind free and altogether her owne; accustomed to follow her owne humour. And to this day never had nor commanding nor forced maister. I have gon as faire, and kept what pace pleased me best. Which hath en-cobled and made me vnprofitable to serve others, and made me fit and apt but onely for my felle. And as for me, no man ever needed to force this heavy, litter, and idle nature of mine: For, having even from my birth found my felle in such a degree of fortune, I have found occasion to stay there: (An occasion notwithstanding, that a thousand others of mine acquaintance would have taken as a place to passe over to search, to agitation, and to vnquietnes.) And as I have sought for nothing to have I taken nothing.

Non agmus tumidus ventis Aquilone secundo,
Non tamen adversis atatem ducimus ausfris:
Viribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re,
Extremi primorum, extremis visque priores.

With full sailes, proprious wind, we doe not drive,
Nor yet with wind full in our teeth doe live.
In strength, in wit, in vertue, shape, goods, place,
Laft of the first, before the laft we pace.

I have had no neede but of sufficiency to content my felle: Which being well taken is never a regiment for the munde, equally difficult in all fortes of condition; and which by vfe, we see more easily found in want, than in plenty; paradventure, because that according to the course of our other passions, the greedinesse of riches is more sharpened by their vfe, than by their neede; and the vertue of moderation more rare, than that of patience. And I have had no need, but to enjoy those goods quiete, which God of his bountie had bestowed vpon me. I have tafted no kinds of tedious trouble. I have seldome managged other than mine owne busineffe: Or if I have, it hath beene upon condition, I might doe it at my leisare, and according to my will committed unto me, by such as trusted mee, and knew mee well, and would not importune mee: For, the skilfull rider, will reap some service of a reltie and wind-broken jade. My very Childe-hood hath beene directed by a soft, milde, gentle and free Ma-
fhion, and ever exempted from rigorous subjection. All which hath endowed mee with a delicate kinde of complexion, and made me incapable of any care; So that I love, men should conceal my losses from me, and the disorders which concern mee. In the Chapter of my charges and expences, I have set down what my negligence or carelesse costs me, both to feed and entertaine my selfe.

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The second Booke.

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be nempe superfluit,
Qua dominum fallit, qua proflint furibus.
This remnant of accounts I have,
Which may deceive Lords, help a Knave.

I love not to know an account of what I have, that I may lose exactly feel my losses: I desire those that live with me, where they want affection, or good effects, to cozen and pay me with good apperances. For want of sufficent constancy to endure the importunity of contrary or crosse accidents, wherunto we are subject; and because I cannot always keep my selfe prepared to governe and order my affaires, as much as I am able, I foster this opinion in me, relying wholly upon fortune, and ready to take every thing at the worst, and resolve to bear that worst, mildly and patiently. About that onely doe I buie my selfe, and to that end doe I direct all my discourses. In any dangerous matter, I care not so much how I may avoyde it, and how little it importeth whether I avoid it or no; And what were it if I should continue in it? Being unable to direct events, I govern my selfe; and if they apply not themselues to me, I apply my selfe to them: I have no great arte to shun fortune, & how to scape or force it, & with wisdome to address matters to my liking: I have also leafe sufferrance to endure the harpe and painfull care, which belongeth to that. And the most toilsome state for me, is to be doublefull in matters of weight, & agitated betweene cares & hope. To deliberate, be it in sleight matters, doth importune me. And I feel my spirit more perplexed to suffer the motions of doubt, and shakings of contemplation, then to be settled and resolved about any accident whatsoever, after the chance is once cast. Fewe passions have troubled my sleepe, but of deliberations the last doth trouble it. Even as of high-ways, I willingly seek to avoyde the downe-hanging, and flipperie, and take the beaten-path, though myne, and deepe, to I may goe no lower, and therefore seek I safety: So love I pure mishaps, and which exercize and turmoile me no more, after the uncertantie of their mending: And which even at the first call, drive me directly into sufferrance.

dubia plus torquent mala.

Evils yet in suspense,
Doe give vs more offence.

In events, I carry my selfe man-like in the conduct childishly. The horror of a fall doth more hurt me, than the blow. The play is not worth the candle. The covetous man hath a worfe reckoning of his passion, than the poore; and the jealous man, than the cuckold. And it is often leffe name for one to loose his farme, than pleade and wrangle for it: The flowes of march, is the selfe. It is the state of constancie. Therein you have no need but of your selfe. Thence the takers his footing, and wholly refeth upon his selfe. This example of a Gentleman, whom many have known, hath not fome Philothesical fhew? This man having passed all his youth like a good fellow, a jollie companion, a great talker, and a merry ladde, being now well in yeares, would needs be married. Remembering himselfe how much the subject of cuckoldry had given him cause to speake, and scoffe at others; to put himselfe under covert-barron, he rooke him a wife from out that place, where all men may have them for mony, & with her made his aliencet: Good morrow Whoore, Good morrow Cuckold. And there is nothing wherewith he ofter and more openly entertained such as came into him, than with this tale: Whereby he bended the secret pradings of mockers, and blunted the point of this reproch. Concerning ambition, which is next neighbor or rather daughtter to prefumption, it had beene needful to advance me that fortune had come to take me by the hand: For to put my selfe into any care for an uncertantie hope, and to submit my selfe to al difficulties, waiting on such as seek to thrull themselves into credite and reputation, in the beginning of their progress, I could never have done it.

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Spem pretia non evo,
Expence of present pay
For hope, I do not lay.

I fasten
The second Booke.

I listen my selfe on that which I see and hold and go not far from the shore:

After remus aquas, alter turbidat arenas.

Keep water with one Oare,
With the other grate the shore.

Besides, a man seldom comes to these preferments, but in hazarding first his own: And I am of opinion, if that which a man hath, suffizeth to maintain the condition, wherein he was borne and brought vp, it is folly to let it go, upon the uncertainty of encreasing the same. He to whom fortune suffizeth means to settle his estate, and establish a quiet and repos'd being; as execu'able if he cast what he hath at hazard, since thus as well as thus, necessefif sends him to shift and search out.

Cupinae rebus in malis preceps via est.
A headlong course is best,
When mischiefs are addrest.

And I rather excuse a younger brother, to make sale of his inheritance, than him, who hath the honor of his house, who cannot fall into want but through his default: I have by the counsel of my good friends of former times, found the way shorter and easier to rid my selfe of this devise, and keep:

Qui si conditio dulcis, sine pulvere palma.
Who like it well to bear the pride,
But take no tole in any wife.

Judging also rightly of my forces, that they were not capable of great matters; And remembering the saying of Lord Oliver whilome-Chancellor of France, who said, that Frenchmen might be compared to Monkeys, who climbing up a tree, never cease skipping from bough to bough, till they come to the highest, where being come thence they saw their tale.

Turpe est quid nequeas capitis committere pondus,
& prellum infauso max dare terga genu.
Tis shame, more than it can well bear, on head to pack,
And thereby foone oppress'd with bended knee's fife backe.

Such qualities as are now in me void of reproch, in that age I deemed vnprofitable. The facilite of my maners had beene named faintnes and weakenesse faith and confidence would have beene thought scrupulous and superstitious: liberty and freedom, important, inconsiderate and rash. Misfortune ferveth to some purpose. It is not amiss to bee borne in a much depraved age: for in companion of others, you are judged virtuous, very cheap. In our dayes, he that is but a parasite, or a sacrilegious person, is a man of honesty and honor.

Nunc si delphini non infaclatur amicus,
Si reddat veterem cum tota arundine follem
Primogenitis, & Thunfici digna libelli,
Queque coronata lustrare debet aegna.
If now a friend deny not what was laide in trust,
If wholly hee restore th' olde bellowes with their ruff,
A wondrous trust, to be in Chronicles related,
And should with sacrifice, as strange, be expiated.

And never was there time or place, wherein more affurred and great reward was proposed unto Princes, for goodnesse and inofice. The first that shall be advised, by these meane to thrust himselfe into favour and credit, I am much deceived in part of payment, he get not the start of his fellowes. Force and violence can doe very much; but never all. We see Merchants, country-luttopes, and Artificers to march cheele by joll with our Nobleman, in vaour and military discipline. They performe honourable combats, both publicke and private. They batter and defend Townes and Citties in our present warrs. A Prince into thereth his commendation amid this strong. Let him shine over others with humanitie, with truth, loyalty, temperance, and above all with INofice; marks now adayes rare, unknowns and exiled. It is only the peoples will, wherewith he may effect what he pleaseth: And no other qualities can allure their will so much as they, as being the profitablest for them. No bilities are so popular as goodnesse is. By this proportion I had beene a rare great man: As by that of certaine ages past, I am now a pigme and popular man; In which it was common, if stronger qualities did not concur withall, To see a

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man temperate in his revenge, mild in revenging of offences, religious in keeping of his word; neither doublt, nor over unstable, nor applying his faith to others will, or to every occasion. I would rather let all affairs goe to wracke, then breake my word for their availe. For, touching this new-found virtue of faining and diffimulation, which now is so much in credite, I hate it to the death; and of all vices, I finde none that so much winseth demiffenesse and baseness of heart. It is a coward and servile humour, for a man to disguise and hide himselfe under a maske, and not dare to shew himselfe as he is. Thereby our men advertise themselves to treacherie: Being trained to utter false words, they make no conscience to break them. A generous minde ought not to belie his thoughts, but make shew of his inmost parts: There all is good, or at least all is humane. Aristotle thinkest it an office of magnanimity to hate and love openly, to speake with all libertie, and never (though the prufe of truth goe on it) to make silence either of the approbation or reprobation of others. Apolonius faide, it was for servants to lie, and for freemen to speake truth. It is the cheife and fundamental part of vertue. She must be lovd for her owne fake. He that speakes truth, because he is bound to doe so, and for that he serveth and that fearset not to tell a lie, when it is little import to another man, is not sufficiently true. My mind of her owne complexion deseth falshood, & hateth to think on it. I feel an inward bashfulness, and a flinging renounce, if at any time it scape me; as sometimes it doth, if unpremeditated occations surprif me. A man must not always say as he knows, for that were folly. But what a man speaks ought to be agreeing to his thoughts, otherwise it is impietie. I know not what benefit they expect, that ever faine; and so vncelfantly diffablest except it be not to be believed, even when they speake truly. That may deceive men once or twice, but to make a profession to carry it away smoothly, and as some of our Princes have done, to boafe, that if their shitt were privie to their secret & true cogitations, they would burne it: which was the faying of ancient Metellus Macedonius; And that he who cannot difsemble, cannot reigne, serves but only to warn thofe who have to deal with them, that what they fay is but vntruth & diffimulation. Quo quas verius & callidior est, hoc invicior & suificitor, detruet & opinione probabilit. The fiver-headed, and more subtle-brained a man is, the more he is hated and suspected; if once the opinion of beneft be taken from him. It were great simplicitie for a man to fuffer himfelfe to be misfed either by the looks or words of him, that outwardly profefseth what he is inwardly, as did Tiberius. And I know not what fhare fuch people may chalenge in the commerce of men, never producing any thing, that may be taken for good payment. He who is disposed to truth, is likewise false against lying. Such as in our daies, in the establifhing of a Princes dutie, have onely confidered the good & felicitie of his affairs, and preferred the fame before the refpeft of his faith and confience, would fay something to a Prince, whose affaires fortune hath fo disposed, that with once breaking and falsifying of his word he might for ever confirme and establifh them. But it goeth otherwise. A man may more then once come to such a bargaine. A man during his life concludeth more then one peace or tratie. The commodite or profit that envitheth them to the first disloyalty (and daily some offer themselves, as to all other trecheresses) facrileges, mutthers, rebellions, treasons, are vndertaken for fome kindes of profit. But this first gaine brings ever infinite losses and dangers with it: caufing this Prince from out all commerce and meanes of negotiation, by the example of this midelitie. Solymon of the Ottomans race (a race little regarding the keeping of promis or performance of covenants) at what time he caused his Arme to land at Otranto (I being then but a child) having knowen that Mercurin of Gratinarus, and the inhabitants of Cadifre, were detained prifoners, after the Towne was yeelded, contrary to that which by his Captaines had beene capitulated with them, he sent word they should be releafed, and that having other weightie enterprizes in hand in that countrie, fuch disloyaltie, although it had apparence of great and prefent benefite, yet in time to come it would bring a diftraft and reproch of infinite prejudice. As for me I had rather be imprortante and imbecille, then a flatterer and a dissembler. I allow, a man may entermingle some point of ficerence and wiffullnesse, to keepe himfelfe fo entire and open as I am, without confideration of others. And me femeth I become a little more free, where I should be leffe, and that by the oppofition of reffect I growe earnet. It may also be, that for want of arte I follow mine owne nature. Presenting to the greater for the very fame licence of speech and boldnesse of countenance, that I bring from my houfe: I perceive how much it inclineth towards indifference and incivillitie. But although I be so faddioned, my spirit is not sufficiently yeelding to avoid a fo-
The second Booke.

...daine question, or to scape it by some winding, nor to dissemble a truth, nor have I memory able to continue it so failed, nor assurance sufficient to maintaine it; and I play the Braggard through feeble-means. And therefore I apply my selfe to ingenuitie, and ever to speake truth and what I thinke, both by complexion and by intention, leaving the faceffe thereof unto fortune. Arithmetick faieth, that the chiefest commoditie hee reapeth by Philostrifie, was, that he spake freely and sincerely to all men: Memory is an instrument of great service, and without which, judgment will hardly discharge his dutie, whereof I have great want. What a man will propole unto me, he must doe it by piece-meales: For, to answere to a discourse that hath many heads, lieth not in my power. I can not receive a charge, except I have my writing tables about me; and if I must remember a discourse of any conquence, be it of any length, I am driven to this vile & miserable necessitie, to learn every word I must speake, by rote; otherwised I should never do it well or auffuredly, for feare my memory should in my greatest needes failure me; which is very hard unto me, for I must have three hours to learn three verses. Moreover in any long discourse, the libertie or authoritie to remove the order, to change a word, vnconceitly altering the matter, makes it more difficult to be confirmed in the authors memory. And the more I distrust it, the more it troubleth me. If it serveth me better by chance, and I must carelessly follicate her, for if I urge her, she is affaminied; and if once beginne to waver, the more I found her, the more entangled and intricate the proouchio. She will wait upon me when she lift, not when I pleaue. And what I feele in my memory, I feele in many other parts of mine. I eft. new commandement, dutie, and compiffion. What I doe easily and naturally, if I reslove to doe it by express and prescribid appointment, I can then doe it no more. Even in my body, those partes, that have some libertrie, and more particular jurisdiction, doe sometimes refuse to obey me, if at any time I appoint and enjoue them to doe me some necessitie services. This forced and tyrannicall precommand doeth reject them; and they either for spite or feare shrink and are quailed. Being once in a place, where is reputed a barbarous discoursie not to pledge those that drinke to you, wherealthough I were vled with all libertrie, in favour of certaine Ladies that were in company, according to the fashion of the country, I would needs play the good fellow. But it made vs all merry; for the threats and preparation, that I should force my selfe beyond my nature custome, did in such fort stop, and ruffle my throat, that I was not able to swallow one drop, and was bar'd of drinking all the repast. I found my selfe gluttet and full of drinke by the overmuch wuffling that my imagination had fore-conceived. This effect is more apparant in those; whose imagination is more vehement and strong; yet it is natural; and there is no man, but shall sometimes have a feeling of it. An excellent Archer being condemned to death, was offer'd to have his life sav'd, if he would but shew any notable triall of his profession, refused to make proofe of it; fearing lest the contention of his will should make him to misuse-dire& direct his hand, and that in lieu of saving his life, he might also loose the reputation, he had gottten in shotting in a bow. A man whose thoughts are busie about other matters, shall very neere within an inch kepe and always hit one selfe: fame number and measure of paces, in a place where he walketh; but if heedily he endevoue to measure and comp the, he shall finde what he did by nature and chance, he cannot do so exactly by deviseigne. My Library (which for a country Librarie, may passe for a very faire one) is seated in a corner of my house, if any thing come into my minde, that either I must goe seake or write it, for feare I should forget it in crossing of my Cours, I must decribe some other body to remember the same for me. If speaking, I embolden my selfe never to little, to digresse from my Discourse, I doe often loose it; which makes mee to kepe my selfe in my speech, forced, neare and close. Tho those that serve mee, I must ever call them, either by their office or country: for I finde it very hard to remember names. Well may I say, it hath three fillables, that is found is harth, or that it beginneth or endeth with such a letter. And should I live long, I doubte not but I might forget mine owne name, as some others have done heretofore. Messala Corvinus lived two yeares without any memory at all, which is also reported of George Trapezonius. And for mine owne interest, I doe often ruminate what manner of life theirs was, and whether wanting that part, I shall have sufficient to maintaine my selfe in any good fort: which looking neare unto, I feare that this defect, if it be perfect, shall loose all the functions of my soule.
The second Booke.

I am so full of holes, I can not holde,
I runne out ev'ry way, when tales are tolde.

It hath often befallen me, to forget the word, which but three hours before I had either given or received of another, and to forget where I had layed my purfes. Let Cicero say what he will, I helpe my felfe to loofe, what I particularly locke vp. *Memoriae certe non modo Philosophiam, sed omnis vitæ vim omnemque artes una maxima continent.* Asfuredly memorie alone, of all other things compriseth not onely Philosophy, but the eye of our whole life, and all the sciences. Memorie is the receptacle and cafe of knowledge. Mine being fo weake, I have no great caufe to complaine if I knewe but little. I knewe the names of Artes in Generall, and what they treate of, but nothing further. I turne and tollc over books, but doe not fludy them; what of them remains in me, is a thing which I no longer acknowledge to be anie bodies els. Onely by that hath my judgement profited: and the discourse and imagination, wherewith it is intructed and trained vp. The Author, the place, the words, and other circumstances, I folemly forget: and am fo excellent in forgettung, that as much as any thing else I forget mine owne writings and compositions. Yea, mine owne sayings are eve ry hand-while allleged against mine felfe, when God wot I perceive it not. He, that would know of me, whence or from whom the verfes or examples, which here I have huddel vp are taken, should greatly put me to my thifts; & I could hardly telle it him. Yet have I not begg ed them, but at famous and very well-knowne gates: which though they were rich in them selves, did never please me, vnlesse they also came from rich and honourable hands, and that authority, concurre with reason. It is no great maruell, if my booke loll the fortune of other books; and my memory forgc or forget as well what I write, as what I read; and what I give, as well as what I receive. Besides the defect of memory, I have others, which must further my ignorance. My wit is dull and flow, the leaft cloud dimmet it, fo that (for example of fake) I never propofed riddle vnto it (were it never fo eafe) that it was able to ex pond. There is no fubility so vaine, but confounds me. In games, wherein wit may bear a part, as of cheffe, of cardes, of tables and others, I could never conceiue but the common and plaineft draughts. My apprehension is very floggish and gloomies; but what it once hol deth, the fame it keepeth faft: and for the time it keeps it, the fame it embraceth generallie, fliftly and deeply. My figh is quicke, found, perfect and farte-tinge, but eafily wearied, if much charged or emploied. By which occa fion I can have no great commerce with books but by others service which reade vnto me. *Plenity the yonger can intruct those that have tried it, how much this fore-flowing importeth those that give themselves to this occupation. There is no spiritu wretched or fo brutish, wherein some particular faculties is not fecene to shine; and none fo lowe-buried, but at one hole or other it will fall out sometimes. And how it commeth to passe, that a minde blinde and flumbering in all other things, is in some particular effets, lively, clear and excellent, a man must enquire of cunning matters. But those are the faire spirits, which are universally open, and ready to all, if not intructed, at least to be intructed. Which I alledge to accuse mine: For, be it either through weakness, or wretchedness (and to be careless of that which lieth at our feete, which we have in our handes, which neereth concerneth the eye of life,) is a thing farre from my Dogma or Doctrinethat there is none fo simple or fo ignorant as mine, in divers such commone matters, and of which without imputation or shame a man shoule never be ignorant; whereas I must needs tell some examples. I was borne and brought vp in the Country, and amidst husbandrie: I have since my predeceffors quite me the place and poftellion of the goods I enjoy, both business and husbandrie in hand. I cannot vet eft account either with penne or Counters. There are diverse of our French Coines, I know not: nor can I distinguish of one graine from another, be it in the field or in the barn, vnlesse it be very apparant: nor do I fearely know the difference betwenee the Catbridge or Lettice in my Garden. I understond not the names of the most usuall tooles about husbandry, nor of the meanest princi ples of tillage, which most children know. I was never skilfull in Mechanick artes, nor in Traffike or knowledge of Marchandize, nor in the diversitie and nature of fruits, wines, or cates; nor can I make a Hawke, phifieke a Horfe, or teach a Dogge. And since I must make full shew of my shame or ignorance, it is not yet a moneth since, that I was found to be igno rant, whereto Leven servd to make bread withal for what it was to cunning Wine. The Athenians were anciently wont to thinke him very apt for the Mathematikes, that could cunningly
The second Book.

Nasitius sibi usque licet, sibi denique fatius,
Quantum voluerat ferre rogatus Atlas:
Et possit ipsum te deridere Latium,
Non putes in mugis divere pluranaeum.
Ipse ego quidem dixi: quid dentem dente invidit
Roderi? carme opus est, si tatar esse velis.

Ne perdas operam, quies mirantur, in illas
Virum habe, non hae novimus esse nubit.

Suppofe you were long- nor suppose such nife you were
As Atlas, if you should entreat him, would but bear,
That you in slouting old Latium can be fine.

Yet can you say no more against these toyes of mine,
Then I have said: what boote, tooth with a tooth to whet?
You must have flesh, if you to glut your felfe be fet.

Loose not your paines: gainst them who on themelves are doting
Keepe you your finge: we know these things of ours are nothing.

I am not bound to utter follies, so I be not deceived to knowe them: And wittingly to
erre, is so ordinarie in me, that I erre not much otherwifes, and seldom erre casually. It is
a small matter to yeeld the fond actions vnto the rashinesse of my humours, since I cannot
warrant my felfe ordinarily to yeeld them the viciouies. Being at Barelde, I saw, for the com-
mandation of Renate the King of Siciles memory a picture which with his owne hands he
had made of himselle, presentid vnto our King Francis the second: why is it not as lawfull
for every man else to pourtray himselle with his pen, as it was for him to doe it with a pen-
fell? I will not then forget this other blemish, vnfit to be scene of all. That is irreolution:
a most incommodeous defect in the negotiation of worldly affaires: I cannot resolve in
matters admitting doubtfulnesse:

Ne fii, ne nuli, pelceror mis suonat intero.
Nor ye, nor maye founds clearely in my hart.

I can maintain an opinion, but not make choife of it: For, in humane things, what fide
ever a man leane-th-on, many appearances pretend themselves vnto vs, which confirm vs
in them: and Chryfippus the Philofopher was wont to fay, that he would learn nothin else
of his maifters Zenos and Cleanthes, but their doctrines simply: For, prooves and realtis he
would finde enough of himfelle. Let me turne to what fide I will, I ever finde sufficient ma-
ter, and likelyhode to kepe my felfe vnto it. Thus kepe I doubt and libertie to my felfe,
to chufe, vnfit occasion vrge me, and then (to confede the truth) as the common faying is,
I call my father to the winde, and yeeld to fortunes mercy. A very light inclination, and a
flender csircumstance carres me away.

Dum in dubio est animus, paulo momento hue atque ilic impellitur.
While mind is in fupfence, with small a doe,
Tis hither, thither, driven fro and to.

The vncertaintye of my judgement, is in many occurrences so equaly balancid, as I
would willingly compromize it to the deciding of chance and of the dice. And I note with
great confideration of our humane imbeculitie, the examples, which the historie of God it
felle hath left vs of this vse, to remit the determination of elections in doubtfull matters, vnto
fortune and hazard: Sors cecidit super Matthiam: The lot fell upon Mathias: Humane reason
is a two-edged dangerous swords; Even in Socrates his hand, hit most inward and familiar
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friend,
friend, mark what a many-ended stafe it is. So am I only fit to follow, and am easily carried away by the throng. I do not greatly trust mine owne strength, to undertake to command, or to lead. I rejoice to see my steps traced by others. If I must runne the hazard of an uncertaine choice, I would rather have it be under such a one, who is more affur'd of his opinions, and more wedded to them, then I am of mine; the foundation and platforme of which I finde to be very flippery; yet am I not very easie to change, forso much as I perceiue a like weakenes in contrarie opinions. Isfa conjectur'd assentiendo perspicuosa effe vndevne, & fabrica. The very custome of assenting seemeth hazardeous and flickerie: Namely in politike affairs, wherein is a large field open to all motions, and to contestation.

As for example, Machiavel discourses, were very solid for the subiect; yet hath it beene very easie to impugne them, and those that have done it, have left no lesse facilitie to impugne theirs. A man might ever finde answeres enough to such an argument, both rejoyners, double, treble, quadruple, with this infinit contexture of debates, that our pettie-foggers have wyre-drawne, and wrested as much as ever they could in favour of their pleas and procedes: Cadmus, et totidem plagis confirmamus bolum. We by our forces are beaten; if not blame, we with as many strokes waste them againe.

Reasons having no other good ground then experience, and the diversitie of humane events, presenting vs with infinit examples for all manner of forms. A wise man of our times, faith, that where our Almanakes say, warme or moyft, should a man say cold, and in liue of drie, moyft; And ever et downe the contrarie of what they foretell; were he to lay a wager of one or others success; he would not care what side he tooke, except in such things as admit no uncertainitie: as to promise extreme heat at Christmas, and exceeding cold at Midsummer. The like I think it of these politike discourses. What part fore thou art you put unto, you have as good a game as your fellow: Provided you affirme not the apparant and plaine principles. And therefore (according to my humor) in publike affairs, there is no course so bad (fo age and confiance be joyned unto it) that is not better then change and alteration. Our manners are exceeding corrupted, and with a marvelous inclination bended toward worse and worse; Of our laws and customes many are barbarous, and diverse monstruous; notwithstanding, by reason of the difficultie to reduce vs to a better estate, and of the danger of this subversion, if I could fixe a pegge into our wheel, and lay it where it now is, I would willingly doe it.

Vtimur exemplis, ut non peiora superint. Examples of so filthy shamefull kind.

We never see, but worse remains behind.

Infabilitie is the worst I finde in our state, and that our laws, no more then our garments, can take no setted forme. It is an easie matter to accuse a state of imperfection, since all mortall things are full of it. As easie it is to beget in a people a contempt of his ancient observances: No man ever vnderook it, but came to an end: But to establish a better state in place of that which is condemned and ticed out, divers who have attempted it, have thenke vnder the burden. Touching my conduct, my wife and I hath small share therein. I am very easie to be directed by the worlds publike order. Oh happie people, that doth what is commended, better then they which command, without vexing themselves about causes; which suffer themselves gently to be rowled on, according to the heavens rowling. Obedience is never pure and quiet in him, who talketh, pledeth and contendeth. In form, (to return to my selfe) the only matter, for which I make some account of my selfe, is that, wherein never man did thinke himselfe defective. My commendation is vulgar, common and popular; For, who ever thought he wanted wit? It were a proposition, which in it selfe would imply contradiction. It is an infirmity, that is never where it is seene, it is very strong and fast-holding, but yet pierc'd and dissipat'd by the first beame of the patients sight, as doth the Sunnes rays scatter and dispierce a gloomie mist. For a man to accuse himselfe, were to ex-
The Second Book.

curse himselfe of that subject; and to condemn himselfe, and absolving of himselfe. There was never so base a porter, nor so silly a woman, but thought he had sufficient wit for his provision. We easily know in others, the advantage of courage, of bodily strength, of experience, of disposition and of beauty, but we never yeeld the advantage of judgement to any body: And the reasons, which part from the simple natural discourse in others, we thinke, that had we but looked that way, we had fully found them. The skill, the knowledge, the fite and such like parts, which wee see in strange worke, wee easily perceive whether they exceed ours; but the mere productions of witte and understanding, every man deemeth it lyeth in him to meete with the very like, and doth hardly perceive the weight and difficultie of it, except (and that very scarcely) in an extreme and incomparable distance. And he that should clearly see the height of a strangers judgement, would come and bring his vsnto it. Thus, is it a kind of exercising, wereof a man may hope but for meanne commendation, and small praise, and a maner of composition, of little or no name atall. And then, for whom do you write? The wiser forte, vsnto whom belongeth bookish jurisdiction, know no other prufe but of doctrine, and avow no other proceeding in our wits, but that of erudition and art. If you have mistaken one scipio for another, what of any worth have you left to speake-of? He that is ignorant of Aristotile (according to them) he is therewithall ignorant of himselfe. Popular and shallow-headed minde, cannot perceive the grace and conceinelle, nor judge of a smooth and quaint discourse. Now these two kindes posseffe the world. The third, vsnto whose share you fall, of regular wits, and that are strong of themselves, is so rare, that justly it hath neither name nor ranke amongst vs; he loothed halfe his time, that doth aspire or endevoure to pleafit. It is commonly fad, that the jufleft portion, nature hath given vs of the graces. is that offene and understanding: for there is no man, but is contented with the share the hath allotted him: Is it not rea
cion? He who should fea beyond that, should see further then his sight. I perswade my selfe to have good and found opinions; but who is not so perswaded of his owne? One of the best triall I have of it, is the small esteem I make of my selfe: for, had they not beene well affured, they would easily have suffred themselves to be deceived, by the affection I bare vsnto my selfe, singular, as he, who brings it almost all vsnto my selfe, and that full but a little besides. All that, which others distribute thereof vsnto an infinite number of friends and acquaintances, to their gorie and greatnes, I referre to the repose of my spirite and to my selfe. What else where escapes of it, is not properly by the appointment of my discourse:

mibi nempe valere & vvere dolis.
Well learnt in what concerneth me,
To live, and how in health to be.

As for my opinions, I finde them infinitely bold and constant to condemn mine insufficiencie.
And to say truth, it is a subject, whereabout I exercise my judgement, as much as about any other. The world lookes ever forwight, I turne my sight inward, there I fix it, there I annycut it. Every man lookes before him, I looke within my selfe; I have no businesse but with my selfe. I vnceillantly confider, controule and taste my selfe: other men go ever else-where, if they thinke well on it; they goe ever forward,

euom in sepe tentat descender.
No man attempteth this Essay,
Into himselfe to finde the way.

as for me I troule me into my selve. This capacitie of siftting out the truth, what, and howfo
ever it be in me, and this free humour I have, not very easily to subject my belief, I love espe
cially vsnto my selfe; for, the most constant, and generall imaginations I have, are those; which(as one would fay)were borne with me: They are natural unto me, and wholly mine.

I produced them raw and simple,of a hardy and strong production, but somewhat troubled and vnperfeete: which I have since established and fortified by the authoritie of others, and by the found examples of antients,with whom I have found my selfe conformable in judgement: Thofe have assured me of my hold-fat of them, and have given me both the enjoying and possession thereof more abolute and more clear. The commendation which every man seekes after, for a vivacitie and promptitude of wit, I chalenge the fame by the order of a notable and faire-founding action, or of some particular sufficiencie; I pretend it by the order, correspondent, and tranquilitie of opinions and customs. Omnino si quidquid est decorum,
The Second Booke.

decorum, nihil est profecto magis quæmque aequitates universalis, universarum etiam magnitudinem: quæmque confertare non præter, unius naturam immortalis omissionem. Cleverly if any thing be decent for a man, nothing is more than even carriage and equitabilis of his whole life, and every action there-in: which you cannot uphold, if following the nature of others, you let pass your owne. Behold here then how farreth I finde my felle guilty of that first part, I said to be in the vice of preump- tion. Concerning the second, which confipteth in not esteemving sufficiently of others, I wot not whether I can so well excuse my felle; for, whatsoever it cost mee, I intend to speake what is of it. It may be, the continuum commerce I have with ancient honours, and the idea of those rich minde of former ages doth bring me out of liking and doute of both others and of my felle, or that in truth we live in an age, which producesthings but meane and indifferent. So it is, that I know nothing worthy any great admiration. Alfo I know not many men so familiarly as I shoulde, to be able to judge of them: and those with whom the qualitie of my condition doth ordinarily make me converfent, are for the most part, fuch as have little care for the manuring of the foule, and to whom nothing is proposd for chiefe felicitie, but honour and for absolute perfection, but valour. Whatsoever I fee or beauteous or worthy in any other man, I willingly commend and regard; yea and I ofteende my felle with what I thinke of it, and allow my felle to lie so farreforth: For, I cannot invent a felle subject. I willingly witnesse with my friends what I finde proue-worthy in them. And of an inche of valoure, I willingly make an inche and a halfe; but to lend them qualities they have not, I cannot; and openly to defend their imperfections, I may not; yea be they mine enemies, I fhall sincerely give them their due, in witnesse their worth or honour. My affection may change; my judgement never. And I confound not my quarrel with other circumftances, that are impertinent and belong not vnto it. And I am fo jealous of the libertie of my judgement, that for what passion soever I can hardly quiet. I wrong my felle more in lying, then him of whom I lie. This commendable and generous coultume of the Persian nation, is much noted; They make very honourably and mildly of their mortall enemies, and with those with whom they are at deadly fue and marrue, so farreforth at the merite of their vertue deferued. I know diverse men who have fundry noble and worthy partes: some wit, some courage, some dextertie, some confidence, some a readinesse in speeche, some one Science, and some another; but of a great man in generall, and that hath so many excellent parts together, or but one, in such a degree of excellencye, as he may thereby be admired, or but compared to those of former ages whom we honor, my fortune hath not permittd me to see one. And the greatest I ever knew living (I meane of natural parts of the minde, and the beft borne) was Stefanus de la Boustie: Verily it was a compleat minde, and who set a good face, and shewed a faire countenance vnpon all matters: A minde after the old flampe, and which, had fortune therewith beene pleased, would no doubt have brought forth wondere wroths, having by skill and study added very much to his rich natural gifts. But I know not how it comes to passe, and surely it doth fo, there is as much vanitie and weakeinesse of understanding found in those, that professe to have most sufficiencie, that will entermeddle with learned vacations, and with the charges that depend of bookes, then in any fort of people, whether it be because there is more required, and expected at their hands, and common faults cannot be excused in them, or that the felle-opinion of knowledge emboalneth them the more to produce and discover themselves over-foreward, whereby they loofe and betray themselves. As an Arrtscer dooth more manifesthe his sottishnesse in a rich piece of worke, which he hath in hand, if foolishly and against the rules of his trade he seek to apply it and entermeddle, then in a vile and base one; and men are more offended at a fault or overfligh in a statuie of gold, then in one of clay. These doe as much, when they fet forth things, which in themselves and in their place, would be good: for, they employ them without discretion, honouring their memory at the cost and charge of their understanding: and doing honour to Cicero, to Galen, to Vitianand to Saint Jerome, to make themselves ridiculous. I willingly returne to this discourse of the fondnesse of our institution: whose aim hath beene to make vs not good and witte, but wise and learned; She hath attained her purpose. It hath not taught vs to follow vertue and embrace wifedom; but made an impression in vs of its Ethimologie and derivation. We can decline vertue, yet can we not love it. If we know not what wifedom is by effect and experience, we know it by prattling and by rote. We are not satisfied to know the race, the shanes, and
and the pedigrees of our neighbours, but we will have them to be our friends, and contract both conversation and intelligence with them: It hath taught vs the definitions, the divisions, and divisions of vertue, as of the surnames and branches of a genealogie, without having other care to contract practife of familierite or private acquaintace betweene vs and it. She hath appointed vs for our learning, not bookes that have founder and truer opinions, but volumes that speake the best Greekke or Latine: and amongst her choie words, hath made the vainest humour of antiquitie to glide into our conceits. A good Institution changeth judgment and manners, as it hapned to Poemen. This dissolute yong Gracian, going one day by chance to heare a Lecture of Xenocrates, where he not only marked the eloquence and sufficiencie of the Reader, and brought not home the knowledge of some notable thing, but a more apparant and solid fruit, which was the sodaine change and amendment of his former life. Who ever heard such an effect of our discipline?

The least disdainfull condition of men, me thinkes, is that, which through simplicitie holds the least ranke, and offrets vs a more regular commerce. The custome and discourses of countrie-clownish-men, finde them commonly to be more conformable and better disposed, according to the true disposition of Philosophie, then are those of our Philosophers. Plus sapit vuls, quia tantum, quantum opus est, sapit. The vulgar is the wiser, because it is but as wise as it most needs. The worthie men, I have judged by external appearances (for to judge them after my fashion, they should be setted nearer concerning warre, and martiall sufficiencie, have beene the Duke of Guise that died before Orleans, and the whilom Marshall Strozzi; For men extraordinary sufficiencie, and endowed with no vulgar vertue, Oliver, and L'Hospital, both great Chancellors of France. Poetie hath likenesse in mine opinion, had his vogue and credit in our age. We have flore of cunning and able men in that profession, Aureate, Beza, Buchanan, L'Hospital, Mont-dore, & Turnebus. As for French-men, I think they have attained the highest degree of perfection that can or ever shall be, and in those parts wherein Renart, and excellent Bello have written, I think they are not farre short of the ancient perfection. Adriane Turnebus knew more and better, what he knewe, then any man in his age, or of many ages past. The lives of the late Duke of Avoine, and of our Confable Monomoronye have beene very noble, and have had fundrie rare remembrances of fortunate. But the worthy-faire and glorious death of the last, in the full light of Paris, and of his King, for their service, against his nearest friends and alliance, in the front of an armie, victorious through his conduct of it, and with an hand-stroke, in that old age of his, deserveth in mine opinion, to be placed and registred amongst the most renowned and famous accidents of my times. As also the constant goodness, the mildness in behaviour, and conscionable facilitie of Monseigneur de Noisie, in such an injustice of armed factions (a very schoole of treason, of inhumanitie and brigandage) wherein he was ever brought vp, a worthie, and famous man of warre, and most experienced in his profession. I have greatly pleas'd my selfe publishing in fundrie places, the good hope I have of Marie Gounoye le Burs my daughter in alliance, and truly of me beloved with more then a fatherly love, and as one of the best parts of my being eneoeffd in my home and solitaires. There is nothing in the world I esteeme more then hire. If childehoode may preface any future successe, hire minde shall one day be capable of many notable things, and amongst other of the perfection of this thrice-faceted amitie, whereunto we reade not, hire force could yet attaine; the sincerity and soliditie of hire demeanors are therein alreadie sufficient; hire kind affection towards me is more then superabounding, and such in deed as nothing more can be withdrowne into it, but that the apprehension, which the hath of my aproching end, by reason of the
The second Booke.

Of giving the lie.

Ye are but will some tell me, this defleigne in a man to make himselfe a subject to write of, might be excused in rare and famous men, and who by their reputation, had bred some desire in others of their acquaintance. It is true, I confesse it, and I knowe, that a handicrafts-man will scarcely looke of his worke, to gaze upon an ordinarie man: Whereas to see a notable great person come into a towne, he will leave both worke and shop. It will be-seemeth any man to make himself knowne, only he excepted, that hath somewhat in him worthie imitation, and whose life and opinions may stand as a patterne to all. Cato and Xenophon have had wherewithall to ground, and eftablish their narration, in the greatness of their deeds, as on a just and solid ground-worke. So are the Iornall bookes of Alexander the great, the Commentaries which Augustus, Cato, Brutus, Silla and divers others had left of their gifts, greatly to bee desired. Such mens images are both beloved and studied, be they either in brasse or stone. This admonition is most true, but it concerneth me very little.

Nor recito enigmis: nisi amicis, idque rogatu.
Nor ubi vis, cor amicitiae quin subjet.
In medio qui Scripta fono relictent, sunt mili, quique launtes.
My writings I reade not, but to my friends, to any,
Nor each where, nor to all, nor but desir'd: yet many
In market place reade theirs,
In bathes, in barbers chaires.

I err not here a statue to be set vp in the market place of a towne, or in a Church, or in any other publick place:

Non egidem hoc studes bullatis ut mibi mugis
Paginae rege secat:
I studie not, my written leaves should growe
Big-fowle with babled toyes which vaine breth's blowe.
Secreti loquimur.
We speake alone.
Or one to one.

It is for the corner of a Librarie, or to ammuse a neighbour, a kinsman, or a friend of mine withall, who by this image may happily take pleasure to renew acquaintance, and to reconverse with me. Others have beene emboldned to speake of themselves, because they have found worthy and rich subject in themselves. I, contrary wife, because I have found mine so barren, and so shallow, that it cannot admit fulfition of ostentation. I willingly judge of other mens actions, of mine by reason of their nullitie, I give small cause to judge. I finde not so much good in my selfe, but I may speake of it without blushing. Oh what contentment were it vnto me, to heare some body that would relate the currende, the vifage, the countenance, the most vifual words, and the fortunes of my ancestors! Oh how attentively would I listen vnto it! Verily it were an argument of a bad nature, to seeme to de-
fale the very pictures of our friends and predecessors, the fashion of their garments and arms, I keepethex writing, the manuall scale, and a peculiar sword. And I referehill in my cabinet ceraine long switches or wands, which my father was wont to carry in his hand:Pat-
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Now-adayes, momentsoftheiiwiiting, wards avmcsc, eruptionjisjthc frivelous-ones mely taken cabinet beleevefpcakingof their progressors. Notwithstanding if my politerite be of another minde, I shall have wherewith to be avenged; for they cannot make so little acampionode, as then I shall doe of them. All the commerce I have in this with the worlde, is, that I borrow the instruments of their writing, as more speedily, and more easie : in requitall whereof I may perad-
venture hinder the melting of some piece of butter in the market, or a Grocer from felling an ounce of pepper.

And if it happen, no man reade me, have I lost my time, to have entertained my selfe so many idle hours, about so pleasing and profitable thoughts? In framing this pourtrraite by my selfe, I have so ofte bene faine to frizzle and trimme me, that so I might the better extract my selfe, that the pattern is thereby confirmed, and in some sorte formed. Drawing my selfe for others, I have drawne my selfe with purer and better colour, then were my first. I have no more made my booke, then my booke hath made me. A booke consubstanti-
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How often hath this busines diverted me from tedious and yrkefome cogitations? (And all frivelous-ones must be deemed tedious and yrkefome.) Nature hath endowd vs with a large facultie to entertaine our selves a parte, and often calleth vs vnto it: To teach vs, that partly we owe our selves vnto societie, but in the better parts vnto our selues. To the end I may in some order and project marshall my fantasie, even to dote, and keepe it from loosing, and stragging in the aire, there is nothing so good, as to give a body, and register so many idle imaginations as pretend themselves vnto it. I lissten to my humors, and harken to my conceites, because I must enroule them. How often, being grieved at some action, which civili-
tie and reason forbade me to withstond openly, have I disgorged my selfe vpon them here, not without an intent of publick instruction? And yet these pocticall rods, are alfo better imprinted vpon paper, than vpon the quick fleshs; What if I lend mine eares, somewhat more attentively vnto books, fith I but watch if I can flich something from them, wherewith to ennambell and vphold mine? I never studied to make a booke; Yet have I somewhat studied, because I had alreadie made it (if to nibble or pinch,by the head or feete, now one Author, and then another be in any fortte to study) but nothing at al to formy opinions: Ye being long fince formed, to affift, to second and to serve them. But woulsball we believe speaking of himselfe, in this corrupted age? since there are few or none, whom we may beleve speaking of others, where there is leffe interest to lie. The first part of customs-cor-
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Now-adayes, that is not the truth which is true, but that which is perfwaded to others. As
The second booke.

Of the liberty of conscience.

It is ordinarily seen, how good intentions being managed without moderation, thrust men into most vicious effects. In this controversy, by which France is at this instant most attacked with civil wars, the belt and safest side, is no doubt, that which maintaineth both the ancient religion and policie of the Country. Neverthelss is amongst the honest men that follow it (for my meaning is not to speak of those, who use them as a colour, either to exerctise their particular revenges, or to supply their greedie avarice, or to follow the favour of Princes: But of such as do it with a true zeal towards their Religion, and an unsatisfied holy affection, to maintaine the peace and uphold the state of their Country) that I say, divers are
whereof unto he My and yet So he forst againft his forstimony anennemy he had received. We have two good Historians, as eye-witnesses of his actions. One of which, (who is MARCELLUS) in sundry places of his Historie bitterly reprooveth this ordinance of his, by which he forbade schooles, and interdicted all Christian Rhetoricians, and Gramarians to teach: Saying, he wished this action might be buried vnder silence. It is very like-ly, if he had done any thing else more sharpe or severer against vs, he would not have forgot it, as he that was well affected to our side. He was indeed very severer against vs, yet not a cruel enemie. For our people themselves report this Historie of him, that walking one day about the City of Calcedonia, MARIS Bishop thereof, durst call him wicked and traitor to Christ, to whom he did no other thing, but answered thus: Goe wretched man, weepe and deplore the losse of thine eyes, to whom the Bishop replied, I thank Jesu Christ, that he hath deprived me of my sight, that so I might not view thy impudent face, affecting thereby (as they say) a kind of Philosophical patience. So this, this part cannot be referred to the cruelties, which he is said to have exercized against vs. He was (faith STRATONIUS my other testimony) an enemy unto Christianity, but without shedding of blood. But to returne to his justice, he can be accussed of nothing but of the rigors he vfed in the beginning of his Empire, against such as had followed the faction of Constantius his Predecessour. Concerning fabrique, he ever lived a Souliers kind of life, and in time of peace, would feede no otherwise, than one who prepared and ensured himselfe to the aulterity of warre. Such was his vigilance, that he devided the night into three or four parts, the leaft of which he alloted unto sleepe, where he employed in visiting the flate of his army, and his guards, or in studies, for amongst other his rare qualities, he was moost excellent in all sorts of learning. It is reported of Alexander the Great, that being laide downe to rest, fearing lest sleepe should divert him from his thoughts and studies, he causd a bafen to be set neere his bed side, and holding one of his handes out, with a brazen ball in it, that if sleepe should surprize him, loosing his fingers endes, the ball falling into the bafen, with the noyse rouzeth him from out his sleepe. This man had a mind so bent to what he undertook, and by reason of his singular abstinence so little troubled with vapours, that he might well have pacit this devise. Touching mylitary sufficiency, he was admirable in all partes belonging to a great Captaine. So was he almost all his life in continuall exercice of Warre, & the greater part with vs in France against the Allemands and Fransomans. We have no great memone of any man, that either hath seene more dangers, nor that more often hath made triall of his perfon. His death hath some affinitie with that of Eponinodas, for being sturcken with an arrow, and attempting to pull it out, he had surly done it, but that being sharpe-cutting, it hurt and weakened his hand. In that plight he earnestly requested to bee carried forth in the middest of his army,
that he might encourage his soldiers, who without him courageously maintained the battle, until such time as the day broke, and the Army was dispersed.

He was beloved by all, both for his own sake and for the sake of his people. He was a man of upright conduct, and he always acted according to the dictates of his conscience. He was true to his friends, and he was a man of integrity. In matters of religion, he was a good example to others. He was a man of great piety, and he always followed the dictates of his conscience.

He was a man of great influence, and he always acted according to the dictates of his conscience. He was a man of integrity, and he always acted according to the dictates of his conscience. He was a man of great piety, and he always followed the dictates of his conscience.

He was a man of great influence, and he always acted according to the dictates of his conscience. He was a man of integrity, and he always acted according to the dictates of his conscience. He was a man of great piety, and he always followed the dictates of his conscience.

The second Booke.

We taste nothing purely.

The twentith Chapter.

The weaknesses of our condition, caufeth, that things in their nature intemperate and puritie cannot fall into our vse. The elements we enjoy are altered: Metsalls likewise, yea golde
The second Booke.

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gold must be empare with some other stufle to make it fit for our service. Nor verius to
simple, which Aristion, Pyrrho, and the Stoickes, made the end of their life, hath beene
to doe no good with compilation: Nor the Cireniake sensuality or Aristippan vo-
lupniuifnes. Of the pleasures and goods we have, there is none exempted from some mixture of
evil, and uncommoditie.

Surgit amari aliquo, quaem in ipsi floribus angat,
From middle spring of sweetes some bitter spring,
Which in the very flower smartly stings.

Our exceeding voluptuounites hath some aire of groining and wailing: Would you not say, it dieth with anguish? Tea when we forge it's image in hir excellence, we decke it with
Epithets, flickifh and dolorous qualities: languor, effeminacie, weakness, fainting, and Mor-
bidezze, a great testimony of their confanguinitie and confubstantialitie. Excessive joy hath
more seueritie, then jolltie: Extreme and full content, more settledness, then cheeffulness.
Ip/a felicitas, sem/temperat, permitt. Felicitie it selfe, unless it temper it selfe, distemperes
Eafe consumeth. It is that, which an old Greekke verfe faith, of such a fentence. The Gods
fell vs all the goods they give vs; that is to say, they give vs not one pure & perfect, and that
which we buy not with the price of some e维尔. Travell and pleasure, most unlee in nature,
are notwithstanding followed together by a kinde I wot not what natural conjunction So-
crates faith, that some God attempted to huddle vp together, and confound thorow and vo-
lupniuifnes: but being vnable to effect it, he thought himselfe to couple them together,
at leaft by the tale. Metærodorus said, that in daffnese there is some aloy of pleasure. He was
not whether he meant any thing else, but I imagine, that for one to ensure himselfe to melanc-
holy, there is some kind of purpose of content, and mutuall delight: I mean besides ambition,
which we also joyned vnto it. There is some shadow of delicacie, and quaint
nessesse, which filimeth and fawneith upon vs, even in the loppe of melancholy. Are there
some complexions, that of it make their nourishment?

— off quodam flere voluptas.

It is some pleasure yet,
With tears our cheekes to wet.

And one Aetelus in Seneca faith, the remembrance of our last friends is as pleasing to vs, as
bitternese in wine that is over old;

Minifter veteripuer salerni
Inpere milicahes amanorves:
Sir boy, my servitor of good old wine,
Bring me my cup thereof bitter, but fine.

and as of sweetyly-flowre apples. Nature discovereth this confusion vnto vs: Painters are of
opinion, that the motions and wrinkles in the face, which serve to weep, serve also to laugh. Ve-
rely, before one or other be determined to express it; but behold the pictures faccile, you
are in doubt toward whch one enclineth. And the extreamite of laughing interminglest it
selfe with tears. Nulium sine aurumamento malum est. There is no evil without some oblication.
When I imagin man fraughted with all the commoditie may be withfed, yet vs suppoie, all his
several members were for ever possesserd with a pleasure like vnto that of generation, even
in the highest point that may be: I finde him to finke vnder the burden of his eafe, and per-
ceive him altogether vnable to beare so pure, so conceaured, and so vnverfall a sensuality.
True he fliet when he is even upon the nicker, and naturally hathneed to escape it, as from
flep, whereon he cannot lay or contain himselfe, and feareth to finke into it. When I
religiously confesse my selfe vnto my selfe, I finde, the best good I have, hath some vici-
ous tainte. And I feare that Plato in his pureft vertue (I that am the more and loyallan
esteemer thereof, and of the ve tues offuch a flumpe, as any other can possibly be) if he had
neereby lifted vnto it (and sure he lifted very neere) hee would here have heard some
harsh tone, of humane mixture, but an obscure tune, and one fnable vnto himselfe.

Man all in all, is but a bating and party-coloured worke. The very Lawes of Justice, can
not subsist without some commixture of sinistue: And Plato faith, They undertake to cutte
off Hidraes heads, that pretend to remove all incommoditie and incommenences from the
Lawes. Omne magnum exemplum habet aliquo ex imoque, quod contra singulare videtur
publica reponditur. Every great example hath some touch of similitue, which is required by the

Tacitus Ann. 

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common
common good against particulars. faith Tacitus. It is likewise true, that for the use of life and service of publick societies, there may be excellency in the purities and perfections of our spirits. This piercing brightnesse hath overmuch subtilitie and curiositie. They should be made heavy and dull, to make them the more obedient to example and practice; and they must be thickened and obscured, to proportion them to this shady and terrestrial life. Therefore are vulgar and lefe-wire-drawn newes found to be more fitte and happy in the conduct of affairs. And the exquisite and high-raised opinions of Philosophers, vaunted and vsed to exercise. This sharpe vivacitie of the spirit, and this supple and reflexible volubilitie, troubled our negotiations. Humane enterprizes should be managed more grofely and superficially, and have a good and great part of them left for the rights of fortune. Affairs need not be fitted so nicely and so profoundly. A man looeth himself about the considerations of so many contrary luisters and diverse forms. Volutantibus res inter se pugnantes, obtorperans annis. Their minds were astonisht, while they revolved things so different. It is that which our elders report of Simonides; because his imagination, concerning the quefion Hyeron the King had made vnto him (which the better to anfwere he had diverse days allowed him to thinke of it) presented fundry subtilite and sharpe considerations vnto him; doubting which might be the likeliest he altogether dispaire of the truth. Whosoever searcheth all the circumstances, and embraceth all the consequences thereof, hindereth his election. A meane engine doth equally conduz, and sufficeth for the executions of great and little weights. It is commonly feme, that the best husbands and the thristief, are those who cannot tell how they are fo; and that thefie cunning Arithmeticians doe feldom thrive by it. I know a notable prater, and an excellent blazoner of all forts of husbandry and thift, who hath moft pitifully let ten thoufand pound fterline a yeare paffe from him. I know another, who faith, he confulteth better then any man of his counsell, and there cannot be a proper man to fee vnto, or of more sufficience; notwithstanding when hee commeth to any execution; his owne servants finde he is farre-otherwife: This I lay without mentioning or accompling his ill luccce.

The one and twentieth Chapter.

Against idlenesly, or doing nothing.

The Emperor Vespasian, lying sicke of the discafe whereof he died, omitted not to endeavour to understand the State of the Empire; and lying in his bed, vnceflantly dispatched many affaires of great conuenience; and his Philifhians chiding him, as of a thing hurtful to his health, he anfwere, That an Emperor should de standing upright. Lo! here a notable faying, fitting my humour, and worthy a great Prince. Adrian the Emperor vied the fame afterward to like purpose. And Kings ought often to be put in minde of it, to make them feele, that this great charge, which is given them of the commandement over so many men, is no idle charge; and that there is nothing may so justly daftate a subject from putting himselfe in paine and danger for the service of his Prince, then therewith to fee him given to lazinefte, to base and vaine occupations, and to have care of his conuerfation, seeing him so careffe of ours. If any hall goe about to mainaine, that it is better for a Prince to manage his warres by others, then by himselfe; Fortune will store him with sufficient examples of thofe, whose Lieutenants have archived great enterprizes; and also of some whose presence would have beene more hurtfull, then profitable. But no virtuous and coragious Prince will endure to be entertainted with so shamefull infructions. Vnder colour of preserving his head (as the statue of a Saint) for the good fortune of his estate, they degrade him of his office, which is altogether in militarie actions, and declare him vncapable of it. I know one, would rather chufe to be beaten, then sleepe while other fight for him, and who without jealousie never saw his men performe any notable act in his abfence. And then the first had reason to say, that be thought victories gotten in the maifters abfence, not to be compleat. So much more willingly would he have fayed, that such a maiftre ought to blufh for shame, who only
only by his name should pretend any share in it, having thereunto employed nothing but his voice and verbal direction: Nor that, since in such a business, the advices and commandments, which bring honor, are only those given in the field and even in the action. No Pilote exerciseth his office standing still. The princes of Otomans race (the chiefest race in the world in warlike fortune) have everlastingly embraced this opinion. And Bubast the second with his fonne, who ammusing themselves about Sciences; and other private home-matters, neglected the same, gave divers prejudicial blasts unto their Empire. And Amenuth the third of that name, who now reigneth following their example, beginmeth very well to fleece their fortune. Was it not the King of England, Edward the third, who spake these words of our King Charles the fifth? There was never King that lefte armed himself, and yet was never King, that gave me so much to doe, and put me to so many plagues. He had reason to think it strange, as an effect of fortune, rather than of reason. And let such as will num the Kings of Castile and Portugal amongst the warlike and magnanimous conquerors, seek for some other adherent then my selfe; for so much as twelve hundred leagues from their idle reidence they have made themselves masters of both Indies, only by the conduct and direction of their Generals; of whom it would be knowne, whether they durst but goe and enjoy them in person. The Emperor Justin said moreover, that a Philosopher and gallant minded man ought not so much as breathe; that is to say, not to give corporall necessitites, but what may not be refted them; ever holding both minde and body bufied about notable, great and venemous matters. He was ashamed, ane man should see him spette or sweate before people (which is also faid of the Lacedemonian youths, and Xenophon reporteth it of the Persian) forasmuch as he thought that continuall travell, exercice and sobriety should have vanqueted and dried vp all such superfluities. What Seneca fayth shall not impertinently be alledged here: That the ancient Romans kept their youth upright, and taught their children nothing that was to be learned fitting. It is a generous desire, to endeavouer to doe both profitably and manlike: But the effect confifteth not fo much in our good resolution, as in our good fortune. A thousand have resolved to vanquish or to die fighting, which have miffed both the one and other: Hurts or emprisonment, crossing their defelines and yealding them a forced kinde of life. There are diseases which vanquish our defires and knowledge. Fortune should not have seend the vanitie of the Romane legions; who by thet bound themselves, either to die or conquer. Victor, Marce Fabi reverter ev acie: Si fallo, folum patrem Graduamque Martem aliquoque umvat invoco Deos. I will, O Marcus Fabius, returne conqueror from the armie. If in this I deceive you, I wish both Great Jupiter and Mars, and the other Gods offended with me. The Portugallis report, that in certaine places of their Indian conquests, they found some Souldiers, who with horrible execrations had Damien themselves, never to enter unto any composition, but either they would be killed or remaine victorious; and in signe of their vowe wore their heads and beards shaven. We may hazard and obblinate our selves long enough. It feemeth that blows that blows them, who over-joyfully pretend themselves vn to them; and vnwillingly reach those that overwillingly goe to meete them and corrupt their end. Some vnable to loose his life by his adveraries force, having aiaid all po fible means, hath bene enforced to accomplish his resolution, either to bear away the honor, or not to came away his life and even in the furie of the fight to put himselle to death. There are sundrie examples of it; but note this one. Philipus, chiefe General of yong Dionysius his navie against the Saccufans, presenteth them the battle, which was very shapely with good, their forces being a like; wherein, by reason of his prouesse he had the better in the beginning. But the Saccufans flocking thick, and threefold about his galley, to grapple and board him, having performed many worthie exploits by his owne person, to ride himselle from them, dispairing of all escape, with his owne hand depriving himselle of that life, which fo lawfully and in vaine he had abandoned to his enemies hands. Molot Molot, King of Pez, who not long since obtained that famous victorie against Sebastian King of Portugallis a notable victorie, by reason of the death of three Kings, and transmition of so great a Kingsdome to the crowne of Castile, chanced to be grieveously sicke, at what time the Portugallis with armed hand entered his dominions, and afterward, though hee foresaw it, approaching nearer vnto death, empaire worse and worse. Never did man more stoutly, or more vigorously make vfe of an vnanted courage, than he. He found himselle very weake to endure the ceremonious pompe which the Kings of that Country at their entrance into...
the Camp are presented with all, which according to their fashion is full of all magnificence and state, and charged with all manner of action; and therefore he resigned that honour to his brother, yet doubted nothing but the office of the chief Captain. Himselfe most gloriously executed, and most exactly performed all other necessarie duties and profitable Offices. Holding his body laid along his couch, but his mind upright and courage conflan- ted, even to his last gasps and in some fort after. He might have undermined his enemies, who were fond-hardily advanced in his dominions: And was exceedingly grieved, that for want of late longer life, and a substitute to manage the Warre, and affairs of so troubled a state, he was enforced to feeke a bloody and hazardous battell, having another pure and un- doubted victory in hand. He notwithstanding managed the continuance of his life so miraculously, that he consumed his enemy, diverted him from his Sea-Fleete, and Maritime places, he helde along the Coast of Affrike, even with the last day of his life, which by deligne he referved and employed for so great and renowned a fight.

Hereanged his battell in a round, on every side besieging the Portugals army, which bending round, and comming to clofe, did not onely hinder them in the conflict (which through the valour of that yong affilliant King was very furious) since they were to tume then faces on all sides, but also hindered them from running away after the rowte. And finding all defeues feiz'd, and all passages closed, they were constrained to tume upon themselves: conservanturque non solium cade, sed eum fuga. They fall on heapes, not only by slaughter, but by flight. And fo pel-mell to heape one on another's neck, preparing a most murtherous and compleat victory to the Conquerors. When he was even dying, he cauèd himselfe to be carrie and haled, where-ever neede called for himmand and palling along the files, he exhorted the Captaines, and animated the Souldiers one after another. And seeing one wing of the flight to have the worst, and in some danger, no man could hold him, but he wou'd needs with his naked-fword in hand get on horse-backe, straying by all possible means, to enter the throng, his men holding him, fome by the Bridle, fome by the Gowne, and fome by the Stirrups. This toyle & training of himselfe, made an end of that little remainder of his life: Then was he laid on his bed: But comming to himselfe again, starting vp, as out of a fwayne, each other faculty failing him, he gave them warning to conceale his death (which was the necessarie commandement he could give his Servaunts, left the Souldiers hearing of his death, might fall into dispaire) and fo yelded the Ghost, holding his fore-fingers upon his mouthan ordinary signall to impose silence. What man ever lived so long and so neere death? Who ever died so upright and undaunted? The extremest degree, and most natural, courageously to manage death, is to fee or front the fame, not only without amazement, but without care; the course of life continuing free, even in death. As Cato, who ammunized himself to studie and sleepe, having a violent and bloody death, prefent in his hart, and as it were holding it in his hand.

The two and twentieth Chapter.

Of running Post, or Carriers.

I have beene none of the weakest, in this exercise, which is proper vnto men of my stature, well-truff, short and tough, but now I have given it over: It toylez vs over much, to holde out long. I was even now reading, how King Cirus, that he might more speedily receive news from all parts of his Empire, (which was of exceeding great length) would needs have it tried, how farre a horse could in a day goe out-right, without baiting, at which distance he caused Stations to be fet, and men to have fresh horses ready, for all such as came to him. And some report, this swift kindes of running, anfwereth the flight of Cranes. Caucas faith, that Lucu- cius Vobulus Rufus, making haffe to bring Pompey an advertisement, rode day & night, and to make more speed shifted many horses. And himselfe (as Suetonius writeth) would vpon an hyred coache runne a hundred miles a day. And sure he was a rancke-runner: for where a" ny river hindred his way, he swamme it over, and never went out of his way to fetch a bridge
The second Booke.

or ferry. Tiberius Nero going to visit his brother Drusus, who lay sick in Germanie, having three coaches in his company, ranne two hundred miles in four and twenty hours. In the Romane warres against King Atilius, Titus Sempronius Gracchus (faith Titus Livius) Per diuination equos propo incrediilis celeritate ab Amphipolis tertio die Pellan persuens: By horfe laude posti, with incrediilis speede within three days be past from Amphipolis to Pella. And viewing the place, it being Physicall, they were set Stations for Postes, and not newly appointed for that race. The invention of Cecina in sending newes to those of his house had much more speede; he carrieth certaine swallowes with him, and having occasion to send newes home, he let them flie toward their nets, first marking them with some colour, proper to signify what he meant, as before he had agreed upon with his friends. In the Theatres of Rome, the household Maisters, carried Pigeons in their boosomes, vnder whose wings they fastened letters, when they would send any word home, which were also taught to bring back an answer. Dr. Britius, vfed some being besieged in Mutina, and others else-where. In Peru they went posti vpon mens backes, who take their Maisters vpon their shoulders, sitting vpon certaine bears or chaires, with such agility, that in full running speede the first porters without any stay, caft their laode vpon others who vpon the way waited for them, and so to others. I understand that the Valachians, which are messengers vnto the great Turk, vfe extreme diligence in their businesse, for so much as they have authoritie to dif-mount the first passenger they meete vpon the high-way, and give him their tyred Horse. And because they shall not be weary, they are wont to fwathe themselves hard about the bodie with a broade Swathe or Seare-cloath, as diverse others doe with vs: I could never finde ease or good by it.

The three and twentieth Chapter.

Of bad means employed to a good end.

There is a woonderfull relation and correspodence found in this univerfal pollicie of
Natures worke, which manifestly sheweth, it is neither casuall, nor directed be diverse
matters. The infirmities and conditions of our bodies, are likewise scene in states and go-
vernments: Kingdomes and Commonweals as well as we; are borne, florish, and fade through
age. We are subject vnto a replaetntfe of humours, hurtfull and unprofitable, yea beit of
good humours (for even Phisians feare that, and because there is nothing contant in vs,
they say, that perfection of health over joyfull and strong, muift be abated and dimi-
nished, left our nature vnable to settle itselfe in any certaine place, and for his amendment to
ascend higher, should over-violently recoile backe into disorder, and therefore they prehíbite
unto Wrestlers purging and phlebotomie, to subtrahct that superabundance of health from
them) or of bad, which is the ordinary cause of fickeneffe. Of such like replotion are States
often scene to be fickle, and diverse purgations are wont to be vfed to purge them. As we
have scene some to dissimufe a great number of families (chiefly to disburthen the Countrie)
which elsewhere goe to fcekke where they may at others charge fate themselves. In this forse
our ancient French leaving the high Countiries of Germanie, came to poselle Gaul, whence
they displaced the first Inhabitants. Thus grew that infinite confluence of people, which
afterward vnder Brennus and others, over-ramme Italie. Thus the Gothers and Vandells, as al-
so the Nations which poselle Grece, left their naturall Countiries, to go where they might
have more elbow-roome: And hardly shall we see two or three corners in the worlde, that
have not felt the effect of such a removing alteration. The Romane, by such means, ere-
ced their Colliories; for perceiving their Citie to growe over-populous, they were wont to
discharge it of vnneccesary people, which they sent to inhabit and manure the Coun-
tries they had subdued. They have also sometimes maintaine warre with some of their en-
nemies, not onely thereby to keepe their men in breath, left Idleness, the mother of Cor-
ruption, should cause them some worse in convenience.
Et patiens longe pacis mala, servior armis
Luxuria necabit.

We suffer of long peace the foking harms,
On vs lies luxury more fierce then armes.

But also to let the common wealth blood, and somewhat to allay the over vehement heate of their youth, to lop the spriings, and thynne the branches of this over-spreaing tree, too much abounding in ranknesse and gailardike. To this purpose they maintained a good while warre with the Carthaginians. In the treatie of Bretaigne, Edward the third, King of England, would by no means comprehend in that generall peace the controverse of the Dutchie of Brittany, to the end he might have some waye to disburthen himselfe of his men of warre, and that the multitude of English men, which he had employed about the warres of France, should not return into England. It was one of the reasons, induced Philip our King to confer, that his sonne John should be sent to warre beyond the seas, that so he might carry with him a great number of yong hot-bloods, which were amongst his trained militarie men. There are divers now adayes, which will speake thus, wilshing this violent and burning motion we se and feel amongst vs, might be derived to some neigbour warre, feeing left those offending humours, which at this instant are predominant in our bodies, if they be not diverted elsewhere, will still maintaine our fever in force, and in the end cause our utter destruction: And in truth a forraigne warre is nothing so dangerous a disease as a civill: But I wil not beleue that God would favour so vnjust an enterprize, to offend and quarrell with others for our commodity.

CatoEp. lec. 4.

Notwithstanding the weakenesse of our condition, doth often vrges us to this necessitie, to vs bad means to a good end. Lex cursum the most vertuous and perfect Law-giver that euer was, devised this most vnjust fafion, to instruct his people vnto temperance, by force to make the Helotes, which were their servants, to be dronke, that seeing them so loft & buried in wine, the Spartanes might abhorre the excessive of that vce. Those were also more to be blamed, who ancently allowed that crinall offenders, what death ever they were condemned vnto, should by Phisitians all alive be torre in pieces, that so they might naturally fee our inward parts, and thereby establish a more affur'd certaintie in their arte: For, if a man must needs erre or debauch himselfe, it is more excusablie, if he doe it for his soules health, then for his bodies good. As the Romans trained vp, and instructed their people to value, and contempt of dangers & death, by the outrageous spectacles of Gladiators, and deadly fighting fencers, who in presence of them all combated, mangled, sliced and killed one another.

Quid vesani abud sibi vult ars impia ludis,
Quid mortes iterum, quid fangeine passa voluptatis?
What elze means that mad arte of impious senfe, Tho these yong mens deaths, that blood-fed pleasing senfe?

which custome continued even vntill the time of Theodosius the Emperour.

Arripe delatam me dux in temporum famam,
Quodque pars superest succesor laudis habetae:
Nullus in urbe cadat, cuius it pena voluptatis,
Sae folis contenta fera in fiamis acons,
Nulla cruentatio homicidia ludat in armis,
The fame deffer'd to your times entertaine,
Enferite praisa which doth from Sire remaine,
Let none die to give pleasure by his paines,
Be shamefull Theaters with headles content,
Not in goard armes mans slaughter represent.

Surely it was a wonderfull example, and of exceeding benefite for the peoples institutio, to see dayly one or two hundred, yea sometymes a thousand brace of men armed one against another, in their presence to cut and hauck one another in pieces, with so great constancie
flaunce of courage, that they were never seene to vttre one word of saintnesse or commification, never to turne their backe, nor so much as to shew a motion of demisnesse, to avoid their adversaries blowes; but rather to extend their necks to their swordes, and present them selves vnto their strokes. It hath hapned to diverse of them, who through many hurts being wounded to death, have fent to ask the people, whether they were satisfied with their dutie, before they would lie downe in the place. They must, not onely fight and die constantly, but jocoform; in such sorte as they were cursed and bitterly scolded at, if in receiving their death they were any way seene to strive, yea maidens encited them to it.

The first Romans dispofed thus of their criminals: But afterward they did so with their innocent servants: yeas of their free-men, which were sold to that purpose: yeas of Senators, and Romane Knights, and women also.

Nunc capi in mortem vendunt, & famus arenae,
Arque hostem fibi quisque parat cium bella quiescunt.
Thay fell mens lives to death and fanges fight,
When warres doe ceafe, they finde with whom to fight.
Hostes inter furmis novosque latus,
Six fexus radii infitisque ferri,
Et pugnae capi improbis viriles.
Amidst these tumults, these strange sporting fights,
That Sexes doth fit, which knowes not how swords bites,
And entertaines vnmov'd, these manly fights.

Which I should dreme very strange and incredible; if we were not dayly accustomed to see in our warres many thousandes of foraine nations, for a very small some of mony to engage both their blood and life in quarrels wherein they are nothing interested.

The foure and twentioth Chapter.

Of the Romane greatnesse.

I will but speake a word of this infinite argument, and slightly glance at it, to shew the simplicitie of thole, who compare the seely greatnesse of these times vnto that. In the seaventh booke of Ciceroes familiar Epiftles (and let Gramarians remove this title of Familiar, if they please, for to day truth it makes but little to the purpose: and they who in heu of familiar, have placed ad familiares, may wret some argument for themselves, from that which Suetonius hath in Caesars life, that there was a volume of his Epiftles ad familiares) there is one directed vnto Caesar then being in Gaul, in which Cicero repeats these very words, which in the end of a former letter that Caesar had writt to him: Teaching Marcus Furius, whom thou hast commended vnto me, I will make him King of Gaul, and if thou wilt have me preferre any other of thy friends, send them to me. It was not new in a simple Romane citizen (as Caesar then was) to dispone of Kingdomes, for as well deprived he King Deutoras of his, to give it to a gentleman of the City of Pergama, called Mithridates. And those who writ his life, mention many Kingdomes sold by him. And Suetonius reporteth, that he at one time wrested three milliones and six hundred thousand crownes of gold from King Ptolomeus, which amounted very neere vnto the price of his kingdom. 

Tacit. in Etr. lib. 1, 103.

For somuch
The second Booke.

Forso much let Galatia go,
Forso much Lydia, Pontus fo.

Marenus Antonius said, the greatest of the Romane people, was not so much discerned by what it tooke, as by what it gave. Yet some ages before Antonius, was there one amongst others, of so wonderfull authority, as through all his history I know no marke, carrieth the name of his eredite higher. Antiochus poftleffed all Egypt, and was very neere to conquer Cipros, and others depending of that Empire. Vppon the progresse of his victories. C. Popilius came vnto him in the behalfe of the Senate, and at first arrivall, refused to take him by the hand, before he had read the letters he brought him. The King having read them, saide, he would deliberate of them. Popilius with a wand encircled the place about, where he stood, and thus bespake him: Give me an answere to carry backe vnto the Senate, before thou goe out of this circle. Antiochus amazed at the rudeenesse of so vrging a commandement, after he had pawfed a while, replied thus, I will doe what the Senate commandeth me. Then Popilius saluted him as a friend vnto the Roman people. To have renounced so great a Monarchie, and forgone the course of so successfull prosperitie, by the onely impression of three written lines. He had good reason, as afterward he did, by his Ambassadors to send the Senate word, that he had received their ordinances with the same respect, as if they had come from the immortall Gods. All the kingdomes Augustus subdued by right of warre, he restored to those who had lost them, or prefented strangers with them: And concerning this purpose, Tacitus speaking of Cogidamus King of England, by a wonderfull tract makes vs perceive this infinit greatnes and might. The Romanes (faith he) were from all antiquity accustomed, to leave those Kings whom they had vanquished, in the poftleffion of their kingdomes, vnder their authoritie: Ut habuerint instrumenta servitutis & reges. That they might have even Kings also for instruments of their bondage. It is very likely, that Soliman the great Turke, whom we have seene to vse such a liberalitie, and give away the kingdome of Hungarie, and other dominions, did more respect this consideration, than he was wont to allege: which is, that he was over weared with the many Monarchies and surcharged with the severall dominions, which either his owne or his ancestors vertue had gotten him.

The five and twentieth Chapter.

How a man should not counterfeit to be sicke.

There is an epigram in Martial, that may passe for a good one (for there are of all fortes in him) wherein he pleasantly relateth the morie of Celius, who to aoid the courting of ceraine great men in Rome, to give attendance at their rising, and to waite, affift and follow them, fainted to be troubled with the goutte; and to make his excufe more likely, he causeth his legges to bee ointed and swathed, and lively counterfeited the behaviour and countenance of a gouttie man. In the end fortune did him the favour to make him goutie indeede.

Tantum cura potest & ars doloris,
Defit fingere Celius podagram.
So much the care and cunning can of paine:
Celius (growne gowtly) leaves the gowt to faine.

Asfarre as I remember I have read a like historie in some place of Appian, of one who purposing to escape the profcriptions of the Triumvirat of Rome, and to conceale himselfe from the knowledge of those who pursuied him, kept himselfe close and disguised, adding this other invention to it, which was to counterfet blindnes in one eye, who when he came somewhat to recover his libertie, and would have left off the plaister he had long time worned over his eye, he found that vnder that maske he had altogether lost the sight of it. It may be the action of his sight was weakened, having so long continued without exercise, and the visuell vertue was wholly converted into the other eie; For we may plainly perceive, that holding one eie shut, it conuerteth some part of it's effect into his fellow; in such fort as it will
will swell and growe bigger. As also the idlenes, together with the warmth of the medicaments and swathing, might very well drawe some goutie humor into the legge of Martiali goutie fellow. Reading in Froissart the vowe which a gallant troupe of yong English men had made, to wear their left eyes hoodwink't, until such time as they should paffe into France, and there performe some notable exploit of arms vpon vs, I have often laughed with my felde to think what they would have imagined, if as to the fore-alaide, it had happned to them, and had all beene blinde of the left eye, at what time they returned to looke vpon their mistreses, for whose sake they had made their vowe and undertakne such an enterprize. Mothers have great reason to chide their children when they counterfete to be blind with one eye, crompt-backt, squint eyed, or lame, and such other deformities of the body; for, besides that the body thus tender may easilly receive some ill custome, I knowe not how, it semeth that fortune is glad to take vs at our word; And I have heard divers examples of some, who have faine sickne in very deede, because they had purposed to faine sicknes. I have at all times enured my felde, whether I be one herboeke or a foote, to carrie a good heauie wand or cudgel in my hand; yea I have endeavored to doe it handlymoue, and with an affected kinde of countenance to continue so. Many have threatened me, that fortune will one time or other turne this my wantonnes into neceffitic. I presume vpon this, that I should be the firft, that ever was troubled with the gowt. But let vs somewhat amplify this chapter, and patch it up with another piece concerning blindnes. Plutarch reports of one, who dreaming in his sleepe, he was blinde, awaking the next morining, was found to be fiarke blinde, having never had any precedent sicknes. The power of imagination may very well further such things, as else where I have shewed; And Plutarch seemeth to be of this opinion; but it is more likely, that the motions which the body felt inwards (whereof Phicitionis, may if they please, finde out the cause) and which took away his sight, and were the occasion of his dreame. Letvs also add another storie, concerning this purpoe, which Seneca reporteth in his Epifltes. Thou knowest (faith he writing vnto Lucius) that Harpaffe my wifes foole, is left vpon me at an hereditarie charge; for by mine owne nature, I am an enemy vnto such monfteers, and if I have a defire to laugh at a foole, I rede not feeke one farre. I laugh at my selfe. This foolish woman hath sodainly loft her sight. I report a strange thing but yet very true. She will not believe she is blind, and urges her keeper unceasantlie to loose her, saying still, my eye is very dark. What we laugh at birt, I entreate thee to beleve, that the same hapneth to each of vs. No man knoweth to be coyous, no man confeseth to be a niggard. The blind require a guide, but we fliarpe from our selves. I am not ambitious, say we, but no man can love otherwise at Rome: I am not sumptuous, but the Cticke requireth great charges: It is not my fault, if I be colerke; If I have not yet set downe a faire course of my life, the fault is in you. Let vs not feeke one evill out of vs, it is rooted in our entrailes: And onely because we perceive not to be like, makes our recouerie to prove more difficult. If we beginne not betimes to cure our selves, when shall we provide for so many fores, for so many evills? Yet have we a most-sweete and gentle medicine of Philofophiue; for of others, no man feeleth the pleasure of them, but after his recouerie, whereas the pleafeth, easeth, and cureth all at once. Lo here what Seneca faith, who hath somewhat diverted me from my purpoe: But there is profit in the exchange.

The fixe and twentieth Chapter.

Of Thumbs.

Acioni reporteth, that amongst certaine barbarous Kings, for the confirmation of an inviolable bonde or covenant, their manner was, to joyn their right hands close and hard together, with enterlacing their thumbs: And when by hard wringing them the blood appeared at their ends, they pricked them with some sharpe point, and then mutually enterfucked each one the others. Phicitionis say, thumbs are the matter-fingers of the hand and that their Latin Ethymologie is derived of poliure. The Grecians call it ἀκέντα, as a man would
would say another hand. And it seemeth, the Latins likewise take them sometimes in this sense, id est, for a whole hand:

Sed nec vocius excitaitate blandia,
Mellis pollice nec vagata surgit.

It will not rife, though with sweete words excited,
Nor with the touch of softest thumb envieth.

In Rome it was heretofore a signe of favor, to wring and kisse the thumbs,

Prautor utroque tumultu baudabit pollice lundum:
He that applaudes will praise,
With both his thumbs thy plaies.

and of disfavour or disgrace to lift them vp, and turne them outward:

— converso pollice vulgi
Quemlibet occasum populariter.

When people turne their thumbs away,
They popularly any flay.

Such as were hurt or maimed in their thumbs, were by the Romanes dispensed from going to warre, as they who had lost their weapons hold-fast. Anguisus did conficat all the goods of a Romane Knight, who through malice had cut off the thumbs of two yong children of his, thereby to excufe them from going to warre: And before him, the Senate in the time of the Italian warres, had condemned Caius Vatinus to perpetuall prison, and conficat all his goods, forfomuch as he had willingly cut off the thumb of his left hand, so to exempt himfelfe from that voyage. Some one, whose name I remember not, having gained a great victorious by Sea, caufed all the enemies whom he had vanquished and taken prisoners to have their thumbs cut off, thinking thereby to deprive them of all meanes of fighting or rowing, or handling their oares. The Athenians likewise caufed them to be cut of from the Arearities, to barre them of the preheminence in the art of navigation. In Lacedemon, mailiers punished their servants by byting their thumbs.

The second Booke.

The seven and twentieth Chapter.

Cowardize, the Mother of Crueltie.

I have often heard it reported, that Cowardise is the mother of crueltie. And have perceived by experience, that this malicious sharpnes, and inhumane severitie of courage, is commonly accompanied with feminime remittences: I have seene some of the cruellst subject to weep easily, and for frivolous causes. Alexander the tyrant of Phoeres, could not endure to see tragedies acted in the Theaters, for feare his subiects should see him sob and weep at the misfortunes of Hecuba and Andromaca; he who whithout remorse or pitie caufed daily so many poor people to be most cruelly maffacred and barbarously murthered. May it be weaknes of spirit, makes them so pliable to all extremities; valor (whose effect is only to exercice it selfe against refistance,

Nec nisi bellanシアgant servioce invincis.
Not takes he joy to dominere,
But on the necke of sturdy freere)

refrains it selfe, in seeing his enemie proftrate to her mercie: But pusillanimitie, to say that she alois of the feafls, since it cannot be joyned to the first part, takes for his share the second, which is maffacre and blood. Murthers after victories, are commonly effected by the bafer kindes of people, and officers that waite upon the bagage and cariage. And the reason wee fee so many vnheard-off cruelties in popular warres, is, that this vulgarita
tie doth materially flite and enure it selfe to dive in blood vp to the elbowes, and mangle a body, or hacke a carcasse lying and groveling at their feete, having no manner of feeling of other valor.

Et lupus & turpis insistant morientibus ubris.

Et
The second Booke.

—Et quacunque minor nobilitate fert eft.
A Wolfe or filthie Beare the dying man opprèffe,
Or some such beast as in nobilitie is leffe.

As the Craven Curres, which at home or in their Kennels will tugge and bite the skinnes of those wilde beasts, which in the fields they durst not so much as barke at. What is it that now adayes makes all our quarrells mortal? And whereas our forefathers had some degree of revenge, wee now beginne by the lat, and at first brut nothing is spoken of but killing. What is it, if it be not Cowardice: Every man feeth, it is more bravery and dillaine for one to beate his enemy, then to make an end of him; and to keepe him at a bay, than make him die. Moreover, that the defence of revenge is thereby alayed, and better contented; for, it is in a man, at nothing so much as to give or thaw a motion or feeling of revenge onely of her selfe. And that's the reason we do not challenge a beate or fall upon a stone, when it hurtes vs, because they are incapabe to feele our revenge. And to kill a man, is to shelter him from our offence. And even as Bisex, exclaimed upon a wicked man, I know that some or late those beasts be punished for thy wronges, but I feare me I shall not see it: And moaned the Orchomenians, because the penance which Licisefus had for his treason committed against them, came at such a time, as none of them were living, whom it had concerned, and whom the pleasure of that punishment might most delight: So ought revenge to be moned, when he on whom it is inflicted, doth the means to endure or feel it. For, even as the revenge, will fee the action of the revenge, that so he may pleasure the pleasure of it, so must he on whom he is revenged both fee and feel, that he may thereby receive both repentance and grieve. He shall rewd us, if we, And though he receive a flappe or a blow with a piftoll on his head, shall we think he will repent? Contrariwise, if we make him well, we shall perceive that in falling, he makes a moe or bob at vs. Hee is farre from repenting, when hee rather feemes to be beholding to vs: In as much as we afforded him the favours of office, life, which is to make him dye speedilie, and as it were insensibly. We are left to shift vp and downe, runne and trot, and quitt heere and there, and all to avoyde the Officers, or escape the Magistrates that pursue vs; and he is at self. To kill a man, is good to escape a future offence, and not revenge the wrongs past. It is rather an action of fear, than of bravery; Of precaution, than of courage. Of defence, than of an enterprize. It is apparant, that by it, we quit both the true end of revenge, and the respect of our reputation: If he live we feare he wil or may charge vs with the like. It is not against him, it is for thee, thou riddest thy selfe of him. In the Kingdome of Narfinge, this expedient would be booleffe: There, not onely Souldiers, and such as professe armes, but every meane Artificer, decide their quarrels with the Swords point. The King never refuseth anie man the combate, that is disposed to fight; And if they be men of qualitie, he will be by in person, and reward the Victor with a chaine of Gold: Which, whosoever hath a mind unto, and will obtain it, may freely chalenge him that weareth the fame, & enter combate with him. And having overcome one combate hath many following the fame. If we thought by vertue to be ever superiors unto our enemy, and at our pleasure gourmandize him, it would much grieve vs if he should escape vs, as he doeth in dying: We rather endeavor to vanquish furily, than honourably. And in our quarrels, we rather fecke for the end, than for the glory. Afinnis Delo, for an honest man, leffe excusable, committed a like fault. Who having written certaine ingrates against Pianus, flaine vntill he were dead to publish them. It was rather to flurt at a blind man, and raile in a dead-mans care, and to offend a fenceleffe man, than to incure the danger of his revenge. And men answered in this behalfe, that it onl belonged to Hobgoblins to wrestle with the dead: He who slaine till the Author be dead, whose wrtings he will combate, what faith he, but that he is weake and quarrellous? It was told a Aristotle, that some body had spoken ill of him, to whom he answered, Let him also whippe me, so my selfe be not by. Our forefathers were contented to revenge an injure with a blowe, a blowe with a blowe, and so in order. They were sufficiently valiant not to feare their adversary, though he lived, and were wronged: Whereas we quake for fear, so long as we fee him a foote. And that it is so, doth not our moderne praetize, pursuie to death, as well him who hath wronged vs, as him whom we have offended? It is also a knede of daltardineffe, which hath brought this fashon into our fingle combates, to accompany vs into the field with seconds, thirds, and fourths. They were auncestly fingle combates, but now they are skirmites and battels. To be alone feared the first that invented it: Quum in se cuiz, minimum salutis effet. Mm 2 When
The second Booke.

When every man had leffe confidence in himselfe. For, what company soever it be, it doth naturally bring some comfort & ease in danger. In ancient times they were wont to employ third persons aslickers, to see no tretchev or disorder were vied, and to bear witness of the combats likewise. But now this fashion is come vp, let any man be engaged, who soever is en-

"SM SjMih. "

vited, cannot well contain himselfe to be a speculator, lest it be imputed vnfo him, it is either for want of affection, or lacke of courage. Besides the injustice of such an action and villen-

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"o"

"As to say, it is a Superchiev, as it is indeed: as being well armed, to charge a man who hath but a piece of a sword, or being found and strong, to set upon a man fore hurt. But if they be ad-

"42x"

"vantages you have gotten fighting, you may vse them without imputation. Disparitie is not confidered, and inequality is not balanced, but by the state wherein the fight is begunne.

"As for the rest you must rely on fortune: and if alone or single you chance to have three vp-

"on" you, your other two companions being flaine, you have no more wrong done you, than I should offer in War, in striking an enemie, whom at such an advantage I should finde grap-

"led with one of my Fellow-Souldiers. The Nature of societie beareth, where troupe is a-

"gainst troupe (as where our Duke of Orleans challenged Henry King of England, one hun-

"dred against another hundred; three hundred against as many, as did the Argivians against the Lacedemonians; three to three, as were the Floraie against the Curiaie) the pluralitie of either side is never respected for more than a single man. Whether there is company, the hazard is confuded and disordered. I have a private interett in this discourse. For, my brother, the Lord of Moteconol, being denier in Rome, to second and accompany a Gentleman, with whom hee had no great acquaintance, who was defendant and challenged by another. The fight begunne, my brother by chance found himselfe confronted with one nearer and better knowne to him (I would faine be resolved of these Lawes of honour, which fo often (tho.

"and trouble thofe of reafon) whom after: he had vanquished and dispatched, seeing the two principals of the quarrel yet standing and vnhurt, he went to reseke his fellow. What could he do leffe? should he have floode fl, and (if chance would so have had it) see him defeated, for whose defence he was entred the quarrel? What vntill then he had done was nothing to the purpose; and the quarrel was still vndecided. At the curtecie you can, you ought surely vse to your enemy, especially when you have brought him vnder, and to some great disadvantage; I know not how a man may vse it, when another interett depends on it, where you are but accesse, and where the quarrel is not yours. Hee could never be just nor curteous, in hazard of him vnto whom he had lent himselfe. So was he presently delivered out of the Italian prisons, by a speedy and solemn letter of commendations from our King. Oh indifferenc Nation! We are not contented to manifest our follies, and bewray our vices to the World by reputation: but wee goe vnto foreign Nations and there in person shew them. Place three French-men in the dearts of Libia, and they will never live one moneth toge-

"gether without brawling, falling out and trachting one another; you would say this peregrination, is a party erected to please strangers with our tragedies; and those most commonly, who rejoice and feoffe at our evils. We travell into Italy to leaue the Arte of fencing, and pra¢hise it at the cost of our lives, before we know it; if it were requisite according to the order of true Discipline, we should preferre the Theorie before the Practise. We betray our apprenticeship. Primitia inveniamur, vinco, bellique sutori

"Dararudmenta."

The miserable first effayes of youth, And hard beginnings of warre that ensueth.

I know it is an Arte profitable to his end (in the single combate betwene the two Prin-

"ces, cöfim-Germnanes, in Spaine, the eldeft of which (Saith T. Eronus) by the skill of his wea-

"pons, & by craft, overcome easifie the dimayd forces of the younger) and as by experience I have known, the knowledge and skill whereof, hath puffed vp the hart of some, beyond their
The Second Booke.

Non scierar, non parar, non niterarti
Diligiam celerer, non qui defierez ha partes.
Non damno, dolo finis hor pieni, hor scarsi.
Toglie larre e il suor l'uso de l'arte,
Odi le spade horribilmente uortarsi.
A mezze il ferro il pie d'orma non part.
Sempre e il pie flume, e la mano sempre in moto.
Ne scende taglio in uno, ne punta a voto.
T'avoyde, to worder, retiring to give ground.
They reke not, nor hath nimble heere a part.
Nor give false blows, nor full, nor scarse, nor found.
Rage and revenge bereave all vfe of Arte.
Their Swords at halfe Sword horribly refund.
You might hear mette: No foote from steppe doth parte.
Their foote still fat, their hand still faster mootheth.
No stroke in vaine, no thrill in vaine, but proveth.

Shooting at Bats, Tiltings, Torneys, Barriers, the true images of martiall combates, were the exercizes of our forefathers. This other exercize is so much the leffe noble, by how much it respecteth but a private end; which against the lawes of justice, teacheth vs to destroy one another, and every way produceth ever mischievous effects. It is much more worthy, and better becometh for a man to exercise himselfe in things that assure and offend not our Commonwealthe, and which respect publicke securitie and generall glory. Publius Rutilius Consuus, was the first that ever instituted the Souldier to manage his arms by dexterity and skill; and joined arte unto vertue, not for the vse of private contentions, but for the wars and Roman peoples quarrels. A popular and civil maner of fencinge. And besides the example of Cefar, who appointed his Souldiers, above all things, to aime and strike at the face of Pompeyes men in the battell of Pharsalia: A thousand other Chieftaines and Generalls have devised new fashions of weapons, and new kindes of striking; and covering of themselves, according as the present affaires required. But even as Philopomen condemned wrestling, wherein he excelled others, forsoome as the preparations appertaining to this exercize differed from those that belong to military discipline, to which he suppressed, men of honour should amuse and addict themselves. Me thinkes also, that this nimblenesse or agility, to which men fashion and enure themselves, their limbs, their turnings, windings, and nimble-quicke motions, wherein youth is instructed and trained in this new schoole, are not only unprofitable, but rather contrary and domageable for the vse of a military combate: And we see our men doe commonly employ particular weapons in their fence schooles, and peculiarly appointed for that purpose. And I have seene it disallowed, that a gentleman challenged to fight with Rapier and Dagger, should pretend himselfe in the equipage of a man at armes; or that another should offer to come with his cloake instade of a Dagger. It is worthy the noting, that Lahec in Plato, speaking of an apprenticeship, how to manage armes, conformable to ours, faith, he could never fee any notable warrior come out of a schoole office, and especiallly from among the maisters. As for them our owne experience confirmes as much. And for the rest we may at last say, they are sufficiencies of no relation or correspondence. And in the instruction of the children of his Commonwealth, Plato interdics the arts of striking or playing with fifes, devised by Amycus and Epimu, and to wrestle, invented by Anthicus and Cego: because they aime at another end, then to adapt youth to warlike ser-

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vice, and have no affinitie with it. But I degraded much from my theme. The Emperor
Mauricius, being forewarned by dreams, and sundry prognostications, that one Phocas,
a Souldier at that time yet unknown, should kill him, demanded of Philip his sonne in law,
who that Phocas was, his nature, his conditions, and customes, and how amongst other
things Philip told him, he was a fainte, cowardly, and timorous fellow: The Emperor
thereby presently concluded, that he was both cruel and a murtherer. What makes tyrants
so blood-thryt? is it the care of their securitie, and that their faint-hartyeolds them no other
means to affuir themselves, then by rooting out those which may in any forte offend them;
yea feely won: en for feare they should or bite or scratch them?

The second Booke.

Cloud in Plym, etc. etc.
lib. 1, 182,

Of all things he afraid,
At all things fiercely laide.

The first cruelties are exercized by themselves, thence proceedeth the feare of a just re-
venge, which afterward produceth a swarm of new cruelties; by the one to stifle the other.
Philip the King of Macedone, who had so many crowes to pull with the Romanes, agitated
by the honour of fo many murtheres committed by his appointment, and vnable to make his
partie good, or to take any safe resolution against so many families, by him at several times in-
jured, resolved at laft to feize upon all their children whom he had cause to be murthered,
that fo he might day by day one after another rid the world of them, and so establish his safe-
ty. Matters of worth are not imperinent wherefore they be placed. I, who rather respect
the weight and benefite of discourse, then their order and placing, neede not feare to place
here at randone a notable storie. When they are so rich of their owne beaute, and may very
well upholde themselves alone, I am content with a haires end, to fitte or joyne them to
my purpose. Amongst others who had beene condemned by Philip, was one Herodicius,
Prince of the Thessilians: After whome hee caused his two sones in lawe to be putte
to death; each of them leaving a young sone behinde him. Theoxena and Arco were
the two widdowes. Theoxena although shee were infantly vrged thereunto, could
never be induced to marry againe. Arco tooke to husband Paris, a chiefe man amongst the
Atians, and by him had diverse children, all which the left very young. Theoxena moved by
a motherly chancie toward her yong nepheves, and to have them in her protection
and bringing vp, wedded Paris. Vpon this came out the proclamation of the Kings Edict. This
noble-minded mother, distrustfull the kings cruelty, and fearing the merciflencies of his Sate-
lites or Officers towards thefe noble, hopefull and tender youths, feared not to say, that she
would rather kil them with her owne hands, then deliver them. Paris amazed at her protesta-
tions, promiseth her secretly to convoy them to Athens, there by some of his secret friends to
be kept safely. They take occasion of an earily feast, which to the honor of Eneas was
solemnized at Aeca, and thither they go, where having all day-long alleiied to the ceremo-
nonies, and publique banket: night being come, they convoy themselves into a ship, ap-
pointed for that purpose, in hope to save themselves by Sea. But the windes fell out fo con-
trarie, that the next morning they found themselves in view of the towne, whence the night
before they had hoised sailles, where they were pursued by the guardians and Souldiers of
the Porte. Which Paris perceiving, laboured to haften and encourage the Mariners to
shift away: But Theoxena, enraged through love and revenge, remembering her first refo-
lution, prepared both weapons and poison, and presenting them to their fight, thus shee
bespake them: Oh my deare children, take a good heart, death is now the onely mean of
your defence and libertie, and shall bee a just cause unto the Gods for their holy justic.
These bright-keene blades, these full cuppes shall free you the passage unto it. Courage
therefore, and thou my eldeft childe, take this sworde to die the strongest death. Who on
the one side having from vndanted a perfwader, and on the other theire enemies ready to cut
their throates, in furious manner ranne all to that which came next to his hand. And so all
goared and panting were throwne into the Sea. Theoxena proue shee had fo glorifcullly
provided for her childrens safety, lovingly embracing her husband, faide thus vnto him:
Oh my deare heart, let vs follow these boyes, and together with them enjoy one felue fame
great, And so close-clapt together, they flung themselves into the maine: So that the ship
was brought to soare againe, but emplie of his Maisters. Tyrants to act two things to-
gether, that is, to kill and caufe their rage to be felt, have employed the utmost of their skil, to
devise lingering deaths. They will have their enemies die, yet not so soon, but that they may have leisure to feel their vengeance. When they are in great perplexities or if the torments be over-violent, they are short of lingering, not grievous enough. In this they employ their wits and devices. Many examples whereof we see in antiquities; and I wot not, whether wittingly we retain some spice of that barbarism. Whatever be beyond a simple death, seemseth to mee more cruel. Our justice cannot hope, that he whom the terror of death cannot dismay, be he to be hanged or beheaded, can in any fort be troubled with the imagination of a lan- guishing fire, or of a wheele, or of burning pincers. And I wot not, whether in that meane time we bring him to despare. For, what plight can the foule of a man be in, that is broken vp with a wheele, or after the olde fathion, nailed upon a Croffe, and xxvii. hours together expects his death? Iosephus reporteth, that, whilst left the Romane warres continued in Iurie, passing by a place where certaine Jewes had beene crucified three days before, he knew three of his friends amongst them, and having gotten leave to remove them, two of them deade, but the third lived long after. Chalcodemus a man of credite, in the memories he left of matters happened in his time; and thereabouts, maketh report of an extreme torment, the Emperor Necho med was often wont to put in practice, which was by one only blow of a Cimitar or broad Persie Sword, to have men cutte in two parts, by the waft of the body, about the Diaphragma, which is a membrane lying overthwart the lower part of the breast, seperating the heart and lungs from the stomake, which caused them to dy two deaths at once; and affirmeth that both parties were scene full of life, to move and three long time after, if they had bin in lingering torment. I do not thinke, they felt any great torture in that moving. The gallerie torments to looke upon, are not always the greatest to be endured: And I find that much more fiercely-horrible, which other Historians write and which he vied against certaine Lords of Epuras, whom faire and leafully he caused to be fleade al over, disposed by so malicious a dispensation, that their lives continued fifteen daies in that languor and anguish. And these two others; Crofus having caused a Gentleman to be apprehended, greatly favoured by Pantaleon his brother, ledde him into a fullers or cloth-workers shoppe, where with Cardes and Teazels belonging to that trade, he made him to be eard, scraped, and teazed so long vntill he died of it. George Secheill, King-leader of the Conrymen of Polonia, who under the title of a Cizylada, wrought so many michtes, having beene defeated in a battell by the Uayvoda of Transylvania, and taken Prisoner, was for three daies together tyed naked to a wooden-horse, exposerd to al maner of tortures, any man might devise against him; during which time divers other prisoners were kept fastling. At last, he yet living, saw Lucar his deare brother, and for whose safte he fled and entreated, forced to drink his bloud, drawing all the envy and hatred of his mifdeedes upon him selfe. And twentie of his most favoured Captaines were compelled to feed vpson his flesh, with which their teeth they must teare off, and swallow their mofrels. The reft of his body and entrailes, he being dead, were boyled in a pan, and given for food to other of his followers.

The eight and twentieth Chapter.

All things have their season.

Those who compare Cato the Cenfor, to Cato the yonger that killed himselfe, compare two notable natures, and in forme neare one vnto another. The firsteexploited his fortune, wised, and excelleth in militarie exploits, and villitie of his publike vacations. But the yongers vertue (besides, that it were blasphemous, in vigor to compare any vnto him) was much more sincere and vnscorned. For, who will discharge the Cenfor's envy and ambition, that durst counter-checke the honor of Scipio in goodnes and all other parts of excellence, farre greater and better then him or any other man living in his age? Amongst other things reported of him, this is one, that in his eldest yeares he gave himselfe, with fo erneft a longing to learne the Greek tong, as if he had bin to quench a long burning thirst: A thing in mine opinion not very honorable in him. It is properly that which we call doing
or to become a childe againe. All things have their seafon, yea the good and all. And I may say my pater nofiter out of feafon. As T. Quintius Flaminius was acfufed, forasmuch as being Generall of an armie, even in the houfe of the conflfct, he was fcee to withdrawe himselfe, apart, ammufing himselfe to pray God, although he gained the battle.

Impofit fuem fapiens & rebus honestis.

A wife-man will vfe moderation,
Even in things of commendation.

Endemoniada seeing Xenocrates very olde, laboriously apply himfelfe in his schoole-lectures, faid,when will this man knowe fomthing, since he is yet learning? And Phiropomen, to those who highly extolled King Ptolomey, because he daily hardned his body to the exercife of armes: It is not(faid he) a matter commendable in a King of his age, in them to exercife himfelfe, he fhould now reify & substantially imply them.Wife men fay, that yong men should make their preparations, and old men enjoy them. And the greateft vice they note in vs, is, that our defires doe vauntingly growe yonger and yonger. We are ever beginning a newe to live. Our studies and our defires should fometimes have a feeling of age. We have a foote in the grave, and our appetites and pursefites are but new- borne.

Hoc cur dubit. ed. 18. 17.

The secunda marmora
Locas sub ipfam funus, & fepulcri
Immemoris fruns domus.

You, when you fhould be going to your grave,
Put marble out to worke, build houfes brave,
Vmindfull of the bural all you must have.

The longest of my defeignes doth not extend to a whole yeare: now I onely apply my felle to make an end: I take off all my newe hopes and enterprifes: I bid my laft farewell to all the places I leave, and daily dispofelle my felle of what I have. Olim iam nee perit quiequam multi, nec acquiritur: Plus supereft viatici quam via. It is a good while since I neither looke nor get any thing; I have more to bear my charges then way to goe.

Fuit, & quem dederat cursum fortuma pergei.
I have liv'd and the race have past,
Wherein my fortune had me plaft.

To conclude, it is all the cafe I finde in my age, and that it suppressing many cares and defires in me, where with life is much disquieted. The care of the worlds-courfe, the care of riches, of greatnes, of knowledge, of health and of my felle. This man learneth to speake, when he fhould rather learne to hold his peace for ever. A man may alwayes continue his studie, but not schooling. O fond-foolifh for an old man to be ever an Absurdariane.

Dives, si diversius inuenies, non omnibus annuis.

— Omnia convenient.

Divers delights to divers, nor to all
Do all things at all yeares convenient fall.

If we must needes study let vs ftudie something fortufcable to our condition, that we may anfwer, as he did, who being demanded what his ftudie would fteade him in his deceptifie, anfwered that he might the better, and with more cafe leave this world. Such a ftudie was yong Catoes, in fore-feeling his approaching end, who lighting upon Platoes difcourfe of the foules immortalite. Not, as it may be fuppofed, that long before he had not flored himselfe with all sorts of munition for fuch a dislodging. Of affurance, of confance and inftruction, he had more then Plato hath in all his writings: His Science, and his courage, were in this refpet above all Philofophie. Hee undertooke this occupation, not for the service of his death, but as one, who did not fo much as interrupt his fleep, in a deliberation of fuch confequence, whoever without choife or change continued his wonted ftudie, and all other accustomed actions of his life. The fame might, when the Pretorship was refufed him, he paffed over in play. That, whereof he muft die, he fpent in reading. The loffe of life or office was all one to him.
The second Booke.

The nine and twentieth Chapter.

Of Virtue.

I finde by experience, that there is great difference betwenee the sodaine fits and fantasies of the foule, and a resolute disposition and constant habitude: And I see, there is nothing but we may attaine vnto, yea, as some say, to exceede Divinitie it selfe; forso much as it is more to become impaffeble of himselfe, then to be fo by his originall condition: and that one may joynre a resolution and assurance of God to mans imbecillie. But it is by fits. And in the lives of those Heroes or noble worthies of former ages, are often found wonderfull parts, and which seeme greatly to exceede our natural forces: but they are pranks or parts confonant to truth; and it may hardly be believed, mans foule may be tainted and fed with those to high-raised conditions, that vnto it they may become as ordinary and natural. In hapneth vnto our selves, who are but abortive broodes of men, sometimes to rowze our soule farre beyond her ordinary pitch, as stirred vp by the discoures, or provoked by the examples of others. But it is a kinde of passion, which vrgeth, mooveth, agitateth and in some sorts ravisheth her from out her selfe: for, that guilt overblowne, and fome palt, we see, it will vnawares vnbind and loose it selfe, if not to the lowest pitch, at leaft to be no more the fame the was: so that vpon every flight occasion, for a bird loft, or for a glaffe broken, we suffer our selves to be muddied and diffempered very necre as one of the vulgar sort. Except order, moderation and constancie, I imagine all things may bee done by an indifferent and deffece man. Therefore say wifemen, that directly to judge of a man, his common actions must specially be controled, and he must every day be surprized in his worke-day clothes. Pyrrha, who framed fo pleafant a Science of ignorance, affaide (as all other true Philosophers) to fashion his life answerable to his doctrine. And forso much as hee maintained the weakenesse of mans judgement, to be fo extreame, as it could take no resolutions, nor inclination: and would perpetually suspende it, ballancing, beholding and receiving all things, as indifferent: It is reported of him, that hee ever kept himselfe after one fashion, looke and countenance: If he had begunne a discouer, he would end it, though the partie to whom he spake, were gone: And if he went any where, he would not goe an inch out of his path, what let or obstacale forever came in his way; being kept from falls, from cartes or other accidents by his friends. For, to fear or shume any thing, had bene to shocke his proposisions, which removed all election and certainty from his very wenes. He sometimes suffered himselfe to be cut and cathererized with such constancie, as he was never seen so much as to shrug, twitch, move or winke with his eyes. It is sometong to bring the minde to these imaginations, but more to joynre the effects vnto it yet is it not impossible. But to joynre them with such perfeverance and constancie, as to establish it for an ordinary course, very in these enterprizes fo farre from common vfe, it is almost incredible to be done. The reason is this, that he was sometime found in his house, bitterly weeping with his wife, and chafing with his fier, for which being reproved, as he that wronged his indifference: What? said he, must this feesty woman also serve as a witnessse to my rules? Another time, being found to defend himselfe from a dog: It is (replied he) very hard, altogether to dispose and chace off a man: And man must endeavour and enforce himselfe to resist and confront all things, first by effects; but if the worst befall, by reason and by discourse. It is now about feaven or eight yeares since, that a courteous man, yet living, not above two leagues from this place, having long before beene much vexed and troubled in minde, for his wives jealouzie, one day comming home from his worke, and she after her accustomed manner welcomming and entertaining him with bawling and scowling, as one vnable to endure her any longer, fell into such a mooderie, that suddenly with a Sickle, which he held in his hand, he cleane cut off those parts, that were the cause of her jealouzie, and flung them in her face. And it is reported, that a yong gentleman of France, amorous and lustie, having by his perfeverance at last moffified the heart of his faire mistresse, desperate, because comming to the point of his so long fued. for butifesse, he found himselfe vnable and vnprepared, and that
as soone as he came home, he deprived himselfe of it: and sent it as a cruel and bloody sacrifice for the expiation of his offence. Had he done it by discourse or for religions fake, as the priests of Cybele were wont to do, what might we not lay of so haughty an enterprize? Not long since at Braganca, five leagues distance from my house, vp the river of Dordogne, a woman, having the evening before bin grievously tormentet, and sore beaten by her husband, froward and skittish by complexion, determined, though it should cost her the price of her life, by one meane or other, to escape his rudeness, and rising the next morning, went as she was accustomed to visit her neighbours, to whom in some sort she recommended the state of her affaires, than taking a sifter of his by the hand, ledde her along until she came vp on the bridge that crosteth the River, and having bid her harily farewell; as in the way of sport, without the seeing any manner of change or alteration, headlong threw herselfe downe into the River, where she perished. And which is more to be noted in her, is, that this hir determination ripened a whole night in her head. But the Indian Wives may not here be forgotten as worthy the noting: Whose custom is, that Husbands have many Wives, and for hir that is dearest vnto hir Husband, to kil hirselfe after him: Every one in the whole course of hir life, endeavoreth to obtaine this privilege and advantage over all hir fellow-wives: And in the good offices and duties they shew their husbands, respect no other recompence, than to be preferred to accompany them in death.

A late Writer affirmeth, that himselfe hath feene this custome highly reputed in the new discovered East Indias, where not only the wives are buried with their husbands, but also such slaves as he hath enjoyed; which is done after this manner. The husband being deceased, the widdow may, if she will (but fewe do it) request two or three Moneths space to dispose of her busines. The day come, adorned as a sumptuous bride, she mounteth on horsebacke, and with a cheerful countenance, telleth every body, she is going to lie with her bride-groome, holding in her left hand a looking-glass, and an arrow in the right. Thus having a while rid vp and downe in great pompe and magnificence, accompanied with her friends and kinf-men, and much concourse of people, in feast and jollity, she is brought vnto a publike place, purposely appointed for such spectacles. Which is a large open place, in the midst whereof is a pit or grave full of Wood, and near thereof it an upones scaffold, with foure or five steps to ascend, upon which she is brought, and served with a stately and sumptuous banquet, Which ended, she beginneth to dance and sing, and when she thinks good, commeth the fire to be kindled. That done, she commeth downe againe, and taking the neerest of her Husbands kindred by the hand, they goe together to the next River, where she strippes herselfe all naked, and distributeth her jewels and clothes among her friends, then plungeth herselfe in the Water, as if she meant to wath away her sins; then comming out the environneth herselfe in a yellow piece of linen cloth, about the length of fourteen yards; And giving her hand againe vnto hir Husbands Kinf-man, they returne vnto the Mount, where she speakes vnto the people, to whom (if she have any) she recommendeth her Children. Butvnto: The Pette and Mount, there is commonly a Curianne drawn, left the fight of that burning furnace might dissay them: Which many, to shew the greater courage, will not have it drawnne. Her speech ended, a Woman presenteth her with a Vellell full of Oyle, therewith to annoint hir head and bodie, which done, the casteth the rest into the fire, and there-
The Second Booke.

...but who nor nor And I 7 to he mnrath nitie, cines, and advance the triall, the walls is erected vp about them both. When the head behind, wrings her neck about; and having given the last gasp, the walls are immediately made vp close over their heads, wherein they remain buried. In the same Country, there was something like to this in their Gymnosophists, or wife-men, who not by menaces or compulsions of others, nor by the violence of a sodaine humour, but by the expresse and voluntary profession of their rule, their manner was, according as they attained unto a certaine age, or saw themselves threatened by some sickness, to caufe a pile of Wood to be erected, and upon it a rich bedde; and having cheerfully felled their friends and acquaintance, with such a resolution laid themselves downe in that bedde, that fire fell into it; they were never seen to flir nor hand nor foote: And thus died one of them, nam. Plano, in the presence of all the army of Alexander the Great. And who had not so made himself away, was neither esteemed holy nor absolutely happy amongst them; sending his body purged and purifed by fire, after it had consumed whatsoever was mortal and terreftriall in it. This constant meditation of al the life, is that which makes the wonder. Amongst our other disputations, that of Factum, hath much entremelled it selfe; and to joyne future things, and our will it selfe vnto a certaine unavoidable necessity, we yet stand vpon that argument of former times: since God foreseth all things must thus happen, as undoubtede he doeth: They must then necessarily happen so. To which our Clarkes and Maiiters answer, that to see any thing come to paffe, as we doe, and likewise God (for hee being present in full effence, rather feeth than foreseeth) is not to force the fame to happen: yea we fee, because things come to paffe, but things happen not because we fee. The hapning makes the science or knowledge; and not knowledge the hapning. What we fee come to paffe, happeneth; but it might come to paffe otherwise. And God in the eternall register of the caufes of happenings, which he hath in his prefence, hath also thofe, which are called casuall; & the voluntary, which depend of the liberty, he hath given vnto our free will, and knowledge we shall faile, because our will shal have bene to faile. I have seen divers encourage their troopers with this fatall necessite: For, if our houre be tied vnto a certaine point, neither the musket-shottes of our enemies, nor our courage, nor our flight and cowardize, can either advance or recove the fame.

This may well be faile, but feke you who shall effect it: And if it be so, that a strong and lively faith, doth likewise draw actions after it: truly this faith (wherewith we do much fill our mouths) is marvelous light in our times: except the contempt it hath of workes, make her difdain their company. So it is, that to the fame purpose, the Lord of Ionacliffe, as credible a witnesse as any other, tells vs of the Bedoins, a nation entermingled with the Saracines, with whom our King Saint Lewis had to deale in the holy land, who so confidently believed in their religion, the dayes of every one to be prefixed and numbred from all eternity, by an inevitable preconditio, that they went all bare and naked to the warres, except a Turkifh Glaive in their hand, and their body covered but with a white linen cloth: And for their bittrefte curfe, if they chance to fall out one with another, they had even in their mouth; Curf'd be thou, as he that armeth himselfe for feare of death. Here is another maner of triall of a beliefe or faith, then ours. In this rank may likewise be placed that, which those two religious men of Florence, not long fince gave vnto their countrymen. Being in some controversy betweene themselves about certaine points of learning; they accorded to goe both into the fire, in presence of all the people, and in the open market place, each one for the verifying of his opinion; and all preparations were ready made, and execution to be performed, but that by an unexpected accident it was interrupted. A yong Turkifh Lord, having atchieved a notable piece of service in armes, and with his owne person, in full view of the two battels between Amurath & Humaides ready to be joyned together, being demanded by Amurath his Prince, who (being so yong & vnexperienced, for it was the first warre or service he had sene before) had replenished him with so generous and vnanted vigor of courage, answered, that a Hare had bene his former maister and onely teacher of valour; and thus
thus began his spee. h. Being one day a hunting, I found a Hare sitting in her forme, and although I had a brace of excellent good gray-hounds with me in a slid or lease, I thought it good, because I would be sure of my game to tye my bow, for she was a very faire mark: I began to foote my arrown at her, which I did to the number of fortie (for in my quiver were fow many) yet could I never hurt her, nor too much as start her: After all this, I let flip my gray-bound, who could doe no more then I had done: by which I learn, that she had beene belewed and defended by her enemies, and that two graues nor arrows never hit, but by the permision of our fatalite, which it lieth not in us to avoid or advance. This florie may serve to make vs perceive by the way, how flexible our reason is to all sorts of Objects. A notable man, great in yeares, in name, in digni- tie and in learning, vaunted himfelfe unto me, that he was induced to a certaine most impor- tant change of his religion, by a strange and fantafficall invitation and in all things fo ill-con- cluding, that I deemed the fame stronger and more forcible, being taken contrary. He term- ed it a myracle; and fo did I, but in a different fene. Their Hisflorians fay, that perifuation having popularly beene scattered amongift the Turkes, of the fatal, and impoyable prefcrip- tion of their days, doth apparently aye to warrant and emboulen them in dangers. And I know a great Prince, who happily thrive by it, be it he believe it, or take it for an excuse to hazard himfelfe extraordinarily; provided fortune be not foone wearie to favour and backe him. There hath not happened in our memorie a more admirable effect of resolution, than of those two villains that conpired the death of the Prince of Orange: This strange, how the laft , who perfourned the fame could be induced or encouraged to undergoe such an enter- prife, wherein his fellow (though he had refolutely attempted it, and had all might be requir- ed for fuch an action) had fo ill succeff, and miferned. And following the fame steps, and ar- med with fo late an inftruction of distrührung, by his friends, and follower: spifants of bodye strengthes, in his owne handes, and middeft his fervants and guards, and in a City wholly at his devotion. It must of force be faide, that in perfourning it, he employed a well-directed and refolute hand, and a dreadful courage, mov'd by a vigorous paffion. A Poynard is more sure to wound a man, which forfo- much as it requireth more motion and vigor of the arme, than a piflole, it's stroke is more fubject to be hindred or avoided. That the firft mane not to an aflured death, I make no great doubt, for the hopes wherewith he might be entertained could not harbour in a well fettled and refolute minde, and the conduct of his expofit, sheweth, he wanted no more that, then corage. The motions of fo forcible a perifuation may be diverse; for, our fante ide- poseth of her felfe, and of vs as the pleafeth. The execution committes neere Orleans had no coherence with this, wherein was more hazard, then vigour; the blow was not mortall, had not fortune made it fo: and the enterprife to fhoue on horse-backe and farre-off, and to one who mooved still according to the motion of his horse, was the attempt of a man, that rather loved to misle of his effeet, than faie to fave himfelfe. What followed did manifestly fhew it. For, he was fo amazed and drunken with the thought of fo hauyght an execution, as he loft all his fennes, both to worke his ecape, and direft his tongue in his answere. What neede he have done more, then recover his friends by croffing of a riffer? It is a meane, wherein I have cauf’d my felfe in farre leffe dangers, and which I thinke of small hazar, how broade forever , always provided your horfe finde an easie entrance, and on the further fide you forefee an easie and fallow landing, according to the course or streame of the water. The second, when the horrible sentence was pronounced against him, anfwere flowly, I was prepared for it, and I fhall amaze you with my patience. The Anafflesines, a nation depending of Phanaica, are efteemed among the Mahomettis of a foveryigne devotion and purtie of manners; they hold, that the readiet and shorteft way to gaine Paradise, is to kill fome one of a contrary religion: therefore hath it often beene fene, that one or two in their bare doublers have undertaken to affault mightie enemies, with the price of an aflured death, and without any care of their owne danger. And thus was our Earle Raymond of Tripoli murthered or affaffinated (this word is borrowed from their name) in the middeft of his Cittie, during the time of our warres in the holy land: And likewise Conrado Marquis of Monferato, his murtherers being brought to their torture, were fene to swell with pride, that they had performed fo worthy an exploit.
The second Booke.

The thirtieth Chapter.

Of a monstrous Child.

This discourse shall passe single, for I leave it to Phisicions to treate of. I sawe two daies since a child, whom two men and a nurce (which named themselues to be his father, his Uncle, and his Aunt) carried about with intent to get some money with the sight of him, by reason of his strangenes. In all the rest, he was as other children are. He stoope upon his feete, went and prattled in a manner as all other of his age: Hee would never take nourishment, but by his nurces breast; and what in my presence was sufferd to be put in his mouth, he chewed a little, and put it all out againe. His puling differed somewhat from others. He was but fourteen moneths old. Vnder his paps he was fattned and joyned to an other child, but had no head, and who had the conduit of his body flapped, the rest whole. One of his armes was shorter then the other, and was by accident broken at their birth. They were joyned face to face, and as if a little child would embrace another somewhat bigger. The joyning and space whereat they were clofed together, was but foure inches broade, or thereabouts; in such sort that if you thrust vp the imperfect child, you might see vnder the others navill: And the same was betweene the paps and his navill. The navill of the imperfect one could not be seen, but all the rest of his belly might. Thus, what of the imperfect one was not joyned, as armes, buttockes, thighs and legges, did hang and thake vpon the other, whose length reached to the middle-leg of the other perfect. His Nurce tolde me, he made water by both privities. The members of the little one were nourished, living, and in the same stature as the others, except only, they were leffe & thinner. This double body, and these different members, having reference to one only head, might serve for a favorable prognostication to our King, to maintaine the factions and differing parties of this our kingdom vnder an vnitive of the lawes. But lest the success should prove it contrarie, it is not amisse to let him runne his course: For in things alreadie past their neede doth not reach: Quorum fallis sunt, tum ad consuetudinem aliqua interpretatione recunctur. So as when they are done, they may by some construction should be revoked to consuetude: As it is reported of Epimenides, who never dyed contrary. I come nowe from feeing of a shepheard at Medea, of thirtie yeares of age, and thereabouts, who hath no signe at all of genitore parts: But where they should be, are three little holes, by which his water doth continually trill from him. Tho*e which we call monsters are not so with God, in the immensitie of his works. Yet the infinitie of forms therein contained. This poore man hath a beard, and desisteth still to be flushing of women. And it may be thought, that any figure which doth amaze vs, hath relation vnto some other figure of the same kinde, although vnknowne vnto man. From out his all-seeing god did proceedeth nothing but good, common, regular and orderly; but we neither see the faire, nor conceive the relation. Quod credidi viderit, non minutae, etiam si cur fuit nec sit. Quod ante non viderit, id si eveniret, offendit esse cenfet. That which is of no signe, be doth not wonder at, though he know not why it is done; But if that happen, which he never saw before, he thinks it some portentous wonder. We call that against nature, which commeth against custome. There is nothing whatsoever it be, that is not according to his. Let therefore this vnventfall and naturall reagon, chafe from vs the error, and expell the astonishment, which noveltie breedeth, and strangenes causeth in vs.

The one and thirtieth Chapter.

Of anger and choller.

Plutarch is every where admirable, but especially where he judgeth of humane actions. The notable things he reporteth, may be perceived in the comparision of Lycurgus and Numa,
Numa, speaking of the great simplicity we commit, in leaving young children under the government & charge of their fathers and parents. Most of our policies, or Common wealths, faith Aristote (as the Cyclops were wont) commit the conduct of their wives, and charge of their children, to all men, according to their foolish humor or indigente fantasies. And well-nigh, none but the Lacedemonian and Cretensian, have resigned the discipline of children to the laws. WHO feeth not, that in an estate all things depend on nurture and education? And all the while, without discretion, it is wholly left to the parents merite, how foolish and wicked ever they be. Amongst other things, how often (walking through our streets) have I observed to have a play or comedie made in revenge of young boys, which I saw thump, misused, and well-nigh murdered by some hare-brained, meddle, and through cholli-raging Fathers and Mothers, from out whose eyes a man might see sparkles of rage to startle,

--- rabie excrens incendente fernitur
Practicetm, ut saxa ingis abruptae quisque mons
Substrahitur, clinicque latu pendente recutit;
They headlong runne with rage, which doth enflame their lives
Like stones that broken fall from mountaine tops in rivers,
The hill withdrawes, and they are rouled,
From hanging cliffs which leaves their hold.

(And according to Hypocrates, the most dangerous infirmities, are those which disfigure the face) and with a loud thundering voice often to follow children that came but lately from nurce; Which after prove lame, maimed, blockish and dull-pated with blows: And yet our lawes make no account of it, as if these spraines, and vnjoyntings of limbs, or these maimes were no members of our Common-wealth.

Gratuum est quid patriae civem populoque desiderii,
Si facis ut paria sit idoneus vitulis agris,
Vita & bellorum & pacis rebus agenda.
That you to th' contrie give a man, tis acceptable,
If for the contrie fit you make him, for field's able,
Of peace and warre for all achievements profitable.

There is no passion so much transports the furniture of judgements, as doth anger. No man would make conscience to punish that Judge by death, who in rage or choller had condemned an offender. And why should fathers be allowed to beate, or schoolmasters be suffer'd to whip children, or to punish them being angry? It is no longer correction, but revenge. Punishment is unto children as phisick, and would any man endure a phisick, that were angi and wroth against his patient? Our selves (did we well) during the time of our anger, should never lay hands on our servants. So long as our pulse panteth, and we feel any contention, so long remit we the partie: And things will seeme farre otherwise unto vs, if we once come to our lenites againe, and shall better bethink vs. Then is it passion that commands it. This passion that speaketh and not we. A thwart it, faults seeme much greater unto vs, as bodies doe a thwart a foggie mist. Who so is hungry, vieth more, but who so will viue chastme, shoulde never hunger nor thirst after it. Moreover, corrections given with discretion and moderation, are more gently received, and with more good to him that receiveth them. Otherwise he shall never thinke to have beene justly condemned, by a man who is transported by rage and choller, and for his justification alledge the extraordinary motions of his master, the inflammation of his face, his vnwonted othes, his chafing, his vnquietnesse and his rash precipitation.

--- Oratum timent ira, nigrescent fanguine vene,
Laetis Gorgone fanthis igne tinctae.
The face with angerdwelles, the veines growe blacke with blood,
The eyes more fiercely shine then Gorgone fierie moode.

Suetonius writeth, that Caius Rabinius, having by Caesar bin condemned, nothing did him so much good toward the people (to whom he appealed) to make him obtain his lute, as the sharpnes and over boldnes which Caesar had declared in that judgement. Saying is one thing, and doing another. A man must consider the fermost apart, and the preacher altogether. Those have made themselves good sport, who in our daisy have gone about to checke the verite of our Church,
The Second Book.

Church, by the ministers vice: She fetcheth her testimony from elsewhere. It is a foolish manner of arguing, which would foote reduce all things to a confusion. An honest man may sometimes have false opinions, and a wicked man may speak truth: Yeas such a one as believes it not. Verily, it is a pleasing harmony, when doing and saying goe together. And I will not deny, but saying, when deeds follow, is of more efficacie and authoritie: As said Eudamidas, when he heard a Philosopher discoure of warre: These speeches are good, but he that speakes them, is not to be believed. For his cates were never accustomed to heare the clang of trumpets, nor rattling of drums. And Cleonemes hearing a Rethorician speake of valour, burst out into an extreme laughter: Whereat the other being offended, he said vnto him: I would doe as much if I were a Slaoue should speake of it, but were be an Eagle, I should gladly heare him. Me feemeth I perceive in ancient mens writings, that he who speakes what he thinketh, toucheth nearer the quicke, then he who counterfaits. Heare Cicero speake of the love of libertie then listeth to Brutus, theyr very wordes will tell you and found in your ears, tho the latter was a man ready to purchase it with the price of his life. Let Cicero, that father of eloquence treate of the contempt of death, and let Seneca discoure of the fames; the firft draws it on languishing, and you shall plainly perceive, he would faine resolve you of a thing, whereof he is not yet resolved himselfe. He giveth you no heart, for himselfe hath none: Whereas the other doth overawe, animate and inflame you. I never looke vpon an Author, be they fuch as write of vertue and of actions, but I curiously endeavor to finde out what he was himselfe. For, the Ephores of Sparta, hearing a dissolute laver propole a very bootellfull advice vnto the people, commanded him to hold his peace, and defir'd an honest man to affume the invention of it vnto himselfe, and to propound it. Plutarches compositions, if they be well favored, doe plainly manifest the: same vnto us: And I am perswaded I knowe him inwardly: Yet would I be glad, we had some memories of his owne life: And by the way I am faine into this discourse, by reafon of the thankes I owe vnto Aulus Gelius, in that he hath left vs written this storie of his manners, which fetth my subiect of anger. A flave of his, who was a lewd and vicious man, but yet whose cates were somewhat seded with Philosophicall documents, having for some faults by him committed, by the commandement of Plutarches maister, bin stripp'd naked, whilst another servant of his whipped him, grimbled in the beginning, that he was whipped without reason and had done nothing: But in the end, mainly crying out, he fell to rayling and wronging his maister, vpbrading him, that he was not a true Philosopher, as he wanted himselfe to be, and how he had of ten heard him say, that it was an uneceamble thing in a man to be angrie, And that he had made a booke of it: And now all plonged in rage, and engulfed in choller to caufe him so cruelly to be beaten, was cleane contrarie to his owne writings. To whom Plutarch with an walterled, and malde-settled countenance, faid thus vnto him. What? Thou raskall, whereby doest thou judge I am now angrie? Doth my countenance, doth my voice, doth my colour, or doth my speache give thee any testimonie, that I am either moved or chollerike? Me feemeth, mine eyes are not staringly-wilde, nor my face troubled, nor my voice ftrongfull, or deftemperd: Do I waxe redde? Do I foam at the mouth? Doth any word escape me I may repent hereafter? Doe I flartle and quake? Doe I rage and ruffle with anger? For, to tell thee true, there are the right signes of choler and tokeens of anger. Then turning to him that whipped him contiued still thy worke, whilst this fellow and I dispute of the matter. This is the report of Gelius: Architas Tarentinus returning from a warre, where he had beene Captaine general, found his house all out of order, his husbandrie all spoilt, and by the ill government of his Baily, his ground all vaffe and vnmanered; and having called for him, said thus, Away bad man, for if I were not angrie, I would have thee whipst for this, Plato likewife, being vexe and angrie with one of his slaves, communded Spermptus to punish him, excusing himselfe, that now being angrie he would not lay hands vpon him. Charillus the Lacedemonian, to one Eletes, who behav'd himselfe over injently and audacious towards him By the Gods (said he) if I were not now angrie, I would presently make the dit. It is a passion which pleacheth and flatteth it selfe. How many times being moved by any false suggestion, or if at that instant we be presented with any lawfull defence or true excuse, doe we fall into rage against truth and innocencie it selfe? Touching this purpose, I have retained a wonderfull example of antiquitie: Pifo in divers other respects, a man of notable vertue, being angrie, and chashing with one of his Souldiers, who returning from forage or boot-haling, would not give him an accompt
where he had left a fellow-Souldier of his, and thereupon concluding he had killed or made him away, forthwith condemned him to be hanged. And being upon the gallows ready to die, behold his companion, who had stragled abroad, coming home, whereat all the army rejoiced very much, and after many embracements and signes of joy betwene the two Souldiers, the hangman brought both vnto the, all the companie hoping, it would be a great pleasure vnto him; but it fell out clean contrary, for through shame & spite his wrath still burning, was redoubled, and with a flie devife his passion instantly precipitated to his minde, he made three guiltie, as somuch as one of them was found innocent; and caused them all three to be dispatched. The first Souldier because he was alreadie condemned; the second, which had stragled abroad, by reason he was the cause of his fellowes death; and the hangman, for that he had not fulfilled his Generales commandement. Those who have to deal with sieron and skittish women have no doubt scene what rage they will fall into, if when they are most angrie and chaffing, a man be silent and patient, and difdaime to foster their anger and wrath. Cato the Orator was by nature exceeding firefull and cholericke. To one who was with him at supper, a man of a milde and gentle conversation, and whom because he would not move him, seemed to approve what ever he said, and yeldde to him in every thing; as vnable to endure his peevishnes should fo passe without some nourishment, burst out into a rage, and said vnto him: For the love of God deny me somthing, that we may two. So women are never angrie, but to the end a man should againe be angrie with them, therein imitating the lawes of Love. Philocion to a man who troubled his discourse with brawling and strolding at him, in most injurious manner, did nothing else but hold his peace and give him what leasure hee would to vent his choller; which done, without taking any notice of it, began his discourse againe where hee had left it of. There is no reply so speare, as such silent contems. Of the most chollerike and tafkie man of France (which is ever an imperfection,but more excuable in a militarie man for it must needs bee granted, there are in that profession some men who cannot well avoydeit) I ever say, hee is the patientest man I knowe to bridle his choller, to mooveth and transporteth him with such violence, and

that he must cruely enforce himselfe to moderate the same. And for my part, I know no passion I were able to fnowther with such temper and abide with such resolution. I would not let wisedeome at so hight a rate. I respect not so much what he doth, as how much it costs him to doe wronge. Another boasted in my presence, of his behauiours order and milde-nesse, which in truth is singular: I told him, that indeed it was much, namely in men of so eminent qualitie, as himselfe was: On whom all eyes are fixed, alwayes to shew himselfe in a good temper: but that the chieuest point consisted in providing outwardly and for himselfe; and that in mine opinion, it was no wise mans parte, inwardly to fret: which, to maintaine that mark and formall outward apparance, I feared he did. Choller is incoporated with concealed and smothering the same, as Diogenes said to Demosthenes, who fearing to be scene in a Taverne, withdrew himselfe into the same: The more thou recoilest backe, the further thou goest into it. I would rather perswade a man, though somewhat out of season, to give his boy a whirret on the ear, then to difsemble this wife, fterne or severc countenance, to vex and fret his minde. And I would rather make shew of my passions, then smother them to my self: which being vented and express, become more languishing and weake: Better it is to let it point worke outwardly, then bend it against our selves. Omnia vita in aporta le- viora sunt: & sum perniciosissima quem simulata fantatis fulfilunt. All vices are then less perni- cious when they lie open to be scene, but then most pernicioues, when they lurke under counterfeited soundnesse.
Iever warneth of those of my household, who by their offices or authority may sometimes have occasion to be angry, first to husband their anger; then not to employ it upon every flight cause, for that enmarcheth the effect and worth of it. Rash and ordinary wrangling is converted to a custom, and that's the reason each man contemneth: That which you employ against a servant for any slighting, if not perceived, because it is the same he hath sundry times seen you use against him; if he have not waffled a glasse well or misplaced a footle. Secondly, that they be not angry in vaine, but have ever regard their chiding come to his ears with whom they are offended: for, commonly some will brawle before he come in their presence, and chide a good while after he is gone,

*secum petulant amentia certat.*

Madneffe makes with it selfe a fray,
Which fondly doth the wanton play.

and weake their anger against his shadow, and make the flome fall where no man is either chastised or interested, but with the rumour of their voice, and sometimes with such as cannot doe withall. Likewise blame those who being angry, will brave and mutiny when the partie with whom they are offended is not by. The *Redomantados* must be employed on such as teare them.

*Argitus veluti cum prima in praecipitans*

*Territos ciet, aequus fiet in connateat,*

*Arboris obscurus trunco, ventoque laecetis*

*Illebus, e5 Sharfs ad pagam prohibit aren.*

As when a furious Bull to his first combate mooves

His terror-breeding lowes, his horne to anger prooves,

Strivin against a trees truncke, and the winde with strokes,

His preface made to fight with scattered sand, provokes.

When I chance to be angry, it is in the earnest left maner that may be, but yet as briefly and as secretely, as is possible. I looke my selfe in the sullaine and violence, but not in trouble: So that, let me spend all maner of injurious wordes at random and without all heede, and never respect to place my points pertinently, and where they may doe most hurt: For commonly I employ nothing but my tongue. My boyes scape better and cheape in great matters, then in small trifles. Slight occasions surprize me; and the mischief is, that after you are once alane into the pit, it is no matter who thrusts you in, you never cease till you come to the bottom. The fall preseth, hafteneth, movevthe and furthereth itselfe. In great occasions I am pleased, that they are so just, that every body expects a reasonable anger to influe, I glorify myselfe to deceale their expectation. Against these I bandie and prepare my selfe they make me summon vp my wits, and threaten to carry me very farre, if I would follow them. I easily kepe my selfe from falling into them, and if I stay for them, I am strong enough to rejeet the impulsion of this passio, what violent caufe ever it hath. But if it seize vpon me and once Spreke with me, what vaine cause ever it hath, it doth cleanse transport me: I condition thus with those that may conteft with me; when you perceive me to be first angry, be it right or wrong, let me hold on my course, I wil do the like to you, when ever it shall come to my lot. The rage is not engendred but by the concurrence of cholers, which are easily producde one of another, and are not borne at one instant. Let's allow every man his course, so shall we ever be in peace. Oh profitable prescription, but of an hard execution! I shall sometimes seeme to be angry for the order and direction of my house, without any just occasion. According as my age yeldeth my humors more sharp and orepeveth, doe I endeavour to oppose my selfe against them; and if I can I will hereafter enforce my selfe to be feruoynd and not to faffifie, as I shall have more excuse and inclination to be so; although I have heretofore beene in their number that are left. A word more to conclude this Chapter: A certaine faith, Choller doth sometimes serve as armes ynto Virtue and Valor. It is very likely: notwithstanding such as gainefay him, answer pleasantly, it is a weapon of a new fashion and strange vse: For we moove other weapons, but this mooveth vs: our hand doth not guide it, but it directeth our hand; it holdeth vs, and we hold not it.
but to grieve and terrifie him, and who had patiently endured all that, and lost both speech and sense, fully resolved (as himselfe told me) rather to die a thousand deaths (as verily, if you apprehend what he suffered, he past more then one full death) then promisfe any ransom; yet was he one of the wealthiest husbandmen in all his country. How many have bin scene, who have patiently endured to be burnt and rostled for unknowne & wilful opinions, which they had borrowed of others? My selfe have knowne a hundred and a hundred women (for, the saying is, Gaskoinc heads have some prerogative in that) whom you might sooner have made to bite a red-hot piece of yron, than recant an opinion, they had conceived in anger. They will be exasperated and growe more fell against blowes and compulsion. And he who first invented the tale of that woman, which by no threats or stripes, would leave to call her husband pricke-lowfe, and being cast into a pond and duckt vnder water, lifted vp her hands, andjoyning her two thumbs-nails in a ft to kill lice above her head, seemed to call him loute full, deviled a fable, whereof in truth we daily fee the exprefse image in divers womens obftinacie and wilfulneffe. And yet obftinacie is the fitter of constancy, atleat in vigor and ftedfaftneffe.

A man must not judge that which is possible, and that which is not, according to that which is credible and incredible to our fene and vnderstanding, as I have already faide elsewhere. And it is a great fault, wherein the greater number of men doe daily fall (I speake not this of Bodines) to make a difficultie in believing that of others, which themselves neither can nor would doe. Every man perwades himfelfe, that the chief-forme of humane nature is in himfelfe; according to her mutt all others be directed. The proceedings that have no reference to hirs, are falf and fained. Is any thing propofed vnto him of another mans faculties or actions? The firft thing he calls to the judgement of his conftitution, is his owne examples; according as it goeth in him, fo goeth the worlds order. Oh dangerous fottifhneffe, and intolerable fopperry! I consider some men a farre-off, beyond and above my felfe, namely amongst those ancient ones; and though I manifeftly acknowledge mine owne insufficiency to follow or come neere them by a thousand paces, I ceafe not to keepe them still in view, and to judge of those wardes and springs that raife them to high; the fedics, whereof I somewhat perceive in my felfe: as likewise I doe of the mindes extreme bafenes, which amazeth me nothing at all, and I misbelieve no more. I fee the turne those give to wind vp themfelvses, and I admire their greatness; and those starts which I perceive to be so wondrous faire, I embrace them: and it with my strength I reach not vnto them, at leaft my judgement doth most willingly apply it felfe vnto them. The other example, he addeth of things incredible, and altogether fabulous, reported by Plutarke, is, that Agefians was fiiued by the Ephores, because he had drawn the hearts and good wills of all his fellow-citizens vnto himfelfe alone. I know not what marte of falfehood, or fiew of imposibillite he findes in it; but so it is, that Plutarke speaks there of things, which in all likelihood were better knowne to him, then to vs: And it was not strange in Greece, to fee men punifhed and exiled, onely because they were too popular, and pleased the common people over much. Witenffe the Ostracisme amongt the Athenians, and the Petalisme among the Siracufians. There is another accuation in the fame place, which for Plutarkes fake doth somewhat touch me, where he faith, that he hath very well and in good truth fortd the Romans with the Romans, and the Gracians amongst themfelves, but not the Romans with the Gracians: witenffe (faith he) Demofthenes and Cicero, Cato and Ariflides, Sylva and Lyfander, Marcellus and Pelopidas; Pompey and Agefianus, deeming thereby that hee hath favoured the Gracians, in giving them fo vnequall companions. It is a juft reproovning of that, which is moft excellent and commendable in Plutarke: For, in his comparisions (which is the moft admirable part of his worke, and wherein in mine opinion hee so much pleased himfelfe) the faithfulneffe and sincereitie of his judgement euallith their depth and weight. He is a Philofopher that teacheth us vertue. But let vs fee, whether wee can warrant him from this reprooch of prevarication and faffholde. That, which I imagine hath given occaion or ground to this judgement, is, that great and farre-spreading lieffe of the Romane names, which flill are tinging in our ears, and never out of our mindes. We doe not thinke, Demofthenes may equall the glory of a Consull, of a Proconsull, & a Queltor of this great Commonwealth of Rome. But he that shall impartially confider the truth of the matter, and men in themselves, which Plutarke did chiefly aime at, and more to balallce their cultomes, their natural
natural dispositions and their sufficiency, then their fortune: I am of a clean opposite opinion to Bodine, and thinke that Cicero and old Cato are much behinde or short of their fellows. For this purpose, I would rather have chosen the example of yong Cato compared to Phocion: for in that pairc might well be found a more likely diuersite for the Romanes advantage. As for Marcellus, Sylla and Pompey, I thinke very well, how their exploits of warre, be more twowe, glorious and pomposous, then the Graecians, whom Plutarch compariseth vnto them; but the most verme and fairest actions, no more in warre, then elsewhere, are not alwayes the most famous. I often see the names of some Captaines smothered under the brightnesse of other names of lefter defett: witnesse Labienus, Ventidius, Telamon and divers other. And to take him in that ende, were I to complaine for the Graecians, might not I say, that Camillus is much leffe comparable vnto Themistocles, the Graces to Apollo and Cleomenes, and Numis to Lycurus? But it is foule at one glance to judge of things with so many and diuerse faces. When Plutarch compares them, he doth not for all that, equal them. Who could more eloquently, and with more confidence note their differences? Dost he compare the victories, the exploits of armes, the power of the armes conducted by Pompey and his triumphs, vnto those of Ageiulus? I doe not believe (faith he) that Xenophon himselfe (were he living) though it were granted him to write his pleasure for the advantage of Ageiulus, durft euer dare to admit any comparision betwene them. Seemeth he to equal Lyfander to Sylla? There is no comparision (faith he) neither in number of victories, nor in hazard of battells betwene them: for, Lyfander onely obtained two sea-battells, &c. This is no derogation from the Romanes. If he have but simpy presented them vnto the Graecians, what ever diuersitie may betwene them, he hath not in any fort wronged them. And Plutarch doth not directly counterpoise them. In some there is none preferred before others; He compariseth the parts and the circumstancies one after another, and severally judgeth of them. If therefore any would goe about to convince him of a favour, he should narrowly sift out some particular judgement; or in generall and plaine termes say, he hath misled in fortifying a Graecian to such a Roman, forasmuch as there are other more fortable and correspondient, and might better be compared, as having more reference one vnto another.

The three and thirtieth Chapter.

The History of Spurina.

Philosophy thinkest, the hath not ill employed his meanes, having yeelded the suveraine rule of our minde, and the authoritie to restraine our appetites vnto reason. Amongst which, those who judge there is none more violent, than those which love begetteth, have this for their opinion, that they holde both of body and soule; and man is wholly possest with them: so that health it selfe dependeth of them, and phisike is sometimes constrained to serve them in stead of Pandershipe. But contrariwise, a man might also say, that the commixture of the body doth bring abatment and weakeacr vnto them; because such deires are subject to facietie and capable of materiall remedies. Many who have endeavored to free and exempt their mindes from the continall alarums, which this appetite did affail them with, have vfed incisions, yea and cut-off the moooving, turbulent and vnkyld parts. Others have alayed the force & fervency of them by frequent applications of cold things, as snow & vinegar. The haire-cloths which our forefathers vfed to wearre for this purpose, whereof some made shires, and some waiste-bands or girdles, to torment their reignes. A Prince tolde me not long since, that being very young, and waiting in the Court of King Francys the first, vp on a solemn feastfull day, when all the Court indeavored to be in their best clothes; a humor possest him to putte-on a shire of haire-cloth, which he yet keppeth, and had beene his fathers; but what devotion ever possest him, he could not possibly endure vntill night to put it off againe, and was sick a long time after, protesting he thought no youthly heat could be so violent, but the vfe of this receipt would coole and alay; of which he perhaps never ailed.
but to grieve and terrifie him, and who had patiently endured all that, and lost both speech and sense, fully resolved (as himselfe told me) rather to die a thousand deaths (as verily, if you apprehend what he suffered, he paft more then one full death) then promife any ransom; yet was he one of the wealthiest husbandmen in all his countrey. How many have bin scene, who have patiently endured to be burnt and rosted for unknowne & wilful opinions, which they had borrowed of others? My felle have knowne a hundred and a hundred women (for, the saying is, Gaskone heads have some prerogative in that) whom you might sooner have made to bite a red-hot piece of yron, then recant an opinion, they had conceivd in anger. They will be exasperated and growe more fell against blows and compulsion. And he who first invented the tale of that woman, which by no threats or stripes, would leave to call her husband pricke-lowe, and being cast into a pond and duck'd under water, lifted vp her hands, and joining her two thumbs-nails in act to kill lie above her head, seemed to call him loufe full, deviled a fable, whereof in truth we dayly fee the exprefse image in divers women's obfinitacie and wilfulneffe. And yet obfinitacie is the fitter of conftrancy, at leaft in vigor and felfeafhneffe.

A man muft not judge that which is possible, and that which is not, according to that which is credible and incredible to our felle and underftanding, as I have already faide elsewhere. And it is a great fault, wherein the greater number of men doe dayly fall (I speake not this of Badianes) to make a difficulty in believing that of others, which themselves neither can nor would doe. Every man persuades himselfe, that the chieffe-forme of humane nature is in himselfe; according to her muft all others be directed. The proceedings that have no reference to hims, are falle and fained. Is any thing proposed unto him of another mans faculties or actions? The firt thing he calls to the judgement of his confultation, is his owne examples; according as it goeth in him, fo goeth the worldes order. Oh dangerous fottifhneffe, and intolerable popperry! I consider some men a farre-off, beyond and above my felle,namely amongst thofe ancient ones; and though I manifeftly acknowledge mine owne infufficiencie to follow or come neere them by a thoufand paces, I cafe not to keepe them fih in view, and to judge of thofe wardes and springs that raife them fo high; the feedes whereof I fomehow perceive in my felle: as likewife I doe of the minds extreme bafenes, which amazeth me nothing at all, and I misbelieve no more. I fee the turne thofe give to wind vp themselves, and I admire their greatneffe; and thofe starts which I perceive to be fo wondrous faire, I embrace them: and it with my strength I reach not vnto them, at leaft my judgement doth moft willingly apply it felle vnto them. The other example, he addgeth of things incredible, and altogether fabulous, reported by Plutarke, is, that Agefianus was fii by the Ephores, because he had drowne the hearts and good wills of all his fellow-cittizens vnto himfelle alone. I know not what make offallhood, or fhow of imposibilitie he finds in it; but fo it is, that Plutarke speakes there of things, which in all likehede were bet- ter knowne to him, then to vs: And it was not strange in Greece, to fee men punished and exiled, onely because they were too popular, and pleased the common people over much. Witneffe the Obracifone amongst the Athenians, and the Peleidone amongst the Sircucifans. There is another acuication in the fame place, which for Plutarke take doth somewhat touch me, where he faith, that he hath very well and in good trueh forth the Romans with the Romains, and the Gracians amongst themfelves, but not the Romans with the Gracians winneffe (faith he) Demofthenes and Cicerone Catull and Ariftides, Sylfa and Lyfander; Marcellus and Pelendidus; Pompey and Agefianus, deeming thereby that hee hath favoured the Gracians, in giving them fo vnfeaquall companions. It is a juft reprooving of that, which is moft excellent and commendable in Plutarke: For, in his comparifions (which is the moft admirable part of his worke, and wherein in mine opinion hee moft much pleased himselfe) the faithfullneffe and sinceritie of his judgement equalleth their depth and weight. He is a Philofopher that teacheth vs vertue. But let vs fee, whether we can warrant him from this reproof of prevacration and fallhood. That, which I imagine hath given occasion or ground to this judgement, is, that great and farre-spreadingtie of the Romane names, which still are tingling in our ears, and never out of our minde. We doe not thinke, Demofthenes may equall the glory of a Conful, of a Proconsul, &c A Queller of this great Commonwealth of Rome. But he that fhall impartially confider the truth of the matter, and men in themselves, which Plutarke did chiefly aime at, and more to ballance their cuftomes, their natural
natural dispositions and their sufficiency, then their fortune: I am of a clean opposite opinion to Bedine, and think that Cicero and old Cato are much behind or short of their fellows. For this purpose, I would rather have chosen the example of yong Cato compared to Plutarch: for in that pair 'tis most likely disparted for the Romane advantage. As for Marcellus, Sylla and Pompey, I see very well, how their exploits of warre, be more twelue, glorious and pompous, then the Graecians, whom Plutarch comparith unto them, but the most vertuous and fairest actions, no more in warre, then elsewhere, are not alwayes the most famous. I often see the names of some Captaines imothered under the brightnesse of other names of lesser deferit: witnesse Labienus, Ventidius, Telemaque and divers others. And to take him in that sense, were I to complain for the Graecians, might not I say, that Camillus is much lesser comparable unto Themistocles, the Gracchi to Agesilaus and Cleomenes, and Numao to Lycurgus? But it is sullie at one glance to judge of things with so many and diverse facs. When Plutarch compares them, he doth not for all that equal them. Who could more eloquently, and with more confidence note their differences? Doth he compare the victories, the exploits of armes, the power of the armes conducted by Pompey and his triumphs, unto those of Agesilaus? I doe not believe (faith he) that Xenophon himselfe (were he living) though it were granted him to write his pleasure for the advantage of Agesilaus, durft ever dare to admit any companion betweene them. Seemeth he to equalize Lyfander to Sylla? There is no comparion (faith he) neither in number of victories, nor in hazard of battells betweene them: for, Lyfander onely obtained two sea-battells, &c. This is no derogation from the Romanes. If he have but imployed them unto the Graecians, what soverie power whatsoever may be betweene them, he hath not in any sort wronged them. And Plutarch doth not directly counterpoise them. In some there is none preferred before others. He compariseth the parts and the circumstances one after another, and severally judgeth of them. If therefore any would see about to convince him of favour, he should narrowly sift out some particular judgement; or in general and plain terms say, he hath missed in sorting such a Graecian to such a Romane, forasmuch as there are other more portable and correspondent, and might better be compared, as having more reference one unto another.

The three and thirtieth Chapter.

The History of Spurina.

Philosophy thinketh, the hath not ill employed his meanes, having yeeded the soberain rule of our minde, and the authoritie to reftraine our appetites unto reason. Amongst which, those who judge there is none more violent, than those which love begeth, have this for their opinion, that they holde both of body and soule; and man is wholly possesse[d] with them; so that health it selfe dependeth of them, and phisike is sometimes constrained to serve them in stead of Panderace. But contrariwise, a man might also say, that the commixture of the body doth bring abatement and weakenesse unto them: because such desires are subjunct to facieta, and capable of materiall remedies. Many who have endeavored to free and exempt their minde from the continual alarmes, which this appetite did afflaine them with, have used incencions, yea and cut off the mowing turbulent and vitious parts: Others have alayed the force & fervency of them by frequent applications of cold things, as snow & vinegar. The hair-clowthes which our forefathers vised to weare for this purpose, were of some made thirs, and some waft-bands or girdles, to torment their reigne. A Prince tolde me not long since, that being very yong, and waiting in the Court of King Francis the first, viended on a solemn feastival day, when all the Court endeavored to be in their best clothes, a humor posseffed him to putte on a shirt of hair-clowthe, which he yet keepeth, and had beene his fathers; but what devotion soever possefsed him, he could not possibly endure vn till night to put it off againe, and was sick a long time after, protestinge he thought no youthlie heat could be so violent, but the vise of this receipt would coole and alaye, of which he perhappes never affayed
affrayed the strongest: For, experience sheweth vs, that such an emmotions doth often main
taineth itself under base, rude and slovenly clothes: and hairclothes do not ever make
those poore that wear them. Zenoocrates proceeded more rigorously; for, his Disciples to
make it all of his continuance, having conveyed that beawtiful and famous curtezen Laetus
naked into his bed, saving the weapons of his beauty, wanton allurements, and amorous or love-
procuring potions, feeling that maugre all Philosophical discourses, and strict rules, his skit-
ttish body came to maturation, he caused those members to be burned, which had thinned
that rebellion. Whereas the passions that are in the minde, as ambition, covetousness and
other, trouble reason much more: for, it can have no ayde but from it's owne means; nor
are those appetites capable of violation, but rather sharpened by enjoying, and augmented by
possession. The example alone of Julius Cæsar may fuffice to shew vs the diaprize of those
appetites, for never was man more given to amorous delights. The curious and exact care he
had of his body, is an authentical witneffe of it, for so much as he vfed the most laticious
means that then were in vfe, as to have the haures of his body finered and perfumed al-
over, with an extreme and labored curiosities being of himselfe a goodly perfonnege, white,
of a tall and comely stature, of a cheerful & feemly countenance, his face full and round, and
his cies browne and lively; if at least Suetonius may be believed: For, the statues which now-
adayes are to be feene of him in Rome, answer not altogether this portraiture wee speake of.
Befides his wives, which he changed four times, without reckoning the bies; or Amours in
his youth with Nicerendas King of Bythinia, hec had the Maiden-head of that fow faire,
and highly-renowned Queen of Egypt, Cleopatra, witneffe yong Caesarion, whom he begot
of her. He also made love vnto Euos Queen of Mauritania, and at Rome, to Philomela,
wife vnto Servius Sulpitius to Latha, wife to Gabinius to Tertullia, of Crafsius yea vnto Mutia,
wife to great Pompey, which, as Histories say, was the cause his Husband was divorced from
her. Which thing Plutarch confesseth not to have knowne. And the Curious both father
and sonne, twisted Pompey in the teeth, at what time he tooke Cæsars Daughter to wife, that
he made himfelfe Sonne in law to one, who had made him Cuckold; and himfelfe was wont
to call Egyptus. Befides all this number, he entertained Servilia the fister of Cato, and mo-
ter to Marcus Brutus, whences (as divers hold) proceeded that great affection, he ever bare
to Marcus Brutus; for his Mother bare him at such a time, as it was not unlikely he might be
borne of him. Thus, (as we feeme) have I good reason to deeme him a man extremelie
addicted to all amorous licenciofusneffe, and of a wanton-laticious complexion. But the oth-
er passion of ambition, wherewith he was infinitely infected, and much tinted, when he
came once to withfand the fame, it made him presently to give ground. And touching this
point, when I call Mahomet to remembrance (I meane him that subdued Constaninople, and
who brought the final extermination of the name of Graecians) I know not where thefe two
passions are more equally balanced equally an indefatigable lecher, and a never-tired fouldier.
But when in his life they seeme to strive and concurre one with another, the mutinous
heat, doeth ever gourmandize the amorous flame. And the latter, although out of natural
seasom did never attaine to a ful and absolute authority, but when he perceived himfelfe to be
so aged, that he was utterly vnable longer to vndergoe the butthen of Warre. That which
is alageed, as an example on the contrary side, of Ladieskis King of Naples, is very well worth
the noting, who though he were an excellent, courageous and ambitious Captaine, propo-
sed vnto himselfe, as the principal scope of his ambition, the execution of his fentinel, and
enjoying of some rare and unmatcht beauty. So was his death: Having by a continual
arduous siege brought the City of Florence to fo narrow a pinche, that the inhabitants were
ready to yeeld him the victory, he yeelded the fame to them, vpon condition they would de-
liver into his hands a wench of excellent beauty that was in the city, of whom he had heard
great commendations, which they were enforced to graunt him, and by a private injury to
warrant the publique ruine of the City. She was the Daughter of a notable rare Phisitian,
and whilst he lived chief of his profession: Who seeing himselfe engaged in so fuprous a
necesitie, resolved vpon an haughtie enterprize; Whilest all were buie adoring his daugh-
ter, and besetting her with costly jewels, that she might the more delight and please this
new Kingly lover, he also gave her an exquisitely-wrought, and sweety-perfumed handker-
cher, to vfe in their first approches and embracements: a thing commonly in vfe amongst
the Women of that Country. This Handkercher strongly empoypoyned according to the
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...cunning skill of his Art, comming to wipe both their enflamed secret parts and open ports, did so readily convoy and dispers ps y'poison, that having sodainely chenged their heat into cold, they immediately deceased one in another's arms. But I will now returne to Caefar. His pleasures could never make him loose one minute of an houre, nor turne one fleap from the occasions, that might any way further his advancement. This passion did so soveraignly overawe all others, and possessed his minde with so vncontroled an authority, that the carried him whither it list. Truely I am grieved, when in other things I consider this mans greatness, and the wondrous partes that were in him so great sufficiency in all maner of knowledge and learning, as there is almost no science wherein he hath not written; He was so good an Orator, that divers have preferred his eloquence before Ciceroes; And him selfe (in mine opinion) in that facultie thought him selfe nothing short of him. And his two Antit-Catoes, were especially written to over-balance the eloquence which Cicero had imploied in his Cato. And for all other matters; was ever minde so vigilant, so active, and so patient of Labour as his? And doubleste, it was also embellished with sundry rare seeds of vertue. I mean lively, natural and not counterfet. He was exceeding sober, and so homely in his feeing, that Oppius reporteth, how vpon a time, through a certaine Cooke's negligence, his meate was drest with a kinde of medicinal Oyle, in stead of Olive-oyle, and so brought to the boorde although he found it yet hefed hardly of it, only because he would not shame his Hoste. Another time he caured his Baker to be whipped, because hee had served him with other, than common household bread: Cato him selfe was wont to say of him, that he was the first sober man had adpresse him selfe to the ruine of his country. And wheras the fame Cato called him one day drunkard, it happen'd in this maner. Being both together in the Senate house, where Catilines conspiracie was much spoken of, wherein Caesare was greatly suspect'd to have a hand; a note was by a frend of his brought, & in very secret fort delivered him, which Caeto perceiving, supposing it might be something, that the Conspirators advertized him of, instantly summoned him to shew it, which Cato to avoid a greater suspicion, refused not. It was by chance an amorous letter, which Servinius Catoe sifter writ to him: Cato having read it, threw it at him, saying, hold it againe thou drunkard. I say, it was rather a word of disdain & anger, than an express reprooch of this vice; as often we nicke-name those that anger us, with the first nicke-names of reproaches, that come into our mouth, though meere ly insinuant to thefe with whom wee fall out. Considering, that the vice wherewith Cato charged him, had noe coherence vnto that; wherein he had surprized Caesare; for Venus and Bacchus (as the vulgar Proverb saith) agree well together, but with me Venus is much more blith and game some, being accompanied with sobriety. The examples of his mildnes and clemencie, towards such as had offended him, are infinite: I mean besides thofe he Hewed during the civil wares, which (as by his owne writings may plainly appeare) he vted to blanish and allure his enemies, to make them fear his future domination and victorie the lesse. But if any shall say, those examples are not of validitie to witness his genuine and natural affabilitie, we may lawfully answere, that at least they shew vs a wonderfull confidence, and greatness of courage to have beene in him. It hath often befide him, to fend whole armes backe againe to his enemies, after he had vanquished them, without denying to bind them so much, as with an oath, if not to favour; at least not to bear armes against him. He hath three or foure times taken some of Pompes chief Captaines prisoners, and as often fet them at libertie againe. Pompey declared all such as would not follow and accompany him in his wars, to be his enemies; and he caused thofe to be proclaimed as friends, who either would not stirre at all, or not effectually arm themselves against him. To such of his Captaines as fled from him, to procure other conditions, he sent them their weapons, their horses and all other furniture. The Cities he had taken by maine force, he freed to follow what faction they would, giving them no other garison, then the memorie of his clemencie and mildnes. In the day of his great battle of Pharsalia, he expressly inhibited, that vnlee the were driven to unavoidable extremeties, no man should lay hands upon any Romane citizen. In my judgement these are very hazardous partes, and it is no wonder, if in the civil wares or tumultuous broiles, we have now no fooro, thofe that fight for the ancient lawes and state of their countrey, as he did, doe not follow and imitate the example. They are extraordinary meanes, and which onely belong to Caesars fortune, and to his admirable fore-fight, successfull to direct, and happily to conduct them. When
The second Booke.

When I consider the incomparable greatness and invaluable worth of his minde, I excuse Vitruvius, in that he could not well give him over, in this most vniust and vnnatural cause. But to returne to his clemence; we have divers genuine and lively examples, even in the time of his all swaying government, when all things were reduced into his hands, and he needed no longer to difemble. Caius Memnonius, had written certaine detracting and railing orations against him, which he at full and most sharply had answered, nevertheless he shortly after helped to make him Confidus. Caius Calvus, who had composed divers most injurious Epigrams against him, having employed sundrie of his friends to be reconciled to him againe, Cesar defended to write first vnto him. And our good Catullus, who vnder the name of Mamurra had so rudely and bitterly railed against him, at last comming to excuse himselfe, Cesar that very night made him to suppe at his owne table. Having beene advertised how some were overflaught in rayling against him, all he did was but in a publique oration to declare how he was advertised of it. His enemies, he feared leafe then he hated them. Certaine conspiracies and conventicles were made against his life, which being discovered vnto him, he was contented by an edict to publish, how he was throughly ensnared of them, and never prosecuted the Authors. Touching the respect hee ever bare vnto his friends, Caius Oppius traveling with him, and falling very sickke, having but one chamber he resigned the same vnto him, and himselfe was contented to lie all night abrease and vpon the bare ground. Concerning his justice, he caused a servant of his, whom he exceedingly loved, to be executed, forsoome as he had laine with the wife of a Roman Knight, although no man suft or complained of him. Never was man, that shewed more moderation in his victorie, or more resolution in his adverse fortune. But all these noble inclinations, rich gifts, worthy qualities, were allred, smoothened and eclipsed by this furious passion of ambition by which he suffered himselfe to be so farre mit-ledde, that it may well be affirmed, he only ruled the Sterne of all his actions. Of a liberall man, she made him a common theefe, that so he might the better supply his profusion and prodigality, and made him utter that vile and most injurious speach; That if the wickedst and most pernicious men of the world, had for the service and furtherance bene faithfull vnto him, he would to the victor of his power have cherisht and preferred them, as well as if they had bene the honestest: It to beforrest, and as it were made him drunkne with so extreme vanity, that in the presence of all his fellow-citizens he durft vaunt himselfe, to have made that great and farre-spread Roman Commonwealth, a shapelsse or bodlesse name, and pronounce, that his Sentences or Answers should thence forward serve as Laws: And sitting, to receive the whole bodie of the Senatcomming toward him, and suffer himselfe to be adored, and in his presence divine honours to be done him. To conclude, this onely vice (in mine opinion) left, and overthrew in him the fairest naturall and richest genuine that ever was; and had made his memory abominable to all honest mindes, in somuch as by the ruine of his country, and subversion of the mightiest State and most flourishing Commonwealth, that ever the worlde shall see, he went about to procure his glorie. A man might contrariwise finde diverse examples of great persons, whose pleasure hath made to forget the conduct of their owne affaires, as Marcus Antonius, and others: But where love and ambition should be in one equal balance, and with like forces mate one another, I will never doubt, but Cesar would gains the prize and goll of the victorie. But to come into my path againe. It is much, by discourse of reason, to bridle our appetites, or by violence to force our members, to containe themselves within the bounds of duty. But to whippes vs for the interest of our neighbors, not only to shake off this sweete pleasing passion, which tickleth vs with the selfe-joying pleasure, we apprehend and feel to see our felves gratefull to others, and of all men beloved and faide vnto; but also to hate and forme those graces, which of it are the cause; and to contente our beauty, because some others will be set on fire with it, I have seene few examples like to this. Spurina a yong Gentleman of Thuscany.

Verg. Enl. 10.

Quae gemina mitat fulvosque duodecim arum,
Ant colo decus aut capitulque quale per artex,
Inclusum buxo aut Eriaca terebintho,
Lucet ebor.

As when a precious stone cleare rayses doth spread,
Set in pure golde,adorning necke or head:
The second Booke.

Or as faire Iv'ry shines in boxe endos'de,
Or workemany with Mountaine gumme disposit'de.

being endowed with so alluringly, excessive and singular beaute, that the chaste eyes could not possibly gaze and or continently rest the sparkling glances thereof, not contented to leave so great a flame sucourleffe, or burning fever remedleffe, which he in all persons, and every where enkindled, entred into so furious despite against himselfe and those rich gifts, nature had so prodigally conferred upon him (as they must beare the blame of others faults) that with gashes, and skars, he writtenly mangled, & voluntarily cut that perfect proportion and absolute feature, which nature had so curiously observed in his unmatcht face; whereof to speake my opinion, such outrages are enemies to my rules. I rather admire, then honour such actions. His intent was commendable, and his purpose confidentious, but in my seeing somewhat wanting of wisdome. What if his deformity or ugliness was afterward an instrument to induce others to fall into the flame of contempt and vice of hatred, or fault of envy for the glory of so rare commendation; or of slander, interpreting his humour to be a frantike ambition? Is there any forme, whence vice (if so it please) may not weft an occasion, in some maner to exercise it selfe? It had bene more just, and therewithall more glorious, of so rare gifts of God, to have made a subiect of exemple vertue and orderly methode. Those which requet themselves from publike offices, and from this infinite number of thornic and so many faced rules, which in civill life, binds a man of exact honesty and exquisit integritie: in mine opinion reape a goodly commodite, what peculiar sharpnesses: for ever they enjoyne themselves. It is a kind of death, to avoid the paine of well doing, or trouble of well-living. They may have another prise, but the prise of vnelines me thinks they never had. Nor that in difficulty, there be any thing that is amid the waves of the worldly multitude, beyond keeping himselfe upright and untainted, answerly and truely discharging all members and severall parts of his charge. It is happily more easie, for one, in honest fort to neglect and passe over all the sexe, then dely and wholly to maintain himselfe in his wives companie. And a may more incuriously fall into poverty, then into plenteoufness, being justly dispensed. Cutfome, according to reason, doth leade to more sharpnesse, then abstinence hath. Moderation is a vertue much more toyledome, then suffereance. The chaste and well-living of yong Scipio, hath a thousand severall fashions; that of Diogenes but one. This doth by so much more exceede all ordinary lives in innocencie and vnspottednesse, as those which are most exquisit and accomplisht, exceede it in profile and outgoe it in force.

The foure and thirtieth Chapter.

Observations concerning the meanes to warre after the maner of Iulius Caesar.

It is reported of divers chiefe Generales in warre, that they have particularly affected some peculiar booke or other as Alexander the great highly esteemed Homer, Scipio, Africanus, Xenophon, Marcus Brutus, Polybius; Charles the fift, Philip de Comines: And it is lately avered, that in some places, and with some men, Machiavell is much accompted of: But our late Marshall Strozzi, who had made especiall chofte to love Cefar; without doubt, I think of all other chofte beft; for truely he ought to be the Breuiare of all true Souldeirs; as beinge the absolute and perfect chiefe patterne of Military profession. And God hee knowes with what grace, and with what decorum, hee hath embellish'd this rich subiect, with so pure a kind of speech, so pleasing and so absolutely perfect, that in my tattle, there are no writings in the world, which in this subiect may be compared to his. I will here registre certaine particular and rare parts concerning his maner of warre, which yet remaine in my memory. His Armi beinge somewhat a frighted, upon the reporte that rame of the great forces, which king Iuba brought against him, instead of abating the opinion his soldiers had conceyved of it, and to diminish the meanes or forces of his enemy, having caused them
to be assembled altogether, thereby to allure and incourage them, he tooke a clean contrary course, to that which in like cases we are accustomed to do: for he bade them prove themselves no more to finde out the number of the forces, which his enemies brought against him, for he had already true knowledge & certaine Intelligence of them; and told them a number farre exceeding both the truth and reporte of them: following what Cynus commandeth in Xenophon. Forasmuch as the deceipt is not of like interest, for a man to finde his enemies in effect weaker then he hoped, then stronger: And, having once conceived an opinion of their weakness, he performed all his Souldiers simply to obey, without controlling, gaining saying or speaking of their Captaines designdes, which he never communed vnto them, but vpon the laft point of execution: and was pleased, if by chance they had any incling of them, so to deceive them, presently to change his opinion: And having prefixed a place to quarter-in at night, he hath often beene scene to march further, and lengthen his journey, namely if the weather were faire, or if it rained. The Swizzers in the beginning of his warres in Gaul, having sent toward him to give them free passage through the Roman countries, and he being resolved by force to empeach them, did notwithstanding show them very good looks, and soke certaine days refer it to give them an answere, during which time he might have leisure to assemble his Armie together. These poor people knew not how well he could husband time: For he often repeated, that the skill to embrace occasions in the nick, is the chief part of an absolute Captaine: And truly the diligence he vied in all his exploits, is incredible; and the like was never heard of. If they were not over confious in that, under colour of some treaty, partie or accord, to take any advantage of his enemies: he was as hulde scrupulous, in that he required no other virtue in his Souldiers, but valour; and except mutiny and disobedience, he punished not greatly other vices. After his victories, he often gave them the reines to all licenciofntiel, for a while dispensing them from all rules of military discipline; saying moreover, his souldiers were so well instructed, that though they were in their gayest clothes, pranked vp, masked and perfumed, they would notwithstanding shame furiously to any combate. And in truth he loved to see them richly armed, and made them ware gilt, graven and silvered armours: that their care to keep them clean and bright, might make them more fierce, and readie to defend themselves. Speaking to them, he ever called them by the name of Fellow-souldiers; a name vseed this day by some Captaines, which his successor Augustus afterward reformed, esteeming he had done it for the necessitie of his affaires, and to flatter the hearts of those which followed him but voluntarily.

Rheni mihi Cesar in unis

Dux erat, hic focus, facinus quam inguinet, aquat.

When Cesar paft the Rine, he was my General,

My fellow heere : sine, whom it laiges, makes fellowes all.

But that this custome was over-lowell for the dignitie of an Emperor, & chiefe General of an Armie, and brought vp the fashion againe to call them only Souldiers. To this curesie, Cesar did notwithstanding intermixe a great severitie to suppress & keep them humble. His ninth Legion having mutinied neere vnto Placentia; he presently sufferd the fame with great ignominie vnto it, notwithstanding that Pompey were yet on foot & strong; and would not receive it into favour, but with humble petitions and earnest entreatie. He did more appease them by authentique and audacie, then by mildeness and affabilities. Where he speaketh of his passage over the river of Rhine, towards Germanie, he faith, that deeming it unworthy the honour of the Roman people, his Armie shoulde passe over in ships, he causd a bridge to be built, that so it might passe over drie-foote. There he erectd that admirable bridge, whereof he so particularly describeth the frame: For he never more willingly damates himselve in describing any of his exploits, then where he endeavoreth to represent vnto vs the subtiltie of his inventions, in such kindes of manuall worke. I have also noted this in his booke, that he much accomplisht the exhoritations he made to his Souldiers before any fight: for where he would shew to have beene either surprisde or vrged, he ever alluded this, that he had so much feare as to make an oration to his Souldiers or Armie. Before that great battell gainst thofe of Tournay, Cesar (faith he) having disposed of theire, ranne fomainly whether fortune carried him, to exhors his men; and meeting with the tenth Legion, he had no feare to say any thing else vnto them, but that they should remember
remember their former wars, they should nothing be danted, they should stoutly rest the encounter of their adversaries and forasmuch as the enemy was come within an arrow-shot unto him, he gave the signall of the battell; and sodainely going elsewhere, to encourage others, he found them already together by the eares; See here what humifule faith of it in that place. Verely his tongue hath in divers places much bestead, and done him notable service, and even whilft he lived, his martialic eloquence was so highly regarded, that many of his Armie were zeene to copy and keepe his orations; by which means divers volumes were filled with them, and continued many ages after his death. His speech had particular graces, fo that his familiar friends, and namely Augustus, hearing that rehearsed, which had beene collected of his, knew by the Phrases and words, what his or not. The first time that with any publicke charge he issued out of Rome, hee came in eighteene dayes to the river of Rhone, having ever one or two Secretaries before him, who continually writ what hee endured, and one before him that carried his sword. And surely, if one did nothing but runne vp and downe, he could very hardly attaine to that promptitude, wherewith ever being victorious, having left Gentile, and following Pompey to Brundisium, in eighteene dayes he subdued all Italy, returned from Brundisium to Rome, and thence went even to the hart of Spaine, where hee palt many extreme difficulties, in the warres betweene Afrania and Peltreas, and at the long siege of Marseille : from whence he returned into Macedon, overthrew the Romane Armie at Pharsalia; thence putting Pompey hee passed into Egypt, which hee subdued; from Egypt he came into Siria, and into the countie of Pontus, where he fought with Pharnaces, thence into Africa, where hee defeated Scipio and Inba, and thence through Italy he returned into Spaine, where hee overthrew Pompeys children.

Octoe & calt flammas & tigride fata.
\[\text{Lucan. l.5. 405}\]
\[\text{Virg. Ænd. l.12} \]

Swifter then breed-yong Tiger, or heavyns flath.
\[\text{Lucan. l.4. 151}\]

And as from mountains top a headlong flone
Rent-off by winde, or by stormes troublous daft
Walht-off, or loo'sd by age of yeares ore-gone,
Crofte-carried with great force that hill-like maffe
Bounds on the earth, and rowes with it in one,
Woods, heards, and men, and all that neere it was.

Speaking of the siege of Avaricum, he faith, that it was his custome, both day and night, ever to be neere and about such workmen, as he had left a worke. In all enterprizes of consequence he was ever the first skott-man, or suruyuer of any place: and his Armie never approched place, which shee had not viewed or suruyued himfelfe. And if wee may believe Suetonius, at what time he attempted to passe over into England, he was the first man that founded the paffage. He was wont to say, that he esteemed that victorie much more, which was conducted by advice, and managed by counfell, then by maine strength and force. In the warre against Pretreius and Affricus, Fortune presentning an apparant occasion of advantage vnto him, he faith, that he refused it, hoping with a little more time, but with little hazard, to see the overthow of his enemie. Where he also plaide a notable part, to command all his Armie to swimme over a river, without any necessitie;

\[\text{rapuitque rivos in praebis miles,}\]
\[\text{Quod fugiens subtilis iter, max vids receptis}\]
\[\text{Membris fovent armis gelidique a gurgite, cvrsum}\]
\[\text{Refituent armis.}\]

The Souldier rides that way in haste to fight,
Which yet he would have earde in haste of flight;
His limbs with water wet and cold before,
With armes he covers, running doth reflow.

I finde him somewhat more wane and considerate in his enterprizes, then Alexander; for,
\[\text{O 0 2}\]

the
The second Booke.

The latter seemeth to seke out, and by maine force to runne into dangers, as an imputus or raging torrent, which without heede, discretion, or choice, shockes and checketh what erre it meeteth withall.

And to saye truth, his hap was to be most employed in the spring-time, and first heate of his age, whereas Caesar was well strucken in yeares, when he beganne to follow armes. Alexander was of a more chollerike, fanguine and violent constitution, which humour hee suffered vp with wine, whereas Caesar was verie abstinent. But where occasions of necessitie were offered, and where the subject required it, there was never man that so little regarded his percon. As for me, mee seemeth I rede in diverse of his exploits, a certaine resolution rather to loose himselfe, than to abide the brunt or shame to be overthrownne. In that great battell, which he fought against those of Turnca, seeing the vangarde of his Army somewhat enchoining to route, even as hee was, without shield or target, hee ranne headlong to the front of his enemies: Which many other times happened vnto him. Hearing once how his men were besieged, he past disguized through the midft and thickeft of his enemies campe, so to encounter and ease with them his presence. Having crossed the way to Dyrbachiam, with verie few forces, and perceiving the rest of his Army (the Conduct whereof hee had left vnto Antonius,) to be somewhat slawe in comming, he vndertooke all alone, to repaffe the Sea, notwithstanding a violent and raging Tempelt; and secretly stole himselfe away to fetch the rest of his forces: All the havens on that side, yea and all the Sea being posseffed by Pompey. And concerning the enterprisyes he vnder-went with armed hand, there are divers of them, which in respect of the hazard, exceed all discourse of military reason: for, with how weake means vndertooke he to subdue the Kingdome of Egypt, and afterward to front the forces of Scipio and Inba, which were tenne partes greater than his. Me thinks such men have had a knede of more than humane confidence of their fortune: And himselfe was wont to say, that Haughtie enterprisyes were to be executed and not confulted vpon. After the battell of Pharisa, having sent his Army before into Asia, and himselfe with only one ship passing through the strait of Hellespont, he mette on the Seas with Luccia Cassius, attended on with tenne tall ships of Warre: he was so farre from shunning him, that he durst not onely flay for him, but with al harte make toward and summon him, to yeeld himselfe to his mercie which he did. Having vndertaken that furious siege of Alexandria, wherein were foure thousand men of Defence, and all Greece vp in armes, with a resolution to runne vp on him and raise the siege, and having an Army on fote of one hundred and nine thousand horse, and two hundred fourtie thousand foot; What a fond-hardy and outrageous confidence was it in him, that he would never give over his attempt and resolve in two fo great difficulties together? Which he notwithstanding vnder went: And after he had obtained so notabell a battell of those which were without, he foone reduced those that were besieged in the Towne to his mercie. The verie like happened to Luccia at the siege of Tigranocerta, against King Tigranes; but with an unlike condition, seeing his enemies demisifenede, with whom Luccia was to deal. I will heere note two rare and extraordinarie events, touching the siege of Alexandria: the one, that the French men being all assemblled together with a purpose to meete with Caesar, having diligently survedned and exactly numberd all their forces, resolued in their counsell, to cutte off a great part of this huge multitude, for feare they might breede a confusion. This example is new, to scare to be over many; yet if it be well taken, it is very likely, that The bodye of an Army ought to have a well proportioned greatest number, and ordered to indifferent bounds. Whether it be for the difficultie to feede the same, or to leade it in order and keepe it in awe. And we may easilye verifie by examples, that These numerous and infinite Armies have seldom brought anie notable thing to passe: According to Cirus his saying in Xenophon. It is not the multitude of men, but the number of goodmen, that canfeth anad-
The second Booke.

vantage: The rest rather breeding confusion and trouble, than help or avail. And Bala-zech tooke the chiefest foundation of his resolution, against the advice of all his Captaines, to joynne fight with Tamberlane, only because the innumerable number of men, which his enemie brought into the field, gave him an assured hope of route and confusion. Scanderbeg, a sufficient and most expert judge in such a case, was wont to say, that tenne or twelve thousand truly and resolute fighting men, ought to suffice any sufficient Chieftaine of Warre, to warrant his reputation in any kind of military exercise. The other point, which feemeth to be repugnant both unto subsome and reason of Warre, is, that Vereingentorix, who was appointed chief General of all the forces of the revolted Gauls, vndertook to immure and shuute himselfe into Allexia. For, it hath the commandement of whole Countrie, ought never to engage himselfe, except in cases of extremitie, and where all his rest and last refuge goeth on it, and hath no other hope left him, but the defence of such a place. Otherwise he ought to keepe himselfe free, that so he may have meanes to provide in all partes of his Government. But to returne to Cesar, he became in time somewhat more slow, heedly, and considerate, as witnesseth his familiar friend Oppius deeming, he should not so easily hazard the honour of so many Victories, which one onely disaster, or mis-encounter, might make him lose. It is that the Italians are wont to say, when they will or can no other way preprage any man with this overbearing, or rash fond-hardiness, which is often seene in young men, calling them, Bisognof d honor, as much to say as neede of honour: And that being yet hungry, greedy, and voyde of reputation, they have reason to seeke after it, whatsoever it may cost them: Which they should never doe, that have already acquired the fame. There may be some just moderation in this desire of glory, and some facietie in this appetite, as well as in others; Divers doe to practice it. He was farre from that religion of the ancients Romans, who in their Warres would never prevale but with meere and genuine vertue: But rather joyned more confidence vnto it, than now-adays we should doe: And would not allow of all meanes, were he never so certaine to get the victorie. In his Warres against Arieolus, whilst he was in Parly with him, some tumult or insurrection happened betweene the two armies, which beganne by the fault or negligence of some of Arieolus horsemen. In which hurle-burle: Cesar found himselfe to have a great advantage over his enemies, which notwithstanding he would not embrace, for feare he might be taxed or suspected to have proceeded falsly, or confentted to any treachery. At what time som-ever he went to fight, he was accustomed to weepe a verie rich garment, and of a sheene and garnish colour, that so he might the better be marked. When his Souldiers were neere vnto their enemies, he restraine and kept them very short. When ever the Gracians would accuse or tax any man of extreme insufficientie, they vfed this common Proverbe; That he could neither read nor swimme: And himselfe was of this opinion, that the art of swimming was most necessary and beneficiall in Warre; and a Souldier might escape divers commodities by it. If he were in halfe, and to make speede, he would ordinarily swimme over all the Rivers he met withal: and loved greatly to travell on boate, as Alexander the Great was wont. In Egypt being on a time forced (to save himselfe) to leape into a little Wherry or Boate, and so many of his people following him, that he was in danger to sinke, he rather chose to flinge himselfe into the Sea, which he did; and swimming came into his fleete, that was more than two hundred paces from him, holding his writing Tables in his left hand out of the Water, and with his teeth drawing his Coate of Armes after him, that his enemies might not enjoy it: and this did he being well stricken in yeares. No General of Warre had ever so much credit with his Souldiers. In the beginning of his civil warres, his Centeniers offered him every one, at their owne charge to pay and finde him a man at Armes, and his footes-men to serve him for nothing, and those that were best able, to defray the poore and needie.

Our late Adimiral of France Lord Chifflion, in our late civil warres shewed such an example: For, the Frenchmen of his armie, at their proper cost and charges helped to pay such strangers as followed him. Few examples of so loving and earnest affection may be found amongst those that follow the old manner of warre, and strictly hold themselves under the ancient policie of their lawes.  

Paffion bath more flame over us, then reason: Yet hath it chanced in the warres against Hannibal, that imitating the example of the Romane peoplees liberalitie in the Cittie, the Souldiers and Captaines refused their pay; and in Marcus his camp, those were called mercenarie, that tooke any pay. Having had some defeate.

O o 3
They are not to be had by dozens, as each one knows, namely in rights and duties of marriage: For, it is a bargain full of so many thorny circumstances, that it is hard the will of a woman should long keep her self whole and perfect therein. And although men have somewhat a better condition in the same, yet have they much to do. The touchstone and perfect trial of a good marriage, respects the time that the society continueth; whether it have constantly been mild, loyal and commodious. In our age, they more commonly referre to enstall their good offices, and set forth the vehemence of their affections toward their loft husbands: And then seke they at leaft to yeeld some testimonie of their good will. Oh late testimonie and out of feaon, whereby they rather shew, they never love them but when they are dead. Life is full of combustion, the decay of love and of curtesie. As fathers conceal affection toward their children; so they, to maintaine an honest respect, cloake their love toward their husbands. This mistrie answereth not my taste. They may long enough scratch and dishevell themselves; let me enquire of a chamber-maide or of a secretarie, how they were, how they did, and how they have lived together: I can never forget this good saying, Iactantius marer, quae minus dolent, They kepe a bowling with most 

They make the most show 
Who feel the least ever.
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oftentation, who are least sorrowfull at heart. Her lowring and pouting is hatefull to the living, and vaunt to the dead. We shall easily dience with them to laugh at us when we are dead, upon condition they smile upon us while we live. Is not this the way to revive a man with spites; that he who hath spitten in my face when I was living, shall come and clawe my feete when I am dead? If there be any honor for a woman to wepe for her husband, it belongs to her that hath smil’d upon him when she had him. Such as have wept when they lived, let them laugh when they are dead, as well outwardly as inwardly. Moreover, regard not those blubbered eyes, nor that pittie-mooving voyes; but view that demanaor, that colour and cheerful full good plight of those cheekeys, under their great vaies, thence in it the speaks plaine French. There are few whose health doth not daily growe better and better; a quallity that cannot lie. This cerimonious countenance looketh not so much backward, as forwark: It is rather a purchase then a payment. In mine infancies, an honest and most faire Ladie (who yet liveth, the widdow of a Prince) had somewhat more I wot not what in her attires, then the lawes of widowhood would well permit. To such as blamed her for it: It is (said she) because I frequent no more new acquaintances, and have no mind at all to marry againe. Because I will not altogether differ from our custome, I have here made choie of three women, who have also employed the vmost endeavor of their goodnes and affection, about their husbands deathes. Yet are they examples somewhat different and so vrging that they hardly drawe life into confluence. Phine the yonger, had dwelling neere vnto a house of his in lndia, a neighbor wonderfully tormentted with certaine vicers, which much troubled him in his secre parts. His wife perceiving him to droope and languish away, entreated him the might leastly search and neereely view the qualite of his defease, and the would more freely then any other tell him what he was to hope for: Which having obtained, and curiously considered the fame, she found it impossible ever to be cured, and all he might expect, was but to leade a long, and languishing life; and therefore for his moare safetie and oeveraigne remedie, perfwaded him to kill himsell. And finding him somewhat nice and backward to effect so rude an enterprize: Thine know not my deare friend (quoth she) but that the sorrowes and griefes, I fee thee feele, touch me as neere and more, if more may be, as thy felle; and tat to be rid of them, I will applie the same remedie to my felle, which I prechre to thee. I will accompanie thee in thy cure, as I have done in thy fickenelle: remorse all feare, and assurance thy felle, we shall have pleafure in this paffage, which shall deliver vs from all torments, for we will happily goe together. That faid, and having cleare vp her husbands courage, she determined they should both headlong throw themselves into the fea from out a window of their house; that overlooked the fame: and to maintaine this loyall, vehement and never to be seuered affection to the end, wherevse she had during his life embraced him, she would also have him die in her armes; and fearing they might faile her, and through the fall, or feare or apprehension her holde-fall might be loofed, she caufed herselfe to be faft bound vnto, him by the middle: And thus for the ease of her husbunds life she was contented to forgoe her owne. She was but of meane place and low fortune: and amide such condition of people, it is not fo strange to see some parts of rare vertue and exemplar goodneffe.
leaping into a Fishters boate, that she immediately hired, followed him aloofe from the further shore of Selatonia. Being come to Rome, one day, in the Emperours presence, Junia the widowe of Scriboniuses, by reason of the necerelle and fancie of their fortunes, familiarly accosted her, but she rudely, with these words, thrust her away. What (quoth she) shall I speake to thee, or shall I listen what thou saiest? Thou, in whose lappe Scriboniuses thy husband was slaine, and thou yet livest and thou yet breathest? These words with divers other signes, made her kinsfolkes and friends perceive, that she purposed to make herself away, as impatient to abide her husbands fortune. And Thoras her boone in law, taking hold of her speeches, before her, that she would not so vnheedfully loose her selfe, he thus bespake her. What if I were in Civitates Fortune or the like, would you have my wife your daughter to doe so? What else make you a question of it? (answerest he) Yes mary would I, had she lived so long and in so good-agreeing fort with thee, as I have done with my husband. These and such-like answeres, encreased the care they had of her; and made them more heedfully to watch, and neereely to looke vnto her. One day, after she had vttred these words to her keepers you may looke long enough to mee, well may you make me die worse, but you shall never be able to keepe me from dying; and therewith furiously flinging her selfe out of a chaire (wherein the fate) with all the strength she had, she fiercely ranne her head against the next wall; with which blowe having fore hurt her selfe, and falling into a dead swoone, after they had with much ado brought her to her selfe againe: Did I not tell you (quoth she) that if you kept me from an eniee death, I would choose another, how hard and difficulte foreever? The end of so admirable a vertue was this. Her husband Petrus wanting the courage to doe himselfe to death, vnto which the Emperours crueltie referreth him; one day, having first employed discourses and exhortations, bewraying the counsell she gave him to make himselfe away, she took a Dagger that her Husband wore, and holding it out-right in her hand, for the period of her exhortation: Doe thus Petrus (faide she) and at that instant, stabbing herselfe mortally to the heart, and presently pulling the Dagger out againe, she reached the fame vnto her husband, and so yelded vp the ghost, uttering this noble, generous and immortal speech, Pate non doles, she had not the leaute to pronounce other than these three words, in sub stance matteriall and worthy her selfe, Holde Petrus; it hath done me no hurt.

Casta suo gladium cum traderet Arria Pate,
Quem de usurcis taxerat ipsa suis:
Si qua fides, vulnus quod feci, non doles, inquit.
Sed quod tu facies, idem tu Petre doles.
Chafe Arria when she gave her Petrus that sharpe sword,
Which from her bowells she had drawne forth bleeding new.
The wound I gave and have, if you will trust my word,
Grieve's not, said she, but that which shall be made by you.

It is much more lively in his owne natureall, and of a richer Sense; for both her husbands wound and death, and her owne hurts, shee was so farrre from grieving to have beene the counselor and motive of them, that the rejoiced to have performed so haughtie and courageous an act, onely for the behoove of her deare husband, and at the last gaspe of her life, she onely regarded him; and to remove all feare from him, to follow her in death; which Petrus beholding, he immediately wounded himselfe with the fame dagger, afhamed (as I suppose) to have had need of soe instruction, and precious a teaching. Pompea Pavonia, an high and noble-borne yong Roman Lady, had wedde Seneca, being very aged. Nero (his faire distiple) having sent his Satelites or officers toward him, to denounce the decree of his death to him which in those dayes was done after this maner. When the Roman Emperors had condemned anything of qualitie to death, they were wont to send their officers vnto him, to chuse what death he pleased, and to take it within fuch and such a time, which according to the temper of their choller, they preferred vnto him, sometimes shorter, and sometimes longer, giving him that time to dispose of his affaires, which also by reason of some short warning they divers times tooke from him: And if the condemned partie seem'd in any fort to strive against their will, they would often send men of purpose to execute him, where cutting the veins of his arms & legs, they compelled him to take and swallow poison. But men of honour stayed not that pinch, but to that effect vved their owne Phisitians or Surgeons.
Surgeons. Seneca, with a repose and undaunted countenance lifted attentively to their charge, and presently demanded for paper and ink to make his last will and testament, which the Captaine refusing him, he turned toward his friends, and thus beseak them. Sire (my loving friends) I cannot bequeath you any other thing in remembrance or acknowledgment of what I owe you, I leave you at least the richell and best portion I have, that is, the image of my maners and my life, which I beseech you to keepe in memory, which doing, you may acquire the glory & purchase the name of truly sincere, & absolutely true friends. And thewethal somtimes appeaing the harpnes of the forow he saw them endure for his sake, with mild & gentle speeches, somtimes raising his voyce to chide them; Where are (said he) those memorable precepts of Philosophy? What is become of those previsions, which for so many yeares together we have laid vp, against the brunts, and accidents of Fortune? Was Neroes innate cruelty vnknown vnto vs? What might we expect or hope-for at his hands, who hath murdered his Mother, & massacred his Brother, but that he would also do his Tutor & Governor to death, that hath suffered and brought him vp? Having vted these words to all the by-standers, he turned him to his wife, as she was ready to fincke downe, and with the burlthen of her griefe to faint in heart and strength; she colled and embraced her about the necke, and heartily entreated her, for the love of him, somwhat more paciently to bear this accident; and that his house was come, wherein he must shew no longer by discourse and disputacon, but in earnest effect, declare the fruite he had reaped by his studie, and that undoubtedly he embraced death, not only without griefe, but with exceeding joy; Wherefore my deere-deere heart, do not dishonour it by thy teares, left thou feeme to love thy selfe more than my reputation. A slavage thy sorrowes, and comfort thy selfe in the knowledge thou haft had of mee and of my actions; leading the rest of thy life by the honest occupation to which thou art addicted. To whom Pauline, having forwhat roused him drooping spirits, and by a thrice-noble affection awakened the magnanimite of her high-felted courage, answered thus: No Seneca, thinke not that in this necessite I will leave you without my companie.

I would not have you imagin that the vertuous examples of your life have not also taught me to die: And when shall I be able to doe or better, or more honestly, or more pleasing me, then with your selfe? And be resolv'd I will goe with you, and be partaker of your fortune. Seneca taking a generous a resolve, and glorious a determination of his wife in good part, and to free himselfe from the feare he had to leave her after his death, to his enemies mercy and crueltie: Oh my deere Paulina I had (quoth he) perfwaded thee what I thought was convenient, to lade thy life more happily, and dost thou then rather choose the honour of a glorious death? Affuredly I will not envy thee: Be the constannce and resolution answerable to our common end; but be the beautie and glory greater on thy side. That faide, the veins of both their armes were cut, to the end they might bleed to death; but because Senecas were somewhat shrunk in vp through age and abstinence, and his bloud had no speedy course, he commanded the veins of his thighs to be launced: And fearing left the tormentes he felt, might in some fort entender his wives heart; as also to delver himselfe from the affliction, which greatly yearned him to see her in so pitious plight: after he had most lovingly taken leave of her, he besought her to be pleased he might be caried into the next chamber, which was accordingly performed. But all those incitons being vnable to make him die, he willed Statius Annem his Phifition to give him some poysned potion, which wrought but small effect in him for through the weakeenesse and coldeneffe of his members, it could not come vnto his heart. And therefore they caused a warme bath to be prepared, wherein they layde him; then perceiving his end to approach, so long as he had breath, he continued his excellent discourses, concerning the subject of the estate, wherein he found himselfe, which his Secretaries, so long as they could heare his voyce, collected very diligently; whose last words continued long time after in high effeeme and honoure among the better fort of men, as Oracles; but they were afterward loft, and great pitie it is they never came vnto our handes. But when he once beganne to feel the last pangs of death, taking some of the water, wherein he lay bathing, all bloody, he therewith wathiéd his head, saying, I vow this water vnto Jupiter the Deliverer. Nere being advertized of all this, bearing left Paulinas death (who was one of the best aliéd Ladies in Rome, and to whom he bare no particular grudge) might cause him some reproach, sent in all pote-

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hast to have her incisions closed vp againe, and if possibly it could be, to save her life, which her servantes, unwitting to her, performed, she being more than halfe dead and void of any fence. And that afterward, contrary to her intent, she lived, it was very honourable, and as befitted her vertue, shewing by the pale hew and wanre colour of her face, how much of her life she had wafted by her incisions. Loe heere my three true Stories, which in my conceit, are as pleafant and as tragically, as any wee devise at our pleasures, to pleafe the vulgare fort withall; and I wonder, that those who invent fo many fabulous tales, do not rather make choice of infinite excellent, and quaint Stories, that are found in Books, wherein they should have leffe trouble to write them, and might doubleffe prove more pleasing to the hearer, and profitable to the Reader. And who foever would vndertake to frame a compleat and well-jointed booke of them, neede nothyther employ, nor add any thing of his owne vnto it, except the ligaments, as the folding of an other metall, and by this means might compact sundry events of all kindes, disposing and diversifying them, according as the beauty and luftre of the worke should require: And very neter, as Ovid hath fown and contriv'd his Metamorphofis, with that Strange number of divers fables. In the laste couple, this is also worthy consideration. that Paulina offreth willingly to leave his life for his husbands fake, & that his husband had also other times quicke death for the love of her. There is no great counterpoyze in this exchange for vs: but according to his Stoicke humor, I suppose he persuaded himfelfe to have done as much for his in prolonging his life for hire, as if he had died for his. In one of his letters, he writeth to Lucinus, after he hath given him to vnderfland, how an ague having furpriz'd him in Rome, contrary to his wives opinion, who would need have stayed him, he feldomly tooke his Coach, to goe vnto a houfe of his into the Country; and how he told hir that the ague he had, was no boddy fever, but of the place and followeth thus: At last he let me goo, ernestly recommending my health vnto me. Now who knowes, how her life lodgesth in mine, beganne to provide for my selfe, that consequently I may provide for her: The priviledge my age hath bestowed on me, in making me more constant, and more resolute in many things, I loofe it, when-ever I call to minde, that in this aged corps there barboureth a young woman, to whom I bring some profite. Since I cannot induce her to love me more courageously, she induceth me to love my selfe more curiously, for something must be lent to honeffe affections, and sometimes, although occasions urge vs to the contrary, life must be revoked againe, yea with torment. The soule must be bold faith with one teeth, since the love to live in honeffe men, is not to live as long as they please, but so long as they ought. He who esteemeth not his wife or a friend so much, as that he will not lengthen his life for them, and will obstinately die, that man is over-nice, and too effeminate. The soule must command that unto her selfe, when the utilitie of our friends requireth it: we must sometimes lend our selves unto our friends, and when we would die for vs, we ought for their sakes to interrupt our selves. It is a testimonie of high courage, to returne to life for the respect of others, as divers notable men have done: and to preferre age as a part of singular integritie (the chiefest commoditie whereof, is the carelesseffe of her continuance, and a more courageous and daïncifull wise of life,) if a man perceive such an office to be pleasing, acceptable and profitable to any well-affected friend, and who doth it, receiveth thereby a grateful meede and pleasing recompence: for, what can be sweeter, than to be dear unto his wife, that in respect of her a man become more dear unto himselfe? So my Paulina, hath not only charged mee with her feare, but also with mine. It hath not beene sufficient for me to consider, how resolutely I might die, but I have also consider'd, how irrefolutely Ie might endure it. I have enforced my selfe to live: And to live is sometimes magnanimitie: Reade heere his owne wordes, as excellent as is his visage.

The fixe and thirtieth Chapter.

Of the worthieft and most excellent men.

If a man should demand of mee, which of all men that ever came to my knowledge, I would make choice of, me seemeth. I finde three, who have beene excellent above all others. The one is, Homer, not that Aristotle or Urre, (for example fake) were not peradventure
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venture as wise and as sufficient as he: Not that Virgil, (and possibly in his owne art) be not comparable unto him. I leave that to their judgements that know them both. I who know but one of them, according to my skill may onely say this, that I cannot be persuaded, the Muses themselves did ever goe beyond the Roman.

Tale facit carmen doctis tectumque
——Cynthus impositis temperat articulis.

Hephaestus, having his learned Lute such verse doth play,

Phoebus should thereto his fingers lay.

In which judgement, this must notwithstanding not be forgotten, that Virgil doth specially derive his sufficiency from Homer, and hee is his guide and Schoolemaster; and that but one only glance or fentence of the Iliade, hath given both body and matter to that great and divine Poem of the Aenides. My meaning is not to accounte to: I entertain divers other circumstances, which yield this man most admirable unto me, and as it were beyond humane condition. And truly I am often amazed, that who hath produced, and by his authorities brought so manie Deities in credit with the World, hath not obtained to be reputed a God himselfe. Being blind and indigent; having lived before ever the Sciences were reduced into strict rules and certaine observations, hee had so perfect knowledge of them, that all those which since his time have labored to establish Politicks or Common-wealths, to manage warrs, and to write either of Religion or Philosophie, in what Secte soever of all Artes, have made use of him, as so many absolutely-perfect Master in the knowledge of all things; and of his Bookes, as of a Seminarie, a Spring-garden or Store-house of all kinds of sufficiency and learning.

Qui quid sit pulchram, quid turpe, quid saltem, quid non,
Pienius ac melius Chryfippus ac Crantor dicit.

What is faire, What is foule, What profit may, What not,
Better than Crantor or Chryfippus, Homer wrot.

And as another saith:

——æ quo cœnones perremi
Vatum Tiberis labrara ignamque aquas.

By whom, as by an ever-flowing-filling spring,
With Muses liquor Poets lippes are bath de to fing.

And another:

Adde Heliconiadium cuintes, quorum unus Homerus
Alta potis,
Muses companions add to these, of all
One only Homer hath in heav'n his stall.

And another:

——cuiusque ex ore profusa
Omnis poëterum latice in carmina duxit,
Amëinique in tueus ansa est deducere rivus
Omne fascunda bonus.

From whose large mouth for verse all that since live
Drew water, and grew bold to derive,
Into thinne shallow rivers his deepse floods:
Richly Luxuriant in one mans goods.

It is against nature onourse, that he hath made the most excellent production, that may be; for, the ordinary birth of things, is imperfect: They are augmented by encreafe, and corroborated by growth. He hath reduced the infaunce of Poëtie, and divers other Sciences to be ripe, perfect and complete. By which reason he may be termed the first and last of Poets, following the noble testmony, antiquitie hath left vs of him; that having had no man before him, whose he might imitate, so hath he had none after him, could imitate him. His words (according to Aristotle) are the onely words that have motion and action: they are the onely substantiall Words. Alexander the Great, having lighted upon a rich casket amongst Darius his spoyle, appoynted the fame to be safely kept for himselfe, to keepe his Homer in: saying, he was the best adviuer, and faithfullst counsellor he had in his military aires. By the same reason saide Cleomenes, sonne to Anaxandridas, that he was the Lacedemonian
The second Booke.

demonians Poets: for he was an excellent good teacher or Master of Warre-like discipline. This singular praise and particular commendation hath alfo bin given him by Platak, where he faith, that he is the only Author in the World, who yet never dissatisfied Reader, or glutted man: ever shewing himselfe other, and different to the Readers: and ever flourishing with a new grace. That Wages Alcibiades, demanding one of Homer's bookes of one who professed letters, because he had it not, gave him a Whirrit on the ear; as if a man should finde one of our Priests, without a Breviari. Xenophon one day said, his moane to Hieron the Tyrant of Siracuse, that he was fo poore as he had not where to finde twoo servants: How commeth that to passe? (answered Hieron) Homer, who was much poorer than thou art, dead as he is, findeth more then tenne thousand. What left Panatius vnfaide, when he named Pluto the Homer of Philosophers? Befides, what glory may be compared to his? There is nothing liveth so in mens mouthes as his name and his workes; nothing fo knowne and received as Troy, as Hellen and her Wares, which paradventure never were. Our Children are yet called by the names hee invented three thousand yeares since and more. Who knoweth not Hecstor? Who hath not heard of Achilles? Not only some particular races, but most Nations secke to derive themselves from his inventions. Machomet, second of that name, Emperor of Turkes, writing to Pope Pius the second: I wonder (faith he) how the Italians will bandie against me, seeing we have our common offsprings, from the Trojans; and I as well as they have an interest to revenge the blood of Hecstor upon the Graecians, whom they favour against mee. Is it not a worthy Commendie, whereof Kings, Common-wealths, Principalities and Emperours, have for many ages together played their parts, & to which this great Univerfe serveth as a Theatre: seven cites of Greece flourished amongst themselves about the place of his birth. So much honour his very obscuritie procured him.

The other is Alexander the great. For, who shall consider his age, wherein he beganne his enterprize; the small meanes he had to ground so glorious a designe upon: the authority he attained vnto in his infancy, amongst the greatest Commanders, and most experienced Captaines in the world, by whom he was followed: the extraordinary favour, wherein fortune embraced him, and seconced so many of his haughtie-dangerous exploites, which I may in a manner call rash or fond-hardie.

That eminent greatest of, to have at the age of thristie yeares passe victoriously through al the habitable earth, and but with halfe the life of a man to have attained the utmost endeavoure of humane nature: so that you cannot imagine his continuance full, and the lifting of his increas in fortune, and progresse in vertue even vnto a just terme of age, but you must suppose something above man, to have caused so many Royal branches to issue from out the loines of his Souldiers, leaving the world after his death to be shared betweene foure succesours, simple Captaines of his Armie, whose succesours, have fo long time since continued, and descendents maintained that large pollution. So infinite, rare and excellent vertues that were in him, as justice, temperance, liberality, integritie in words, love toward his, and humane toward the conquered. For in truth, his manners seeme to admit no just caufe of reproach: in deed some of his particular, rare and extraordinary actions, may in some fort be taxed. For it is impossible to conduct so great, and direct so violent motions with the strict rules of justice. Such men ought to be judged in grosse, by the mischief end of their actions. The ruine of Thebes; the murder of Memnon, and of Epehphion Phisitan; the maflacre of so many Persian prisoners at once: of a troupe of Indian Souldiers, not without some prejudice vnto his word and promise: and of the Cofteyans, and their little children, are escapes somewhat hard to be excused. For, concerning Citha, the fault was expainted beyond it's merity and that action, as much as any other, witnessed the integritie and chearfulnesse of his complexion, and that it was a complexion in it selfe excellently formed to goodnesse: And it was wittily saide of one, that he had vertues by nature, and vices by accident. Concerning
ning the point, that he was somwhat to lavish a boaster, and over-impatient to heare himselfe ill-spoken of, or detracted; and touching those catches, those armes, and those bits, which he caused to be scattered in Indias, respecting his age and the prosperitie of his fortune, they are in my conceit pardonable in him. He that shall also consider his many military vertues, as diligence, foresight, patience, discipline, policie, magnanimitie, resolution and good fortune; wherein, if Hamballs authentique had not taught vs, he hath beene the first and chiefe of men: the rare beauties, matchless features, and incomparable conditions of his person, beyond all comparison, and wonder-breeding; his carriage, demeanor, and venerable behaviour, in a face so yong, so vermeil, and heart-enflaming:

\[\text{Virg. Aen. I. 8.}\]

\[\text{589.}\]

The excellencie of his wit, knowledge and capacitie; the continuance and greatnesse of his glory, unspotted, untainted, pure and free from all blame or envie: insomuch as long after his death, it was religiously believed of many, that his jewels or any thing he had worn, boaded and prefaged them good lucke, that wore or had them about them. And that more Kings and Princes have written his statues and actions, then any other historians, of what qualitie soever, have registred the statues, or collected the actions of any other King or Prince that ever was: And that even at this day, the Mahometis, who contemne all other histories, by speciall priviledge, allow, receive, and onely honour his. All which promises daily considered together, he shall confesse, I have had good reason to preferre him before Cesar himselfe, who alone might have made me doubt of my choise. And it must needs be grant-

\[\text{Evelut immisst diversis paribus ignes}\]

\[\text{Aronem in silvam, & virgula sonentia lauro;}\]

\[\text{Ante vidi decursus rapido de montibus altis;}\]

\[\text{Dant fominum summis amnis, & in aqua a current;}\]

\[\text{Quisque saum popularus ier.}\]

As when on divers fides fire is applied

To cracking bay-shrubs, or to woods Sunne dried,

Or as when foaming streams from mountaines hie,

With downe-fall swift refund, and to fea fly;

Each one doth hauocke-out his way thereby.

But great Cesar's ambition were more moderate, it is so vnhappy, in that it met with this vile subject of the subversion of his countrey, and universal emparing of the worlds: that all parts imparcally collected and put together in the balancie, I must necessarly bend to Alexander's side. The third, and in my judgement, most excellent man, is Decamontis. Of glory he hath not so much as some, and is farre short of diuerse (which well considered is no substantiall part of the thing) of resolution and true valour, not of that which is set-on by ambition, but of that, which wise and reason may felte in a well-disposed minde, hee had as much as may be imagined or wished for. He hath in mine opinion, made as great ti-

\[\text{Lib. 12. 51.}\]

all of his vertues, as ever did Alexander or Cesar: for although his exploits of warre be not so frequent, and so high-raied, yet being thoroughly considered, they are as weightie, as re-

\[\text{solute, as constant, yeas and as authenticall a testimonie of hardines and military sufficiencie,}\]

as any mans else. The Graecians, without any contradiction afforded him the honour, to entitle him the chief and first man among themselves: and to bee the first and chief man of Greece, is without all question to bee the chief and first man of the world. Touching his knowledge and worth, this ancient judgement doth yet remaine among vs, that never was man who knew so much, nor never man that spake so well then he. For he was by Sca a Pythagoriant; and what he spake, no man ever spake better: An excellent and most perfwasive Orator was he.

\[\text{PP}\]
And concerning his manners and conscience therein hee farte outwent all that ever medled with managing affairs: For in this one part, which ought especially to be noted, and which alone declareth what we are, and which onely I counterpoise to all others together, he giveth place to no Philosopher, no not to Socrates himselfe. In whom innocencie is a qualitie, proper, chief, constant, unforme and incorruptible. In comparison of which, if seemeth in Alexander Tubalternall, uncertaine, variable, effeminate and accidentall. Antiquitie judgeth that precicely to sift out, and curiously to trie into all other famous Captaines, there is in every one severally some speciall qualitie, which makes him renowned and famous. In this man alone, it is a vurtue and sufficiency, every where complete and alike which in all offices of humane life, leaveth nothing more to be wished for. Be it in publike or private, in peaceable negotiations or warlike occupations; be it to live or die, greatly or gloriously, I know no form or fortune of man, that I admire or regard, with so much honor, with so much love. True it is, I finde his obstinacie in povertie, somewhat scrupulous; and so have his best friends pourtrayed it. And this onely action (high notwithstanding and very worthy admiration) I finde or deeme somewhat sharper as I would nor withe, nor desire the imitation thereof in me, according to the forme it was in him. Scipio Aemilius alone (would any charge him with as fierce, and noble-minded an end, and with as deep and vinarial knowledge of Sciences) might be placed in the other scale of the balance against him. Oh what a displeasure hath swift-gliding Time done me, even in the nixke, to deprive our eyes, of the chiefest pairle of lives, directly the noblest, that were in Plutarke, of these two truely-worthy personages: by the vinarial content of the world, the one chief of Graecians, the other principal of Romans. What a matter, what a workman! For a man that was no Saint, but as we say, a gallant-honest man, of civil maners and common outomes; of temperate hauughtineffe; the richest life I know (as the vulgar saying is) to have lived amongst the living, and fraughted with hauftich qvlitie, and moift to be defired parts (all things impartially considered) in my humour, is that of Alciabides. But touching Epaminondas, for a pattern of excelle goodnesse, I will here infert certaine of his opinions. The sweeteft contentment he had in all his life, he withinfeth to have bene, the pleasure he gave his father and mother, of his victorie upon Leuctre: he flaketh much, in preferring their pleasure, before his content, so just and full of so glorious an action. Hee thought it unlawful, or were it to recover the libertie of his country, for any one to kill a man, except he knew some just cause. And therefore was he fo backward in the enterprise of Pelopidas his companion, for the deliverance of Thebes. He was also of opinion, that in a battle a man should avoid to encounter his friend, being on the contrary part; and if he met him, to spare him. And his humanitie or gentlenes, even towards his very enemies, having made him to be suspected of the Boetians, forsoomuch as after he had miraculously forced the Lacedemonians to open him a passage, which at the entrance of Morea, neere Corinth, they had undertaken to make good, he was contented, without further pursuuing them in furie, to have marched over their bellies, was the cause he was deposed of his office of Captaine Generall. Most honourably for such a cause, and for the fame it was to them, soone after to be forced by necessity to advance him to his first place: and to acknowledge how their glory, and confesse that their faftefie did onely depend on him: victory following him as his shadow, whither forever he went: and as the prosperity of his country was borne by and with him, so it died with and by him.

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The seaven and thirtieth Chapter.

Of the resemblace betwene children and fathers.

This cudling vp of so much traffe, or packing off so many severall pieces, is done so strangely, as I never lay hands on it, but when an over lazie idlenesse vrgeth me; and no where, but in mine owne house. So hath it beene compact at sundry pauses, and continued at severall intervalls, as occasions have sometimes for many moneths together, here and there
there in other places, detained me. Besides, I never correct my first imaginations by the second; it may happen, I now and then alter some word, rather to diversifie, than take any thing away. My purpose is, to represent the progress of my humours, that every part be seen or member distingui shed, as it was produced. I would to God I had begun sooner, and knew the track of my changes, and course of my variations. A boy whom I employed to write for me, suppos'd, he had gotten a rich bootie, when he stole some parts, which he best liked. But one thing comforts me, that he shall gain no more, than I lost by them. I am growing elder by feaven or eight yeares since I began to them; nor hath it beene without some new purchase. I have by the liberalitie of years acquainted my selfe with the stone-chollike. Their commerce and long conversation, is not easily past-over without some such-like fruites. I would be glad, that of many other presents, they have ever in store, to bestow upon such as wait upon them long, they had made choice of some one, that had beene more acceptable vnto me: for they could never poffesse me with any, that, even from my infancy, I hated more. Of all accidents incident to age, it was that I feared most. My selfe have many times thought, I went on too farre, and that to hold out so long a journey, I must of necessity, in the end, stumble upon some such unpleasing chance. I perceived plainly, and protested sufficiently, it was high time to depart, and that according to the rule of skillfull chirurgions, who when they must cut off some member, life must be feared to the quicke, and cut to the found flesh. That nature is wont to make him pay untelevable v-fuge, who doth not yeeld or pay the same in due time. I was so farre from being ready to make lawfull tender of it, that in eighteene months, or thereabouts, I have continued in so yoke-some and unpleasing plight, I have already learnt to apply my selfe vnto it; and am now en-tering into covenant with this cholli call kind of life; for therein I finde matter, wherewith to comfort me, and to hope better. So much are men enured in their miserable estate, that no condition is so poore, but they will accept, so they may continue in the same. Hearc Macenas.

Debilem facio manu,
Debilem pede, coxa;
Lubricos quate dentes,
Vita dumi imperest, bene est.
Make me be weake of hand,
Searce on my legges to flond,
Shake my loose teeth with paine,
T is well, so life remaine.

And Tamburlaine cloake the fantastical crudelitie, he exercis'd vpon Lazars or Leprous-men, with a fooleish kinde of humanitie, putting all he could finde or heare of, to death, (as he faide,) to ridde them from so painfull and miserable a life, as they lived. For, there was none so wretched amongst them, that would not rather have beene three times a Leaper, then not to be atall. And Antisthes the Stoicke, being very fickle, and crying out: Ob who shall deliver me from my tormenting evil? Diogenes, who was come to visite him; forswore with presenting him a knife, 

Mary this, saide he, and that very speedily; if thou pleaste: I mean not of my life, replied he, but of my sickenesse. The sufferances which soothing touch ys in minde, doe much lesse affliet me, then most men: Partly by judgement; For the World deemeth divers things horrible, or avoideable with the losse of life, which to me are in a maner indifferent: Partly, by a stupide and insenfible complexion, I have in accidents, that hitte me not point-blanke: Which complexion I esteeme one of the better partes of my naturall condition. But the truely-essentiall and corporall sufferances, those I take very sensibly: Yet is it, having othertimes fore-apprehended them with a delicate and weaknefse, and by the enjoying of this long health and happy reft, which God hath lent me, the better part of my age, somewhat empairet. I had by imagination conceived them fo intolerable, that in good truth, I was more afraide, than since I have found hurt in them: Whereupon, I daly augment this opinion; That most of our soules faculties (as we employ them) doe more troubles than fleede the quiet repose of life. I am continually grappling with the worst of all diseases, the most grievous, the most mortall, the most remedielles and the most viol-ent. I have already had trial of five or fixe long and painfull fits of it: Neitherlesse, eyther I fatter my selfe, or in this plught there is yet something, that would faine keep life and foule together, namely in him, whose minde is free from feare of death, and from the threats,

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conclusions
conclusions and consequences, which phisick is ever buzzing into our heads. But the effect of paine it selfe, hath not so sharpe a morting, or so prickke a sharpenesse, that a fettle man should enter into rage or fall into despare. This commoditie at leafte, I have by the chollike, that what I could never bring to passe in my selfe, which was, altogether to reconcile, and toowly to acquaint my selfe with death, the shall achieve, the shall accomplish, for, by how much more the shall importuncate and verce me, by so much lesse shall death be fearefull vnto mee. I had already gotten, not to be beholding to life, but onely in regard of life, and for lives fake: She shall also vntie this intelligence, and loose this combination. And God grant, if in the end her sharpenesse shall happen to smount my strength, thee eafe mee not into the other extremitie, no lesse vicious, no lesse badde, that is, to love and desire to die.

They are two passions to be feared, but one hath her remedy nearer than the other. Otherwife, I have over found that precept ceremonious, which so prudely appoints a man to set a good countenance, a seted resolution, and disdainfull carriage, upon the sufferance of evils. Why doth Philosophy, which onely respecteth livelinesse and regardeth effects, ammuzze it selfe about these externall appearances? Let her leave this care to Mimiikes, to Histrians, and to Rhethoricke Maisters, who make so great account of our gertures. Let her hardly remit this vocall litherneffe vnto evil, if it be neyther cordiall, nor slomacall. And let her lend her voluntary plaints to the kinde of sighes, sobs, palpitations and palenessse, which nature hath exempted from our piaison. Always provided, the courage be without feare, and words since dispaire, let her be so contented. What matter is it if we bend our armes, so we write not our thoughts? She frameth vs for our selves, not for others, to be, not to feeme. Let her apply her selfe to governe our vnderstanding, which the hath vndertaken to instruct. Let her in the pangs or fittes of the chollike, full maintaine the soule capable to acknowledge her selfe and follow her accustomed course, refusse forrow and enduring grieve, and not shamefully to prostrate her selfe at his feete: Meoved and chazed with the combate, not basely suppressed nor faintly overthrown: Capable of entertainment and other occupations, vnto a certaine limmite. In so extreme accidentes, it is cruel to require so composeth a waarde at our hands. If we have a good game, it skillette, though we have an ill countenance. If the body be any whit exacted by complaining, let him doe it: If flattering or agitation please him, let him turne, rowe and taffe himselfe as long as he list: If with raising his voyce, or sending it forth with more violence, he thinketh his grieve any thing alayed or vntended (as some Histrians affirme, it somewhat causeth women great with childe, and is a meane of caafe or specificke delivery) feare he not to doe it; or if he may but entertaine his torment, let him mainly cry out. Let vs not command our voyce to depart, but if the will, let vs not hinder it. Epicurus doth not only pardon his wife man to crie out, when he is grieved or vexed, but perfwadeth him to it. Pagulae etiam quam fere sunt, in indiis cebibus ingenius, quia profundenda voce omne corpus intenditur, venitque plaga vehementior, Atlen when they fight with sand-bagges or such heavy weapons, in fetching their blowe and driving it, will give a groome withall, because by stretching their voyce all their body is also strayed, and the stroke commeth with more vehement. We are vexed and troubled enough with the evil, without troubling and vexing our selves with these superfluous rules. This I lay to excuse those, who are ordinarily scene to rage in the fittes and storme in the affaulltes of this sickeness: for, as for me, I have hitherto paffed it over with somewhat a better countenance, and am content to groane without crying and explaining. And yet I trouble not my selfe, to maininate this exterior decencies for, I make small reckoning of such an advantage; In that I lend my sicknesse what it requireth: But either my paine is not so excessive, or I leave it with more conftancy than the vulgar forte. Indeede I must confess, when the sharpe fittes or throws affaire me, I complaine, and vex my self, but yet I never fall into dispaire, as that fellow:

Euidem, quibus, geminis, frenesibus
Refomando multum stellibus voces refert.
With howling, groaning, and complaint of fates,
Most lamentable cries he imitates.

I seele
The second Booke.

I feel my selfe in the greatest heart of my sickness; and I ever found my selfe capable and in tune, to speake, to thinke and to answer, as soundly as at any other time, but not so confidently; because my paine doth much trouble and distract me. When I am thought to be at the loweft, and that such as are about me fare me, I often make a trial of my forces, and propose them such discourses as are furthest from my state. There is nothing impossible for me, and me thinks I can doe all things vpon a sodaine fitte, fo it continue not long. Oh where have not I the gift of that dreamer, mentioned by Cicero, who, dreaming, that he was closely embracing a young wench, found himselfe ridde of the stone in his sleepe? Mine doe strangely dif-wench me. In the intervening or repities of this outrageous paine, when as my Vreters (through which the Vrime paffeth from the reines to the bladder) languished without gnawing me, I sodainely returne into my ordinarie forms; forso much as my mind taketh no other allarme, but the sensible and corporall. All which I certainly owe unto the care I have had to prepare my selfe by reason and discourse for such accidents:

--- laborum

Nulla mihi nula men facies suspinique surgit,
Omitt praecipi, atque animo mucum ante percipi.
No new or vnexpected forme is cast
Of travels in my breale: all I forecast,
In my minde with my selfe I all forepaft.

I am handled somewhat roughly for a Prentife, and with a violent and rude change; being at one instant laine from a very pleasing, calme, and most happy condition of life, unto the most dolorous, yrkeforme and painefull, that can possibly be imagined: For, besides that in it selfe it is a disease greatly to be feared, its beginnings or approaches are in me sharper or more difficult, than it is wont to trouble others withall. The pangs and fittes thereof doe so often affaile me, that in a manner I have no more feeling of perfect health. Notwithstanding I hitherto keepe my spirite fo feate, as if I can but joyne constancie vnto it, I find my selfe to be in a much better state of life, than a thousand others, who have neither age nor other infirmities, but such as for want of discourse they give themselves. There is a certaine fashion of bubile humilitie, which proceedeth of presumption: As this: That in many things we acknowledge our ignorance, and are so courteous to avow, that in Natures worke, there are some qualities and conditions, which to vs are imperceptible, and whereof of our sufficiencie cannot discover the meanes, nor finde out the causes. By this honest and conscionious declaration, we hope to gaine, that we shall also be beleaved in those, we shall say to vnderstand. Wee neede not goe to cull out myraclen, and chuse strange difficulties: me femeth, that amongst those things we ordinarily fee, there are such incomprehensible rarities, as they exceed all difficulties of myraclen. What monster is it, that this teare or drop of feede, whereof we are ingendred bringes with it, and in it the impressions, not only of the corporall forme, but even of the very thoughts and inclinations of our fathers? Where dooth this droope of water containe or lodge this infinite number of formes? And how beare they these resemblances, of so rafh, and vnauctly a progress, that the childes childe shall be answerable to his grandfather, and the nephew to his uncle? In the family of Leucipus the Roman, there have beene three, not successively, but by intervals, that were borne with one fame eye covered with a cartilage or gristle. There was a race in Thebes, which from their mothers wombe, bare the forme of a burre, or yron of a launces; and such as had it not, were judged as misbegotten and deemed vnlawfull. Aristote reporteth of a certaine Nation, with whome all women were common, where children were allotted their fathers, only by their resemblances. It may be supposeth, that I am indebted to my father for this honeie qualitie; for he died exceedingly tormented with a great stone in his bladder. He never felt himselfe troubled with the disease, but at the age of sixtie seaven yeares: before which time hee had never felt any likelihoode or motion of it, nor in his reines, nor in his sides, nor elsewhear: and vntill then had lived in very prosperous health, and little subject to infirmities, and continued seaven yeares and more with that disease, training a very dolorous lives-end. I was borne five and twenty yeares before his sickness, and during the course of his healthy state, his third child. Where was at this while the propension or inclination to this disease, hatched? And when he was so farre from such a disease, that light part of his substance wherewith he composeth me, how could it for his part, beare so great an impression of it? And how so

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clofely
So for which But my libere: for by the name infufion and fatal infuffion, I have reccived the hate and contempt of their doctrine.) The Antipathie, which is betweene me and their arte, is to me hereditarie. My father lived three score and fourteen yeares: My grandfather three score and nine: my great grandfather very neere foure score, and never tafted or tooke any kinde of Phifcke. And whatsoever was not in ordinary vfe amongst them, was deemed a drug. Phifcke is grounded upon experience and examples: So is mine opinion. Is not this a manifest kinde of experience and very advantageous? I know not whether in all their regi-
sters, they are able to finde me three more, borne, bred, brought vp, and deceased, under one roofe, in one same chimney, that by their owne direc- tion and regiments have lived fo long. Wherein they must needs grant me, that if it be not rea
ton, at leaft it is Fortune that is on my fide. Whereas among Phificians fortune is of more conuenience, then rea
ton. Lowe-brought, and weake as I am now, let them not take me at an advantage, nor let them not threaten me: for that were Superbierie. And to fay trufh, I have by my familiar exa
amples gained enough vpon them although they would take hold and fay there. Humane things have not fo much confiance: It is now two hundred yeares; wanting but eightene, that this Effay continueth with vs: For, the firft was borne in the yeare of our Lord one thoufand foure hundred and two. Some reafon there is why this Reafon should now be
ginne to faile vs. Let them not vprbraide me with these infirmities, which now have feazed vpon me: Is it not fufficient to have lived feaven and foure yeares in good and perfecr health for my part? Suppose it be the end of my carrieree, yet it is of the longest. Mine ances-
tors by fonfecret intent and natural inclination have very loathed all manner of Phifice: for the very fight of drugs made my father to abhorre them. The Lord of Genioe, mine necke, the fathers side, a man of the church, fiftiff even from his birth, and who notwithstanding made his weake life to hold out untill fiftie feaven yeares; falling once into a dangerous and vehement continual feaver, it was by the Phificians concluded, that vnleffe he would aide himfelfe (for they often terme that aide, which indeed is imprisonment) hee was but a dead man. The good soule, afrighted as he was, at that horrible fentence, anwered thus, why then I am a dead man: But shortly after God made their prognofications to proove vaine. The Lord of Baffquet laft of the brethren (for they were foure) and by much the laft, he alone submitted himfelfe to that arte, as I imagine by reaflon of the frequence he had in other Sciences: for he was a Counfellor in the Court Parliament, which proffered foill with him, that though he were in new of a very strong complexion, hee died long before the others, except one, the Lord of Saint Michael. It may well be, I have reccived of them that natural difpathe vnto Phificke. Yet if there had bene no other consideration but this, I would have endeavoured to force it. For, all these conditions, which without rea
ton are borne in vs, are vicious. It is a kinde of maladie a man muft withall. It may be I had fuch a propension, but I have fettle and strengthened the fame by difcoures, which in me have confirmed the opinion I have of it. For, I have also the confideration to refuse Phificke by reaflon of the Sharpenes of it's taffe. It would not easily agree with my hu
mour, who thinkes health worthie to be purchased, with the price of all carnall and carnall, how painfull forever. And following Epicurus, mee feemeth that all manner of volupitousnesse should be avoided, if greater grievances follow them: And griefes to be fough after, that have grea
ter voluptuosnesse ensuing them. Health is a very precious jewels, and the onely thing, that in purfuit of it deferueth, a man should not only employ time, labour, sweat and goods, but also life to get it, forasmuch as without it, life becommeth injurious vnto vs. Vo
lupitousneffe, Science and vertue, without it tarnish and vanih away. And to the molt confant and exact difcoures, that Philofophie will implant in our minds to the contrarie, wee neede not oppose any thing againft it but the image of Plato, being vifited with the falline fickenesse, or an Apoplexy: and in this presupposition chalenge him to call the ri
cheft faculties of his minde to helpe him.

All meanes that may bring vs vnto health, can not be efteemed of mee either sharpe or deare.
deare. But I have some other appearances, which strangely make me to distrust all this ware. I do not say but there may be some arte of it: It is certain, that amongst so many of Nature's works, there are some things proper for the preservation of our health. I know there are some simples, which in operation are moist, and some dry: My selfe have found by experience, that radish-rootes are windie, and sene-leaves breed loofenesse in the belly. I have the knowledge of divers such experiments, as I know that Mutton nouriseth, and Wine warmeth me. And Solon was wont to say, that eating was as all other Drugs are, a medicine against the disease of hunger. I disallow not the vs we draw from the world, nor doubt I of Nature's power and fruitfulnese, and of her application to our needs. I see, that the Pickrell-fish, and the Swallows live well by her laws. I greatly distrust the inventions of our wit, of our arte and of our Science: in favour of which we have forsworn Nature, and abandoned her rules, wherein we can neither observe limitation, nor keepe moderation. As we terme Justice, the composition of the first laws that come into our hands, and their pratiſc and dispensation very often most wicked and inconvenient. And as those which mocke and condemn, intend nevertheless to wrong this noble venture; but only to condemn the abuse and profanation of so sacred a title: So likewise in Physicke, I knowe her glorious name, her proposition, and her promise; so profitable to mankind: but what it deserveth amongst vs, I neither honour nor respect. First, experience makes me feare it, for of all I knowe, I see no kind of men so become sickke, nor so late cured, as those who are under the the imitation of Physicke. Their very health is dissembled and corrupted by the constraint of their precriptions. Physisions are not contented to have the government over Sicknelsse, but they make Health to be sickke, left a man should at any time escape their authority. Of a constant and perfect health, doe they not frame an argument of some future dangerous sicknesse? I have often bene sickke, and without any their help, I have found my sicknesselesse (though I never meddled with the bitternesse of their precriptions) as easie to be tolerated, and as short, as any mans else, and yet I have felt divers. My health is free and found, without any rules or discipline, except of mine owne custome and pleasure. I find no difference in places, all are alike to me to dwell in, for being sickke, I neede no other commodities, then thoſe I must have when I am in health. I am nothing passionated, though I be without Phisition, without Apothecary, or without phisicall help; whereat I see some as much troubled in minde, as they are with their difference. What doth the best Phisition of them all make us perceive any happiness or continuance in his life, as may winneſse some manifest effeft of his skill and learning? There is no Nation, but hath continued many ages without phisicke: yea the first ages, which is as much to say, the best and most happy: and the tenth part of the world hath as yet no vs tooff. Infinite Nations knowe it not; where they live both more healthie and much longer then we doe: yea and amongst vs, the common sort live happily without it. The Romans had bene fixe hundred years before ever they received it: by means or interposition of Cato the Centour, they banifht it their Cittie, who declared how easily man might live without it, having lived himselfe fourtie five years, and his wife untill she was extremely old, not without Phisicke, but indeede without any Phisition: For, whatsoever is by experience found healthie for our body and health, may be termed phisicke. He entered (as Plutarch faith) his famillie in health, by the vs (as farre as I remember) of Hares milke: As the Arcadians (faith Plutarch) cure all maladies with Cowes milke. And the Lybians (faith Herodotus) doe generally enjoy a perfect health, by observing this custome, which is, so soone as their children are about foure yeares olde, to cauterize and seare the veins of their head and temple, whereby they make a way for all humours and defolution. And the country-people where I dwell, vs nothing against all diseases, but some of the strongest wine they can get, with florde of taffron and spice in it, and all with one like fortune. And to say true, of all this diversïte of rules, and confusion of precriptions, what other end or effect workes it, but to evacuate the belly? which a thousand home-simples will doe as well. And I knowe not whether it be as profitable (as they say) and whether our nature require the reënforcement of her excrements, vntill a certaine measure, as wine doth his lees for his preservation. You see often men very healthy, by some strange accidents to fall into violent vomites, and fluxes, and void great flore of excrements, without any precedent neede, or succeeding benefite: yea with some empaireing and prejudice. I learnt of Plute not long since, that of three motions, which belong to vs, the laſt and worst, is that of purgations, and that
The second Booke.

no man, except he be a fool, ought to undertake it; unlesse it be in great extremity: The evil is troubled & stirred vp by contrary oppositions. It is the forme of life, that gently must diminish, consume and bring it to an end. Since the violent tmcings of the drug and maladies are ever to our losse: since the quarrell is cleared in vs, and the drug a truﬄe helpe; by it is owne nature an enemie to our health, and but by trouble hath no accesse in our state. Let's give them leave to go on: That order which provideth for Fleas and Moles doth also provide for men, who have the same patience to suffer themselves to be governed, that Fleas and Moles have. We may fairely cry bo-bo-bo; it may well make vs hoarse, but it will nothing advance it. It is a proud and impetuous order. Our fear and our depaire, in lieu of envying the same vnto it, doth distilke and delay it of our helpe: he oweth his course to evil, as well as to fickenesse. To suffer himselfe to be corruppt in favour of one, to the prejudice of the others rights, he will not doe it; so should they fall into disorder. Let vs goe on in the name of God; let vs follow; He leadeth on such as follow him: those that follow him not, he haleth-on, both with their rage and phisick togetherness. Cause a purgation to be prepared for your braine; it will be better employed vnto it, then to your stomacke. A Lacedemonian being asked, what had made him live so long in health, answered, The ignorance of phisick. And Adrian the Emperour, as he was dying, ceased not to cry out, that the number of Phisitions had killed him. A bad Wrestler became a Phyftion. Courage saide Diogenes to him, thou hast reason to do so, for now shalt thou help to put them into the ground, who have heretofore dyed to lay thee out. But according to Nicocles, they have this happe, That the Same doth manifest their successe, and the earth doth cover their faults. And besides, they have a very advantageous fashion among themselves, to make vice of all manner of events; for whatsoever either Fortune or Nature, or any other strange cause (whereof the number is infinit) produceth in vs, or good or healthfull, it is the privilege of Phyfticke to ascribe it vnto herseffe. All the forunnate successe that come to the patient, which is vnder their government, it is farre from phyfticke he hath them. The occassions that have cured me, and which heal a thousand others, who never fend or call for phisitions to help them, they vnderse their in their subjects. And touching ill accidents, either they utterly disavow them, in imputing the blame of them to the patient, by some vaine reasons, whereof they never misse to finde a great number; as he lay with his armes out of the bed, he hath heard the noyse of a coachs.

Vicorum inflexus.

Coaches could hardly passe.
The lane so crooked was.

His Window was left open all night; He hath laine vppon the left side, or troubled his head with some heavie thought. In some, a word, a dreame, or a looke, is of them decreed a sufficient excus, to free themselves from all imputation: Or if they please, they will also make vie of this emparing, and thereby make vp their businesse; and as a meane which can never faile them, when by their applications the disease is growne desperate, to pay vs with the affurance, that if their remedies had not beene, it would have bene much worse. He, whom but from a colde they have brought to a Cotidian Ague, without them should have had a continual feaver. They must needs thrive in their businesse, since all is redound to their profit. Truely they have reason to require of the patient an application of favourable confidence in them; which must necessarilie be in good earneft, and yielding to apply it to all imaginactions, over-hardly to be believed. Plato saide very well, and to the purpose, that freely to be belonged onely to Phisitions, since our health dependeth on their vanitie and false-hood of promises. Aesop an Author of exceeding rare excellency, and whose graces few discover, is very pleasant in representing this kinde of tyrannical authoritie vnto vs, which they vffer uppon poore soules, weakened by fickenesse, and over-whelmed through fears; for he reporteth, how a sick man being demanded by his Phisition, what operation he felt by the Phisikke he had given him. I have sweate much, anwered he, that is good, replied the Phisition. Another time he asked him againe how he had done since; I have had a great colde and quivered much, said he; that is very well, quoth the Phisition againe. The third time he demanded of him, how he felt himselfe? He answered, I sweal and pufse-up as it were with the droppe; That's not amisse, saide the Phisition. A familiar friend of his comming afterward to visite him, and to know how he did? Verely (said he) my friend I die
The second Booke.

Nam pater omnipotens aliquem indignatum ab umbria. Mortalem infernus, ad luminas surgere vix.
Ipse repertorem medicina tali, & artis
Fulmine Phoebignam stygiae detruitis ad undat.
Ite-loving that from shades infernal night,
A mortal man should rise to lives new light.
Apollo sonne to hell he thunder-threw
Who such an arte found out, such medicine knew.

and his followers must be abolisht, that send so many soules from life to death? A Phisition boa-
sted weto Nicotces; that his Arte was of exceeding great authoritie, It is true (quoth Nicotces)
for, it may kill so many people without feare of punishment by Law. As for the rest, had I
beene of their counsell, I would surely have made my discipline more sacred and mysterious.
They had begun very well, but the end hath not answerd the beginning. It was a good
ground, to have made Gods and Demons Authors of their Science, to have assumed a pec-
cular language and writing to themselves. Howbeit Philopothie fippofeth it to be folly to
perwade a man to his profit, by ways not unnderstood: Us quis medicus imperet vs sumat:
As if a Phisition should bid a man take.

Terrigenam, herbidradam, domioram, fanguine cffam.
One earth-born, goe-by-graffe, house-bearing, familie-bloodleffe.

It was a good rule in their arte, and which accompanieth all fanaticall, vaine, and super-
naturall arts, that the patients believe much by good hope and assurance preoccupate their effect and
operation. Which rule they holde fo firrther forth, that the most ignorant and bungling horfe-
leach is fitter for a man that hath confidence in him, than the skilfuller and learned Phis-
tion. The verie choyce of moft of their Drugges, is somewhat mysterious and divine. The
left foote of a Tortoise, The tale of a Lizard, The douge of an Elephant, The liver of a Mole;
Blood drawn from under the right wing of a white Pigeon: and for vs who are troubled with
the Stone-chollitke (so disdainfally abuse they our misery) Some Rates pounded to small pow-
der, and such other foolifh trash, which rather seeme to be magike-spells or charmes, than
effects of any solide science. I omitt to speake of The odde number of their pilles; The defi-
nations of certaine dayes and feastes of the yeere; The definition of hours to gather the simples of
their ingredients; And the same remembrablie and severely-grave looks of theirse, and of their
port and countenances, Which Pline humfelfe mocketh at. But, as I was about to fay, they
have failed, forfomuch as they have not added this to their faire beginning, to make their af-
semblies more religious, and their confultations more secret. No profaine man should have
acceffe unto them, no more than to the secret ceremonies of IEsclapius. By which means it
commeth to passe, that their irefolutions, the weakeffe of their Arguments, divincations and
grounds, the sharpenesse of their conteflations full of hatred, of jealousie and parci-
cular considerations, being apparant to all men; a man must needs be starke blinde, if he who
falleth into their hands, fee not humfelfe greatly endangerd. Weder ever saw Phisition vs his
followers receif, without diminifhing or adding somewhat unto it? Weder whereby they greatly betraie
their Art; And make vs perceive, they rather repect their reputation, and consequently
their profit, than the well-fare or interef of their patients. He is the wifeft amongst their
Doctors, who hath long since prrcribed them, that one alone should meddle to cure a sicke
man; for, if his proper not with him, and he doe no good, the reproach will not be great to
the Arte of Phisicke, through the fault of one man alone; and on the other fide, if it thrive
well with him, the Glorie fhallie the greater. Whereas if they be manie, everie hand-while
they discover their mysterie, because They ofteef happen to doe ill them well. They should have
been content with the perpetuall dit-agreing, which is ever found in the opinions of the
principal Masters and chief Authors of their Science, knowne but by fuch as are conver-
fant in Bookes, without making apparant shew of the controversies, and inconfantnes-
s of their judgement, which they follen and continue amongst themselves. Weder wee have an
example
example of the ancient debate of Phyficke: Hierophilus placeth the original cause of sickness in the humours: Eranistus, in the blood of the Arteries: Aselpiades, in the invisible Atomes that passe into our pores: Aelemon, in the abundance or defect of corporal forces: Diocles, in the inequality of the bodies elements, and in the quality of the air; we breathe: Strato, in the abundance, crudity and corruption of the nourishment we take: Hippocrates doth place it in the spirits. There is a friend of theirs, whom they know better than I, who to this purpose crieth out, that the most important science in life amongst us (as that which hath charge of our health and preservation) is by ill hap, the most uncertain, the most confused, and most agitated with infinite changes. There is no great danger to mistake the height of the Sunne, or misreckon the fraction of some Astronomical Supputation; but wherein our being and chief free-hold doth wholly depend, it is no wife -dome, to abandon our selves to the mercy of the agitation of so manifold contrarieties. Before the Peloponnesian ware, there was no great newes of this science. Hippocrates brought it into credit. Whatsoever he established, Chrysippus overthrew. Afterward Eranistus Grand-Child to Aristotle, re-envesth what ever Chrysippus had written of it. After these, Starving the Emperikes, who concerning the managing of this Arte, tooke a new course, altogether different from those ancient Fathers. And when their credit began to grow stale, Hierophilus brought another kinde of Phisike into life, which Aselpiades when his turne came impugned, and in the end subverted. Then came the opinions of Theophrastus to be in great Authoritie, than those of Cnufa, and afterward those of Theophrastus, a famous Phisition, by reason of the acquaintance he had with Scaulina. During the time of Nero, the controversy of Phisike fell to the handes of Theophrastus, who abolished and condemned whatsoever had been held of it before his time. This mans Doctrine was afterward wholly overthrown by Crinus of Marselle, who a new revived and framed, that all men should direct and rule medicinable operations to the Ephemerides and motions of the stars, to eate, to drinke, to sleepe at what hour it should please Luna and Mercurius. His authority was soon after uprooted by Charinus, a Phisition of the famous Towne of Marselle, who not only impugned ancient Phisike, but also the life of warme and publicke bathes, which had beene accustomed to many ages before. He causeth men to be bathed in cold Water; yea, were it in the depe of Winter he plunged and dived sickness men into the running streame of Rivers. Vntill Plinyes time no Roman had ever daimed to exercise the Arte of Phisike, but was ever vled by Strangers and Graecians, as at this daie it is vled in France by Latimizers. For, as a famous Phisition faith, we do not easilie admist and allow that phisike, which wee understand, nor those Drugs we gather our selves. If these Nations from whom we have the Wood Guaimon, the Salaparelle, and the Wood Defguine, have any Phisition amongst them, how much thikne we by the fame commendation of the strangenesse, rarenessse and death, they will rejoice at our coloverts and parley? For, who dare contenme thinges sought and fetcht so far-off, with the hazard of so long and dangerous a Peregrination? Since these ancient mutations of phisike, there have beene infinite others, that have continued vnto our daies, and most often entire and univerfalle mutations; as are those which Paracel -sus, Floravanti & Argenterius have produced: for (as it is told me) they doe not only change a receipt, but also the whole contexture and policie of phisikes whole bodie, accuising such as hitherto have made professe thereof; of ignorance and cosinage. Now I leave to your imagination, in what plight the poore patient findeth himselfe. If we could but be affured, when they mistakemethemselves, their phisike would doe vs no harme, although not proft vs; It were a reasonable composition, for a man to hazard himselfe to get some good, so be endeared not himselfe to loose by it. Ajope reporteth this Storie: that one who had bought a Moore -slave, supposing his blacke heau had come vnto him by some strange accident, or ill fortune of his former Master, with great diligence caused him to be medicined with divers batters and sundry potions: It fortunate the Moore did no whit mend or change his swarthe complex -tion, but lost his former health. How often commeth it to passe, and how many times see we phisitions charge one another with their patients death. I remember a popular sickness, which some yeares since, greatly troubled the Townes about me, very mortal and dangerous; the rage whereof being overpast, which had carried away an infinite number of persons: One of the most famous phisitions in all the country, published a booke, concerning that disease, wherein he adviseth himselfe, that they had done amisse to vs phlebotomie, and confesth,
The second Booke.

it had beene one of the principall causes of so great an inconvenience. Moreover, their Authors holde, that there is no kind of Physicke, but hath some hurtfull parte in it. And if those that fit our tume, doe in some fort harme vs, what must though doe, which are given vs to no purpose, and out of seauen: As for me, if nothing else belonged thereunto, I deeme it a matter very dangerous, and of great prejudice for him who loseth the taffe, or abhorres the finel of a potion, to swallowing it at so unconvenient houres, and so much against his heart. And I thinke it much ill tempereth a sickke man, namely in a seauen he hath so much neede of rest. Besides, consider but the occasions, on which they ordinarily ground the cause of our sickenesse; they are so light and delicate, as thence I argue, That a very small error in compounding of their Drugges, may occasion vs much detriment. Now if the mistaking in a Physition be dangerous, it is very ill for vs: for it is hard, if he fall not often into it. He hath neede of many partes, divers considerations and several circumstances to proportion his desigene only. He ought to know the sickes mans complexion, his temper, his humors, his inclinations, his affections, his thoughts and his imaginations. He must be assured of external circumstances, of the nature of the place; the condition of the aire; the qualitie of the weather; the situation of the Planetes, and their influences. In sickenesse, he ought to be acquainted with the causes, with the signes, with the affections and criticall days: In drugges he should understand their weight, their vertue and their operation, the company, the figure, the age, the disposition. In all these partes, hee must know how to proportion and referre them one vnto another; thereby to beget a perfect Symmetry, or due proportion of each parte: wherein if he misse never so little, or if amongst so many wheele and several motions, the leaf be out of tune or temper it is enough to marre all.

God knowes how hard the knowledge of most of these parts is: As for example, how shall he finde out the proper signe of the disease, every maladie being capable of an infinite number of signes; How many debates, doubts and controversies have they amongst themselves about the interpretations of Vyne? Otherwise wherence should that continual alteration come we fee amongt them, about the knowledge of the disease? How should we excuse this fault, wherein they fall so often, to take a Martrce for a Foxe? In those diseases I have had (so they admitted any difficultie) I could never yet finde three agreeing in one opinion. I more willingly note examples that concerne my selfe. A Gentleman in Paris was not long since cut off the flone by the appointment of Phisitians, in whose blader they found no more flone, than in his hand: Where also a Bishop, who was my very good friend, had by those Phisitians beene earnestly sollicited to be cut; and my selfe, because they were of his counsell; upon their words, aied to perowe him to it; who being deceaved and opined, it was found, he had no infirmitie but in his reins. They are lefe excubable in this disea, forsooth, as it is in some fort palpable. Whereby I judge the arte of Chirurgery much more certaine. For, it etheth and handleth what it doth; and therein is leffe conjecture and divination. Whereas Phisitians have no speculum matricis, to discouer our braine, our lungs and our liver vnto them. The very promises of phisitcke are incredible. For, being to provide for divers and contrary accidents, which often trouble vs togethers, and with a kind of necessarie relation one vnto another as the heate of the liver, and the cold of the flomake, they wil perowe vs, that with their ingredients, this one shall warme the flomake, and this other coolke the livers: the one hath charge to goe directly to the reynes, yea even to the bladder, without enftalling his operation anywhere else, and so reason of it's secret proprietie, keeping his force and vertue, all that long way, and so full of flops or letts, until it come to the place, to whose service it is definatated. Another flone drie the braine, and another moisten the lungs. Of all this hotch-pot having composed a mixture or potion, is it not a kind of raving, to hope their severall vertues shal divide and separate themselves from out such a confusion or commixture, to returne to offences charges? I should greatly fear they would loose or change their tickets and trouble their quarters. And who can imagine, that in this liquide confusion, these faculties be not corrupted, confounded and alter one an other? What that the execution of this ordination depends from another officer, to whose truete and mercie wee must one more forfake our lives? As we have doublet and hofemakers to make our medicines, and are so much the better fitted, in as much as each medleth with his owne trade, and such have their occupation more strictly limited, then a Tailer that will make all. And as for our necessary foodes, some of our great Lords, for their more commoditie and ease have severall Cookes, as some only to dress boyled meates, and some to roast, others to bake, whereas
if one Cooke alone would supply all three in general, he could never doe it so exactly. In like sort for the curing of all diseases, the Egyptians had reason to reject this general mystery of Phisitions, and to funder this profession for every malady, allotting each part of the body his distinct workman. For, every particular part was thereby more properly attended, and lefte confusedly governed, and forsooth as they regarded but the same especially. Our Phisitions never remember, that he who will provide for all, provideth for nothing; and that the total and summarie policy of this little world, is unto them indigestible. Whilft they feared to stop the course of a bloody flux, because he should not fall into an ague, they killed me a friend of mine, who was more worth then all the rable of them; yea were they as many more. They balance their divinations of future things, with present evil, and because they will not cure the braine in prudence of the stomake, they offend the stomake and empaire the braine, and all by their seditions and tumultuary drugs. Concerning the variety and weakness of the reasons of this arte, it is more apparant then in any other arte. Things soluble and opening are good for a man troubled with the collique, because opening the passages and dilating them, they adrelfe this flymie matter, whereof the gravell and stone is ingen- dred, and so convey downward whatsoever beginneth to harden and petrifte in the reynes; the matter engendring gravell, which by reason of the propensions they have with it, doe easi- ly seize on the same. They must then by consequence lay great store of that which is conveyed vnto them. Moreover, if by chance it fortune to meete with a body, somewhat more grosse then it ought to be, to passe all those straites tunings, which to expell the same they must glide through, that body being moved by those soluble things, and cast in those straites canallies, and comming to stop them, it will doubtleffe haften a certaine and most dolorous death. They have a like confumption about the counsell they give vs, touching the regiments of our life. It is good to make water often; for by experience we fee, that permitting the same idelie to lie stille, we give it leasure to discharge it felfe of her lesse and exce- ments, which may serve to breede the stone in the bladder: It is good to make water but seldom, for the weightie drege it draws with it, are not easily carried away, except by vice- lence; as by experiences is feene in a torrent that runneth very swift, which sweepeeth and cleanseth the place through which it paffeth, much more then doth a flow-gliding streame. Likewise it is good to have often copulation with women, for that openeth the passages, and conveyeth the gravell away: It is also hortful for it heath, wearieh, and weakeneth the reynes. It is good for one to bathe himselfe in warme water: forsoome as that loeeth and moisteneth the places where the gravell and stone lurketh: It is also bad, because this application of external heat, helpeth the reynes to decreas, to harden and petrifte the matter disposed vnto it. To such as are at the bates, is more healthfull to cote but little at night, that the water they are to drink the next morning, finding the stomake empty, and without any obstacle, it may work the greater operation: on the other side, it is better to cate but a little at dinner, lest a man might hinder the operation of the water, which is not yet perfect, and not to charge the stomake so solvaine, after this other travell, and leave the office of digesting vnto the night, which can better doe it then the day; the body and spirit being then in continual motion and action. Loe here how they in all their dilequences juggle, daily, and trifle at our charge, and are never able to bring me a proposicion, but I can presently frame another to the contrary, of like force and consequence. Let them then no longer rail against those who in any sickenesse, suffer themselves gently to be directed by their owne appetite, and by the counsell of nature; and who remit themselves to common fortune. I have by occasion of my travells seene almost all the famous Bathes of Christendome, and some years since have begunne to vfe them: For, in general I deeeme bathing to be very good and healthy, and I am perswaded, we incurre no small incommodities in our health, by having neglected and loft this custome, which in former times was generally obserued very neere amongst all nations, and is yet with diversity at this time to wash their bodies every day: And I cannot imagine but that we are much the worse with keeping our bodies all over-crufted, and our pores flopt with grease and filth. And touching the drinking of them, fortune hath first made it to agree very well with my taste: Secondly it is natural and simple; and though vaine, nothing dangerous: whereof this infinite of people of all sorts and complexion, and of all nations that come to them, doeth warrant me. And although I have as yet found no extraordinary good or wondrous effect in them, but rather having somewhat
somewhat curiously examined the matter, I finde all the reports of such operations, which in such places are reported, and of many believed, to be false and fabulous. So easily doth the world deceive us falsely, namely in things it desires, or false would have come to passe. Yet have I seen but few or none at all, whom these waters have made worse; and no man can without malice denote, but that they flirc vp a mans appetite, facilitate digestion, and except a man goe to them overweake and faint (which I would, have none doe) they will add a kind of new mirth vnto him. They have not the power to raise men from desperate diseases. They may stay some light accident, or prevent the threats of some alteration. Whosoever goeth to them, and resolveth not to be merry, that so hee may enjoy the pleasure of the good company refers to them, and of the pleasant walks or exercitings, which the beauty of those places, where baths are commonly leated, doth afford and delight men withall, he without doubt loseth the better part and most affured of their effect. And therefore have I hitherto chosen to stay my selfe and make use of those, where I found the pleasure of the situation most delightsome, most convenience of lodging, of victuals and companie, as are in France the baths of Banieres; those of Plombieres, on the frontiers of Germanie and Loraine; those of Baden in Switzerland; those of Lucca in Tuscany; and especially those of Della villa, which I have vist most often and at divers seasons of the yeare. Every nation hath some particular opinion concerning their use, and severall laws and forms how to use them, and all different: And as I have found by experience the effect in a manner all one. In Germanie they never use to drinke of their waters; but bathe themselves for all diseases, and will lie paddling in them, from rife to set of Sunne. In Itall if they drinke nine dayes of the water, they wash themselves other thirie dayes with it. And commonly they drinkke it mixed with other drugges, thereby to helpe the operation. Heere our Phisitians appoint vs when wee have drunke to walke vpone it, that so wee may helpe to digest it: There, so soone as they have dronke, they make them lie a bed, untill they have voided the same out againe, continuallly warming their stomachs and feate with warme clothes. All the Germans whilst they lie in the water, doe particularly use cupping glases, and scarifications: And the Italians use their Doccie, which are certaine spoowts running with warme waters, conveyed from the bates-spring in leaden pipes, where, for the space of a month, they let it spout upon their heads, upon their stomach, or vspon any other part of the bodie, according as neede requireth, one houre in the forenoone, and as long in the afternoone. There are infinite other differences of customes in every countie: or to say better, there is almost no ressemblance betweene one and other. See how this part of Phisieke, by which alone I have suffered my selfe to be carried away, which though it be the least artificially, yet hath the shar of the confusion and unstertantie, scene in all other parts and every where of this art. Poets may say what they lift, and with more emphatie and grace: witness these two Epigrammes.

Aleon beslerno signum louis attingt. ille
Quanumis marmoreis, vino patitur medici.
Ecco bodie influet venarum di vesele,
Effertur quamvis sit Deus aequus lapsi,
Aleon look't yesterday on carved love.

love, though of marble, seales the leeches force,
From his old Church to day made to remooe,
Though God and Stone, hee's carried like a coarse.

And the other:

Lotus nobis cum bi se hilo is, concartis & idem,
Inventus cum scelus mortuus Androras.
Tam fuliscit mortis causa Fauilina requirit,
In formis medicum sidera Hermodratem.
Androras in health bath'd over night with vs,
And merrily, but in the morne starkdead was found.
Of his fo sodaine death, the cause shall I disceuse.
Hermocrates the Lecch he faw in sleepe vnfound.

Vpon which I will tell you two prettie stories. The Baron of Caspen in Chalasse and I, have both in common the impropriation or patronage of a benefite, which is a very large premiss, situatet of the feate of our Mountains, named Labornan. It is with the inhabi-
tants of that corner, as it is guide to be with those of the valley of Angroatique. They lead a kind of peculiar life; their fashion, their attire, and their customes apart and severall. They were directed and governed by certain particular policies and customes, received by tradition from Father to Child; Whereunto, without other Laws or Compulsion, except the reverence and awe of their customes and vfe, they awefully tyed and bound themselves. This petty state had from all antiquity continued in so happy a condition, that no neighbourbouring feuerue judge had ever beene troubled to enquire of their life and affairs, nor was ever Atunrie or petty-fogging Lawyer called-for, to give them advife or counsel nor stranger sought vnto to determine their quarrells or decide their contentions; neither were ever beggers feeene amongest them. They alwayes avoyded commerce and thunmed alliances with the other Wold, lest they should alter the purtie of their orders and policy, untill such time (as they say) that one amongest them, in their fathers dayes, having a minde puff vp with a noble ambition, to bring his name and credit in reputation, devised to make one of his Children Sir John Lack-litin, or Mafter Peter-an-Oake; And having made him learn to write in some neighbour Towne not farre-off, at laft procured him to be a Country Notarie, or petty-fogging Clarke. This fellow having gotten some pelfe and become great, beganne to declare their ancient customes, and put the pomp and stateliell of our luther regiones into their heads. It fortuned that a chiefe Goffip of his had a Goate dishorned, whom he importunately solicited to ffe the Trefpaffarer, and demand lawe and right at the Judge or Juffhers hands, that dwell there-aboutes: And so never ceasing to few sedition and breede futes amongest his neighbours, he never left till hee had confounded and mard all. After this corruption or intrusion of law (they say) there ensued presently another mishiefe of worse consequence, by meanes of a quagge-falver, or Empirike Physitian that diuelt a-mongest them, who would needes be married to one of their daughters, and so endenwnz and settle himselfe amongest them.

This gallant beganne first to teach and instruct them in the names of agews, rheums and impostumes, then the situatyon of the heart, of the liver and other entrailes: A Science vn-till then never knowne or heard-of among them. And instead of garlicke, wherewith they had learned to expell and were wont to cure all diseases, of what qualitie and how dangerous foruer they were. He induced and inured them, were it but for a cough or cold, to take strange compositions and potions: And thus beganne to traffick not only their health, but also their deaths. They spake, that even from that time, they have apparently perceived, that the evening Serene or night-calme bred the head-ach and blasted them; that to drinke being hotte or in a sweate emparent their healths; that Autumn winds were more vnwholsome and dangerous, then those of the Spring-time: And that since his flighter-sawces, potions and physicke came first in vfe, they finde themselves molified and distempered with legions of vnaccustomed maliadies and vnknowne diseases; and plainly seele and feenly perceive a general weakenesse and declination in their antient vigor; and that their lives are nothing so long, as before they were. Lo heere the first of my Discourses. The other is, that before I was troubled with the stome-cholick and gravell in the bladder, hearing diverse made ecpedal accompt of a he-goates blood, as of an heavenly Monne emt in these latter-ages for the good and preservation of mans-life: and hearing men of good understanding speake of it, as of an admirable and much good-working drugg, and of an infallible operation: I, who have ever thought my selfe subject to all accidents, that may in any fort fall on man, being yet in perfect health, beganne to take pleasure to provide my selfe of this myracle, and forthwith gave order (according to the receipt) to have a bucke-goate gotten, and carefully fed in mine owne house. For the blood must be drawnne from him in the hottest moneth of Summer, and he must onely be fed with solube hearebes, and drinke nothing but white wine. It was my fortune to come to mine owne house the verie same day the goate should be killed; whereof some of my people came in haste to tell me, that my Cooke found two or three great bowles in his paunch, which in his maw amongest his meates strucke one against another. I was so curious as I would needs have all his gar-bage brought before me; the thicke and large skine whereof I caufed to be opened, out of which came three great lumpes or bodies, as light as any spunge, fo framed as they seemed to be hollow, yet outwardly hard and very fime, bemoted with diverse dead and unwanted colours: The one perfectly as round as any bowle, the other two somewhat lesser, and not
The second Booke.

I have found (after I had made diligent inquiry among such as were wont to open such beasts) that it was a field-scene, and vuoheard-of accident. It is very likely they were such fowes as ours be, and cozen-germanes to them which if it be, it is but vaine for such as be troubled with the stone or gravel to hope to be cured, by means of a beastes blood, that was drawing neere unto death, and suffered the same disease. For, to alledge the blood cannot participate of that contagion, and doth no whit thereby alter his accustomed vertue, it may rather be inferred, that nothing ingendreth in a body, but by consent and communication of all the parts. The whole masse doth woorke, and the whole frame agitate altogether, although one part, according to the diversitie of operations, doth contribute more or lesse than another; whereby it manifeftly appeareth, that in all parts of this bucke, yea, and there was some grettic or petrificant qualitie. It was not so much for feare of any future chance, or in regard of my self, that I was so curious of this experiment, as in respect, that as well in mine owne houfe, as else-where in sundry other places, it commeth to paffe, that many women doe often gather and ly vp in flores, divers such kindes of flight drugges to help their neighbours, and other people with them, in time of necessities applying one same remedy to an hundred several diseases: yea many times such as they would be very loath to take themselves; with which they often have good lucke, and well strives it with them. As for me, I honour Phisitians, not according to the common-received rule, for necitities sake (for to this passage another of the Prophet may be allaged, who reproved King Aa, because he had recoursse vnto Phisitians) but rather for the love I beare vnto themselves, having feene some, and knowne diverse honest men amongst them, and worthy all love and efteeeme. It is not them I blame, but their Arte; yet doe I not greatly condemne them for seeking to profite by our foolishnesse (for moff men do so) and it is a thing common to all worldlings. Diverse professions and many vocations, both more and lesse worthy than theirs, subsist and are grounded only upon publicke abuses and popular errors. I tend for them when I am fickle, if they may conveniently be found; and love to be entertained by them, rewarding them as other men doe. I give them authitie to enjony me to keep my selfe warme, if I love it better so than otherwys. They may chuse, be it either leakes or lecture, what my broth shall be made withall, and appoynte me either white or claret to drinkes, and fo of other things else, indifferet to my self, humour or cuttome. I know well it is nothing to them, so foras much as Sharpenesse and Strangeesses are accidents of Phyfickes proper effences. Lycurgas allowed and appoynte the fickle men of Sparta to drinke wine. Why did he so? Because being in health, they hated the vse of it. Even as a Gentleman who dwelleth not farre from me, vseth wine as a sovereign remedie against agews; because being in perfect health, he hateth the taste thereof as death. How many of them see we to be of my humour? That is, to disdain all Phyfickes for their owne behoove, and live a kind of fformall free life, and altogether contrarie to that, which they prefcribe to others? And what is that, but a manifect abusing of our simplicitie? For, they holde their life as deare, and esteeme their health as precious as we doe ours, and would apply their effects to their skill, if themselves knew not the uncertantie and falfehoode of it. It is the feare of paine and death; the impatience of the diseafe and grieue; an indifferete desire and headlong thirst of health, that so blindeth them, and vs. It is meere faintnes that makes our conceit: and pusillanimitie forceth our credulitie, to be fo yeanding and pliable. The greater parte of whom doe notwithstanding not beleve so much, as they endure and suffer of others? For I heare them complaine, and speake of it no otherwys than we doe. Yet in the ende are they resolved. What should I doe then? As if impatience were in it selfe a better remedie than patience. Is there any of them, that hath yeelded to this miserable subjection, that doth not likewise yeeld to all manner of impoftures? or dooth not subjecke himselfe to the mercie of whom-soever hath the impendicie to promife him recovery, and warrant him health?

The Bablonians were wont to carry their sick ye people into the open streets; the common fort were their phisitians: Where all such as passe by were by humanitie and civilitie to enquire of their state and malady, and according to their skill or experience, give them some found advize and good counsell. We differ not greatly from them: There is no poor Woman so simple, whose mumbling and muttering, whose filber-flabbers and drenches wee doe not employ. And as for mee, were I to buy any medicine, I would rather spend my money in this kinde of phyfike, than in any other; because therein is no danger or hurt
The second Booke.

to be feared what Homer and Plato faide of the Egyptians, that they were all Physitians, may well be faide of all people. There is neyther Man nor Woman, that vanteth not himselfe to have some receipt or other, and doeth not hazard the same upon his neighbour, if he will but give credite vnto him.

I was not long line in companie, where I wot not who of my fraternitie, brought newes of a kinde of pilles, by true account, composed of a hundred and odde several ingredients; Whereat wee laughed very heartily, and made our selves good sporte: For, what rocke so harde were able to refit the shocke, or withstand the force of so thicke and numerous a batterie? Understand neverthelesse, of such as tooke of them, that the leafl graine of gravell daine not to flreath at all. I cannot so soone give over writing of this subject, but I must needs faie a worde or two, concerning the experience they have made of their prescriptions, which they would have vs take as a warrantize or allurme of the certainty of their drugges and pocions. The greatest number, and as I deeme, more than the two thirds of medicinal vertues, consift in the quintesseence or secret propriety of simples, whereof we can have no other instruction but vfe and custome. For, Quintesseence is no other thing than a qualitie, whereof we cannot with our reason finde out the cause. In such trials or experiments, those which they affiame to have acquired by the inspiration of some Demon, I am contented to receive and allow of them (for, touching miracles, I meddle not with them) or be it the experiments drawne from things, which for other respectes fall often in vfe with vs: As if in Wood, wherewith we wont to clothe our selves, some secret exciating or drying qualitie, have by accident beene found, that cureth kubes or chilblaines in the heele; and if in teaddifhes, wee eate for nourishment, some opening or aperitive operation have beene discovered. Galeo reporteth, that a leprous man channounced to bee cur'd, by meanes of a Cuppe of Wine he had drunke, forsomuch as a Viper was by fortune fallen into the Wine-cask. In which example we finde the meanes, and a very like direction to this experience. As also in thofe, to which Physitians affiame, to have beene addresed by the examples of some beastes. But in most of other experiences, to which they faie they came by fortune, and had no other guide but hazard, I finde the progresse of this information incredible. I imagine man, heedfully viewing about him the infinite number of things, creatures, plants and mettalls. I wot not where to make him beginne his Essay; And suppose he call his first fantatie vpon an Elkes-Horne, to which an eafe and gentle credulitie must be giv'n; he will be as faire to seeke, and as much troubled in his second operation: So, many diverse and several circumstances are proposeth too him, that before he come to the certaintie of this point, vnto which the perfection of his experience should arrive, mans witte shall be to seeke, and not know where to turne himselfe: And before (amidst this infinitie of things) he finde out what this Horne is: Amongst the numberlesse diseases that are, what an Epilepsie is; the sundrie and manifolde complexions in a melancholy man; So manie seazons in Winter; So diverse Nations amongst French-men; So many ages in age; So diverse cœlestiall changes and alterations, in the conjunction of Venus and Saturne; So seeral and many partes in a mans boodie, nay in one of his fingers. To all which, be it nothing guided by argument, nor by conjecture, nor by example, or divine inspiration, but by the only motion of fortune; it were most necessarie, it should be by a perfectly artificially, well-ordred, and methodical fortune. Moreover, suppose the diseafe thoroowly cured, how shall he retract his, but that eyther the evil was come to his utmost period, or that an effect of the hazard, caused the same health? Or the operation of some other thing, which that day he had eyther eaten, drunke or touched? Or whether it were by the merite of his Grand-inothers prayers? Besides, suppose this experiment to have bin perfect, how many times was it applied and begunne anew? And how often was this long and tedious Webbe of fortunes and encounters woven over againe, before a certaine rule might be concluded? And being concluded, by whom is it I pray you? Amongst so many millions of men, yon sodlife meets with three or foure, that will daily observe, and carefully keep a register of their experiments; shall it be your, or his happe, to light truly, or hitte just with one of them three or foure? What if anothers man? Nay what if a hundred other men have had and made contrary experiments, and cleane oppoistie conclusions, and yet have sorted well? We should peradventure discern some shew of light, if all the judgements and consultations of men were knowne vnto vs. But That three Witnesses and three Doctors shall finde all mankind, there
The second Booke.

is no reason. It were requisite, humane nature had appointed and made special choice of them, and that by expresse procuration and letter of attury they were by her declared our Judges and deputed our Atturies.

To my Ladie of Duras.

Madame, the last time it pleased you to come and visite me, you found me upon this point. And because it may be, these teyes of mine may happily come to your hands: I would have them witnesse, their Author reputeth himselfe highly honoured, for the favours it shall please you to shew them. Wherein you shall discern the very same demeanor and self-esteemance, you have feene in his conversation. And could I have assumed vou to my selfe any other fashion, than mine owne accustomed, or more honourable and better forme, I would not have done it: For, all I seek to reape by my writings, is, they will naturally represent and to the life, pourtray me to your remembrance. The very same conditions and faculties, it pleaseth your Ladi-ship to frequent and receive, with much more honor and earstifte, than they any way deserve, I will place and reduce (but without alteration and change) into a solid body, which may happily continue some dayes and yeares after mee: Where, when-ever it shall please you to refresh your memory with them, you may easie finde them, without calling them to remembrance; which they scarcely deserve. I would entreat you to continue the favour of your Friend-ship towards me, by the same qualities, through whose means it was produced. I labour not to be beloved more and esteemed better being dead, than alive. The humor of Tyberius is ridiculous and common, who endeavored more to extinguishe his glory in future ages, than yeeld himselfe regardfull and plea-sing to men of his times. If I were one of those, to whom the World do be indebted for praise, I would quit it for the one moyst, on condition it would pay me before-hand: And that the fame would happen, and in great heapes environ me about, more thicke than long, and more full than lacking. And let it hardly vanish with my knowledge, and when this sweete alluring found shall no more tickle mine ears. It were a fond conceit, now I am ready to leave the commerce of men, by new commendations, to goe about, anew to beg my selfe vnto them.

I make no accompt of goods, which I could not employ to the use of my life. Such as I am, so would I be elsewhere then in paper. Mine art and industrie have beene employed to make my selfe of some worth. My studie and endeavoir to doe, and not to write. I have applied all my skill and devoire to fame my life. Loe-heres mine occupation and my worke. I am a passe maker of booke, then of any thing else. I have defined and aimed at sufficiency, rather for the benefit of my present and essential commodities, then to make a more-house, and hoarde it vp for mine heirs. Whosoever hath any worth in him, let him shew it in his behaviour, manners and ordinary discourses; be it to treat of love or of quarrels, of sport and play or bed-matters, at boarder or else-where. He that is in the conduct of his owne affaires, or private household matters. Thohe whom I see make good booke, having trottred hofen and ragged clothes on, had they believed me they should first have gotten themselves good clothes. Demand a Spartan, whether he would rather be a cunning Rhetorician, then an excellent Souldier: Nay were I asked, I would say, a good Cooke, had I not some to serve me. Good Lord (Madame) how I would have such commendation, to be a sufficient man in writing, and a foolish-shalow-headed braine or coxcombe in all things else: Yet had I rather be a fool, both here and there, then to have made so bad a choice, wherein to employ my worth. So farre am I alio from expecting, by such trifles to gaine new honour to my selfe, as I shal think. I make a good bargaine, if I loose not a part of that little, I had already gaine. For, besides that this dombe and dead picture shall derogate and steele from my naturall being, it fadgeth not and hath no reference vnto my better fface, but is much faine from my first vigor and naturall jollity, enching to a kind of drooping or mouldineffe. I am now come to the bottome of the vessell, which beginneth to taste of his dregs and lees. Otherwise (good Madame) I shoul not have dared so boldly
The second Booke.

to have ripped up the mysteries of Phisick, considering the esteem and credite you selfe, and so many others, ascribe unto it; and hold it in; had I not beene directed thereunto by the authors of the same. I think they have but two ancient ones in Latine, to wit Plinie and Celsus. If you fortune at any time to looke into them, you shall finde them to speake much more rudely of their Art; then I do. I but pinch gently, they cut the throate of it. Plinie amongst other things, doth much scoffe at them, forsoomuch as when they are at their wits-end, and can goe no further, they have found out this goodly, shift, to send their long-tummoiled, and to no end much-tormented patients, with their drugs and diets, fome to the help of their vows and miracles, and fome others to hot Bathes and waters. (Be not offended noble Lady, he meaneth not those on this side, vnder the protection of your house, and all Gramontees.) They have a third kinde of shift or evaflion to shake vs-off, and difcharge themselves of the imputations or reproaches, wee may justly charge them with, for the small amendment of our infirmities; whereof they have so long had the survey and governement, as they have no more inventions or devises left them, to amufe vs with that is, to fend vs, to feeke and take the good aire of some other countries. Madam, wee have harped long enough upon one string; I hope you will give me leave to come to my former discourses againe, from which for your better entertainment, I had somewhat digressed.

It was (as farre as I remember) Pericles, who being demanded, how he did; you may (faid he) judge it by this, shewing certaine scroules or briefes, hee had tied about his necke and armes. He would infere, that he was very sick, since he was forced to have recourse to such vanities, and had sufferd himselfe to be fo dreft. I affirme not, but I may one day be drawne to fuch fond opinions, and yeeld my life and health to the mercie, discretion and regimen of Phisicians. I may happily fall into this fond madness. I dare not warrant my future constancie. And even then if any ask me how I doe, I may anfwere him as did Pericles: You may judge, by shewing my hands fraughted with fix drammes of Opium. It will be an evident token of a violent fickenesse. My judgment shall be exceedingly out of temper. If impaciencie or feare get that advantage upon me, you may thereby conclude some quelling fever hath seized upon my minde. I have taken the painses to please this caufe, whereof I have but small understanding, somwhat to strengthen and comfort natural pro- position, against the drugs and practife of our Phisicks, which is derived into mee from mine ancestors: left it might onely be a flupide and rash inclination and that it might have  
a little more forme. And that also those, who fee meo confant against the exhortations and threats, which are made against me, when ficknesse cometh upon me, may not thinke it to be a mere conceit, and fimple willfulness; And also, left there be any fo peevish, as to judge it to be some mote of vaine glory. It were a strange desire, to seek to draw honour from an action, common both to me, to my gardiner, or to my groome. Surely my heart is not so puffed vp, nor so windie, that a solide, fleathy and marowie pleasure, as health is; I should change it for an imaginarie, spirituall and airie delight. Renowne or glory (were it that of Ament fours sons) is over-deeely bought by a man of my humour, if it could him but three violent fits of the chollicke. Give me health a Gods name. Those that love our Phisicke, may likewise have their considerations good, great and strong. I have no fantasies contrary to mine. I am so farre from vexing my selfe, to see my judgement differ from other mens, or to grow incompatible of the societie or conversation of men, to be of any other faction or opinion then mine own, that contrariwise (as variety is the most general fashion that nature hath followed, and more in the minde, then in the bodies) forsoomuch as they are of a more supple and yeelding subfance, and susceptible or admitting of forms) I finde it more rare to see our humour or deffignes aggre in one. And never were there two opinions in the world alike, no more than  
two haires, or two grainses. Diverfitie be the most universal quality.

The end of the second Booke.
ESSAYES
THE ESSAYES

Or

Morall, Politike and Millitarie Discourses

of

Lo: Michaell de Montaigne,

Knight

Of the noble Order of St. Michaell, and one of the Gentlemen in Ordinary of the French king, Henry the third his Chamber.

The third Booke.

(* * *)

1603.
THE ESSAYS

of

Martial, Roberts, and Miltene

Dedicated

to

Mr. William Henden

By

The Mayor of Boston
To the right Honorable and all-vertue-accomplished

Ladies, Ladie Elizabeth Grey, wife to the right Noble
Maister Henrie Grey; daughter to the right Honorable
Earle of Shrewsburie.

A N D,

Ladie Marie Nevill, daughter to the right Honorable Lord high
Treasurer of England; wife to Sir Henrie Nevill
of Abingdon.

Our Honorable Ladieships excelling in Myske, as in all other admirable qualities, can tell me of a French branche (as I take it) wherein one man, like Mercurie betweene the radiant orbes of Venus and the Moone, leadeth a daunce to two women. In resemblance whereof, though much I want the eloquence of Mercurie to move you, much more his abilities or agility to guide you, most of all his nobilitie to comfort you, yet, as for your exercise, or more perfection, sometime you practis with me with a teacher, or a teacher much meaker than your selves: which safe me your unworthy, but herein happy teacher joynely to usher you to this French motion. French hath long time bee ne termed the language of Ladies: So doth it grace your tongues: so do your tongues grace it; as if written by men it may have a good garbe, spoken by you it hath a double grace: for so have I heard some of you speake it, as woman, few women, could come neare their sweete relish ayre of it. That at Tullie avered of his Roman Ladies for Latine, so not only for our mother-tongue, but also for the principal, Italian and French, not only our princely Mother of Majestie, Magnificence, omnis sufficiencie, but (for instance) I avow, you my five honored Schollers (whom as wile in heart, so would I honor now by these my labours) are the purest, finest, and clearest speakers. So as where I have cause to love those languages above all, because they are my loving, I never like or love them so well, as when I heare you reade or speake them. Whereby as Virgil in his song Euryalus concited vertue more gracious, because it came from a faire graceful bodie, so prize I more those glorious gemmes of your languages and knowledge, because they are set in the pure golde of your Nobilitie, and worn on the faire front or bright boinne of your beauties. Resplendent is the Sunne at the lowest, lucent the Moone at the leaft, rising, or setting, but most radiant, reviving, influent, when they are at highes. Learning and languages in any place will shew some sparkes of light, but most life and lustre in illustrious palaces, to show grace, and clear their owners and their neighbours. This faire beautie well, that some learned are ennobled: much better may it beare, that our Nobles are many learned. Be nobilitie a succour to learning, as learning is an honor to nobilitie. A rich owne is nobilitie, but without flampe of language scarce currie out of our owne countries; and in our country for no trade or traffike with strangers. We have fience (with some shame and sorowe) some of our golden-fleece Knights and Goldean Courtiers, when for some Princes came in presence, perhaps beare the presence, but scarce the fience, left the fience, 

Rr 2 last
The Epistle Dedicatory

least of all the sociableness of a man, unless he signifies and noddes, or Notes, or Oyes; yebe faine to intreate their Mistresses, speak for them, but find tongue enough to faine a treatise to their Mistresses. Yet as the supreme Mistress and glorious Lady of us all, and all excellence hath often excellently spoken for all: So (to my joy and glory) some of you, Ladies, have I heard, not only entertain, but satisfie best spoken strangers with their applause and admiration. Herein now could I beate, and laves would break the legs of that dog Satyrism, who castlesse barks, bites, and is bitter, even to deprave that untaintable Cornelia, whom Princes of her time, and all men of good minds did honor ever since. Nor do I well brooke in that behalf even this Satyrizing censor my prototype, that he after him in this your part affaires you small share of Rhetorique, Logique, Law; whose tongue to him is Rhetorique, reason Logique, and commandement Law. Your other perfection let him not draw down to imperfection. If you by them may rule Regents, more may you do it, if you have more perfection. In Poese, in Historie, yea in Philosophy if you have good allowance, why should you have any limits? And if you mean to make your selves by them, what means are there to them, but the languages you have learnt? Be you (as be there scoffeth) caput totum, All hid, all cabinets (which I the rather here expounded, because I there omit) but so hid, as much more good is in you than knowne of you, such Cabinets of Natures treasures, Vertues inverelles, learnings modellrs, as all the Muses and Graces can scarce shew the like. What neede you to enquire but what you needes? You are rich, and may require such ornaments as fitte your state. Prebemence by it, it is not superfusity: for as a man excellent a beast that bee can speake, a man excelle a man that bee can speake much better. So to a woman in natural quists is man must yeelde prioritie, in artificiall complements if she comenceare him, she may goe farre afore him. Nor is it curiosite, it is due care. Would not your noble Husbandes, even in house-affaires, dislike to speake to you, or you to them, by a touch-man? How then would you like it in strange matters to talke with a Stranger by an interpreter? How can you knowe his sufficiency? How dare you trust his faithfulness? Tenne to one he knowes not, or should not knowe what he speakes of: or more, or lese, or worse, bee expresst, one or both. And why should men, more then you, talke with the deid, the truest, and take counsell of books, the best Counsellours? Wither you have as good, if not better, words (they say) you have more, Why should you then the better understand as much? If tongue be a womanes armes, why should you not armes you with best choice thereof? Ode Ennus could brasse bee had three harters, because bee knewe three tongues. And may not you Ladies boast as much, whose tongues can speake as many, and be as hartie with one head, one hart, one tongue? So hath the loving care, and carfull love of your right Honorable and most prudent Parents (thrice-honored Lady G ley as swell in language for more knowledge, more knowledge for all vertue, as in high lineage for rich dowrie, rich dowrie for great match provided for you. An able most worthie those Progenitors, the olde Worthies of S h r e v v b e r i e, to make you so well worship your match to inherite a house no lesses ancient, the antient house of K e n t. Whereof to with you answerable joy, to the honor of both Hous es, demerit of your selves, comfort of all your friends, let me but adde my wish: God give my wish fult, and your wishfull wish with no better. And so to you (my in-hart-honored, since best-deferring Ladie N e v i l l I) knowne not, if native inclination, proceeding from a father, in wisdomes none greater, a Mother, in goodness none better, or informing instruction, applied by his prudent direction, used by her kinde defection, received by your quick ingenitie, or confirming example of both them above all example, and your noble husband excellently qualified, exquisitely langaged, and your as learned as well graced brothers, or all these in concourse have made-oppe such accomplishment, as against I knowne not, if you, or wee all, one more to them for you. This I knowe and acknowledge, as to your right Honorable Father, this ages Cato, our Englands Hospitallis, I love and view.
The Epistle Dedicatorie.

all service for many-many favours he hath done me, more he may, and to those other for some other: So to your Ladiship for all, who not only with them, but many more, have not onely wrought me credite to give countenance, but brought mee kindenesse to afforde commoditie. As therefoxe of aught else I ever may, so of this I have here done, your Ladiship may challenge no small parte, since no small parte thereof was done under your Fathers roose, under your regiment, Wherefore to both your Honors (renowned Grey and Nevill) as to Iuno in Grece, or Vesta in new Rome on the Altare of your vertues, I consecrate without idolatrie, prophanenesse, or blasphemie, both the incense of Praife and Thanks, and the never-failing fire of an ever-faithfull affection, which the Vestall Virgins of pure thoughts shall still-still keepe alive, that while I live, and when I die, I may be as I am.

Your Honors servant

in true hart,

JOHN FLOREO.
TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE Ladie Elizabeth Grey.

Honorable Talbot honor'd farre,
The forecast and the fortune, by his Word
Montaigne here describeth; what by his Sword,
What by his wit, this, as the guiding starre;
That, as the Aetolian blast, in peace, or warre,
At sea, or land, as cause did she afford;
Avant le VENT, to tack his sails a-borde,
So as his course no more they cross might barre;
But he would sweetly fail before the wind;
For Prince's service, Countries good, his fame.
Heire-Daughter of that prudent, constant kinde,
Ioyning thereto of Grey as great a name,
Of both chiefest glories shrining in your minde,
Honor him, that your Honor doth proclaime.

II Candido.
TO THE RIGHT
Noble and vertuous Ladie

Marie Nevill.

For ornaments to men, to Ladies more,
If to mean persons, more to noble minde,
Study and languages have beene assigne;
How should we then admire, applaud, adore
You Madame, so adorn’d, as few before?
As if your Fathers, Husbands, Brothers kinde
You were to equall or excell inclinde:
Such knowledge keeping keyes of vertues store.
Though this you know no better in your owne,
Then it you knew in French, or had it beene,
In Tuscan writ, as well you had it knowne;
Though lesser grace in this, than that, be seen;
Yet, as your owne, since you love publike-weale,
Take well, we unknovne goods to all reveale.

II Candido.
THE ESSAYS
of Michael Lord of
Montaigne.

The third Booke.

The first Chapter.

Of profit and honestie.

Omnia living is free from speaking foolish things: the ill luck is, to speake them curiously:

Nam si magna conatus magnas nugas
dixerit,

This fellow sure with much a doe,
Will tell great tales and trifles too.

That concerneth not me: mine slip from me with as little care, as they are of small worth: whereby they speeke the better. I would sudainly quit them, for the least cost were in them: Nor doe I buie, or fell them, but for what they waighe. I speake unto paper, as to the first man I meete. That this is true, marke well what followes. To whom should not treacherie be detestable, when Tiberius refuseth it on such great interest? One sent him word out of Germanie, that if he thought it good, Ariminium should be made away by poifon. He was the mightieest enemy the Romans had, who had so vilely vffed them vnder Vranus, and who oneely empeached the encreafe of his dominacion in that countrie. His answer was; that the people of Rome were accustomed to be revenged on their enemies by open courtes. With weapons in hand; not by fabule fleights, nor by buggery; thus left he the profitable for the honest. He was (you will say) a cofener. I beleue it; that's no wonder, in men of his profession. But the confession of vertue, is of no leffe conuenience in his mouth that hateh the fame, for to much as truth be forced from him, and if he will not admit it in him, as leaffe to adorn him selfe, he will put it on. Our composition, both publike and private, is full of imperfection: yet is there nothing in nature vnderestimable, no not invidia it selfe, nothing thereof hath beene infinuated in this huge vniverse, but houldeth some fit place therein. Our effence is symented with crafte qualities: ambition, jealosie, cunie, revenge, superflition, dispaire, lodge in vs, with of naturall a possession, as their image is also difcerned in beafts: yea and crueltie, for naturall a vice: for in the midle of compaffion, we inwardly feel a kinde of bitter-sweete-pricking of malicious delight, to see others suffer; and children feel it also:

Sanee mari magnos turbantibus aqua venenis,
E terra magnum alterius seclure laborem.

This sweete on ground feas, when windes waves turmoyle,
From land to see an others greeuous royle.

The seede of which qualities, who should root out of man, should ruine the fundamentall

S

condi-
conditions of our life: in matter of policie likewise, some necessary functions are not only base but faultie: vices finde therein a feate, and employ themselves in the itching vp of our shame: as poisons in the preturation of our health. If they become excusable, because we have need of them, and that common necessities effect their true propriety; let us resigne the acting of this part to hardie Citizens, who flack not to sacrifice their honours and consciences, as those of old, their lives, for their countries avail and safest. We that are more weakes, had best assume tasks of more eafe and leffe hazard. The Common-wealth requires some to betray, some to lie, and some to malefactor: leave we that commiison to people more obedient and more poyable. Truly, I have often beene vexed, to fee our judges, by false or falfe hopes of favour or pardon, draw on a malefactor, to betray his offence, employing therein both cozinage and impudence. It were fit for justice, and Plate himselfe, who fauoureth this custome, to furnish me with means more suitle to my humor. T is a malicious justice, and in my conceite no leffe wounded by it selfe, then by others. I answerst not long since, that hardlie could I betray my Prince for a particular man, who should be very forie to betray a particular man for my Prince. And loathe not onely to deceave, but that any be deceived in me; wherto I will neither furnish matter nor occasion. In that little buisineffe I have managed betweene our Princes, amid the diuisions and subdiuisions, which at this day teare & turmoile vs fo; I have curiously heeded, that they mistake me not, nor muddie themselves in my maske. The professors of that trade hold themselves most covert; pretending & counterfetting the greatest indifference and neerennesse to the cause they can. As for me, I offer my selfe in my liveliest reasons, in a forme most mine owne: A tender and yong Negotiator, who had rather faile in my buisineffe, then in my selfe. Yet hath this bin blitherto with so good hap (for surely fortune is in these matters a principal actor) that few have dealt betweene party and party with leffe fulpition, and more inward favour. I have in all my proceedings an open fathion, easie to infsinate and give it selfe crede at first acquaintance. Sincree, plainenesse, and naked truth, in what age so euer, finde also their opportunitie & employment. Besides, their liberste is little called in question, or subject to hate, who daile without respect of their owne interest. And they may truly vie the anfwer of Hippocrates unto the Athenians, complaining of his better incisious and sharpest of his speach: Consider not my masters whether I am free, but whether I be so, without taking aught, or bettering my state by it. My liberste also hath easie discharged me from all fulpicion of faintnesse, by its vigor (not forbeareing to speake any thing, though it bit or sting them; I could not have said worse in their absence) and because it carrieth an appanent fhew of simplicitie and catelesness. I pretend no other fruite by negotiacion, then to negotiate; and annexce no long pursuite or propoitions to it. Every achoo makes his particular game, winne he if he can. Nor am I vexed with the passion of love or hate vnso great men; nor is my will shackled with anger, or particular respect. I regard our kings with an affection fimply, lawfull, and meerelie civil, neither movd nor vnmooved by private interest; for which I like my selfe the better. The generall and iute caufe bindes me no more then moderately, and without violent fits. I am not subject to these piercing pledges and inward gages. Choller and hate are beyond the duty of justice, and arc pasions fitting only those, whole reason is not sufficient to hold them to their duty: Utatur meus animus quam ratione me non potest. Let him use the motion of his minde, that cannot of reafon. All lawfull intentions are of themselues temperate: if not, they are altered into fedicious and vnlawfull. It is that makes me marche evrey where with my head aloft, my face and hart open. Venelie (and I feare not to avouch it) I could easifie for a neede, bring a candle to Saint Michell, and another to his Dragon, as the good olde woman. I will follow the best fide to the fire, but not into it, if I can chooze. If neede require, let Mon-taigne my marnor-houfe be swallowed vp in the publicke ruine: but if there be no such necellite, I will acknowledge my selfe beholding vsnto fortune if she pleafe to fave it; and for its safest employ as much scope as my endevours can afford me. Was it not Aristoc, who cleaving to the right (but looking side) faied himselfe by his moderation, in that generall shipwrecke of the World, amiddst so many changes and divers alterations? To private men, such as he was, it is more easie. And in such kinde of busineses, I thinke one dealeth justly, not to be too forward to infsinate or inuinc himselle: To holde a flaggerring or midle course, to bare vnnoised affection, and without inclination in the troubles of his country, and publicke diuisions, I deeme neither semely nor honeft: En amor medius, sed nulla via est,
The third Booke.

It look't that fuch and What and Y and not Imun for not the to impljetti euenasWine Jhallfal hend racufa docfb Ingagc ^rclikely mcnt dours efpecially, gainft feefpeciallly, I things. I fee and fcicnce. him. For vnto vnto what in one, and temper as the forrne ( with our offending them) may glide over their heads. Had we not reafon to hope as much of the deceased Bishop of Orleans, Lord of Mornilliers? And I know some, who at this preffent worthwhile befifiire themfelves, in fo even a fashion or pleafing a manner, that they are likely to continue on foot, whatfoever minour alteration or fall, the heavens may prepare againft vs. ? hold it onfly fit for Kings to be angry with Kings: And mooke at thofe raft spirits, who from the bravery of their harts offer themfelves to fo vnproportionate quarrels. For one vnderjatke not a perticulter quarrell againft a Prince, in marching a gainft him openly and courafely, for his honour, and according to his duty: If he love not fuch a man, he doth better; at leaft he efteemeth him. And the caufe of lawes efpecially, and defence of the ancient state, hath euere found this priviladge, that fuch as for their owne intereft, difturbe the fame, excufe (if they honour not) their defenfors. But we ought not turne our duty(as now a dayes we do) a frowrigourd and interfure crabbedneffe, proceeding of private intereft and passion; nor courage; a treacherous and malicious proceeding. Their difposition to frowwardneffe and mischiefe, they entitle zeale: That's not the caufe doth heate them, it's their owne intereft: They kindle a warre, not becaufe it is juft, but becaufe it is warre. Why may not a man beare himfelfe between enemies flantly and justly? Doe it, if not altogether with an equall (for it may admitt different meafure) at leaft with a fober affeclion, which may not fo much engage you to the one, that he looke for all at your hands. Content your felfe with a moderate proportion of their favour, and to glide in troubled waters without fifting in them. Th'other manner of offering one vtermofe endeavours to both fides, implyeth little diſpofition then confequence. What knowes he, to whom you betray another, as much your friend as himfelfe, but you will doe the like for him, when his turne fhall come. He takes you for a villaine; the whilst he heares you, and gathers out of you, and makes his best vie of your diſloyalite: For, double fellows are onely beneficall in what they bring, but we must look, they carry away as little as may be. I carry no thing to the one, which I may not (having opportunity) lay unto the other, the accent onely changed a little: and report, either but indifferent or knowne, or common things. No benefice can induce me to lye vnto them, what is entrusted to my felene I conceal religiously, but take as little in truft as I can. Princes secretes are a troublesome charge, to fuch as have ought to doe with them. I euer by my good will may capitulate with them, that they truft me with very little; but let them affuredly truft what I difclore vnto them. I always knew more then I would. An open speech opens the way to another, and draws all out, even as Wine, and Looe of Philopades in my minde, answer'd King Lifmacbus wisely, when he demanded of him, what of his wealth or state he should empart vnto him; Which and What you pleafe (quoth he) So is it be not your secret. I fee every one mutinie, if another conceal the depth or miferie of the affaires from him, wherein he pleafeth to employ him, or have but purloyned any circumftance from him. For my part, I am content one tell me no more of his busineffe then he will have me know or deale in, nor deny I, that my knowledge exceede or restrain my word. If I muft needs be the inftruement of cozonage, it fhall at leaft be with safety of my confeience. I will not be esteemed a fervant, nor fo affiected, nor yet fo faithful, that I be judged fit to betray any man. Who is unfafthull to himlifefe, may be excused if he be fafhulffe to his Master. But Princes entertaine not men by halfe, and deffe bounded and condicional servites. What remedy? I freely tell them my limits; for, a flate
The third Book.

I must not be but unto reason, which yet I cannot compasse: And they are to blame, to exact from a free man, the like subjection vnto their senrice, and the same obligation, which they may from those they have made & bought; and whole fortune dependeth particularly & expressly on theirs. The lawes have deliuered me from much trouble: they have chosen me a flue to follow, and appointed me a maister to obey: all other superiourtie and duty, ought to be relative vnto that and be restrained. Yea may it not be concluded, that if my affection should otherwise transport me, I would presently afforde my helping hand vnto it. Will and desire are a law to themselves, actions are to receeive it of publike inflitations: All these proceedings of mine, are somewhat diffiant from our formes. They would produce no great effects, nor holde out long among vs, Innocencie it selfe could not in these times nor negotiate without dissimulation, nor traffick without lying. Neither are publike functions of my dyet; what my profission requires thereto, I furnish in the most private manner I can. Being a child, I was plunged into the vp to the eares, and had good success; but I got loose in good time. I have often since shunned meddling with them, fledome accepted, and neuer required; euery holding my backe toward ambition; but if asrowers, who go forward as it were backward; Yet so, as I am lesse beholding to my resolution, then to my good fortune, that I was not wholly embarked in them. For, there are course lesse against myselfe, and more comforable to my carriage, by which if hereafter it had called me to the senrice of the common-weale, and my advancement vnto credit in the world; I know that in following the same I had exceeded the reason of my conceite. Tho' which commonly say against my profession, that what I terme liberty, simplicitie and plainenesse in my behaviour, is art, and subtletie: and rather discretion, then goodnesse; indiustry, then nature; good wit, then good hap; do me more honour then shame. But truly they make my cunning outcunning. And whoo- ever hath traced me and nearly looked into my humours, hee loose a good wager, if he confesse not, that there is no rule in their schoole, could, a mid such crooked pathes and dyuers windings, square and raptur this natural motion, and maintaine an apparence of liberty and licence, so equal and inflexible; and that all their attention and wit, is not of power to bring them to it. The way to trueth is but one and simple; that of particular profit and benefit of aires a man hath in charge, double, vneven and accidentall. I have often feene these counterfeit and artificial liberties in praefect, but moft commonly, without success. They fauour of Epopes Affe; who in emulation of the dogge, layde his two fore-feete very jecondly on his maisters shoulders; but looke how many handicapements the pretty dogge receiued, vnder one, so many bastonadoes were redoubled on the poore Affe's backe. Id maxime quemque decer, good est simulique sumus maxime: that becomes every man especially, which is his owne especially: I will not deprive couinage of her tanske; that were to vnderstand the wodde but ill: I know it hath often done profitable service, it supporteth, yea and nourishe the greatest part of mens vacations.

There are some lawfull vices; as many actions, or good or excusable, unlawfull. Justice in it selfe, natural and vnwearall is otherwise ordered, and more nobly distributed, then this other especial, and nationall justice, restrained and fured to the neede of

...
The third Book.

ring the other to a feast in his house, emprisoned and murthered him. Justice required, that the Romans should be satisfied for this outrage: some difficulties empauched the ordinarie course. What they could not lawfully doe without ware and hazard, they attempted to accomplish by treason: what they could not honestly achieve, they profittably compassed. For employing whereof Pompnnus Flaccus was thought most fit to: who trayning the fellowe into his Nettes by fained words and fugred assurances, in liue of the favours and honour he promised him, sent him bound hand and foote to Rome.

One traytor over-reached another, against common custome: For, they are all full of distrust, and 'tis very hard to surprize them in their owne arte: winnesse the brave and dintroise experience we have latelee felt of it. Let who lieth be Pompnnus Flaccus; and there are too-many that will be so. As for my parte, both my worde and faith, are as the rest, pieces of this common bodie: their best effect is the publicke service: that's ever preupposed with me. But as, if one should command me to take the charge of the Rolles or Records of the Palace, I would answer; I have no skill in them: or to be a leader of Pioners, I would say; I am called to a worthie office: Even so, who would goe about to employ me, not to murther or poison, but to lye, betraye, and forswear my felie, I would tell him: If I have robbed or stolen any thing from any man, send me rather to the Gallies. For, a Gentleman may lawfully speake as did the Lacedemonians, defeated by Antipater, vpon the points of their agreement: You may impose as heavy burdens, and harmless taxes vpon vs as you please; but you lose your time, to commend or any shameful or dishonest things. Every man should give himselfe the oath, which the Egyptian Kings, solemnlie and visuallie presented to their judges; Not to favour from their confessions, what command foever they should receive from themselves to the contrary. In such commisions there is an evident note of ignominie and condemnation. And whomever giues them you, accutteth you; and if you conceaue them right, gives you them as a trouble and burchten. As much as the publick affaires amend by your endeavours, your owne empateth: the better you doe, so much the worse doe you. And it shall not be newe, nor peraduenture without shadoe of justice, that he who feteth you a worke, becommeth your ruine. If treason be in any case excusable, it is onely then, when it is employed to punish and betray treason. We shall finde many treacheries, to have beene not onely refueld, but punisht by them, in whose favoure they were under-taken. Who knowes not the sentence of Fabricius, against Pyrrus, his Phyfition? And the commander hath often severely revenged them on the partie he employed in them, refusing fo unbridded a credite and powre, and disavowinge so lewde and vile an obedience. Lappole Duke of Ruffia, solicited an Hungarian Gentleman, to betraye Boflania King of Polonia, in contriving his death, or furnishing the Ruffians with meanes to worke-him some notable mistchief. This gallant, pretentlie betrothes him in it, and more then euer applying himselfe to the Kings seruice, obtained to be of his counsell, and of those he most trusted. By which advantages, and with the opportunitie of his maisters abstinence, he betrayde Vitticius, a great and rich cittie to the Ruffians: which was whole sackt and burnt by them, with a generall slaughter, both of the inhabitants, of what sexe or age foever, and a great number of nobility thereabouts, whom to that purpose he had assembled. Lappole his anger thus awagged with revenge, and his rage mitigated (which was not without pretext, for Boflania had mightily wronged and in like manner incensed him) and glutted with the fruitie of treafon, examining the vglinoften thereof, naked and alone, and with imparciall eyes behoulding the fame, not distempered by passion, conceaue such a remorse, and tooke it so to hart, that he forthwith came of the eyes of his instrumentall executioner to be pulled out, and his tongue and priue parts to be cut of. Antigonus perfwaded the Angyrapides soldiers, to betray Eumenes their generall, and his aduerarie, vnto him, whom when they had delivered, and he had caufed to be slaine; himselfe desired to be the commissarie of deuine justice, for the punishment of so detestable a treacherie: and resigning them into the hands of the Governor of the Province, gave him express charge, in what manner soever it were, to rid himselfe of them, and bring them to some mischievous end. Whereby, of that great number they were, not one euer after sawe the smoake of Macedoone. The better they forced his turns, the more wicked he judged them, and the more worthie of punishment. The slave that
that betray'd the corner where in his master P.Sulpicius lay hid, was set at libertie, according to the promise of Syllus proscription: But according to the promise of common reason, being freed, he was thrown head-long from off the rocke Tarpeye. And Chlast King of France, in lie of the golden armes he had promised the three traitors of Camme, caused them to be hanged, after they had by his solicitation betray'd their maister vnto him. They twitch them vp with the purse of their reward about their necks. Having faul'd their second, and speciall faith, they also faul'd the generall and first. Mahomes the second, desirous to rid himselfe of his brother (through jealouzie of rule, and according to thestile of that race) employed one of his officers in it; who faul'd him, by much water pow'der downe his throat al all at once: which done, in expiation of the fact, he deliered the murtherer into the hands of his brothers mother (for they were brethren but by the fathers side) the in his presence, opened his botome, and with his owne revenging hands searching for his heart, pluckt it out, and cast it vnto dogges to eate. Even vnto vile dispositions (having made vie of a filthy action) it is so sweete and pleasing, if they may with securitie, as it were, in way of recompence and holie correction, fowe one sure filch of goodneffe, and justice vnto it. Besides, they respect the ministres of such horrible crimes, as people, that full upbraide them with them, and count by their deaths to smoother the knowledge, and cancel the testimonie of their practices. Now if perhaps, not to frustration the publike neede of that laft and desperate remedy, one rewarde you for it: yet, he who doth it (if he be not as bad him selfe) will holde you a most accurst and execerable creature. And deemeth you a greater traitor, than he whom you have betrayed: for with your owne handes, he toucheth the lewdneffe of your disposition, without disavowing, without obje&. But employeth you, as we do out-call persons in the executions of justice: an office as profitable as little honett. Besides the baseness of such commi'sions, there is in them a profirution of confidence. The daughter of Sejans, could not in Rome, by any true fome female course of lawe, be put to death, because she was a virgine: that lawes might have their due course, she was first deflowered by the common hang-man, and then strangled. Not his hand only, but his soule is a flave vnto publike commoditie. When Amvraeth the first, to aggravate the punishment of his subjectes, who had given support to his sons natural rebellion, appointed their nearest kinsmen to lend their handes vnto this execution: I finde it not honett in some of them, who rather chose vnsuitably to be held guiltie of anotherstreachon, then to serte justice with their owne trettcherie. And whereas in some paltic townes forced in my time, I have seene base varieties for faue garde of their owne lives, yeeld to hang their friends and companions, I ever thought them of worse condition, then such as were hanged. It is reported, that Wiselade Prince of Lituania, introduced an order with that nation, which was that the parte condemned to die, should with his owne handes make him selfe away; finding it strange, that a third man being guiltlesse of the fact, should be employed and charged to commit a murther. When an vrgent circumstanc, or any violent and unexpected accident, induceth a Prince for the necessity of his estate, or as they say for state matters, to break his words and faith, or other wise for ceth him out of his ordinarie duty, he is to acribe that necessity vnto a laft of Gods rod: It is no vise, for he hath quit his reason, vnto a reason more publike, and more powrful, but surelie tis ill fortune. So that to one, who ask'd me what remedie? I reply'd, none; we were trule rackt betweene these two extremes ( Sed videat ne guaratur latera perierio. But let him take heed he seek not a starting hole for perierio) he must haue done it; but if he did it fans regret or scruple, if it greeued him not to doe it, tis an argument his conscience is but in ill tarmes. Now were there any one of so tender or cheverell a conscience, to whom no cure might seeme worthie of so extreme a remedie. I should prife or garde him no whit the leffe. He cannot loose him selfe more handfomely nor more excusable. We cannot doe every thing, nor be in every place. When all is done, thus and thus, must we often, as vnto our laft Anker and sole refuse, resign the protection of our vefell, vnto the onely conduct of heaven. To what jufter necessity can he referre himselfe? what is leffe possible for him to doe, then what he cannot effect, without charge vnto his faith, and imputation to his honour? things which peraduenture shou'd be dearer to him, then his owne salvation, and the safetie of his people. When with enfoundled armes he shall deuoutlie call on God for his ayde, may he not hope, that his fatherlie mettie
mercifull shall not refuse the extraordinary favour, and sinne-forgiving grace of his all powerful hand, vnto a pure and righteous hand? They are dangerous examples, rare and crafted exceptions to our natural rules: we must yeele vnto them, but with great moderation, and heedie circumpfecion. No private commoditie, may any way deterre we should offer our confience this wrong: the common-wealth may, when it is most appa- rante and important. Timoleon did ftifie warrant and warde the strangenesse of his exploite by the teates he shed, remembering it was with a brotherlie hand he flew the tyrant. And it neerelie pinchd his selfe-gracefull confience, that he was compelled to purchase the common good, at the rate of his honestie. The sacred Senate it selfe, by his means deli- ered from thraldome, diuift not definitivelie decide of so haughtie an action, and rend in two fo vrgent and different fnbstances. But the Siracufians having opportuneie and at that very instant sent to the Corinthians, to require their protection, and a governour able to re-eftablile their towne in her former majestie, and deliver Sicilie from a number of pettie tyrants, which greeuoufly oppressed the fame; they appointed Timoleon, with this new caufaet and declaration: That according as he should well or ill demeane himselfe in his charge, their sentence should encline, either to grace him as the redeemer of his country, or dilgrace him, as the murtherer of his brother. This fantafical conclusion, hath some excufe upon the danger of the example, and importance of an acte so different: and they did well, to discharge their judgement of it, or to embarke him somewhere els, and on their considerations. Now the proceedings of Timoleon in this renowned journie did loone yield his caufe the cleerer, fo worthily and vertuously did he every way comport himselfe therein. And the good hap, which euer accompanied him in the encombrances and diffi- culites he was to subdude in the after-achievement of his noble enterprife, seemed to be sent him by the Gods, conspiring to second, and confenting to favour his justification: This mans end is excusable, if euer any could be. But the encreafe and profit of the publicke re- venues, which serued the Romani Senate for a pretext of the enuing-foule conclusion I purpose to relate, is not of sufficient force to warrant such injustice. Certaine cities had by the order and permifion of the Senate, with mony purchased their libertie, at the hands of L.Sylla. The matter comming in question againe, the Senate condemned them, to be fnable and taxed as before; and that the mony they had employed for their ransome, shold be deemed as loffe and forfett. Cuill wares doe often produce such enormouf examples: That we punifh private men, for somuch as they have believed vs, when we were other then now we are. And one fame Magiftrate doth laie the penalty of his change on such as cannot do withall. The Schoolemafter whippeth his scholler for his docilitie, and the guide streeketh the blinde man he leadeth. A horrible image of justice. Some rules in Philosophie are both fale and farte. The example proposd vnto vs, of respecting pri- vate vitiliue before faith guien, hath not sufficient powre by the circumstance they addde vnto it. Theseues have taken you, and on your oathe to pay them a certaine summe of mon- ey, have fet you at libertie againe: They erre, that say, an honest man is quit of his worde and faith without paying, being out of their hands; There is no such matter. What faire and danger hath once forced us to will and content vnto, I am bound to will and per- form, being out of danger and fear. And although it have but forced my tongue, and not my will, yet am I bound to make my worde good, and keepe my promotie. For my part, when it hath sometimces vnaduitedly ouer-runne my thought, yet have I made a confience to difavowe the fame. Otherwife we shold by degrees come to abolifh all the right a third man taketh and may chalenge of our promoties. Quafi vico forte vico vist povvi adin- beri. As though any force could be used upon a valiant man. This onely lawfull for our private interefte to excuse the breach of promife, if we have rashlie promifed things in themselves wicked and vnjuft. For, the right of vnto ought to over-rule the right of our bonde. I have heretofore placed Epaminondas in the firft ranke of excellent men, and now recont it not. Vnto what high pitch raied he the confideration of his particular dutie? who never flew man he had vanquished; who for that vnvaluable good of reforing his country his libertie, made it a matter of confience, to murther a Tyrant or his complices, without a due and formall course of lawe: and who judged him a bad man, how good a citizen forever, that amongst his enemies and in the furie of a battle, spared not his friend, or his hoife. Loe here a minde of a riche composition. He matched vnto the most violent and rude actions of
of men, goodness and courtesy, yea and the most choicest and delicate, that may be found in the Schoole of Philosophie. This so high-raised courage, so swelling and so obstinate against sorrow, death and poverty, was it nature or arte, made it relent, even to the utmost straine of exceeding tenderness and debonairie of complexion? Being cloathed in the dreadful lurie of fleele and blood, he goeth on crumbling and bruising a nation, invincible to all others, but himselfe: yet mildenesse relenteth in the midst of a combat or confusion, when he meetes with his hoste or with his friend. Verily, this man was desuered fit to command in warre, which in the extremest furie of his innated rage, made him to feele the sting of courtesie, and remorse of gentlenesse: then, when all enflamed, it foamed with furie, and burned with murther. This is a miracle, to be able to joine any showe of justice with such actions. But it onely belongeth to the vnmatched courage of Epaminondas, in that confused plight, to joine mildenesse and facilitie of the most gentle behaviour that eyer was, yea and pure innocencie of selfe. And whereas one tould the Maunierius, that statutes were of no force against armed men: an other to the Tribune of the people, that the time of justice and warre, were two: a third, that the confused noyse of warre and clang of armes, hinderd him from understanding the sober voice of the lawes: This man was not so much empauched from conceiving the milde found of courtesie and kindnesse. Borrowed he of his enemies the custome of sacrificing to the Muses (when he went to the warres) to qualifie by their sweetenesse and mildnesse, that martiall furie, and hostile furlesse? Let vs not fear, after so great a matter; to hold that some things are vnlawfull, even against our fellest enemies: that publike interest, ought not to chalenge all of all, against private interest: Magna memoria etiam in diffido publicorum facdrum privati irris: Some memere of private right continuing even in disagreement of publike contracts:

- et nullas potestias vivere
- Pref. and. ne quid pecur amisus, babet:
- No powre hath so great might,
- To make friends still goe right,
- And that all these be not lawfull to an honest man, for the service of his King, the generall
cic. off. 1. cause and defence of the lawes. Non enim patria prectet omnibus officiis, et ipsi conducts pies habere civies in parentes. For our country is not above all other duties; it is good for the country to have her inhabitants use pietie toward their parents. This is an instruction befitting the times: we need not harden our courages with these plates of iron and steel: it sufficeth our Shoulders be armed with them: it is enough to dippe our Pens in Ink, too much to dye them in blood. If it be greatnesse of courage, and the effect of a rare and singular vertue, to neglect friendship, despeire private respectes and bonds; ones word and kindred, for the common good and obedience of the Magistrate: it is verily able to excuse vs from it, if wee but alledge, that it is a greasenese vnable to lodge in the greatnesse of Epaminondas his courage. I abhorre the entraide admonitions of this other virulie spirit.

Let vs bereave wicked, bloodie and traiterous dispositions, of this pretext of reason: leave vs that impious and exorbitant justice, and adhere vnto more humane imitations, Ob what may time and example bring to passe? In an encounter of the ciuill warres against Cuma, one of Pompeyes soldiers, having unwittingly slaine his brother, who was on the other side, through flame and forrowe presentlie killed himselfe: And some yeares after, in another ciuill warre of the said people, a soldiier bouldlie demanded a reward of his Captaines for killing his owne brother. Falfelie doe we argue honour, and the beauty of an action, by it's profit: and conclude as ill, to thunke every one is bound vnto it, and that it is honest, if it be commodious.

Omnia non pariext rerum sunt omnibus opta.
The third Booke.

All things a-like to all,  
Doe not well-fitting fall.  

Choose we out the most necessearie and most beneficall matter of humane societie, it will be a marriage: yet is it, that the Saints counsell findeth and deemeoth the contrary side more honest, excluding from it the moft reverend vocation of men: as we to our natures assigne such beasts as are of least esteeme.

The second Chapter.  

Of Repenting.

Others fashion man, I repeate him; and represent a particular one, but ill made; and whom were I to forme a new, he should be faire other then he is; but he is now made. And though the lines of my picture change and varie, yet loose they not themselves. The world runnes all on whose: All things therein moove without entermission; yea, the earth, the rockes of Casius, and the Pyramides of Egypt, both with the publique and their owne motion. Conscience is selfe is nothing but a languishing and wearie dance. I cannot settle my object; it goeth so uncertainly and haggardly, with a naturally drunkenneffe. I take it in this plight, as it is at thinstant I ammove my selfe about it. I describe not the essence, but the passage; not a passage from age to age, or as the people reckon, from seauen yeares to seauen, but from day to day, from minute to minute. My historie must bee fitted to the present. I may soone change: not onely fortune, but intention. It is a counter-tale of divers and variable accidents, and irrefolute imaginations; and sometimes contrary: whether it be that my selfe am other, or that I apprehend subjectts, by other circumstances and considerations. Howsoever, I may perhaps gaine-say my selfe, but truth (as Demades said) I never gaine-say: Were my minde settled, I would not effayle, but resolute my selfe. It is full a pretence and a probacioner. I propose a meane life, and without luster: This is all one. They fallten all moral Philosopher as well to a popular and private life, as to one of ritcher fluffe.

Every man beholds the whole flame of humane condition. Authors communicate themselves into the world by some speciall and strange marke: I the first, by my general disposition; as Michell de Montaigne; not as a Grammarian, or a Poet, or a Lawyer. If the world complain, I speake too much of my selfe, I complain, it thinkeh no more of it selfe. But is it reason, that being so privates in life, I should pretend to make my selfe publike in knowledge? Or is it reason, I should produce into the world, where fashion and arte have such swaye and command, the rawe and simple effects of nature; and of a nature as yet exceeding weake? To write booke without learning, is it not to make a wall without stone or such like thing? Coniectes of nuficke are directed by arte; mine by hap. Yet have I this according to learning, that never man handled subjectt, he understoof or knew, better then I doe this I have undertake; being therein the cunningst man alive.

Secondly, that never man waded further into his matter, nor more diuinellie fitted the partes and dependences of it, nor arrived more exactlie and fully to the end he proposed vnto it. To finish the same, I have neede of naught but faithfulnesse: which is therein as sincere and pure as may be found. I speake truth, not my belly-full, but as much as I dare; and I dare the more, the more I growe into yeares: for it seemeth, some alloweth olde age more libertie to babble, and indigretion to talkle of it selfe. It cannot heretofore be, as in trades; where the crafts-man and his worke doe often differ. Being a man of so found and honest conversation, witt he so foolishly? Are such learned writings come from a man of so weake a conceitition? who hath but an ordinary conceite, and writeth excellently, one may say his capacitie is borrowed, not of himselfe. A skilfull man, is not skilfull in all things: But a sufficient man, is sufficient every where, even into ignorance. Here my booke and my selfe march together, and keepe one pace. Else where one may commend or condenme the worke, without the worke-man; here not who toucheth one, toucheth the other. He who shal judge of it without knowing him, shal wrong himselfe more then me: he that knowes it,
hath wholly satisfied me. Happie beyond my merite, If I get this onely portion of publike approbation, as I may cause men of vnderstanding to thinke, I had beene able to make vie and benefit of learning, had I beene endowed with any: and deseter better helpe of me-
more. Excuse we here what I often say, that I seldom repent my selfe, and that my confi-
ience is contented with it selfe; not of an Angels or a horte confidences, but as of a mans con-
science. Adding euuer this claue, not of ceremonie, but of true and essenciall submission; that I
speak enquiring and doubting, meereley and limy referring my selfe from resolutio, unto com-
mon and lawfull opinions. I teach not I report: No vice is abolutely vice, which offendeth not, and a
found judgement accometh not: For, the deformatie and incommode thereof is so
palmable, as peraduenture they have reasoon, who say, it is chiefly produced by foutishnesse
and brought forth by ignorance: so hard is it, to imagine one should know it without ha-
ting it. Malice sicks up the greatest part of her owne vitome, and therewith impoyeone her selfe.
Vice, leaueeth, as an ulcer in the flesh, a repentance in the soule, which will scarcebehe, and bloodthirst is
fell. For reason efficaceth other grievances & forrowes, but engendereth those of repentance: the
more yeerksome, because inwarde: As the colde & heat of ages is more offensif then the
which comes outward. I account vice (but each according to their measure) not onely those
which reason disallowes, & nature condemnes but such as mens opinion hath forgered as falce
& erronious, & lawes and cuftome authorize the same. In like maner, there is no goodnes but
gladder an honer. dispostition. There is truely I wot not what kinde or congratulation, of
well doing, which reioyce vs in our selues, and a generous jollitie, that accompanieth a
good confiance. A minde courageously vitious, may happily arme it selfe with securite but
she shall never mutine her selfe with this selfe-inuying delight and satisfaction. It is no smale
pleasure, for one to feele his selfe preferred from the contagion of an age so infected as ours,
and to say to himselfe; could a man enter and lee even into my soule, yet shoulde he not finde
me guilty, either of the affliction or ruine of any body, nor culpable of chue or reverence,
nor of publike offence aginst the lawes, nor tainted with innovation, trouble or fedition;
not spotting with faults of my worke: and although the libetue of times allowed and
taught it every man, yet could I never be induced to touch the goods or due into the purse
of any French man: & shewe always liued upon mine owne, as well in time of war as of peace;
nor did I tuer make vie of any poore mans labour, without reward. These testimonies of an
unspotted confiance are very pleasing, which naturall joy is a great benefit unto vs, and the
onely payment neuer faileth us. To ground the recompence of vertuous actions, upon the
approbation of others, is to undertake a most uncertaine or troubled foundation, namely in
an age so corrupt and times so ignorant, as this is: the usuerp people's good opinion is munificentio.
Whom trust you in seeing what is commendable? God kepe me from being an honest
man, according to the description I dayly fee made of honour, each one by himselfe. Qua
fuerunt visa, mores sunt. What erst were vices, are now growne fashions. Some of my friends,
have sometimes attempted to schoole me roundly, and filt me plainly, either of their own
motion, or envied by me, as to an office, which to a well composed minde, both in profit and
lovingneffe, exceedeth all the duties of sincere amity. Such haue I tuer entertained with op-
pen armes of curtse, and knowe acknowledgement. But now to speake from my confiance,
I often found so much false meanes in their reproches and praines, that I had not grately
entred ifI'had rather erred, then done well after their fashion. Such as we especially, who live
a priuate life, not exposed to any gaze but our owne, ought in our hartes to establishe a touch-
stone, and therto touch our deedes and trye our actions; and accordingly, now and then
chaffe our selues. I haue my owne lawes and tribunall, to judge of me, whither I ad-
reste my selfe more, then any where els. I refraine my actions according to others, but exten-
tend them according to my selfe. None but your selfe knowes rightly whether you be demisfe
and cruel or loyall & deuour. Others fee you not, but gheeze you by vncertaine coniectures:
They see not so much your nature, as your art. Adhere not then to their opinion, but hold
unto your owne. Tuis subi indiciis est vndandum. Virtutis et vitiorum grane imstis conficiens pon-
das est: quae falsa, sa cen omnis; in regnum vste your owne judgment: I The weight of the very
convenience of vice and virtues is beauty, take that away, and all is downe. But where as it is laid, that
repenance nearly followeth sinne, feeme not to implye sinne placed in his rich aray, which
lodgeth in vs as in his proper manifion. One may disauow and deselaine vices, that surpasse
vs, and where to our passions transport vs: but those, which by long habite are rooted in a
strong,
The third Booke.

strong, and asked in a powerfull will, are not subiect to contradiction. Repentance is but a denying of our wil, and an opposition of our fantasies which divers vs here and there. It makes some diftaunow his former vertue and continent.

Que mens est buxtus, cur ordinem non puer repetit?
Delete his animos insculpites non redempta genu?
Why was not in a youth same minde as now?
Or why beares not this minde a youthfull bow?

That is an exquisite life, which even in his owne private keepeth it stable in awe and order. Every one may play the jugler, and represent an honest man upon the stage; but within, and in his bosome, where all things are lawfull, where all is concealed; to kepe a due rule or formal decorum, that’s the point. The next degree, is to be lo in ones owne home, and in his ordinary actions, whereof we are to give account to no body; wherein is no study, nor art. And therefore Byas describing the perfect state of a family, whereof (faith he) the raifier, be such inwardly by himselfe, as he is outwardly, for fear of the lawes, and respect of mens speaches. And it was a worthy saying of Julius, Draus, to those worke-men, which for three thousand crownes, offered fo to reforme his house, that his neighbours should no more ouer looke into it: I will gue you five thousand (saith he) and continue it so, that on all sides every man may looke into it. The custome of Agehus is remembred with honour, who in his traule was wont to take vp his lodging in churches, that the people, and Gods themselves might pry into his private actions. Some have beene admirable to the world, in whom nor his wife, nor his servant ever noted any thing remarkable. Few men have beene admired of their familiers. No man hath beene a Prophet, not ouer in his house, but in his own country, faith the experience of histories. Even so in things of nought. And in this base example, is the image of greatnesse discernd. In my climate of Gascoignes they deeeme it a leeff to see me in print. The further the knowledge which is taken of me is from my home, of so much more worth am I. In Gower I pay Printers; in other places they pay me. Upon this accident they ground, who luing and prent affume clole-lurking, to purchase credit when they shall be dead and absent. I had rather have leffe. And I call not my selfe into the world; but for the portion I draw from it. That donne, I quit it. The people attend on such a man with wonderment, from a public-like act, vnto his owne doores: together with his roabes he leaueth of his part, falling so much the lower, by how much higher he was mounted. View them within, there all is turbulent, disordered and vile. And were order and formality found in him, a litley, impartially and well forted judgement is required, to perceiue and fully to disinere him in these base and private actions. Considering that order is but a dumplift and droweise vertue; To gaine a Battaile, perceive an Ambattage, and gonne a People, are noble and worthy actions; to chide, laugh, fell, pay, louse hate, and myndely and iuffly to converse both with his ownwe and with himselfe; not to relent, and not gaine fay himselfe, are things more rare, more difficult and lesse remarkable.

Retired liues suffaine that way, whatuer some say, offices as much or more crabbed, and extended, then other liues doe. And private men (faith Aristotle) fene vertue more hardly, and more highly attend her, then thoses which are magistrates or placed in authority. We prepare our felues vnto eminent occasions, more for glory then for conscience. The nearest way to come vnto glory, were to doe that for conscience, which we doe for glory. And me feemeth the vertue of Alexander reprefente much lesse vigor in her large Theater, then that of Socrates, in his base and obscure excercitation. I ealifie conceive Socrates, in the roome of Alexander; Alexander in that of Socrates I cannot. If any ask the one, what hee can doe, hee will anfwer, Conquer the worldes; let the same queftion be demanded of the other, he will say, leafe my life conformably to it’s natural condition; A science much more generous, more importan, and more lawfull.

The worth of the minde conffiseth not in going high, but in marching orderly. Her greatnesse is not exercisef in greatnesse; in mediocritye it is. As thoses, which judge and touch vs inwardly, make no great accoumpt of the brightnesse of our publike actions; and see they are but shreakes and poyntes of cleare Water
The third Booke.

Lucan. 4.

Sin qua defulta situs in carcere claues,
Manu ferre, et turmum posierne,
Aique hominem diutius pati, si terrida parsit,
Veni in ora turror, redens rabies fera que,
Admonitque tunto, gubernare, sanguine fauces,
Ferum et at prpeido vix absimere, in magistro.
So when wild beasts, diffused from the wood,
Fierce looks laide downe, growe tame, clofe in a cage,
Taught to beare man, if then a little blood
Touch their hot lips, fume returns and rage;
Their iaws by tatte admonith fwell with vaines,
Rage boyles, and from faine keeper care abtaines.

These original qualities are not grud out, they are but covered, and hidden: The Latine tongue is to me in a manner natural; I understand it better then French; but it is nowe forie yeares, I have not made vice of it to speake, nor much to write: yet in some extreme motions and suddeaine passions, wherein I haue twice or thrice faled, since my yeares of discretion; and namely one, when my father, being in perfect health, fell all along vpon me in a fowne, I haue euer, even from my very hart vnder my firt words in latine: Nature rushing and by force expressing it felfe, against fo long a cufome; the like example is aleged of diuers others. Those which in my time, have attempted to correc the fashions in the world, by newe opinions, reforme the vices of aparence; of eft of effeaces they leave untouched, if they encreafe not: And their encreafe much to be feared. We willingie protract all other well-doing, vpon these external reformation, or leffe cost, and of greater merit; whereby we fatisfie good-cheape, other natural, confubstantial and intrinfe vices. Looke a little into the courfe of our experience. There is no man (if he liftene to himfelfe) that doth not discouer in himfelfe a peculiar forme of his a fvaing forme, which wreftleth againft the infitution, and againft the tempests of passions, which are contrarie vnto him. As for me, I feele not my felfe much agitated by a ftock; I commonly finde my felfe in mine owne place, as are sluggish and lumpifh bodies. If I am not clofe and neare vnto my felfe, I am never farre-off: My debauches or excelles transport me not much. There is nothing extreme and strange: yet have I found fis and vigorous lufts: The true condemnation, and which touceth the common fashion of our men, is, that their verie retreates is full of corruption and filth. The Idea of their amendment blunted and deformed; their repentence crazed and taulifie, very neere as much as their finne. Some, either becaufe they are fo falt and naturally joynd vnto vice, or through long cufome, have loft all fenne of it's viugliness. To others (of whose ranck I am) vice is burthenous, but they counter-balance it with pleafue, or other occeptions; and fuffer it, and at a certaine rate lend themtheselues vnto it; though baely and vioufife. Yet might happily fo remote a diuifion of meafure be imagined, where with juftice the pleafure might excufe the offence, as we fay of profit:

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Not only being accidental, and out of sinne, as in thefts, but even the in very exercit of it, as in the acquaintance, or copulation with women; where the provocacion is so violent, and as they say, sometime vnrestituable. In a towne of a kinman of mine, the other day, being in Armignae, I saw a countryman, commonly for named the Theefe, who himselfe reported his life to have beene thus. Being borne a beggar, and perceiving, that to get his bread by the sweat of his brow and labour of his hands, would never sufficiently arme him agaynft penury, he resolves to become a Theefe; and in that trade had employ'd all his youth safely, by means of his bodily strength; for he ever made vppe Harriet and Vintage in other menes groundes; but so farre off, and in so great heapes, that it was beyond imagination, one man should in one night carry away so much upon his shoulders: and was so careful to equall the pray, and disperse the mischiefe he did, that the spoyle was of leffe import to every particular man.

He is now in his old yeares indifferently ritch; for a man of his condition (Godamericyzv his trade) which he is not a framed to confess openly. And to reconcile himselfe with God, he affirneth, to be dayly ready, with his gettings, and other good turns, to satisfie the povertie of those he hath heretofore wronged or robbed; which if himselfe be not of ability to performe (for he cannot doe all at once) he will charge his heires withall, according to the knowledge he hath, of the wrongs by him done to every man. By this description, be it true or false, he respecteth theae, as a dishonest and unlaw full action, and hath the fame: yet lefse then pinching want: Herepeteth but simply: for in regard it was so counterbalanced and recompensed, he repenteth not. This is not that habit which incorporates vs vnto vices, and confirmeth our understanding in it; nor is it that boyterous windes, which by violent blasts dazeleth and troublith our mindes, and at that time confoundes, and overwhelmes both vs, our judgement, and all, into the power of vice: What I doe, is ordinarily full and compleate, and I march (as we say) all in one piece: I have not many motions, that hide themselues and flinke away from my reason, or which very neare are not guided by the confent of all my partes, without illusion, or intellifent fedition: my judgement hath the whole blame, or commendation; and the blame it hath once, it hath euer: for, almost from it's birth, it hath beene one, of the same inclination, courage and force, and in matters of generall opinions, even from my infancy, I ranged my selfe to the point I was to hold. Some finnes there are outrageous, violent and fuddaine, let us we them.

But these other finnes, so often reasum'd, determined and aduised vpon, whether whether they be of complexion, or of profession and calling, I cannot conceiue how they shou'd so long be sete in one fame courage, vnlesse the reason and conscience of the sinne were thereunto inwardly privie and constantely willing. And how to imagine or fashion the repentance thereof, which he wanteth, doeth sometimes videntity, feemeth somewhat hard vnto me. I am not of Pythagoras, to reforme all in one vnto a more couraige, when to receive Oracles, they approach the images of Gods, vnlesse he would say with all, that it must be a strange one, new and lent him for the time: our owne, giving to little signe of purification, and cleaneesse worthy of that office. They doe altogether agaynft the Stoical precepts, which appoint vs to correct the imperfections and vices we finde in our felues, but withall forbid vs to disturb the quiet of our mynde. They may vs beleeve, the feele great remorle, and are inwardly much displeased with sinne; but of a amendement, correcotion, or intermission, they shew vs none. Surely there can bee no perfect health, where the disease is perfectly removed. Were repentance put in the scale of the balance, it would wayne downe sinne. I finde no blemish so salue to bee counterfeited at Devotion: If one conforme his life and condition to it, her efficace is abstrue and concealed, her apperance gentle and flately.

For my part, I may in generall with to be other then I am: I may condemn and mislike my vnuperfall forme: I may beleeve God to grant me an vndefiled reformation, and excuse my natural weakenesse; but me seemeth I ought not to teame this repentance, no more then the displeasure of being neither Angel nor Cato. My actions are squared to what I am and conformed to my condition. I cannot doe better: And repentance doeth not properly concern what is not in our power; sorrow doeth. I may imagine infinite dispofitions of a higher pitch, and better governed then myne, yet doe I nothing better my facultie.
no more then myne armes becommeth stronger, or my wit more excellent, by conceiving some others to be so. If to suppose and with a nobler working then ours, might produce the repentance of our owne, we shold then repent vs of our innocent actions: forso-much as we judge that in a more excellent nature, they had beene directed with greater perfection and dignity; and our felues would doe the like. When I confult with my age of my youthes proceedings, I finde that commonly, (according to my opinion) I managed them in order. This is all my resitance is able to performe. I flatter not my selfe: in like circumstances, I shold euer be the same. It is not a spot, but a whole dye, that stays me. I acknowledge no repentance, that is superflue, meane and ceremonious. It must touch me on all sides, before I can terme it repentance. It must pinch my entrailes, and afflict them as deepely and throughly, as God himelfe beholdes me. When in negotiating, many good fortunes have flipt me for want of good discretion, yet did my projects make good choice, according to the occurrences presented vnto them. Their manner is euer to take the easier and fierer side. I finde that in my former deliberations, I proceeded, after my rules, discretely, for the subiects late propounded to me; and in like occasions, would proceede a like, a hundred yeares hence. I respect not what now it is, but what it was, when I confulted of it. The consequnce of all designes consists in the season; occasions passe, and matters change: once fantastie. I have in my time runne into some groffe, aburde and important errors; not for want of good aduice but of good hap. There are secret and indiuumable partes in the objectes men doe handle; especially in the nature of men; and mute conditions, without how, and sometimes vnknowne of the very possesflors, produced and stirred vp by luddaine occasions. If my wit could not I never finde nor prefage them, I am not offended with it; the funchio thereof is contained within it's owne limits. If the luccesse beate me, & fauour the side I refused; there is no remedy; I fall not out with my selfe; I accute my fortune, not my endeauour: that's not called repentance. Pobletion had giuen the Athenians some counsell, which was not followed; the matter, against his opinion, succeeding happily. How now Pobletion, (quoth one) art thou please the matter hath thinned to well? yea (faide he) and I am glad of it, yet repent not the aduise I gaue.

When any of my friends come to mee for counsell, I bestowe it franklie and cleartlie, nor (as well nigh all the worlde doth) wavering at the hazard of the matter, whereby the contrary of my meaning may happen, that so they may justlie finde faulte with my aduise: for which I care not greatly. For they shall doe me wrong, and it became not me to refuse them that dute. I have no body to blame for my faults or miffortunes, but my selfe. For in effect I feldome vie the aduise of others, vnlesse it be for complements fake, and where I haue neede of instruction or knowledge of the fact, Marrie in things wherein nought but judgement is to bee employed; strange reasones may seurc to sustaine, but not to divert me. I lende a favourable and courteous eare vnto them all. But (to my remembrance) I never beleued any but mine owne. With mee they are but Flyes and Moathees, which driuist my will. I little regarde mine owne opinions, other mens I effecte as little; Fortune payes mee accordinglye. If I take no counsell, I give as little. I am not much looke after it, and leffe credited when I give it: Neither knowe I any enterprise, eyther private or publicke, that my aduise hath directed and brought to conclusion. Even those whose fortune had some way tyde thereunto, have more willingly admitted the direction of others conceites, then mine. As one that am as jealous of the rights of my quiet, as of thofe of my authoirite; I would rather have it thus.

Where leaving me, they impute with my profession, which is, wholie to settle and containe mee in my felle. It is a pleasure vnto mee, to be disinterested of other mens affayres, and disengaged from their contenations. When futes or businesse bee overpast, how-so-ever it bee, I greeue little at them. For, the imagination that they must necessarily happen so, puts mee out of paine: behould them in the course of the Vniuere, and enchaunced in Stoccall caufes. Your fanzeie cannot by wilde or imagination, remoue one point of them, but the whole order of things must reverse both what is past, and what is to come. More-over, I hate that accidental repentance which olde age brings with it.
He that in ancient times saide, he was beholden to yeares, because they had tidge him of voluptuousnesse, was not of mine opinion. I shall never give impuissance thanks, for any good it can doe mee. Nem con avera vangum vidhime ab eorpe suo proueniria, ut debitis inter optimis v קטファ. Nor shall fore-sight ever bee seene fo enwre from his owne worke, that weakness be founde to be one of the left thing. Our appetites are rare in olde-age; the blowe over-paffed, a deepe facietie zeazeth mopon vs: Therein in I see no confience. Fretting care and weakness, imprint in vs some aminytate and drowzie vertue.

Wee must not suffer our-selues so fully to bee carried into natural alterations, aso corrupt or adulterate our judgement by them. Youth and pleasurfe have not herefore prevailed so much over me, but I could ever (even in the middt of sensuiaties) disterne the vglie face of sinne: nor can the diftale which yeares bring on me, at this instant, kepe me from disterning that of voluptuousnesse in vice. Now I am no longer in it, I judge of it as if I were still there. I who livellie and attentively examine my reafon, finde it to be the fame that peoffeled me in my moft disolute and licentious ages: vnlike perhaps, they being enceeled and empayred by yeares, doe make some difference: And finde, that what delight it refueth to affoord me in regard of my bodilie health, it would no more deny me, then in times past, for the health of my soule. To fee it out of combate, I holde it not the more courageous. My temptations are so mortifie and crazed, as they are not worthy of it's oppositions; holding but my hand before me, I be-calm them. Should one prefent that former concupiscence vnto it, I feare it would be of leffe powre to sustaine it then heretofore it hath beene. I see init, by it felee no encrease of judgement, nor acces to of brightnesse, what it now judgeth, it did then. Wherefore if there be any amendment, it is but difeased. O miserable knaie of remenecie, to bee beholden vnto sickness for our health. It is not for our mifhap, but for the good succes of our judgement to perfome this office. Crosses and afflictions, make me doe nothing but curse them. They are for people, that cannot be awaked but by the whip.

The course of my reafon is the nimbler in prosperitie; It is much more distraffed and bufted in the digesting of mifchiefes, then of delights, I fee much clearer in faire weathe, Health forwarmeth me, as with more pleafure, so to better purpose then shickenes. I approached the nearest I could vnto amendment and regularitie, when I should have enioyed the same; I should be ahamed and vexed, that the miferie and mifhap of my olde age could exceede the health, attention and vigor of my youth: and that I should bee effeemed, not for what I have beene, but for what I am left to be. The happie life (in my opinion) nor (as said Antiphithe) the happy death, is it that makes mans happiness in this world.

I have not preposterouslie bufted my selfe to tye the tale of a Philofopher, vnto the head and bodye of a varietie: nor that this paulerie ende, should disavoire and be-luye the fayreft, foundeft, and longefte parte of my life. I will prefent my selfe and make a generall miflur of my whole, every where uniformallie. Were I to live againe, it should be as I have alreadie liued. I neither deplore what is past, nor dread what is to come: and if I be not decieved, the inwarde partes have necerely refembled the outwarde. It is one of the chiefest poynets wherin I am behoude to forecome, that in the courfe of my bodies crftate, each thing hath beene carried in feafon, I have seen the leaves, the bloffeines, and the fruites; and now fee the drooping and withering of it. Happiely, because naturallie. I bear present miferies the more genlye, because they are in their prime, and with greater fauour make me remember the long happiness of my former life. In like manner, my discretion may well bee of like proportion in the one and the other time: but sure it was of much more performance, and had a better grace, being fies, jolly and full of spirite, than now that it is worn, decepitive and toylefome.

I therefore renounce these caual and douloures reformations. God must teache our heauens; our confidence must amend of it selfe, and not by re-infroemcment of our reafon, nor by the enfebling of our appetites. Voluptuousnesse is neuer pale nor discououred, to be defierned by blear and troubled eyes. We should afiect temperance and chaffitude for it selfe, and for Gods cause, who hath ordeined them vnto vs:

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that which Catars befolowe vpon vs, and which I am beholden to my chollike for, is neither temperance nor chafttie. A man cannot boaft of contemning or combating sensualitie, if he see hir not, or know not hir grace, hir force and most attractive beauties. I know them both, and therefore may speake it. But me thinkes our foules in age, are subiect vnto more importunate diuines and imperfections, then they are in youth. I faid so being yong, when my beardlefe chinne was vpbraied me; and I say it againe, now that my gray beard gives me authoritie. We entitle wifedome, the frowardness of our humours, and the diffaitfe of preuent things; but in truth we abandon not vices, so much as we change them; and in mine opinion for the worfe. Besides a fillie and ruinous pride, commerforme tattle, wayward and vnfociable humors, superfition and a ridiculous carking for wealth, when the vie of it is well ninie loit, I finde the more enuie, infulte and lewdnefe in it. It lets more wrinkles in our mindes, then on our foreheads: nor are there any spirits, or very rare ones, which in growing olde taste not lowerie and mutifie. Man marcheth entirelie towards his encreafe and decreafe. View but the wifedome of Socrates, and divers circumftances of his condemnation, I dare say he something lent himselfe vnto it by preuairiation of purpose: being so neare, and at the age of feauentie, to endure the bennumming of his spirits richelie peace, and the dimming of his accustomed brightnesse. What Metamor- 

A predispose have I fene it dailie make in diuerse of mite acquaintances? It is a powerfull maladie, which naturalie and imperceptible glideth into us: There is required great prouifi- 

of studie, heede and precaution, to auoid the imperfections wherewith it chargeth vs; or at least to weaken their further progresse. I finde that notwithstanding all my entrenchings, by little and little it geteth ground vpon me: I shoulde out as long as I can, but know not whither at length it will bring me: Hap what hap will, I am pleased the world knowe from what height I tumble.

The third Chapter.

Of three commerces or societie.

W e must not cleave to faft into our humours and dispositiones. Our chiefeft suffici- 

encie is, to apply our felues to diuers fashiones. It is a being, but not a life, to be 
tyde and bound by necessitie to one onely course. The goodliest mindes are those that have 
most varietie and pliablenesse in them. Behould an honourable testimonie of olde Cato: 
Hunc versatiles ingenium te pariter ad omnia sua finem, ut naturam id veniam dicere, quadrumprene segeret. He had a wittie fo turnable to all things alike, as one would say he had bene onely borne for that 
he went about so doe: Were I to dreffe my selfe after mine owne manner, there is no fashion so good, whereunto I would be so affected or tied, as not to knowe how to leave and loose it. Life is a motion unequall, irregular and multiplier. It is not to be the friend (lesse the maifter) but the flave of ones selfe to follow vnseantes, and be so addicted to his 
inclinations, as he cannot straye from them, nor wrast them. This I say now, as being 
extramlie peftred with the importunitie of my minde, forasmuch as he cannot amnelle 
hir selfe, but whereon it is bufied; nor employ it selfe, but bent and whole. How light 
forever the subiect is one gives it, it willinglie amplifies, and wyre-drawes the same, even vnto 
the highest pitch of toyle. It's idleneffe is therefore a painefull trade vnto me, and offensive 
to my health. Most wittes have neede of extravagant fluffe, to vn-bennumme and 
exercice themselves: mine hath neede of it, rather to settle and continue it selfe; Veitia 

stij negatio disociendi sunt, Tbe vices of idleneffe should be shaken off with business: For, the 
most laborious care and principall studie of it, is, to studie it selfe. Bookes are one of 
those businesse that seduce it from studie. At the first thoughts that present themselves, 
it rouzeth vp and makes proofe of all the rigor it hath. It exerciteth its function 
sometimes towards force, sometimes towards order and comelienesse, it rangeth, 
moderates and fortisfteth. It hath of it selfe to awaken the faculties of it: Nature having 
given it, as vnto all other, matter of it's owne for advantage, and subiects fit enough whereon 

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The third Booke.

to devise and determine. Meditation is a large and powerfull studie to such as vigorously can taste and employe them-selves therein. I had rather forge then furnish my minde.

There is no office or occupation either weaker or stronger, then that of entertaining of ones thoughts according to the minde, whatsoever it be. The greatest make it their vacation, Quibus tuisere est cognitio, to whom it is all one to live and to meditate. Nature hath also favored it with this privilege, that there is nothing we can doe so long; nor action, whereas we give our selves more ordinarily and easily. It is the worke of Gods (faith Aristote) whence both their happiness and ours proceedeth. Reading serveth me especially, to awake my concte by divers objects; to bufe my judgement, not my memory. Fewe entertainments then, staye me without vigour and force. This true that courtesie and beautie poffeffe me, as much or more, then weight and death. And because I slumber in all other communications, and lend but the superficial parts of my attention unto them, it often befalleth me, in such kinde of weake and absurd discourse, (discourses of countenance) to blurt out and answer ridiculous toyes, and fond absurdities, unworthie a child; or wilfullie to holde my peace; therewithall more foolifhlie and incivilie. I have a kinde of having fancie-full behaivour, that retireth me into my selfe; and on the other side, a grosse and childish ignorance of many ordinarie things; by means of which two qualities, I have in my dayes committed five or fixe as fourtie trikes, as any one whatsoever; which to my derogation may be reported. But to followe my purpose, this hazzle complexxion of mine makes me nice in conversing with men (whome I must picke and call out for the nonce) and vnfit for common actions. We live and negotiate with the people: If their behaviour impertune vs, if we disdaine to lend our felieys to bafe and vulgar spirites, which often are as regular as thofe of a finer mould; and all wisdome is foolish, that is not conform'd to common influence. We are no longer to intermediate euyther with our, or other mens affaires; and both publike and private forake such kinde of people.

The least wretled, and most natural proceedings of our minde, are the fairest; the best occupations, those which are least forced. Good God, how good an office doth wise-done vnto those, whose defines the squireth according to their power! There is no science more profitable, As one may, was the burden and favoured saying of Socrates: A sentence of great substance. Wee must addresse and staye our defines, to things meet easie and nearest. Is it not a fond-peevish humour in me, to disfayrge from a thousand; to worthye my fortune joymeth mee, without whom I cannot live, to adhere vnto one or two, that are out of my commerce and conversation; or rather to a fantastical conceite, or fancie-full desire, for a thing I cannot obtaine? My selfe behaviours and milde manners, enemies to all sharpennesse and foes to all bitterness, may easie have discharged me from emuie and contenction. To be beloved, I say not, but not to be hated, never did man give more occasion. But the coldenesse of my conversation hath with reason robde me of the good-will of many; which may be excused, if they interpret the fame to other, or worfe fence. I am most capable of getting rare amities, and continuing exquisite acquantances, For-so-much as with so greedie hunger I snatch at such acquaintances as answer my taste and square with my humour. I so greedify produce and head-long cast my selfe vpon them, that I doe not easie miste to cleate vnto them, and where I light-on, to make a steadie impression; I have often made happy and forciestfull triall of it.

In vulgar worldlie friendships, I am somewhat colde and barren; for my proceeding is not natural, if not vnrestted and with howeled-full failes. Moreover, my fortune having enuiered and allured me, even from my infancie, to one sole-fingular and perfect amite, hath velite, in some forte, distafted me from others: and over-deepely imprinted in my fantasie, that it is a best soctable and for company, and not of troupe, as sayde an ancient writer. So that it is naturallie a paine vnto me, to communicate my selfe by haules, and with modification; and that feruite or supitious wisedome, which in the conversation of these numerous and imperfect amities, is ordained and proposed vnto vs: Prescribed in these dayes especiallie, Wherein one cannot speake of the world.
wolde but dangerauslie or selde. Yet I see, that who (as I doe) makes for his ende
the commodities of his lyfe (I mean essentiai commodities) must auoyde as a
plague, thefe difficulties and quaintnesse of humour.
I should commend a hightayfed minde, that could both bende and dischage it
selde: that where-ever his fortune might transporte him, hee might continue constant:
that could discouer with his neyghbour of all matters, as of his building, of his
hunting and of any quarrel; and entertaine with delight a Carpenter or a Gard-
iner. I enuy those which can bee familiar with the meanes of their followers,
and vouchafe to contract friendship, and frame discourse with their owne servantes.
Nor doe I like the aduise of Plato, ever to speake imperiously vnto our attendants,
without blithnesse and fance any familiaritie: bee it to men or women servantes. For,
besides my reason, it is inhumanitie, and injustice, to attribute so much vnto that
prerogative of fortune; and the government, where leffe inequalities is permitted be-
tweene the servant and master, is, in my conceite the more indifferent. Some oth-
eres studie to rouze and raise their minde: but I to abase and profstrate mine: it is
not faultie but in extensio.


Narres et genus Ααεις,
Et pugnata facro bella sub ilio,
Quo Cibium pretio cadam
Mercemus, quis aquam temperet ignibus;
Quo præstante domum, et quota
Peligris, caras frigoribus, taces.
You tell of Ααεις the pedegree;
The warres at sacred Troye you doe display,
You tell not at what price a hogs-head we
May buie of the best Wine, who hall allay;
Wine-fire with water; at whose house to holde,
At what a-clock, I may be kept from colde.

Even as the Lacedemonian valoure had neede of moderation, and of sweete and
pleasing soundes of Flutes, to flatter and allay it in time of warre, least it should
runne head-long into raffinesse and surye: whereas all other nations vse commonlye
pearring soundes and stronge shoutes, which violentie excite, and enflame their
foulidyers courage: so thinke I (against ordinarye custome) that in the employment
of our spirite, we have for the most part more neede of leade than winges; of
coldenesse and quiet, then of heat and agitation. Above all, in my minde, The
onely waye to playe the foule well, is to forme wise among foules: to speake as-though

ones tongue were ever bent to Fauciell' in puncta di forchetta; To yllibaze or speake
mincinglie. One must lende him-selfe vnto those hee is with, and sometimes affect
ignorance: Set force and subtillitie aside: In common employments it's enough to re-
serve order; dragge your selve even close to the ground, if they will have it so. The
learned flumbe willingliglie on this blocke; making continuall mutter, and open showe
of their skill, and dipping their bookees abroade: And have in these dayes so fil-
led the closets, and posseted the ears of Ladies, that if they retayne not their sub-
fance, at leaft they have theyr countenance: ving in all fortes of discoure and
subject, how base or populaire fo-ever, a newe, an affected and learned fashion of
speaking and writing.

Hoc fermone paient, hoc iram gaudia, euras,
Hoc cum lacerasinscription animi secretas, quis ultra?
Conscumbunt dolce.
They in this language feare, in this they fashion
Their ioyes, their cares, their rage, their inward passion,
What more? they learned are in copulation.
The third Booke.

And alleadge **Plato**, and Saint **Thomas** for things, which the first man they mete would decide as well, and stande for as good a witnesse. Such learning as could not enter into their minde, hath flaine on their tongues. If the well-borne will give any credite vnto me, they shall be pleased to make their owne and naturall riches to prevale and be of wouth: They hide and shrowd theire foromes vnder forraigne and borowed beauties: **It is great simplicitie, for any body to smooth and concvete his owne brightnesse, to shine with a borrowed light:** They are buried and entombd vnder the Artes of **CAPS**-LA TOTÆ, It is because they doe not sufficiently know them-selves; the world conteneth nothing of more beautie: It is for them to honour Artes, and to bewitifie embellishment. What neede they more then to live beloved and honoured? They have, and know but too much in that matter. There needs but a little rouzinge and enflaming of the faculties that are in them.

When I see them medling with Rhethoricke, with Lawe, with Logike, and such like traffe, so yayne and vnprofitable for theyr use; I enter into theyr fear, that those who aduise them to such things, doe it, that they may have more lawe to governe or colloure them vnder that title or presence. For, what other excuse can I deuife for them? It is sufficient, that without vs, they may frame, or royle the grace of their eyes, vnto cheerefulnesse, vnto leviterie, and vnto mildenesse: and leaue a **Rag** with strowardnesse, with doubt and with fowour; and require not an interpreter in dicouerces made for their service. With this learning they command with out controul, and over-rule both Regentes and Schooles. Yet if it offend them to yeeld vs any prechminence, and would for curiositie fake have parte in books also: Poeyle is a fudcie fitte for their purpose: beeing a wanton, ammusing, fubtile, disguised, and prating Arte; all in delight, all in showe, like to them feltes. They may also selecct diverse commodityes out of Historie. In Morrall Philosophie, they may take the dicouerces which enable them to judge of our humours, and censure of our conditions, and to auoyde our guiles and treacheries: to moderate theyr libertie: lengthen the delights of lyfe; gentlye to beare the inconueniencie of a seruant, the peevifheffe or rudenesse of a husband, the importunitie of yeares, the vnwellcome of wrinklcs, and such like minde-troubling accidents. Loe heare the most and greatest share of learning I would affigne them. There are some particulare, retiried and clofe dispositions.

My effentiall forme is fitte for communication, and proper for production: I am all outwarde and in apparell; borne for societie and vnto frindshippe. The fertitude I love and commend, is especially but to retvre my affections, and redeeme my thoughts vnto my felke; to restraine and clofe vp, not my flespes, but my deseires and my cares, resigning all forraigne folicitude and troublce, and mortallye shunning all manner of servitude and obligation; and not so much the throng of men as the importunitie of affayres, Locall solitarinesse (to faye trueth) doth rather extende and enlargse me outwardlie; I give my felke to State-businesse, and to the worlde, more willingly when I am all alone. At the Courte, and in preffe of people, I clofe and flanke into mine owne skinne. Assemblies thrust mee againe into my felke. And I never entertaine my selke so fondelye, so licenciouslye, and so particularlie, as in places of respect, and ceremonious differetion. Our follyes make mee not laughe, but our wifedomes doe. Of mine owne complexion, I am no enemye to the agitations and flurings of our Courtes: I have there past great parte of my lyfe: and am enured to bee metrie in great assemblies; so it be by intermission, and fatable to my humore. But this tenderenesse or covetenesse of judgement (whereof I speake) dooth perforce mee vnto solitarieness. Yea even in mine owne houle, in the midde of a numerous familie, and most frequented houles, I see people more then a good many; but sedome such as I love to converse or communicate with all. And there I referue, both for my felke, and others, an vnaccouftomd lybertye; making truce with cerimonies, affiance, and enuyings, and such other troublefone ordinances of our courte (Oh fertile custome, and importunate manner) there every man demeaneth himselfe.
The third Book.

The men whose familiarity and society I hunt after, are those which are called honest, vertuous and sufficient: the image of whom doth dissatise and diuert me from others. It is (being rightly taken) the rarest of our forms; and a forme or fashion chiefly due vnto nature.

The ende or skope of this commerce, is principally and simpely familierity, conference and frequentation: the excercife of mindes, without other fruite. In our discourse, all subiects are a-like to me: I care not though they want either weight or depth; grace and pertinencie are never wanting; all therein is tainted with a ripe and constant judgement, and commit with goodnesse, liberty, cheerfulnesse and kindenesse. It is not onely in the subiect of lawes and affaires of Princes, that our spirit sheweth its beauty, grace and vigor: It sheweth them as much in private conferences. I know my people by their very silence and mynyling, and peradventure discerne them better at a table, then sitting in sierous counsell. *Hippomachus* said, he discerned good writeres but by seeing them march through a freete. If learning vouchsafe to step into our talke, she shall not be refused: yet must not the be sterne, maiftring, imperious and importunate, as commonly she is; but affaynt, and docile of his felfe. Therein we seeke for nothing but recreation and pastime: when we shall looke to be intructed, taught and resolued, we will goe secke and sue to her in her thrones. Let her if the pleafe keepe from vs at that time; for, as commodious and pleasing as the is: I presume that for a neede we could spare her presence, and doe our businesse well enough without her. Writ well borne, soundly bred and exercis'd in the practic and commerce of men, become gracious and plausible of themselves. Arte is but the check-roule and register of the productions vterred, and conceites produced by them.

The company of faire, and society of honest women is likewise a sweete commerce for me: *Nam nos quoque eculos eruditos habemus, for we also have learned eyes.* If the minde haue not so much to solace her felfe, as in the former; the corporall fences, whose part is more in the second, bring it to a proportion neare vnto the other; although in mine opinion not equall. But it is a society wherein it behooveth a man somwhat to stand vppon his guarde; and especially those that are of a strong constitution, and whose body can doe much, as in me. In my youth I heated my selfe therein and was very violent; and endured all the rages and furious affaultes, which Poets say happen to those who without order or discretion abandon their exercises over-loosely and rooutously vnto it. True it is indeede, that the same hath since froute me instede of an instruction.

Quicquamque Argolica de classe Capharean fugit,
Semper ab Euboicis velavere quet et aquas,
Grece,Sailers that Capharean rocks did fly,
From the *Europa* Scafe their failles still ply.

It is folly to fasten all ones thoughts vppon it, and with a furious and indiscreet affection to engaine himselfe vnto it: But on the other side, to meddle with it without loue or bond of affection, as Comedians doe, to playe a common parte of age and manners, without ought of their owne but bare-conned words, is veryle a prouision for ones safety: and yet but a cowardlye one: as is that of him, who woulde forgoe his honour, his profit or his pleasure for feare of danger; for it is certayne that the practisers of such courses, cannot hope for any fruite able to moue or fastifie a worthy minde.

One must very earnestly hate desired that, whereof he would enjoy an absolute delight: I meane, though fortune should vnjustly favour their intention: which often hapneth because there is no woman, how deformed and vnhandome fouer, but thinks her selfe louely, amiable and prayle-worthy, eyther for her age, her hair or gare (for there are generally no more faire then foule ones.) And the *Brackman* mayde wanting other commendations; by proclamation for that purpose, made thew of
of their matrimonial parts vnto the people assembled, to see if thereby at leaft they might get them husbands. By consequence there is not one of them, but upon the firft oath one maketh to serue her, will very easilie be perwaded to think well of her selfe. Now this common treason and ordinary protestations of men in these dayses, must needs produce the effects, experience already discouereth: which is, that either they loyne together, and cast away themselves on themselves, to anioye vs, or on their side follow also the example we gie them; actting their part of the play, without passion; without care, and without love, lending themselves to this entercoure: Neeque affectiui suo amante obvoca: Neither haue to their own nor other folkes affection. Thinking according to Lycurgus perfections in Plute, they may so much the more profitably and commodiously yeeld vnto vs; by how much leafe we loue them: Wherein it will happen as in Commedies, the spectators shall haue as much or more pleasure, as the Comedianes. For my part I no more acknowledge Venus without Cupid, then a motherhood without an offspring: They are things which enter-lynde and enter-owe one another their essent. Thus doth this cozening rebound on him that vilch it; & as it clofeth him little fo gets he not much by it. Thoſe which made Venus a Goddes haue respected that her principal beauty was incorporeall and spirituall. But the whom thes kind of people hunt-fter, is not so much as humane, nor alfo brutall; but such as wilde beastes, would not haue her fo filthy and terrestriall. We fee that imagination enflames them, and desire or lust vrgethe them, before the body: We fee in one and other fexe, euin in whole heardes, chose and diffinitions in their affections, and aŋoſt themselves as acquaintances of long continu'd good-will and liking. And euin thoſe to whom age denyeth bodily strength, doe yet bray; neygh, roare, skip and wince for loue. Before the dede we fee them full of hope and heate; and when the body hath plaide his part, euin tickle and tingle them-themselves with the sweetenesse of that remembrance: Some of them swell with pride at parting from it, others all weary and glutted, ring out songs of glee and triumph. Who makes no more of it but to discharge his body of some natural necessity, hath no caufe to trouble others with so curious preparation. It is no good for a greedy and clumbsie hunger. As one that would not be accomplished better then I am, thus much I will display of my youthes wanton-errors: Not onely for the danger of ones health that follows that game (yet could I not auoide two, though light and cursory assaults) but also for contempt, I have not much beene gien to mercenary and common acquaintances. I haue consented to fet an edge on that sensual pleasure by diffidence, by desire, and for some glory. And liked Titians his fashions, who in his amours was vsalde as much by modestly and noblenesse, as by any other qualitie. And Floras humour, who would prostitute her felle to none worse then Dictators, Confuls, or Senators, and tooke delight in the dignity and greatnesse of her lovers, doeth some-what fute with mine. Surely glittering Pearles, and Silken clothes add some-thing vnto it, and so doe titles, nobility and a worthy traine. Besides which, I made high essent of the minde, yet so as the body might not jufly be found fault withall: For, to speake my confience, if either of the two beauties were neceſsarily to be wanting, I would rather have choses to want the mentall, whose use is to be employed in better things. But in the subjeéct of loue; a subjeéct that chiefly hath reference vnto the two fences of seeing and touching, some thing may be done without the graces of the minde, but little or nothing without the corporall. Beauty is the true amiablel advantage of women: It is fo peculiarly theirs, that ours though it require some features and different allurements, is not in her right kue, or true byas, vnleffe confused with theirs; childifh and beardslee, It is reported, that such as serue the great Turkey under the title of beauty, (whereas the number is infinite) are diffimulat at firstheft when they once come to the age of two and twenty yeares. Disburse, discretion, together with the offices of true amity, are better found amongst men: and therefore govern the worlds affaires. These two commerces or socie-ties are accidental and depending of others; the one is troublesome and tedious for it's rarity; the other withers with olde age: nor could they have sufficiently provided for my lines necessities. That of bookes, which is the third, is much more solid-ure and much more ours; some other advantage it yeeldeth to the two former; but hath for her share constancie and the faciillity of her ferenue. This accosteth and secondeth all my couffe, and every where affileth mee: It comforts mee in age, and folaceth mee in solitarinesse: It caeleth mee of the burden of a weary-some flotes; and at all times rideth mee of tedious companies; it abateth the
The third Booke.

the edge of fretting sorrow, on condition it be not extreme and outer insolent. To divert me from any inordinate imagination or injurious conceits, there is no better way than to have recourse unto books: for so they allure me to them, and with facility they remove them all. And though they perceive I neither frequent nor seck them, but wanting other more essential, lively and more natural commodities, they neuer mutius or miumur at me; but still entertainme with one and selfe-name viage. He may well walk a foote, that leads his horse by the bridle, faith the provers. And our famer king of Naples and Sicilie; who being faire, young, healthy and in good plight, caused himselfe to be carried abroad in a plaine waggon or skreen, lying upon an homely pillow of course feathers, clothed in a suit of home-spun gray, and a bonet of the same, yet royally attended on by a gallant troupe of Nobles, of Litters, Coches, and of all sorts of choice led-horses, a number of gentlemen, and officers, represented a tender and waueting tolerity. That selfe man is not to be moved, that hath his health in his fluee. In the experience and vie of this sentence, which is most true, confieth all the commodity I reape of books. In effect I make no other vie of them, then those who know them not. I enjoy them, as a myfer doth his golde; to know, that I may enjoy them when I lift; my minde is fetted and satisfied with the right possifion. I neuer truell without books, nor in peace nor in warre; yet doe I paffe many dayes and monethes without vifing them. It shall be anon, say I or to morrow, or when I please; in the meanwile while the time runnes away, and passeth without hurting me. For it is wonderfull, what repose I take, & how I continue in this consideration, that they are at my elbow to delight me when time shall serue: and in acknowledging what affifiance they give into my life. This is the benefaction I have found in this humane peregrination; and I extremely bewail thee men of understanding that want the fame. I accept with better will all other kinds of ammoluments, how flight ever, for somuch as this cannot faile me. At home I betake me from what so often to my Librarie, whence all at once I command and furnish all my household; It is seate in the chief entry of my house, then I behold me under me, my bafe court, my yarde, and looke even into most rooms of my house. There without order, with our methode, and by piece-meales I turne over and ranfack, now one book and now another. Sometimes I muse and rave; and walking vp and downe I endite and enregister thee my humors, these my conceits. It is placed on the third florie of a towre. The lower-mott is my chappell; the second a chamber with other lodgings, where I ofien lyke, because I would be alone: Abone it is a great wardrobe. It was in times past the moft unprofitable place of all my house. There I paffe the greatest part of my lives dayes, and wear out mofthoures of the day. I am never there a nights: Next vnto it is a handfome neate cabinet, able and large enough to receive fire in winter, and very pleafantly windowed. And if I feared not care, more then coll (care which drives and devours me from all businesse) I might rafellie joyn a cotenience gallerye of a hundred paces long, and twelue broad, on each side of it, and upon one floore; having already, for some other purpose, found all the walls raised vnto a cotenience height. Each retir'd place requireth a walke. My thoughts are prone to sleepe, if I fit long. My minde goes not alone as if legges did moove it. Those that studie without books, are all in the same cafe. The forme of it is round, and hath no flat side, but what serveth for my table and chaire: In which bounding or circling manner, at one looke it offrith me the full sight of all my books, set round about vpon thiles or deckes, fitte ranks one vpon another. It hath three baye-windowes, of a faire-extending, neat and vnsifted prospect; and is in diameter sixteene paces voide. In winter I am lefle continually there: for my house (as the name of it importeth) is pearcht vpon an over-paring hillock; and hath no part more subjicet to all wether then this; which pleseth me the more, both because the access vnto it is somewhat troublesome and remote, & for the benefit of the exercit, which is to be respected; and that I may the better exclude my felle from companie, and keep incrochers from me: There is my feast, that is my throne, I endeavour to make my rule therein absoluted, and to sequestrate that only corner from the communitie of wife of children, and of acquaintance. Else where I have but a verball authoritie, of confused effence. Miserable, in my minde is he, who in his owne home, hath no where to be himselfe; where he may particularie cowrr, and at his pleasure hide or with-drawe himselfe. Ambition payeth her followers well, to keepe them still in open view, as a statute in some conspicuous place. Mag-
The third Booke.

much as at their priuie. I have deemed nothing so rude in the austerity of the life, which our Church-men affect, as that in some of their companies they institute a perpetual socie-
tie of place, and a numerous assistance amongst them in any thing they doe. And deeme it somewhat more tober able to be ever alone, then never able to be so. If any lay to me, It is a kind of vilifying the Muses, to vse them onely for sporde and recreation, he was not as I doe, what worth, pleasure, sporde and paufe-time is of: I had well nigh termed all other ends ridiculous. I live from hand to mouth, and with reverence be it spoken, I like but to my selfe: there end all my desires. Being young I studied for ornamentation; then a little to enable my selfe and become wiser; now for delight and recreation; never for gaine. A vaine conceit and laugh humour I had after this kind of ffudie; not onely to provide for my needes, but somewhat to further to adorn and embellish my selfe withall: I have since partlie left it. Books have and containe divers pleasing quantities to those that can duly choose them. But no good without paines; no Refes without prickles. It is a pleasure not absolutely pure and neat, no more then all others; it hath his inconveniences attending on it, and some-
times weightie ones: The minde is therein exercis'd, but the body (the care whereof I have not yet forgotten) remaineth there-while without action, and is wafted, and enfor-
rowed. I know no exceffe more hurtful for me, nor more to be avoided by me, in this de-
clining age. Loe here my three most favour'd and particular employments. I speake not of those I owe of dutie to the world.

The fourth Chapter.

Of diverting or diversion.

I Was once employed in comfort of a truleie-afflicted Ladie: the greatest part of their
discourses are artificiall and cerimonious.

Dberibus temper lacrarnis, temperque paratis.
In factione sua, atque expeditibus illam,
Quoque in manuar modo.
With plentuous teares; still readie in their hand,
Expecting still their Mistresses command,
How they must flowe, when they must goe.

Men doe but ill in opposing themselves against this passion; for opposition doth but in-
cence and engage them more to sorrow and duquernesse: The disease is exasperated by the
'reatness of debate. In matters of common discourse, we see, that what I have spoken with-
out heede or care, if one come to content with me about it, I stiffe mainitaine and make
mine owne; much more if it be a thing wherein I am interrest. Besides, in doing you
enter but rudely into your matter, whereas a Phisitions first entertainment of his patient
should be gracious, cheerefull and pleasing. An upte and stroward Phisition brought never
any good effect. On the contrary then, we must at first affit and smoothe their laments, and
witness some approbation and excuse thereof. By which means you get credit to go on,
and by an ease and inforteable inclination, you fall into more firme or serious discourses,
and fit for their amendment. I, who defined chellic but to gull the assiustice, that had their
eyes cast on me, meant to solfe the miscliefe; I verifie finde by experience, that I have but
an ill and unfruitful vaine to pervert. I present my reasons either too sharpe, or too drie;
or too flirringlie, or too carellifie. After I had for a while applied my selfe to his tor-
ment, I attempted not to cure it by strong & lively reasons; either because I want them, or
because I supposed I might otherwise effect my purpose the better. Nor did I eull out the
several fashions of comfort prescribed by Philosophe: That the thing lamented is not ill,
as Clemtiues: or but a little ill, as the Peripatekhtics: That to lament is neither just nor com-
mandable, as Christippus; Nor this of Epicurus, most agreeing with my manner, to tranlate
the conceit of yelionie into delightful some things; Nor to make a load of all this maifie,
dispensing the same, as one hath occasion, as Cicero. But faire and softlie declining our
discour-
The third Booke.

discourses, and by degrees bending them into subjects more near; then a little more remote, even as the more or less enclosed to me. I verpecautefulb removed those doubtfull humouris from him; so that as long as I was with him, so long I kept him in cheerefull countenance, and toubled fashion, wherein I used diversion. Those which in the same seruice succeded me, found him no whit amended: the reason was, I had not yet driven my weede to the root. I have peraduenture else where, glanced at some kindes of publike diversions. And the militarye eutomes vied by Pericles in the Pelopenesian warre, and a thousand others else where, to divert or with drawe the armie of an enemy from their owne countrey, is too frequent in histories. It was an ingenius diverting, where with the Lord of Humberscote flared both himselfe and others in the towne of Lige, into which the Duke of Burgosiole, who beleagred the same, had caused him to enter, to performe the covenants of their accorded yielding. The inhabitants thereof to provide for it, assembled by night, and began to mutiny against their former agreement, determining upon this advantage to fet upon the Negotiators, now in their powre. He perceiving their intent, and noise of this shoule readie to fall vpon him, and the danger his lodging was in, forth with rushed out vpon them two citizens (whereof he had divers with him) furnished with most plausible and newe offers to be propounded to their counsell; but indeed forsook at that instant to enue his turne withall, and to amuse them. These two flayed the first-approching forrne, and carried this incend incred Hydra-headed-monster multitude backe to the townehouse, to heare their charge, and accordingly to determine of it. The conflation was short; when Lee a second tempes came rushing on, more furiose ingaged then the former; to whom he immediatly dispatched foure new and semblable intercissors, with protestations, that now they were in earnest to propose and declare newe and faire more ample conditions vnto them, whole to their content and satisfacione; whereby thus disordred route was againe drawne to their Conclace and Senate-house. In sumne, he by such a dispersion of amouetements, diverting their head-long furie, and dissipating the same with vaine and fruious consallations, at length lilled them into so secure a sleepe, that he gained the day, which was his chiefest drift and onely aimede scope. This other storie is also of the same predicament. Aedoneta a maid of rare f unsuffing beautie, and of a wondrous-strange disposision, to ridde his selfe from the importunate pursuite of a thousand amorous suitors, who follicted his that for marriage, prescribed this lawe vnto them that she would accept of him, that should equall her in running; on condition they should overcome might loose their lives. Some there were found, who deemed this prize worthie the hazard, and who incurred the penalty of so cruel a match. Hippomenes comming to make his essay after the rest, dauntly advanced him-selfe to the dunie protection of all amorous delights, earnestly invoking his assistance; who gentle likening to his harte prayers, furnished him with three golden Apples; and taught him how to vse them. The scope of the race being plaide, according as Hippomenes perceived his swift-footed miferis to approach his heales, he let fall (as it were) one of his Apples: the healelfe maiden gazing and wondering at the alluring beauty of it, fayled not to turne and take it vp.

The like he did (at his neede) with the second and third: vntill by this degrassing and diverting, the goal and advantage of the course was judged his. When Phileictos cannot purge the remorse, they diuer and remoue the same vnto some lefe dangerous part. I also perceive it to be the most ordinarie receit for the minde diseased. Abducundus etiam non unquam amores et ad alia studia, sese ad manus curas; neglecta: Loca diveque mutuatae sunt, agros non conulae,centres, fope curandum esse: Our minde also is sometimes to be diverted to other studies, cogitations, cares and busineses: and lastly to be cured by change of place, as sick folkes doe, that other wise cannot get health. One makes it fullsome to shock nulchies with direct refistance; one makes it neither bear nor brake, but thunire and diuert the blowe. This other lesson is too high, and ouer-harde. It is for them of the first rancke, meereely to lay vpon the thing it selfe, to examine and judge it. It belongeth to one onely Socrates, to accoate and entertaine death with an undisdented ordinarie place, so become familiar and play with it. He
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He feeketh for no comfort out of the thing it selfe. To dye feemeth vnto him a naturall and indifferend accident: theron he wisly fixeth his sight, and theron he refoloth with out looking else-where. He offers his disciples, who with hunger flaned themselves to death, incended therefore with the perswading discourses of his lefions; and that his thick as King Ptolemy forbade him any longer to entertaine his scholl with such maurnerous precepts. Tho'e considered not death in it selfe, they judge it not. This was not the limdtte of their thoughts, they runne-on, and ayme at another being. Tho'e poor creatures we see on scaffoldes; fraught with an earnest to heaven-sitfted devotion, therein to the vtermost of their power, employing all their fences; with their cares attentin to such instructions as preachers give them, and wringing handes heaved vp to heaven; with hart-proceeding voice, uttering devoute prayers, with fervent and continuall ruth-mooving motion; doe verile what in such an unavoidable exigent is commendable and convenient. One may well commend their religion, but not properly their confiance. They shunne the brunt; they divert their consideration from death; as we vse to handle and busie children, when we would loune them or let them bloud. I have seene some, who if by fortune they chanced to cast their eyes towards the dreadful full preparations of death, which were round about them fall into trances, and with fury cast their cogitations elsewhere. We teach those that are to passe over some steepie downs fall or dreadful abysse, shut or turne aside their eyes. Submisus Flaminus, being by the appointment of Nero to be put to death by the handes of Niger, both chiefes commanders in warre; when he was brought vnto the place where the execution should be performed, seeing the pit of Niger had caus'd to be digged for him, nere to and vnhandomely made; Nor is this pit (quoth he to the foultyders that stode about him) according to the true discipline of warre: And to Niger, who willed him to holde his head steafe, I wish thou wouldst strike as steafe dие. He guesst right; for Niger arme trembling, he had dyuers blowes at him before he could strike it off. This man seemeth to haue fixed his thoughtes surelye and directly on the matter. He that dies in the fury of a battle, with weapons in hand thinks not then on death, and neither feeleth nor considereth the fame: the heat of the fight transportes him. An honest man of my acquaintance, falling downe in a single combat, and feeling himselfe stab'd nine or ten times by his enemie, was called vnto by the by flanders to call on God and remember his confession: but he tould me after, that albeit those voyces came vnto his ears, they had no whit moued him, and that he thought on nothing, but how to dischage and reuenge himselfe. In which combate he vanquished and flew his aduerfaye.

He who brought L. Sillumus his condemnation, did much for him; in that when he harde him answere he was prepared to dye, but not by the handes of base villaines; ranne vpon him with his loundiers to force him; against whom oblinately defending himselfe (though unarmed) with filtes and festes; he was slaine in the conflict; dispersing with a ready and rebellious choller the paynefull fience of a long and fore-prepared death; to which he was affinged. We ever thinke on somewhat else: either the hope of a better life doth settle and support vs, or the confidence of our childrens worth; or the future glory of our name; or the auoyding of these lies mischieues; or the reuenge hanger out their heads that haue caused and procured our death:

Spero equidem medis, siquid planum sit possit,
Supplicia hancurum caput, et nomine Dido
Sanpet vocaturum.
Audiam, et hac manes veniet mibi fama sub imos.
I hope, if powers of heauen haue any power,
On rockes he shalbe punifht, at that house,
He oft on Dido name, shall pittifullie exclaine.
This shal I heare, and this report, shal to me in my grave refor.

Xenophon sacrific'd with a crowne on his head, when one came to tell him the death of his lonne Gryllus in the battell of Mantinea. At the first hearing whereof he caft his crowne to the ground; but finding vpon better relation how valiantly he dyed, he tooke it vppe and put it on his head agayne: Epicurus also at his death comforted himselfe in the eternity and worth of his writings. Ommes clarissimi nobilitatis labores sunt tolerabiles: cisc.XIV.c.l.2.
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All glorious and honourable labours are made tolerable. And the same wound, and the same toyle (as the Xenophon) toucheth not a General of an armie, as it doth a private soldiier. Eumamondus tooke his death much the more cheerfully, being informd that the victorie remained on his side. Hec faint Paulus, sacri fomenta summorum dolorum; These are the comforts, These the eases of most gracious painses. And such other like circumstances ammufe, divert and remoue vs from the consideration of the thing in it selfe. Even the arguments of Philosophie, at each clap wrest and turne the matter aside, and scarcely wipe away the scabbe thereof. The first man of the first Philosophicall schoole and superintendent of the rest, that great Zeno, against death, cryed out; No evil is honorable; death is: therefore is death no evil. Against drunkennesse; A man enthrust his secrets to a drunkard: every one to the wife: therefore the wife will not be drunk. Is this to hit the white? I love to see, that these principal wittes cannot riddie themselves of our company. As perfect and absolute as they would be, they full are but groffe and fimple men. Revenge is a sweet-pleasing passion; of a great and natural impression: I perceiue it well, albeit I have made no triall of it. To divert of late a young Prince from it, I told him not, he was to offer the one side of his cheeke, to him who had ftrooke him on the other, in regard of charitie; nor did plaide I into him the tragical events Poesie beftoweth upon that passion. There I left him, and frove to make him taste the beauty of a contrary image: the honour, the favour and the good-will he should acquire by gentlenesse and goodnesse: I dierred him to ambition. Behold how they deal in such caues. If your affection in love be over-powerfull: dierfer or dissipate the flame, say they; And they say true, for I have often, with profit made tryall of it: Break it by the vertue of several desires, of which one may bee Regent or chiefie maitre, if you please; but for fear it should misuse and tyrannize you, weaken it with devising, and protract it with diverting the same.

Pers.Sat.6. Curn morosavagis singularites ignominia verna, 73. Lucr.l. Conicto humorem collicium in corpora quaque. 4.100.6. When raging luft excites a panting tumor, And looke to it in time, leaft it vexe you, if it have once feazed on you. To divers partes fend that collected humor. Lucr.4. Sine non primum non conturbatur umbra plagis. Vulturagoque vugas Fevere ante recentia cures. And loose the first woundes with new woundes you mixe, 1062. And ranging cure the fresh with common tricks. I was once neereely touched with a heavie displeasure, according to my complexion; and yet more, but then heavie! I had peraduenture loft my selfe in it, had I onely reyled upon mine owne strength. Needing a vehement diversion to with-draw me from it; I did by arte and study make my selfe a Lover, whereto my age affifted me: love dischargd and diverted me from the inconuenience, which good-will and amitie had caufed in me. So is it in all things else. A sharpe conceite poseffeth, and a violent imagination holdeth me: I finde it a shorter course to alter and divert, then to tame and vanquish the fame if I cannot substitute a contrary vnto it, at laft I present another vnto it. Change ever eafeth, varietie dis-soleuyeth, and shifting dissipateth. If I cannot buckle with it, I flip from it: and in flumming it, I stray and double from it. Shifting of place, exercise and company, I fave my selfe amid the throng of other studies and ammuements, where it lootheth my track, and so I flip away. Nature proceedeth thus, by the benefite of inconuenience: For, the time it hath bestowed on vs, as a sovereigne Phificon of our passions, chiefly obtaynes his purpose that way, when fraughting our conceits with other and different affairs, it dissipateth and corrupteth that first apprehension, how forcible euer it be. A wise man feeth little lefse his friend dying at the end of five and twenty yeares, then at the beginning of the first year; and according to Epicurus, nothing lefse: for he ascrib'd no qualification of perplexities, eather to the foresight or antiquitie of them. But so many other cogitations croffe this, that it languieth, & in the end groweth weary. To divert the inclination of vulgar reports, Alesbiads cut off his faire dogs ears & tails; and so drue him into the market place; that giving this subiect of prattle to the people, they might not medle with his other actions. I have also seen some womanes, who to divert the opinions & conjectures of the babbling people, & to divert the fond talking of some, did by couerteret & disssembled affections, over shadow & cloake true affections, Amongst
Amongst which I have noted some, who in dillembring and counterfecting have suffered themselves to be intrapped wittingly and in good earnest; quitting their true and original humor for the fained: of whom I see, that such as finde themselves well seated, are very fools to yeeld to that mask. The common greetings and publike entertainements being related to that fet or appointed seat, beleue there is little sufficienc in him, if in the end he vnsure not your roome and lend you vnto his. This is properly to cut out & Ritch vp a tree, for another to put on. A little thing doth divers and turnes vp; for a small thing holds vp. We do not much respect subjets in groffe and alone: they are circumstances, or limale and superficial images that move and touch vs; and vaine rindes which rebound from subjets.

Lucan. I. 3. 5.

Folleulos ut vniuseret a filio cicada

Largunt.

As graffets-hoppers in summer now forsake

The round-grown sheafe, which they in time should take.

Plutarch himselfe bewailes his daughter by the sacrifices of hit childhood. The remembrance of a farewell of an action, of a particular grace, or of a last commendation, afflict vs. Cesar first disquited all Rome, which his death had not done; The very sound of names, which gangleth in our ears, as, Ob my pover maister or, Alas my deere friend; Ob my good fathers or, Alas my sweete daughter. When such like repetitions pinche me, & that I loose more nearly to them, I finde them but grammatical laments, the word and the tune wound me. Even as Preachers exclamations doe often move their auditory more then, their reason; and as the pittyfull grownes of a beaft yerneth vs, though it be killed for our vife; without poyling or entering therewith, into the true and maffie essence of my subjete. His fe fumulus doleare lacetlit.

Griefe by these prouocations,

Puts it selfe more in passions.

They are the foundations of our mourning. The oblinacy of the stone, namely in the yarde bate home times for thre or foure dayes together, so flopped my vynne, & brought me so neere deathes-dore, that it had beene meere folly in me, to hope, nay to desire, to awoyde the fame, considering what cruel pangs that painfull plight did feaze me with. Oh how cunning a maister in the murthering arte, or hangmans trade was that good Emperor, who caused malefactors ydes to be fast-tide, that he might make them dye for want of pissing. In which treaze finding my selfe, I considered by how flight causes and frivo-lous obiects, imagination nourished in me the greie to loose my life: with that Astomes the consequency and difficulty of this my dilodgeing was conduite in my mistake; to what idle conceits and frivo-lous cogitations we gie place in so weighty a cafe or importaunt affaire. A Dogge, a Horce, a Hare, a Glass, and what not? were commuted in my losse. To others, their ambitious hopes, their puritie, their learning; in my mynde as forthislye, I vew death carelesse when I behould it vnworthily as the end of life. I over-whelme and contemne it thus in great, by retyale it spoyle and proues me. The teares of a Lactuey, the distributing of my caff futes, the tooth of a knowne hand an ordinary conflation; doth disconfolat and entender me. So doe the plaints of fables trouble and vex our minds; and the wayling laments of Dyde, and Arieost passionate euens those, that beleue them not in Virgill, nor in Catuinus: It is an argument of an oblinacy nature, and indurate hart, not to be moued therewith: as for a wonder, they report of Polemon: who was not so much as appalled, at the biting of a Dogge, who tooke away the braune or caale of his legge. And no wife domet goeth so farre, as by due judgement to conceive aright the euent caufe of a Sorrow and grieue, to liuely and wholly: that it suffer or admit no acceseion by preference, when eyes and ears have their share therein: partes that cannot be agitated but by vaine accidents. Is it reaon, that euens attes should ferue their purpOPLE, and make their profit of our imbecility and natural blockishnesse? An Orator (laith Rethorick) in the play of his pleading, shall be moued at the found of his owne voyce, and by his fayne sed agitations; and suffer himselfe to be cozoned by the passion he reprenteth: imprinting a-liuely and essentiaall sorrow, by the jugling he aeteth, to tranferte it into the judges, whom of the two it concerneth leve. As the persongs hyed at our funerales, who to ayde the ceremony of mourning, make faile of their teared by mesure, and of their sorrow by weight. For although they truie to aet it in a borrowed forme, yet by abyating

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and ordering their countenance, it is certayne they are often wholly transported into it, and entertaine the impression of a true and unfaid melancholly. I affifted amongst divers others of his friends, to carry the dead corps of the late Lord of Grammont from the siege of Larphe, where he was unthinkingly slain, to Saffoys. I noted that every where as we passed long, we filled with lamentations and tears all the people we met, by the only showe of our conuoyes mourning attire; for the deceafed mans name was not so much as knowne, or had of about those quarters. Quam'shian reporteth, to have scen Comedians so farre engaged in a sorrowfull part, that they wept after being come to their lodgings: & of himselfe, that having undertaken to moue a certaine passion in another, he had found himselfe surprized, not onely with the adding of tears, but with a paleness of countenance, and behauiour of a man trueely deiectd with griete. In a country neare our Mountaynes, the women lay and wepe, and laugh with one breath; as Martin the Priest; for,as for their loft husbands they entreate their waymengers by repetition of the good and gracefull partes they were endow'd with, therewithall under one they make publike relation of their imperfections; to worke, as it were some recompense vnsto themselves, and tranfchange their pitty vnto difdance; with a much better grace then we, who when we loose a late acquaintance, strive to loade him with new and forged prayers, and to make him fare other, now that we are depruied of his fight, then he seend to be when we enjoyed and beheld him. Asif mourning were an instructing party; or tears cleared our vnderstanding by wafhing the same. I renounce from this time forward all the favourabe testimonies any man shall afford me, not because I shall defere them, but because I shall be dead. Ione demand that fellow, what interest he hath in such a siege; The interest of example (waile i'y) and common obedience of the Prince; nor looken I pretend any benefit thereby, and of glory I know how faire a portion commeth to the share of a private man, such as I am. I have neither passion nor quarrell in the matter; yet the next day shal you see him all changed, and change, boyling and blushing with rage, in his ranke of battle, ready for the assault. It is the glaring refleeting of fo much Steele, the flashing thundering of the Cannon, the clang of trumpers, and the rattling of Drumes, that haue infused this new fury, and rankor in his dwelling vaynes. A frivolous caufe, will you say: How a caufe! There needeth none to excite our mynde. A doating humour without body, without subsidence ouerwayeth and toffeith it vppe and downe. Let mee thinke of building Castles in Spayne, my imagination will forge me commodities and afford me meanes and delights wherewith my mynde is really tickled and efTenially gladded. How often doe we peller our spirits with anger or afidiffe by fuch shadowes, and entangle our felues into fantaftical passions which alter both our mynde and boceye? what a flaumished, flearing and confuded mumpes and moves doth this dotage fierte vpee in our vilages? what skippings and agitations of members and voyce? leemes it not by this man alone, that he hath falle visions of a multitude of other men with whom hee dooth negotiate; or some inward Goblin that torments him? Enquire of your selfe, where is the obiect of this alteration? Is there any thing but vs, in nature, except fubfitting nullitye, oute whom it hath any power? Because Cambyses dreamed that his brother should be King of Persia, he put him to death; a brother whom he loued, and ever trusted. Aristodemus King of the Medesians killd himselfe, upon a conceite he tooke of some ill prefage, by, I know not what howling of his Dogges. And King Midas did much, being troubled and vexed by a certayne unpleasing dreame of his owne. It is the right way to prize ones life at the right worth of, to forget it for a dreame. Heare notwithstanding our minde triumph over the bodies weakeneses and mifery; in that it is the pray and marke of all wrongs and alterations, to teede on and ayme at. It hath furely much reason to speake of it.

Prop.3.21.
A: O prima infalix fugentes terra Prometheus?
%ille parim causi peletoris egiis opus,
Corpora defunt, mentem non vidist in arte?
Rei a animo primo debuit esse via.
Vnhappy earth first by Prometheus formed,
Who of small providence a worke performed:
The third Booke.
He framing bodies fawe in arte no minde:
The minde's way first should rightly be assign'd.

The fifth Chapter.

Upon some verses of Virgil.

Profitable thoughts, the more full and solid they are, the more comber some and heavy are they; vice, death, poverty and diseases, are subjects that weigh and grieue. We must have our minde instructed with meanes to quietaine and combate mischifes, and furnished with rules how to live well and believe right: and often rouze and exercise it in this goodlie studie. But to a minde of the common stompe; it must be with interniffion and moderation; it groweth weake, by being continually over-wrefted: When I was young, I had need to be aduertiffed and solicited to keepe my selfe in office: Mirth and health (faies one) sute nor so well with these ferious and grave discourses. I am now in another state. The conditions of age doe but ouer-much admonish, instruct and preach vnto me. From the excess of iollitie, I am faine into the extreme of sev'ntie; more peevish and more vntowarde. Therefore, I doe now of purpose somewhat give way vnto licentious allurements; and now and then employ my minde in wanton and youthfull conceits, wherein the re-creates his selfe. I am now but too much feted; too heavi and too riue. My yeares reade me daily a lefion of coldneffe and temperance, My body flunnew disordre, and feares it: it hath his turne to direct the minde toward reformation; his turne also to rule and waue; and that more rudely and impertiunifie. Be I awake or a sleepe, it doth not permit me one hour but to think on instruction, on death, on patience and on repentance. As I have herebefore defended my selfe from plesaure, so I now warde my selfe from temperance; it hath me too farre back, and even to fuliditie. I will now every way be master of my selfe. Wisely one hath her exctheses, and no leffe needes of moderation, then folly. So that least I should wither, tarnish and over-cloy my selfe with prudence, in the intermissions my euis afford me;

Mens intenta suis ne fiet of the malis. Ovid. Trist. li. 4. et. 1. 4.
Still let not the conceite attend,
The ills that it too much offend.

I gentleie turne aside, and steale mine eyes from viewing that tempeftuous and cloudie skie, I have before me; which (thanks be to God) I consider without fears, but not without contention and studie. And ammuse my selfe with the remembrance of past youth-tricks:

amnum quod perdidit, optat,
Ague in prateris, et rotus imagine avisat.
The minde, what it hath lost, doth wish and caft, And turne and winde in Images forepast.

That infancie looketh forward, and age backward; was it not that which Laurus his dou-
ble vifage signifies? yeares entranne me if they please; but backward. As faire as mine eyes can discerne that faire expired feafon, by fis I tumne them thitherward. If it escape my bloud and veins, yet will I not roote the image of it out of my memorie:

hoc est,

Vivere bis, viva posse priore frui,
This is the way for any to live twice,
Who can of former life enjoy the price.

Plato appoitnes old men to be present at youthfull exercises, dances and games, to make them reioyce- at the bodies agilitie, and comfinnesse of others, which is now no longer in them; & call to their remembrance, the grace & favor of that blooming age; & willet them to give the honor of the victory to that young-ma, who hath gladded & made most of them merry. I was heretofore wont to note fullen & gloomie dayes, as extraordinary; now are they my ordinary ones; the extraordinary are my faire and cleere dayes. I am ready to leape for joy.

V o 3
The third Book.

as at the receaving of some vnexpectated fauour, when nothing grieueth me. Let me tickle my felfe, I can now hardly wrtch a bare fmile from this wretched body of mine. I am not pleased but in conceit and dreaming: by fleght to turne aside the way-ward cares of age: but sure there's need of other remedies, then dreaming. A weakke contention of arte against nature. It is meerfe simpleticke, as moft men doe, to prolong and anticipicate humane incommodities. I bad rather be left, while old, then old before my time. I take hold even of the leaft occasions of delight I can meet withall. I know by heare-fay divers kinde of wife, powreffull and glorious pleafures: but opinion is not of sufficient force over me, to make me long for them. I would not have them fo flately, lofty and difdainfull; as pleafant, gentle and ready.

\[Non penibus enim rumores ante faltum,\]

He did not prize what might be faid,

Before how all might fatee be laid.

Voluptuousfelle is a qualitie little ambitious: it holds it felle ritch enough of ift felle without any accife of reputation; and is best affected where it is moft obscured. That young man should defere the whip, who would fpend his time in choothing out the neateft Wine, and best fauce. There is nothing I ever knew or efteemed ife: I now begin to learn it. I am much afhamed of it, but what can I doe withall? And I am more afhamed and vexed, at the occaifions that compell me to it. It is for vs to daily, doate and trifle out the time; and for youth to fand upon nice reputation, and hold by the better end of the stroke. That creepeth towards the world and marcheth toward credit: we come from it. Sibi arma, sibi equus, sibi hafas, sibi clamamas, sibi pilamas, sibinaturnes et curias habeant: nos nos exibus, ex usionibus unibus, tales relinquiant, et tetafas; Let them keepe their armer, their boxes, their laces, their polaces, their termes, their idling, and their running, and of their many games, let them put care to vs old men the tables and the cards. The very lawes send vs home to our lodgings. I can doe no felle in favour of this wretched condition, wherein to my age forceth me, then fumeith it with some-what to dandle and ammuie it felle, as it were childhood: for when all is done we fall into it again. And both wifedome and folly fhall have much a doe, by enterchanged offices, to fupport and fuccour me in this calamitie of age.

Misce fulsitiam confijji breuem.

With short-light-foulifh tricks,

Thy greatest counfels mixe.

With all I flan the lighteft pricklings and thofe which heretofore could not have scratcht me, doe now tranfpare me. So willingly my habite dooth now begin to apply it felle to

Mensis, pasi durum suffinet a gran nihil.

A fickle minde can endure,

No hard things for his cure.

I have ever beene tickliffe and nice in matters of offence, at this prefent I am more tender, and every where open.

Et minima vires frangere quaffa valet.

Leaf strength can breake,

Things worne and weake.

Well may my judgement hinder me from fplaying and repining at the inconueniences which nature allotts me to endure; from feeling them it cannot. I could finde in my hart to runne from one end of the world to another, to fearch and purchafe one yeare of pleafing and absolute tranquillity; I who have no other scope, than to live and be merry. Drouzie and undife tranquillity is sufficiently to be found for me, but it makes me drouzie and dizziest; therefore I am not pleaseth with it. If there be any body, or any good companion in the countre, in the citie, in France, or any where else, resident or traveling, that likes of my conceits, or whole humors are pleafing to me, they neede but holde vp their hand, or whilffe in their folte, and I will flore them with Efayes, of piche and substance, with might and maine. Seeing it is the minde priuilege to renew and recover it felle on olde age, I eamally aduife it to doe it: let it bud, bloom, and flourish if it can, as Misle-toe on a dead tree. I fcare
The third Booke.

feare it is a traitor: so straitly is she clasped, and so hard doth the cling to my body, that every hand-while she forakes me; to follow her in her necessities. I flatter her in private, I urge her to no purpose; in vaine I offer to divert her from this combination, and bootlesse is it for me to prevent her Senecas or Catoins, or Ladies, or facetiously dances; if her companion have the chollicke, it seems she also hath it. The very powers or facultys that are particular and proper to her, cannot then rouze themselves: they evidently seeme to be en-rehearsed: there is no blithenesse in her productions, if there be none in the body. Our schollers are to blame, who searching the caufes of our mindes extraordinarie fits and motions, besides they ascribe some to a deuine fury, to love, to warlike fiercenesse, to Poesie, and to Wine; if they have not also allotted health her share. A health youthfull, lustie, vigorous, full, idle, such as hereofore the Aprill of my yeares and securitie afforded me by fittes. That fire of iocundnesse firereth vp livelie and bright sparkles in our minde, beyond our natural brightness; and amongst the most working, if not the most desperate Embouts-ames or inspirations. Well, it is no wonder if a contrary effare clogge and naile my spirit, and drawe from it a contrarie effect.

Ad nullum conjuris opus, sum corporis languent.
Ito no worke doth rife,
When body fainting eyes,

And yea: yet would have me beholden to him, for lending (as he faith) much leffe to this content, then beareth the ordinary custome of men. Let vs at least whilfte we have truce, chafe all enuis, and expell all difficulties from our societie.

Dum licet: obdelaclum affectus":
Wii wrinkleld wimpled forhead let old yeares,
While we may, be refolu’d to merie cheere.

Tettrica sunt amandam societatem; triplis ftruis, and some matters should be sweeterned and made pleasant with fortifull mixtures. I love a lightsome and civill discretion, and loathe a roughnesse and affermitie of behauion: suspecting every peevish & wayward countenance.

Triplis, quius trietcis arrogantium.
Of aulterie countenance,
The sad fonce arrogance.
Et habet tristis quaue tu haecynados.
Fidlers are often had,

Mongit people that are sad.

I easily beleue Plato, who faith, that eafe or hard humours, are a great prejudice unto the mindes goodness or badnesse. Socrates had a constant countenance, but light-some and synning: not fowardly confant, as olde Crofis, who was never fene to laugh. Virtue is a pleasant and browne qualitie. Few I know will fhaue in the liberty of my writings, that haue not more caufe to shrile at their thoughts-loofenes. I doome my selfe vnto their courage, but I offend their eyes. It is a well ordered humor to rewelt Plato’s writings, and straine his pretended negotiations with Persdes, Dion, Stella, Archeanalffas. Non pudet discers, quod non pudet fentre. Let vs not be ashamed to speake, what we shoule not to thinke. I hate a wayward and sad disposition, that glideth ouer the pleasures of his life, and failens and feeues on miseries. As flyes that cannot cleafe to a smooth and flecke bodye, but feaze and holde on rugged and veuen places. Or as Crippin-glafes, that affect and fuch none but the worst boud. For my part I am refoluted to dare speake whatsoever I dare doe. And am displeased with thoughts not to be published. The worft of my actions or conditiones seeme not so vgly vnto me, as I finde it both vugly and bafe not to dare to avouch them. Every one: wary is in the confession; we should be as heed in the action. The boudhnesse in offending is somewhat recompended and restrained by the boudhnesse of confessing. He that should be bound to tell all, should also binde himselfe to doe nothing which one is forced to conceal. God grant this exceffe of my licence draw men to freedome, beyond thefe cowardly and scomainfull vertues, springing from our imperfections; and that by the ex- pence of my immolation, I may reduce them vnto reason. One must suffoy his falties and ftudy them, ere he be able to repeate them. Those which hide them from others, commonly conceale them alfo from themselves; and efteeme them not sufficiently hidden, if themselues fee them. They withdraw and disguise them from their owne confciences. Quare

victa.
The third Booke.

VIdia suae nostro confestet? Quia tibi nunc illis est, omnium narrare vigilantis est. Why doth no man confess his faults? Because he is yet in them, and to declare his dreams is for him that is waking. The bodies uils are deciphered by their increas. And now we finde that to be the goute which we termed the rheume or a bruite. The euils of the mindc are darkened by their owne force, the most infected feeleth them leaft. Therefore is it, that they must oft a day be hand-]led, and violently be opened and rent from out the hollow of our bolomnes, As in the case of good; so of bad offices, onde confusion is sometimes a satisfaction. Is there any deformity in the error, which diapenseth vs to confess the fame? It is a paine for me to diffemle: so that I refuse to take charge of other mens secretes, as wating hart to disavow my knowledge, I can conceale it; but deny it I cannot, without much a doe and some trouble. To be perfectly secret, one must be so by nature, not by obligatio. It is a small matter to be secret in the Princes ser-vice, if one be not also a liar. He that demanded Thales Miletus, whether he should solemnly deny his lechery; had he would have answere him, he ought not do it: for a lie is in mine opinion, worse than lechery. Thales aduised him otherwise, bidding him swear, therby to warrant the more by the leffe. Yet was not his counsell so much the electi-on, as multiplication of vice. Wherevpon we sometimes vfe this by-word, that we deale wel with a man of confidence, when in counterpoise of wise we propose some difficulit vnto him; but whi he is enclosed between two vices, he is put to a hard choise. As Origus was dealt with all, either to comit idolatry, or suffer himselfe to be Sodomitically abused by a filthy Egyptian slave, that was preferred vnto him, he yielded to the first condition, and viciously, faith one. Therefore shold not those wombe so disaffraited, according to their error, who of late profess, that they had rather charge their conscience with te me, the one Maffe. If it be indifferetio so to divulge ones errors, there is no danger though it come into example & wise. For Aristotle said, that Tbe windes men feare moft, are those which diuoure them. We must tuck vp this homely ragge, that cloaketh our manners, They send their conscience to the flues, & keep their countenance in order. Even traitors and murtheners, obserue the lawes of complements, and thereto fixe their endeavours. So that neither can injustice complaint of incivilit, nor malice of indifferetio. Tis pitty a bad man is not also a fool, and that decencie should cloake his wise. These per-gettings belong only to good & found walles, such as defende to be white, and to be prefered. In fauor of the Hugonots, who accuse our auricular and private confession, I confesse my selfe in publike, religiously and purely, Saint Auguflin Origene, & Hippocrates, have confesse the errors of their opinions, I likewise of my manners. I greedily long to make my selfe knowne; nor care I at what rate, so it be truely: or to say better, I hunger for nothing; but I hate mortally to be mistaken by such as shall happen to know my name. He that doth all for honor & glory, what thinks he to gaine by confessing himselfe vnto the world in a maske, hiding his true being from the peoples knowledge? Commend a hulch-back for his comely stature, he ought to take it as an injury: if you be a coward, & one honoreth you for a valiant man, is it of you he speakest? you are taken for another: I shoulde like as wel, to have him glory in the courtis & lowings that are heveth and fulpoufing himselfe to be ring-leader of a troupe, who he is the meanest folower of it. Archelaus king of Macedo, passing through a street, some bodie cast water vpon him, was aduised by his followers to punish the party; yea but (quoth he) who ever it was, he cast not the water vpon me, but vpon him he thought I was. Socrates to one that told him he was railed vpon, and ill spoken of; Thuf (said he) there is no such thing in me. For my part, should one commend me to be an excellent Pilote, to be very mo-dest, or most chaste, I should owe him no thankes. Likewise should any man call me traitor, theefe or drulkard, I would deeme my selfe but little wronged by him, Those who misconfem themselfes, may fee themselfes with false approbations; but not I, who see and search my selfe into my very bowels, & know full well what belongs vnto me, I am pleaseth to be left commended, provided I bee better knowne. I may be esteemed wife for such conditions of wifedom, that I account meere follies. It vexeth me, that my Essays seuen Ladies in liew of common ware and flufse for their hall: this Chapter will preferre me to their cabinet: I love their societie from what private; their publike familiaritie wants favor and favor. In farewells we heate above ordinary our affections to the things we forgoe, I heare take my last leave of this worlds pleasures: loe heere our last embraces. And now to our theme, Why was the acte of generation made so natural, so necessarry and so luful, seeing we feare to speake of it without shame, & exclude it from our ferious and regular discoursyes? we pronounce boldly, to
to rob, to murther, to betray; and this we dare not but betweene our teeth. Are we to gather by it, that the leffe we breath out in words, the more we are allowed to furnish our thoughts with? For words leaft vfed, leaft written and leaft concealed, should beft be vnderflood, and moft generally knowne. No age, no condition are more ignorant of it, than of their bread. They are imprimd in each one, without expressing, without voice or figure. And the fexe that doth it moft, is moft bound to suppress it. It is an action we have put in the precints of silence, whence to draw it were an offence: not to accuse or judge it. Nor dare we beate it but in paraphrase and picture. A notable favor, to a criminal offender, to be so exercetable, that justice deeme it injustice to touch and behold him, freed & faved by the benefite of his confneations. Is it not herein as in matters of booke, which being once called in and forbidden become more faleable & publique? As for me, I will take Aristotle at his word, that bulfwhiffe is an ornament to youth, but a reproafe to age. These verfes are preached in the old schoole; a schoole of which I hold more then of the modernes: ther vermes beeme greater unto me, his vices leffe.

I know not who could set Sallus and the Mofes at oddes with Venus, and make them colde and flowe in affecting of love; as for me, I fee no Deities that better fute together, nor more endebed one to another. Who-euer shall goe about to remoue amorous imaginations from the Mofes, shall deprive them of the best entertainment they have, and of the nobleft subiect of their worke: and who shall debate Cupid the fervice and conueration of Poefie, shall weaken him of his beft weapons. By this means they calle vpon the God of acquaintance, of amity and goodwil; and vpon the Goddeses, protectedes of humnitie and justice, the vice of ingratitude, and imitation of chuliffenesse. I have not fo long beeene catheried from the fiate and fervice of this God, but that my memory is still acquainted with the force of his worth and valour.

There commonly remains, some reliques of burning and heate after an ague.

As drye, as fluggifh & as vnvieildie as I am, I feeke ye yet some warme cinders of my passed heate.

But for so much as I know of it, the power and might of this God are found more quicke and lively in the shadowe of the Poefie, then in their owne effence.

Verfes have full effect, Of fingers to ered.

It it reprefteth a kinde of ayre more lovely then love it selfe. Venus is not to faire, nor to alluring all naked, quick and panting, as she is here in Virgill.
The third Booke.

Accepis foliatum fiammam, notusque medullas
Intravit color et labes feta per olla curcuit.
Non succus acutus omni tonitur cinia ruptra corusc.
Ignorans musus percussit lamine mineos.
So said the Goddesse and with soft embrace,
Of Snow-white armes, the grim-sir doth enchafe,
He frighten tooke wonded fire, knowne heate at once,
His marble heart, ranne through his weakened bones;
As faire flash which thunder doth devide,
With radiant lightning through a storme doth glide.

— excerpt from Ovid, Metamorphoses

What therein I finde to be considered, is, that he depainteth his somewhat flirling for a maritall Venus. In this dextre match, appetites are not commonly so fondling; but drowlie and more fluggest. 

Lost disdained a man should holde of other thoue himselfe, and dealeth but faintly with acquaintances begun and entertained under another title; as marriage is, Alliances, respects and meanes, by all reason, weight as much or more, as the graces and beautie. A man doth not marrie for himselfe, whatsoever he alledged; but as much or more for his posteritie and familie. The selfe and interest of marriage concerneth our off-spring, a great way beyond vs. Therefore doth this fashion please me, to guide it rather by a third hand, and by anothers fence, then our owne: All which, how much doth it differ from amorous confusions? Nor is it other then a kind of incest, in this reverend alliance and sacred bondes, to employ the efforts and extravagant humors of an amorous licentiousness, as I think to have said else-where. One should (faith Aristotle) touch his wife soberlie, discreetly and seuerely, lest that tickling too lascivious please transport her beyond the bounds of reason. What he speaketh for confidence, Phisicians allledge for health: sayings, that pleasure excessively whorish, voluptuous and continual, althereth the seede, and hindereth conception. Some other say besides, that to a languishing congression (as naturalie that is) to store it with a convenient, and fertile heate, one must but feldeome, and by moderate intermissions present himselfe vnto it;

Vir. Geo. l.3.137.

Thrusting to snatch a fit,

And inly harbor it.

I see no marriages fail sooner, or more troubled, then such as are concludd for beauties sake, and hyled up for amorous desires. There are required more solide foundations, and more constant grounds, and a more waie marching to it: this earntly youthful heate femeth nothing for purpose. Those who thinke to honour marriage, by JOINING love vnto it (in nine opinion) doe as those, who to doe vertue a favour, holde, that Nobilitie is no other thing then Vertue. Indeed these things have some affinitie; but there withal great difference: their names and titles should not be commixt: both are wronged so to be confounded. Nobilitie is a worthy, goodly, and introduced with good reason; but in no maste as it dependeth on others, and may fall to the share of any vicious and workie fellow, it is in estimation sarre share of vertue. If it be a vertue, it is artificial and visible; relying both on time and fortune; diuers in forme, according vnto countries; living and mortall: without birth, as the river Nile, genealogike and common; by succession and similitude; drawne along by conferencie, but a very weake one. Knowledge, strength, goodnesse, beautie, wealth and all other qualities fall within compasse of commerce and communication: whereas this consumeth it selfe in it selfe, and no employment for the service of others. One proposed to one of our Kings the choice of two competitors in one office, the one a Gentleman, the other a yeoman: he appointed that without respect vnto that qualitie, he who defeterbed best should be elected; but were their valour or worth fully a-like, the Gentleman should be regarded: this was justlie to give nobilitie his right and ranke, Antiquitus, to an unknowe youngman, who fixed
vnto him for his fathers charge, a man of valour and who was lately deceased: My friend (quoth he) in such good-turnes, I waige not my soldieres noble birth, so much as their sufficiency. Of truth it should not be herein, as with the officers of Spartan kings; Trompetors, Musitions, Cookes; in whose room their children succeeded, how ignorant fouter, before the best experienced in the trade. Thofe of Calicus make of their nobility a degree above humane. Marriage is interdicted them, and all other vocations, sauing warre. Of Concubines they may have as many as they like, and women as many lecheres, without I louſe one of another. But it is a capital crime, and unremissible offence to contract or marry with any of different condition: Nay they deeme themſelves disparaged and polluted, if they haue but touched them in passing: And as if their honour were much injured & interred by it, they kill thofe who but approach some what to near them. In such forre, that the ignoble are bound to cry as they walke along, like the Gondohers or water-men of Venice. For the freest, least they should inuole with them and the nobles command them to what side of the way they please. Thereby doe thofe auoyde an oblique which they efteme perpetually: and thofe an affured death. No continuance of time, no finower of Prince, no office, no vterne, nor any wealth can make a clown to become a gentleman. Which is much furthered by this custome, that marriages of one trade with another are stricflye forbidden. A Shoo-maker cannot marry with the race of a Carpenter; and parents are preciselie bound to traine vp orphanes in their fathers trade, &c in no other. Whereby the difference, the distinction & continuance of their fortune is maintained. A good marriage (if any there be) is fulfe the company & conditions of house: it endeuoures to repreſent thole of amity. It is a sweete society of life, full of content, of truth, and an infinite number of profitable and solid offiſces, and mutuall obligations: No woman that throughly and impartially taffeth the fame,

\[ Oportet quaminvisit lumine teda. \]
\[ Quem loves-fire ioyned in double band, \]
\[ With wiſhed light of marriage brand. \]

would forgote her estate to be her husbands maifter. Be she lodged in his affection, as a wife, she is much more honourably and surely lodged. Be a man passionely entangled in any unlawful luft or loue, let him then be demanded on whom he would rather haue some shame or disgrace to alight; eyther on his lawfull wife, or on his lechard mistres, whoe misfortune would affhet him moare, and to whom he wiſhet greater good or more honour. These questions admic no doubt in an abolufre found marriage. Thereoue we fee to few good, is an apparent signe of it's worth, and a testimonie of it's price. Perfectly to fashion and rightly to take it, is the wrothifte and beft part of our society. We cannot be without it, and yet we discharge and vilifie the fame. It may be compared to a cage, the birds without daie to get in, and thofe within daie to get out. Secretes being demanded, whether was most commodious, to take, or not to take a wife; Which sooner a man doth (quoth he) be hall Eran chil. 70. repent it. It is a match where to well be applied the common saying, homo homini est Deus. cont. 1.69.

us, ante Lupus. Man vnto man is curer a God or a Wolfe. To the perfect erecting whereof are the concurrences of divers qualities required: It is now a dayes found most fit or commodious for simple minde and popular spirits, whom dainties, curioſity and idlenesse doe not so much trouble. Licentious humours, debauided conceits (as are mine) whoe hate all manner of duties, bonds, or obseruations are not fo fit, fo proper, and fo fauitable for it.

\[ Et nubi dulce magis resoluo vvere colo. \]

Sweeter it is to me, with loose necke to live free.

Of mine owne disposition, would wifedome it selfe haue had me, I should haue refused to wed her. But we may fea our pleafure; the custome and vice of common life outbearreth vs. Most of my actions are guided by example, and not by election: Yet did I not properly entiue my selfe vnto it, I was led & brought thereunto by strange and unexpected occasions: For, not onlye incommodious things, but feule, vicious and inceituable, may by some condition and accident become acceptable and allow'd, So vaine is mans pouſture and defence. And truly I was then drown into it, being but ill prepared and more backward, then now I am, that haue made trial of it. And as licentious as the world repueth me, I haue (in good truthe) more stricly obserued the laws of wedlock, then either I had promised or hoped. It is no longer time to wince where one hath put on the shackles. A man ought wisely to husband his liberty; but after he hath once submitted himselfe vnto bondage, he is to stick vnto it by the laws of common
The third Booke.

mon duty or at least enforce himselfe to keepe them. Those which vndertake that covenent to deale therein with hate and contempt, do both iniustly and incommodiously. And that goodly rule I see passe from hand to hand among women, as a sacred oracle,

Sers to marry comme to maistre:
Et iernarde comme d'un traistre.
Your husband as your maistre feele-ye:
From him as from false friend preferete-ye.

which is as much to say; Bear thy selfe toward him with a constrained, enmy and difftrufhfull reverence (a title of warre, and cry of defiance) is likewise iniurious and difficult. I am to milde for such crabbed diffignes. To say truth, I am not yet come to that perfection of sufficiency and quaintness of wit, as to confound reason with iniustice: and laugh or scorne at every order or rule, that impu not with my humour. To hate superition, I do not preently cast my selfe into irreligion. If one do not alwayes discharge his dutie, yet ought he at least euer loye, euer acknowledge it: it is reason for one to marry unless he be wed. But goe we on. Our poet describeth a marriage full of accord and good agreement, wherein notwithstanding there is not much loyalty. Did he meane it was not possible to performe loues righe, and yet refere to me rightes toward marriage; and that one may briefe it, without altogether breaking it? A ferment may picke his maisters purfe, and yet not hate him. Beauty, opportunity, definy (for definy hath also a hand therein,) natum est in paribus ilius.

Lawn. Sat. 9.32.

Quam fuis abhondet; nam si tibi fidera coffent,
Nid faciri longi mensura recognita est.
In those partes there is hate, which hidden are;
If thou be not wrong-fore by thy farte,
The meare of long nureus, vnknowne to nothing feeres.

haue entangled a woman to a stranger, yet peraduenture not so absolument but that some bond may be left to holde her to her husband. They are two diffignes, hauing feuerall and vnconfounded pathes leading to them. A woman may yeeld to such a man, whom in no case the would haue married. I mean not for the conditions of his fortune, but for the qualities of his person. Few men haue wedded their sweete harters, their paramours or mistriues, but haue come home by weeping Croffe, and ere long repented their bargayne. And eu'n in the other world, what an vnquiet life leads Impair with his wife, whom before he had secretly knowne, and loytningly enjoyed? This is as they say, to betray the panier, and then put it on your head. My lefte haue seen in some good place, loue, thankfully and dishonestly cured by marriage: the considerations are to much different. We loue without disturbance to our lethes; two dyuers and in themselfes contrary things. /faceres faide, that the townes of Athens pleased men, eu'n as Ladies doe whom we ferue for affection. Every one loued to come thither, to walke and passe away the time: but none affected to wed it: that is to say, to endenion, to dwell and habituate himselfe therein. I haue (and that to my spight and griefe) feene husbands hate their wives, onely because themselves wronged them: Howsoever, we should not lose them leffe for our faults; at leaft for repentance and compaision they ought to be dearer vnto vs. These are different endes (faith he) and yet in some fort compatible, Wedlocke hath for his flare honour, iustice, profit and conftancie: a playne, but more generall delight. Loue melts in onely preasure; and truly it hath it more tickifie, more liuely, more quant and more sharpe: a pleasure inflamed by difficulty: there must be a kende of slanging, tingling and imarting. It is no longer loue, he is once without arrowes, or without fire. The liberality of Ladies is to profuie in marriage, and blunts the edge of affection and desire. To awoode this inconveniente, see the punishment inflicted by the lawes of Lycurgus and Plato. But women are not altogether in the wrong, when they refuse the rules of life preffcribed to the world, forsoomuch as onely men have establised them without their consent. There is commonly brauling and contention betweene them and vs. And the nearest confent we haue with them, is but stormye and tumultuous. In the opinion of our author, we herein vfe them but inconsiderately. After we haue knowne, that without comparision they are much more capable and violent in loues-effectes, then we, as was testified by that auncient Priest, who had beene both man and wo-
man, and trike the passions of both sexes.

Venus heret crat virgins nota:
Of both forces he knew venery.

And haue morcouter learned by their one mouth, what tryall was made of it, though in duiers ages, by an Emperour and an Empresse of Rome, both skillfull and famous maisters in lawes fife, and vnryle wannaonet; for he in one night deflowered ten Syrianat virgines, that were his captives; but the reality did in one night also, anfwere fute and twenty feueral affauts, charging her affuants as the sound caufe to supplye licenee, or fute her tastef.

ad Luc adores rigide tentiones value

Et laflita viris, non dum satiata recessit.

and that upon the controversy happened in Catalone, betweene a wife and a husband; the complaining on his ouer violence and continuance therein, (not so much in my conceit, because she was thereby ouerlabored; for but by faith I beleue not miracles) as under this pretext, to abridge & briddle the authority of husbands over their wives, which is the fundamental part of marriage; and to show that their frouning, fulfilling, and paraefulnesse exceede the very nuptiall bed, and trample under-foote the very beauties, grace and delights of Venus; to whose complaint, her husband, a right churlifh and rude fellow, anfwere, that eu- en on faling dayes he must needs do it ten times at leafl; was by the Queene of Aragon giten this notable sentence; by which after mature deliberati of countef, the good Queene to eftabhle a rule and imitable example vnto all posterity, for the moderation and required modesty in a lawfull marriage; ordained the number of fixe times a day, as a lawfull, necessa-

ry and competent limit. Releating and diminishing a great part of her sexes neede and desire: to eftablish (quot the bext exercise, and consequently permanent and immutable. Hereupon doctors cry out, what is the appetite and lust of women, when as their reason, their reformation & their vertue, is reftated at fuch a rate? considering the diuers judgment of our defires; for Solon maifter of the lawyers Schoole alloweth but three times a moneth, because this matrimonial entercourfe should not decay or faile. Now after we haue beleued (fay I) and preached thus much, we haue for their particular portion allotted them con-

nencie; as their lat and extreme penalty. There is no passion more importunate then this, which we would haue them onely to refift: Not simply, as a vice in it felfe, but as abomination and execration, and more then irreligion and parficide; whilst we our felues without blame or reproach offend in it at our pleasure. Even those amongst vs, who have earnestly labored to ouercome lust, have sufficiently vowed, what difficulty, or rather vurisillable im-

possibility they found in it; vffing nevertheless material remedies, to tame to weaken & cool the body. And we on the other fide would haue them found, healthy, strong, in good liking, wel-fed and chaft together, that is to say, both hotte and colde. For, marriage which we urge hinder them from burning, affords them but small refreshinge, accordan-

ting as our manners are. If they meete with a husband, whose force by reason of his age is yet boyling, he will take a pride to expend it elsewhere:

Sic tandem pudor, aut causa in iis,
Matria mentula multibus redempta,
Nem ist hac tua, Baffi, vendidisti.

The Philosopher Petronus was suitably called in question by his wife, for fowing in a barren field the fruitle due to the fertile. But if they match with broken fluffe in full weelocke, they are in worfe cafe then either virgines or widowers. We deeme them sufficiently furnifh'd, if they have a man lie by them. As the Romans reputed Cloidea Lata a veftall virgin deflou-

wed, whom Calpina had touched, although it was manfully proouted, he had but approaced her: But on the contrary, their neede or longing is thereby encreased; for but the touch or company of any man whatfoever strieth vp their heat, which in their soli-
tude was hufle and quiet, and laye as cinders raked vp in ashes. And to the ende, as it is likely, to make by this circumstance and conderation their chafttie more merytor-

ous: Bolefians and King ye his wife, King and Queene of Polannde, lying togethcr, the first day of their marriage vowed it with mutuall consent, and in defpite of all weelocke com-

modities or uprall-delights mamed maintained the fame. Even from their infancy we flame them to the spores of loue: their inftruction, behaviour, attitu, grace, learning and all their words aymeth only at loue, respecting only affection. Their nursery and their keepers,
The third Book.

imprint no other thing in them, then the louelinesse of love, were it but by continually prefenting the fame into them, to difaffe them of it: My daughter (all the children I have) is of the age wherein the lawes excufe the forwardness to marry. She is of a flowe, nice and milde complexion, and hath accordingly beene brought vp by her mother, in a retired and particular manner: so that she beginneth but now to put-off childlike simplicitie. She was one day reading a French booke before me, an obscene word came in her way (more bawdie in found then in effect, for it signifieth the name of a Tree & another thing) the woman that lookes to hiser, flaid her presently, and somewhat churlishly making her step over the name: I let her alone, because I would not croffe their rules, for I medle nothing with this government; womens policie hath a miiftcall proceeding, we must be content to leave it to them. But if I be not deceived, the converafation of twenty laques could not in fix moneths have feld in his thoughts, the vnderstanding, the vie and consequences of the found belonging to those filthy filables, as did that good olde woman by her chiek and interditon.

Metus doceri gaudeat monument

Natura virgo, at frango artibus

Lam nunc, et inceftos amores

De teverto meditatur ungui,

Maides mariage-tipe straight to be taught delight

Quanta daunces, fram'de by arte aright

In every ioynt, and eu'n from their first hair.

Inceftuous loves in meditation beare.

Let them somewhat difference with ceremonies, let them fall into free libertinage of speech; we are but children, we are but gullies, in respect of them, about any such subject. Heare them relate how we sue, how we wooe, how we sollicite and how we entertaine them, they will soone give you to vnderstand, that we can say, that we can doe, and that we can bring them nothing, but what they already knew, and had long before digested without vs. May it be (as Plato faith) because they have one time or other beene themesues wanton, licentious and amorous lads? Mine cares hapned one day in a place, where without subjection they might listen and steal some of their priuate, lawfull and bold discourses; oh why is it not lawfull for me to repeate them? Birlady (quoth I to myセル) It is high time indee for vs to goe and study the phraifes of Amenias, the metaphors of Arteine, and eloquence of Boccace, thereby to become more skilfull, more ready and more sufficient to confront them: sure we beftowe our time well; there is no quaint phrase, nor choife word, nor ambiguous figure, nor pathetical example, nor love-expreffing gefture, nor alluring pollute, but they they know them all better then our bookes: It is a cunning bred in their vaines and will never out of the flesh,

Virg. Geor. 1.3. 387.

Et mentem Venus ipfa dedit.

Venus hir selfe asfignde,

To them both meanes and minde.

which these skill-infusing Schoole-miftrifles nature, youth, health and opportunitie, are ever buzzing in their ears, euer whispering in their mindes: They neede not leame, nor take paines about it; they begget it; with them it is borne.

Casal. aleg. 4.185.

Nec tantum nuncqua quis est nullus columbo.

Compar, vel sigiuid dialect improbus,

Oecla mordentis fpero decrepitcr rostro.

Quantum praeceper multis culis

No Pigeons hen, or paire, or what worse name

You lift, makes with hir Snow-white cock such game,

With bitteng bill to catch when the is kiift,

As many-minded women when they lift.

Had not this natural violence of their defires bin somewhat held in awe, by feare and honor, where with they have beene provided, we had all beene defamed. All the worlds motions bend and yeld to this conjunction: it is a matter every-where infused; and a Centre were to all lines come, all things looke. The ordinances of ancient and wise Remes;ordained for the fentuce and institution for the behoofe of love, are yet to be seene: together with the precepts of Socrates to instruct courtizans.
Zeno among other laws, ordred also the flruglings, the openin of legges, and the actions, which hapen in the deflowing of a virgin, Of what fence was the booke of \textit{Stoics} the Philosopher, of carnall copulation? and whereof treated \textit{Theophrastus} in thofe he entitled, one

\textit{The Loren, the other, Of Lore? whereof Arifippus in his volume Of anciant delicioufife or sports? what impliend or what importend the ample and lively defcriptions in Plato, of the loves practiced in his dayes? And the lover of Demetrias Phadeus? And Clytus: or the forced lover of Heraclides Pionicus? And that of Antife versus, of the getting of children, or of weddings? And the other, Of the Master or of the lover? And that of Arifio: Of amorous exercises? Of Cleanthes, one of love, another of the arte of love? The amorous dialogues of Sphus? And the filthy intollerable, and without blushing not to be vtert fable of Jupiter and Iuno, written by Chrifippus? And his fo lafcivius fific Epifltes? I will omit the writings of some Philosophers, who have followed the fect of Epicurus, protection of all manner of feualitie and carnall pleafure. Fiftie feverall Deities were in times past allotted to this office. And there hath bin a nation found, which to alay and cool the lustfull concipience of fuch as came for devotion, kept wenchef in purpose in their temples to be vfed; and it was a point of religion to deal with them before one went to prayers. \textit{Ne tantum propter continentiam incontinentes fi gis,} \textit{incendium ignibus exsquimur.} Before we must be incontinent that we may be continent, burning is quenched by fire. In molt places of the world, that part of our body was Deified. In that fame province, some flread it to offer, and confecrated a piece thereof; others offed and confecrated their feece: In another the young-men did publiquely pearce; and in diuers places open their yarde betweene flefh and skin, and through the holes put the longet and biggeft flecks they could endure: and of those flecks made afterward a fire, for an offer to their Gods, and were esteemed of small vigor & leffe chaftity, if by the force of that cruell paine they fhoued any difmay. Else-where, the most fared magistrate was reverenced and acknowledged by thofe parts. And in diuers cerimonies the portraiture thereof was carryed and fhoued in pompe and flate, to the honour of fundry Deities. The Egyptian dames in their Bacchanian fealls wore a wooden one about their necks, exquitifely fashioned, as huge and heavie as every one could conueniently beare; besides that which the stature of their God reprefented, which in meafure exceeded the rest of his body. The married women here-by, with their \textit{Covechefs} frame the figure of one upon their foreheads, to glory themselves with the enjoying they have of it; and comming to be widdowes they place it behinde, and hide it vnder their quoifes. The greatest and wofte matrons of Rome, were honored for offering flowers and garlands to God Priaus. And when their virgines were maried, they ( during the nuptials) were made to fit vpon their pruities. Nor am I sure, whether in my time, I have not fecen a glimpe of like devotion. What meant that laughter-moouing, and maides looke-drawing piece our Fathers wore in their breeches, yet extant among the Swizers? To what end is at this present day the floue of our formal pieces vnder our Galcoine hofes: and often which is wofe)about their natural greatnees, by falsehood and impofture? A little thing would make me beleive, that the fake kind of garment was inventend in the beft and moftvpright ages, that the worlde might not be deceaued, and all men shoueld yeeld a publie accoumt of their sufficiencie. The simplest nations have it yet somewhat refembling the true forme. Then was the workemen skill influend, how it is to bee made, by the meafure of the arm or foote. That good-meaning man, who in my youth, throughout his great eitte, cau'd to many faire, curious and ancient statues to bee guelded, leaff the Sence of seeing might bee corrupted, following the aduife of that other good ancient man;
The third Booke.

Omne adeo genus in terris, hominumque, rerumque,
Er Gus aquae quodex, pecudis, pilique vulcures,
In furias ignem ruimus.

All kinds of things on earth, wild beasts, man, kinde,
Field-beasts, farseathed fowle, and fish (we finde)
Into loves fire and furie rumpe by kinde.

The Gods (faith Plato) have furnished man with a difobedient, skittifh and tyrannical mem-
ber; which like an unnamed-furious beast, attempteth by the violence of his appetite, to bring
all things vnder his beck. So have they allotted women another as infulting, wilde & fierce;
in nature like a greedie, deouring and rebellious creature, who if when he craveth it, he be
refued nourishment, as impatien of delay, it engrageth; and infusing that rage into their
bodies, stropeth their conduits, hindreth their respiration, and causeth a thousand kinds of
inconueniences; vitall fucking vp the fluite of the generall thirst, it have largely bedewed
and enfeeed the bottom of their matrix. Now my law-giver should also have considered,
that peraduenture it were a more chaffe and commodiously-fruitfull vfe, betimes to give
them a knowledge and taste of the quiet; then according to the libertie and heate of their
fantazie, suffer them to gaze and imagine the fame. In liew of true esentiall parts, they by
defire furnifhe, and by hope substitute others, three times as extravagant. And one of my
acquaintance was spoiled, by making open showe of his in place, where yet it was not
conuenient to put them in poellation of their more serious vfe. What harne cause not
those huge draughts or pictures, which wanton youths with chalke or coales drawe in
each passaige, walle, or flaires of our great houses? whence a cruel contemp of our natu-
ral flore is bred in them. Who knoweth, whether Plato ordaining amongst other well
instituted Common-wealths, that men and women, olde and young, should in their exer-
cises or Gynasickes, present themselves naked one to the fight of another, aymed at that
or no? The Indian women, who dayly without interdiction view their men all over, have
at leaft wherewith to affwage and coole the f彭ce of their feeing. And whatsoever the
women of that great kingdome of Pegu say, who from their waife downward, have
nothing to cover themselues but a single cloath flit before; and that fo straight, that what
nice modestie, or ceremonious decence ever they seeme to affect, one may plainly at
each steppe fee what God hath feare them: that it is an inuention or shift devised to drawe
men vnto them, and with-drawe them from other men or boyes, to which vnnatural brut-
ifi finnes that nation is wholly addicted: it might be sayd, they looe more then they get:
and that a full hunger is more vehement, then one which hath been glutted, be it but by
the eyes. And Linus sayd, that to an honest woman, a naked man is no more then an
Image. The Lacedemonian women, more virgin-wives, then are our maidens, face every-
day the young men of their citie, naked at their exercises; themselues nothing pre-
cife to hide their thinghes in walking, effecting themselues (faith Plato) sufficiently cloa-
thed with their virtue, without vardingall. But thoef, of whom Saint Augustine speakeht,
have attributed much to nakednesse, who made a queation, whether women at the last day
of judgement, should rife againe in their proper lexe, and not rather in ours, leaft even
then they tempt vs in that holy flate. In fumme, we lye and every way fleath them: we
viciously enflame and excite their imagination: and then we crye out, but oh, but oh the
belly. Yet vs confesse the truth, there are fewe amongst vs, that feare not more the flame,
they may have by their wifes offences, then by their owne vices; or that cares not more
(oh wondrous charitie) for his wifes, then his owne confience; or that had not rather be a
thiefe and church-rober, and have his wife a murtherer and an heretike, then not more
chaffe then himselfe. Oh impious exaltation of vices. Both we and they are capable of a
thousand more hurtfull and vnnatural corruptions, then is luft or lasciviousnesse. But we
frame vices and weighe sinnes, not according to their nature, but according to our interest;
whereby they take so many different vaequall forms. The severity of our lawes makes wom-
ens inclination to that vise, more violent and faultie, then it is condition beareth; and
engageth it to worfe proceedings then is their caufe. They will readily offer rather to fol-
low the prafite of lawe, and plead at the barre for a fee, or gote to the warres for reputa-
ton, then in the midit of idleneffe and deliciousnesse be tide to keepe so hard a Sentinell, so
dangerous a watch. See they not plainly, how there is neither Marchant, Lawier, Souldier,
or church-man, but will leave his accounts, for sake his client, quit his glory and neglect his function, to follow this other businesse? and the burden-bearing porter, courteous cebler, and toyle full labourer, all harassed, all besmeared, and all blemysled, through travail, labour and drudging, will forget all, to please himselfe with this pleasing ipote?

Dum tu quae tenues dines Actabenes,  
Aut Phrygias Phryges Mygdenas opes,  
Permutare velis crine Laciniae,  
Plebas aut Arabum demos,  
Dum fragrantia detequet adsolula  
Cenncem, aut facili sauvia negat,  
Qua postente magis gaudente evis,  
Interdum rapiere occupet?

Would you exchange for your faire mistrefse hair,  
All that the riche Actabenes did holde,  
Or all that fertill Phrygias bore doth bear,  
Or all th' Arabians flote of spice and golde?  
Whilft the to fragrant kiffes turns her head,  
Or with a courteous coyneffe them denies;  
Which more then he that speedes the would hate sped,  
And which sometimess to snatch the formost hyes?

I wotte whether Cefars exploits, or Alexanders atchievements exceed in hardinesse the resolution of a beautious young-woman, trained after our manner, in the open view and voluntary conuerlation of the world, solicited and batered by so many contrary examples, exposed to a thousand affauts and continuall pursuite, and yet full standing her selfe good and vnmarkish. There is no point of doing more thorny, nor more allure, then this of not doing. If finde it easier, to beare all ones life a combersome armor on this back, then a mayden-head. And the word of virginitie is the noblest of all vowes, because the hardest. Diabolus vicius, in lumbis s; Te duxit mater-point hyes in nayom, faith Saint Jerome. Surely we have resigned the most difficult and vigorous defoire of mankinde vnto women, and quit them the glory of it, which might feade them as a singular motive to opinionate themselves therein: and leave them as a worthy subject to brave vs, and trample vnder feet that vaine preeminence of valour and vertue we pretend over them. They shall finde (if they but heed it) that they shall thereby not onely be highly regarded, but also more beloved. A gallant vn-  
danted spirit leaveth not his pursuite for a base refuall: so is a refuall of chaffitie, and not of chofe. We may swerce, threaten and wailingly complaine; we lyse, for we love them the better. There is no enuring lure to weddome and secre modell: so is it not rude, churcfih, and foward. It is blokefihnifie and banefhie to be obftinatly-wilfull against hatred and contempt: But against a verious and constant resolution, matched with an ACKNOWLEDGING minde, it is the exercife of a noble and generous minde. They may accept of our seruice vnto a certaine measure, and make vs honestly perceive how they disdain vs not: for, the lawe which they thyne them to abboare vs, because we adore them; and hate vs, forsomuch as we love them; is doublefffe very cruel, were it but for it's difficultie. Why may they not listen to our offers, and not gaine-fay our requests, so loong as they contain themselfes within the bounds of modell? Wherefore shoulde we imagine, they inwardly affect a freer meaning? A Queene of our time said wittily that to refuse mens kindes favours, is a testimoni  
e of much weakines, and an accouching of ones owne faculaties: And that an unattainted Lady could not come of hir chaffitie. Honours-limits are not restrained to horte; they may beonewhat be flacked, and without offending somwhat dispensed withall. At the end of his frontiers, there is left a free, indifferent, and newe space. He that could drive and force his militis into a corner, and reduce hir into his forte, hath no grea: matter in him, if he be not content with his fortune. The price or honour of the conquest is rated by the dificultie. Will you know what impression your mentes, your seruices and worthis, have made in hir heart? judge of it by hir behauiour and disposition.

Some one may give more, that (all things considered) giveth not so much. The ob-  
ligation of a beneficie both worldly reference unto the will of hir that giveth: other circumstances which fall within the compass of good-turnes, are dumb, dead and casuall. That little the
givest may cost hir more, then all hir companion hath. If rareness be in any thing worthy estimation, it ought to be in this. Respect not how little it is, but how few have it to give. The value of money is changed according to the coynce, stampes, or marks, of the place. Whatsoever the spight or indirecction of some, may upon the excuse of their discontents, make them say; Virtue and truth doe ever recover their advantage. I have known some, whose reputation hath long time beene impeached by wrong, and interred by reprove, restored unto all men good opinion, and general approbation, without care or arte, only by their constancies; each repeating and denying what he formerly believed. From wenches somewhat duplicitous, they now hold the first rank amongst honorable Ladies. Some tolde Plato, that all the world spake ill of him; Let them say what they list (quoth he) I will so love, that Ie make them receit and change their speeches. Besides the fear of God, and the reward of so rare a glory, which should incite them to preferv themselves, the corruption of our age enforce them vnto it: and were in their clothes, there is nothing but I would rather doe, then commit my reputation into so dangerous hands. In my time, the pleasure of reporting and blabbing what one hath done (a pleasure not much short of the aete in selfe in sweetneffe) was onely allowed to such as had some admired, trullie and singular friend; whereas now-a-dyes, the ordinary entertainments and familiar discourses of meetings and at tables, are the bootlings of favours received, graces obtained and secret liberalities of Ladies. Verily it is too great an oblication, and argueth a bafenesse of harte, so fiercelie to suffer those tender, dayntie, deliciousoyes, to be perfecuted, pelted, and foraged by persons so vngratefull, so vndiscreet and so giddily-headed. This our immoderate and lawlesse exasperation against this vice, proceedeth and is bred of jelousie; the most vaine and turbulent inimitie that may afflict mans minde.

That, and Enrie hir fitter, are (in mine opinion) the fondeft of the troupe. Of the latter, I cannot say much; a passion which how effectuall and powrefull forever they set forth; of hir good favour the medlest not with me. As for the other, I know it onely by sight. Beasts have some feeling of it. The sheapheard (after being in love with a shee Goate) had Buck for lealoufe, bathe out his braines as he lay a sleepe. We have raised to the highest straine the exceffe of this moodie feaver, after the example of some barbarous nations; The best disciplined have therewith been tainted, it is reason; but not caried away by it:

Ense maritale nemo confus adulter,

Purpureo sanguine inscit aquas,

With husbands woorc yet no adulter flaine,

With purple blood did Stygian waters flaine.

Lucullus, Cesar, Pompey, Antonine, Cato and divers other gallant men were Cuckoldes, and knew it, thouch they made no stiffe about it. There was in all that time, but one gulliff cowcome Lepidus, that dyed with the anguish of it.

Ab sum te militem non malique soli,

Quem attrales pedibus parente porta,

Percurrent magnific, raphanique.

Ah thee then wretched, of accursed fate

Whom Fish-wiues, Redfish-wiues of base estate,

Shall scoffing ouer-runne in open gate.

And the God of our Poets, when he forprised one of his companions napping with his wife, was contented but to shame them:

Arque aliquis de Diis non tristibus optat,

Sic fieri turpis.

Some of the meriet Gods doth wish in hart,

To shewe ther shire, of pleasure to take part.

And yet forbearth not to be enflamed with the gentle dalliances, and amorous blandishments he offereth him, complaining that for so flight a matter he should disfrustr his to him deare-deare affection:

Quid
The third Book.

Quid causas velit ex alto? fiducia cessit

Quo ibi Diuo mai?—

So farre why fetch you your pleas pedigree?

Whether is fled the truth you had in me?

And which is more, the becomes a filler to him in the behalfe of a bastard of hirs,

Arma voga genitrix nato.

A mother for a sonne, I curse,

An armor he of you may have.

Which is freely grant set hir: And Philom speaks honourably of Eneas:

Arma acri facienda vio.

An armor must be hammered-out,

For one of courage fierce and floute.

In truth with an humanitie, more then humane. And which excesse of goodness by my consent shall onely be left to the Gods:

Nec datus homines componer aquam est.

Nor is it meete, that men with Gods

Should be compar'd, there is such ods.

As for the confusion of children, besides that the graeue law-makers appoint and affect it in their Common-wealths, it concerneth not women, with whom this passion is, I wot not how, in some fortte better placed, fitter seat ed,
The third Booke.

weighed upon the point of every woman that would buy him. The Scythian women were wont to thrust out the eyes of all their slaves and prisoners taken in warre, thereby to make more free and private vict of them. Oh what a furious advantage is opportunite! He that should demand of me, what the chief or chief part in love is, I would answer, To know how to take fit times; even to the second, and likewise the third. It is a point which may doe all in all. I have often wanted fortune, but sometimes also enterprise. God shiled him from harme, that can yet mock himselfe with it. In this age more rafhnefse is required; which our youths excufe vnner collour of heate. But should our women looke nectar vnto it, they might finde, how it rather proceedeth of contempt. I superfluous feared to offend; and what I love, I willingly refpeft. Besides that, who depriveth this marchandize of reuerence, defaceth all luther of it. I love that a man should therein formwhat play the child, the daftard and the feruant. If not altogether in this yet in some other things I have some aires or motives of the fond fhatlufnefse, whereof Plutarch speakest; and the course of my life hath diversifie bin wounded and tainted by it: a qualitie very ill-befoming my univerall forme. And what is there amongst us, but sedition and sauing? Mine eyes be as tender to breate a refu-fall, as to refuse; and it doth not much trouble me to be troublesome to others, that where occasions force me or duty compelleth me to trie the will of any one, be it in doubfull things, or of colt vnto him, I do it but faintly and much against my will: But if it be for mine owne private buynesse (though Homer lay moff truly, that in an indigent or needy man, baslufnefse is but a fond vortun) I commonly substitute a third party, who may blufh in my roome: and direct them that employ me, with like difficultie: to that it hath sometimes befalne me, to bume the will to deny, when I had not power to refuse. It is then folly, to goe about to bridge women of a defire, to feruice and to natural all in them. And when I hearre them bragge to have so virgin-like a will and colde minde, I but laugh and mock at them. They recolle too farre backward. If it be a toohlefe beldam o; decrrete grandame, or a young drye, rufie flaruleing; if it be not altogether credible, they have at least some collour or apparaunce to say it. But those which flirre about, and have a little breath left them, mane but the ir market with such fluffe: For if much as misconclude execrables are no better than accusations. As a Gentleman my neighbour, who was suspected of insufficiencie,

to justifie himselfe, three or foure dayes after his marriage, swore confredly, that the night before, he had performed twenty courses: which oaste the bath fure cented to convince him of mere ignorance, and to diuorce him from his wife. Besides this allegation is of no great worth: For, there is now contumelie not vertue, where vertue and base is to the contrary. It is true, may one say but I am not ready to yceld. The Saints thmelves speake fo. This is vnunderstood of such as boast in good earneft of their coldnesse and intolluble, and would be credited with a ferious contemnor: for, when it is, from an affected looke (where the eyes give words the lye) and from the fairing speach of their profession (which euer works against the wolfe) I allow of it. I am a duteous feruant vnto plainenesse, simplictie and libertie: but there is no remedie, if it be not meerly plaine, simple or infantime: it is fond, inept and uneffeemly for Ladies in this commerce; it presently inclinet & bendeth to impudence. Their disfigurings, their figures and dissimulations cozen none but fools; there lying fitteth in the chair of hony; it is a by-way, which by a faile postern leads vnto truth. If we cannot contain their imaginations, what require we of them? the effects? Many there be who are free from all strangers-communication, by what chaittie may be corrupted, and honestie defiled.

And those whoseears leafe, are peradventure most to be feared: Their secret fimes are the worst.

There are effects, which without impurtie may loose them their pudicite; and which is more, without their knowledge. Opestrix virgins cumdam integratem manus velut explorans, sine malvolencia, sine inficiens, sine causa, dum insipiet, perdedit: A Midwife searching with
with her finger into a certain maidens virginity, either for ill will, or of unskilfulness, or by chance, whilst she seekes and lookes into it, she loth and spoile it. Some one hath loth or wronged her virginity in looking or search for it: some other killed the same in playing with it. We are not able precisely to circumcribe them the actions we forbid them: Our law must be conceived under general and uncertain terms. The very Idea we form unto their chastity is ridiculous: For, amongst the extremest examples or patterns I have of it, it is Fausta the wife of Faunus, who after she was married, would neither suffer her selfe to be seene of any man whatsoeuer, And Huron was, that neuer felt her husbands flinking breath, supposing it to be a quality peculiar and common to all men. It were necessary, that to satifie and please vs, they should become intollerable and imposible. Now let vs confesse, that the knot of the judgement of this dyety, consisteth principally in the will. There have beene husbands who have induced this accident, not onely without reproach and offence against their wives, but with singular acknowledgment, obligation and commendation to their vertue. Some one that more effeemed her honesty, then the loued her life hath prostituted the same unto the lawlesse lust, & raging feriouitie of a mortall hate full enemy, thereby to sue her husbands life; and hath done that for which, he the could not neuer have beene induc- ed to doe for her selfe, This is no place to extend these examples; they are too high and o- ther rich, to be pretendted in this matter: let vs therefore reputte them for a nobler seat. But to give you some examples of a more vulgar flame: Are there not women daily scene amongst vs, who for the once profitable of their husbands, and by their express order and bro- kage, make faile of their honesty? And in old times Phantheus the Argum, through ambition offered his to king Philip, Euen as that Galba, who beleaved a supper on Maccenas, perceiuing him and his wife beginne to bandy eie-tricks and ligues, of ciulity shrunke downe vpon his cusion, as one oppresed with sleepe; to give better skope unto their lose, which he auouched as prettily: for at that instant, a feruici of his presuming to lay hands on the plate which was on the table, he cryde outright vnto him; How now varlet? Seest thou not I kepe onely for Maccenas? One may be of a loose behauioyr, yet a purer will and better reformed, then another who frameth her selfe to a precise apperance. As some are scene complain because they vowe chastity before yeares of discretion or knowledge: So haue I seene others vnfairly bewayle and truly lament that they were vowe to licenciousnesse and dissolutnesse before the age of judgement and discretion. The parents lewdnesse may be the caufe of it, or the force of impulsife necessitie, which is a shrewd counsellor, and a violent persuader. Though chastity were in the East Indies of singular effeeme, yet the custome permit ted, that a married wife might freely betake herselfe to what man fouer did present her an Elephant: and that with some glory, to have beene valued at so high a rate. Phedon the Philosopher, of a noble houle, after the taking of his country Edoles, professe to prostitute the beauty of his youth to all conumers, so long as it should continue, for money to liue with and beare his charges. And Solon was the first of Greece ( say some) who by his lawes, gat women liberty, by the price of their honesty, to pro- vide for their necessitie: A custome which Herodotus reporteth, to haue beene enter- tayned before him in divers Common-wealthes. And moreover, what fruite yeeldes this carefull vexation? For, what justice fouer be in this passion, yet should we note whither it harrie vs vnto our profit or no. Thinkes any man that he can ring them by his induflry?  

Pone seras, cobles fect quis custodiet ipsos  
Custodes? cana est, et ab illis incipit vxor.  
Keeps her with locke and key, but from her who shall keep  
Her keepers? she begins with them, hers wits so depe.

What advantage suffeth them not, in this so skilfull age? Curiosity is everie where vexous: but biven prouisious. It is meere folly for one to seeke to bee resolved of a doubt, or search into a mischiefe: for which there is no remedy, but makes it worse, but festereth the same: the reproach whereof is encreased, and chiefly published by je- louie: and the usurage whereof doeth more wound and disfigure our children, then it helpeth or gracie vs. You waste away and die in pursuite of so conceale a misterie of so obscure a verification. Whereunto how pitifullye hate they arrivd, who in my time, haue arayned their purpose? If the accuser or intelligencer present not with-
all the remedie and his assistance, his office is injurious, his intelligence harmefull, and which better deserveth a flabbie, then doth a lye. Wee flowte him no letfe, that toyleth to prevent it, then laugh at him that is a Cuckolde and knowes it not. The character of Cuckoldrie is perpetuall; on whom it once fastmeth, it houndeth for ever. The punishment bewrayeth it more then the faulte. It is a goodly fight, to drawe our private misfortunes from out the shadowe of oblivion or dungeon of doubt, for to blazon and pro-
claime them on Tragicall Stages: and misfortunes which pinche vs not, but by rela-
tion. For, (as the saying is) thee is a good wife, and that a good marriage, not that is so indeede, but whereof no man speakeh. Wee ought to be wittlie-warie to auoyde this yrkefome, this tedious and vnprofitable knowledge. The Romans were accusto-
med, when they returned from any journey, to send home before, and give their wives notice of their comming, that so they might not surprize them. And therefore hath a
certaine nation intituled the Priest to open the waye into the Bridgeme, on the wed-
day, thereby to take from him the doubt and curiositie of searching in this first
attempt, whether thee come a pure virgine to him, or be broken and tainted with any
former love. But the worlde speaks of it. I know a hundred Cuckolds, which are so,hone-
ftlelie and little undue. An honest man and a gallant spirit, is moaned, but not dif-
fteemd by it. Cause your vertue to suppreffe your mishap; that honett-minded men
may blame the occasion, and curse the cause; that he which offends you, may tremble with
only thinking of it. And moreover, what man is scot-free, or who is not spoken-of in
this sense, from the meanest unto the highest?

—tot qui legionibus importantis,
Et melior quidam tu multis fuit, improbibus rebus.
He that to many bandes of men commanded
Thy better much, his knave, was much like branded.

Seest thou not how many honett men, even in thy presence, are spoken-of and tou-
ched with this reproache? Imagine then they will bee as bold with thee, and faye
as much of thee else-where. For no man is spare. And even Ladies will feoffe and
prattle of it. And what doe they now adayes more willinglyfawe at, then at any
well-composed and peaceable marriage? There is none of you all but hath made one
Cuckolde or other: Now nature floode ever on this pointe, Rule me Ile kee theire, and
ever readye to bee even, always on recompences and victuall of things, and to
give as good as one brings. The long-continued frequencie of this accident, should by this
time have seafoned the bitter taste thereof: It is almost become a custome; Oh miserable
passion, which hath alfo this mischief, to be incomunicable.

Fors etiam nostris multa quaestibus naves.
Fortune eu'n eares enuyed,
To heare vs when we cried,

For, to what frend dare you entrust your grievances, who, if he laugh not at them, will
not make vfe of them, as a direction and instruction to take a share of the quarie or boos-
tie to himselfe? As well the fowrenesse and inconueniences, as the sweetennesse and plea-
sures incident to marriage, are secretely concealed by the wifer part. And amongst other
impurconous conditions belonging to wedlock, this one, ynto a babbling fellow as I am, is of
the chiefest; that tyrannous custome makes it vncomely and hurtful, for a man to com-
municate with any one all he knowes and thinkes of it. To give women aduice to dilate
them from jealousy, were but time lost or labour spent in vaine. Their enefce is so infected
with surpition, with vanité and curiositie, that we may not hope to cures them by any law-
full meane. They often recover of this infinitie by a forme of health, much more to
be feared, then the diseafe it selfe. For even as some enchantment cannot riddle away an
euill, but with laying it on another, so when they loose it, they transferre and beflove
this malady on their husbands. And to faye truth, I wotte not whether a man can endure
any thing at their hands worfe then jealousy: of all their conditions it is most
dangerous, as the head of all their members. Piddens fayde, that every man had one
imperfection or other: his wives curt face was bis; and but for that, he should eths himselfe
most happy. It mufet needs be a weightie inconuenience, wherewith to fuffre, to wife and worthy
a man, felt the state of his whole life distempered: what shall we pettie fellowes doe then?

The
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The Senate of Marseil had reason to grant and enroule his request, who demanded leave to kill himselfe, thereby to free and exempt himselfe from his wifes tempestuous scolding humor; for it is an evil, that is never cleansed away, but by removing the whole piece: and hath no other composition of worth, but flight or sufferance; both too-too hard, God knows. And in my conceit, he vnderfoode it right, that said, a good marriage might be made betweene a blinde woman and a deaf man. Let us also take heed, lest this great and violent flaukness of obligation we enioyne them, produce not two effects contrary to our end: that is to wit, to set an edge upon their futurs fromackes, and make women more care to yeeld. For, as concerning the first point, enhancing the price of the place, we raise the price and endure the afeire of the costes. Might it not be Pansa herselfe, who so cunningly enhanced the market of her ware, by the brokage or panderizing of the lawes? knowing how sofitsh and taffes a delight it is, were it enabled by opinion, and endeared by dearenes? to conclude it is all but boystles, varied by fance, as said Flamininus his boast: Cupid is a roguish God; his sporte is to wrestle with deuotion and to contend with infince. It is his glory, that his power checketh and copes all other might, and that all other rules give place to his.


Materiam vulpe profequiurusque fae.
He prosecutes the ground,
Where he is faulty found.

And as for the second point; should we not be leffe Cuckoldes if we leffe feared to be so? according to womens conditions: whom inhibition enieth, and refraine enieth.

Vbi velum volunt, ubi noli volunt alior.
They will not when you will,
when you will not, they will.

Confessa superb est irid,
They are ashamed to passe,
The way that granted was.

What better interpretation can we finde concerning Messaline demeanor? in the beginning she made her flilly husband Cuckolde, secretly and by fheathe (as the fashion is) but perceiving how vncontrollable and easilie she went on with her matches, by reason of the stupidnue that poiffed him, she presently constrained and forfooke that course; and beganne openly to make loue, to auouch her feronans, to entertaine and faviour them in open view of all men; And would have him take notice of it, and seeme to bee disflaied with it: But the flillie gull and fencerelle cockes-combe awaked not for all this, and by his over-base facilite, by which he seemd to authorize and legitimate his humour, yeelding his pleasures weejish, and his amours taffelise: what did fhee? Being the wife of an Emperour, luffie, in health and living; and where? In Rome, on the worldes chiefe Theaters, at highe noonday, at a fulture feast, in a publike cerimonie; and which is more, with one Silanus, whomme long time before she had freelicly enjoyed, fhee was folemneely married one day that his husband was out of the citie, Scenes it not that fhee tooke a direct course to become chaffe, by the wretcheflneffe of his husband? or that fhee fought another husband, who by jealoufie might whette his appetite, and who infisting might eniice his? But the furt difficultie the mette with, was also the laft. The drowzie bezt rouzed himfelle and fuddainly flarte dp vp. One hath often the worst bargains at the hands of such flaggelis, butcher-heads. I have found by experience, that this extreme patience or long fuffereance, if it once come to be dissolved, procureth most bitter and outrageous revenges; for taking fire all at once, choller and furie huddling altogether, be comming one confued chaos, cluttered forth their violent effects at the first charge.

Arumqwe omnes offiunct habens,
It quite lets loose the raine,
That anger should refraine.

He causd both her and a great number of hir infiruments and abettors, to be put to death; ye such as could not doe withall, and whom by force of whipping the had allured to hir adulterous bed. What Virgill layeth of Venus and Unilor, Lucretius had more su胎blie fayde of a secretly-folde enjoying betweene hir and Mars.

--- hollis fere mendae Mavors

Armiportens regis, in gregium qui s another manus

Reijch,
The third Booke.

Rejeict: aterno deum fatus vnhere amoris:
Pacif: amore audios inbians in te Deus visus,
Egum tue pened reuocum spiritus ove:
Hunc tu Dio tuo recubuitem corpore sancto
Circumfla super, santae ex ore loquelas
Fumde.

Mart mightie-arm'de, rules the fierce feats of armes,
Yet often caufs himselfe into thine armes,
Obli'de therero by endlesse woundes of love,
Gaping on thee feedes gnedlie fight with Ioue,
Hjs breath hangs at thy mouth who vpward lyes;
Goddefe thou circling him, while he fo lyes,
With thy celefiall body, speeches sweete
Powe from thy mouth (as any Necefar sweete.)

When I consider this, rejict, pacif, inbians, molli, foute, medullas, labesaela, pendet, percurrre, and this noble circumfla, mother of gentile ininfus. I am vexed at these small points and verbal allusions, which since have sprung vp. To those well-meaning people, there needed no sharpe encounter or witty equitocution: Their speach is altogether full and maffie, with a naturall and constant vigor: They are all epigram: not onely tyle, but head,flomacke and feete. There is nothing forced, nothing wrefted, nothing limping; all marcheth with like tenor. Contextus taurum virili est, non fumpcir fawdelus occupat. The whole composition or text is manye, they are not Bee-lisht about netrurke fowers. This is nor a soft quaint eloquence, and onely without offence, it is finnowie, materiall and solide: not so much delighting, as filling and ravifhing, and ravinfeh moft the thorongelt wits, the wit-tieft conceits. When I behold these gallant forms of expressing, so lucy, fo nimble, fo deep: I say not this is to speake well: but to thinke well. It is the quaintneffe or fluilleneffe of the conceit, that elevateth and pufhes vp the worde: Picturis est quad difjectum facie. It is a mans owne brief, that makes him eloquent. Our people terme judgement, language; and full concepctions, fine worde. This poutrairtie is directed not so much by the hands dexteritie, as by having the obiect more lucely printed in the minde. Gallus speaks plainly, because he conceiveth plainly. Horace is not pleafed with a feight or superficiall expressing, it would betraye him; he feeth more cleare and further into matters: his spirit pickes and ranfacketh the whole flore-house of wordes and figures, to shewe and present himselfe; and he muft have them more then ordinarie, as his conceit is beyond ordinarie. Plutarch sayeth, that he discerned the Latine tongue by things. Here likewise the fonce enlightneth and produceth the wordes: no longer windie or spungie, but of fliffie and bone. They signifie more then they vter. Even weake-ones showe some image of this. For, in Latine, I speake what I lifted in ordinarie discourses, but in more serious and publie, I darif not have dared to truft to an Idiome, which I could not winde or turne beyond it: for common grace, or vulgar byas. I will be able to adde and vfe in it somewhat of mine owne. The managing and employment of good wittes, entendith and giveth grace vnto a tongue: Notomuch innovating as filling the fame with more forcible and diuers seruices, wrefting, straining and enfoulding it. They bring no worde into it, but enrich their owne, weigh-downe and cram-in their signification and cuflome; teaching it unwonted motions; but wisely and ingenioffic. Which skill how little it is given to all, may plainly be discerned by moft of our moderne French writers. They are over-bolde and forcornfull, to shunne the common troden pathe: but want of intention and lacke of discretion looefeth them. There is nothing to be feene in them but a miserable strained affection of strange Inke-pot termes; harfhe, colde and abroadi disguisiments, which in fteade of raifing, pull downe the matter. So they may gallantize and fluffie in nouvelle; they care not for efficacie. To take holde of a new farme-fetched worde, they negligence the viuall, which often are more signifiant, forcible and finnowie. I finde sufficient flore of fluffie in our language, but some defect of fashion. For there is nothing but could be framed of our hunters gibbrith wordes or strange phrafas, and of our warriours pecuriar termes; a fruitefull and richly foyle to borrowe-of. And as beaftes and trees are bettered and fortifie by being transplanted, so formes of speache are embellifh and
The third Book.

and graced by variation, I finde it sufficiently plentions, but not sufficiently plyable and vigorous. It commonly faileth and shinketh under a pithy and powerfull conception. If your march therein be farre extended, you often feele it droupt and languish under you, vnto whose default the Latine doeth now and then present his helping hand, and the Greeke to some others. By some of these words which I haue culled out, we more hardly perceiue the Energic or effectuall operation of them, for so much as vfe and frequencie haue in some part abated the grace and made their beauty vulgar. As in our ordinary language, we shall sometimes meete with excellent phrases, and quaint metaphors, whole bittorne fadeth through age, and colour is ramiified by so common ving them. But that doth nothing disfigure those of found judgement, nor derogate from the glory of those auncient authors, who, as it is likely, were the first that brought these words into lusier, and raised them to that straine. The Sienessec handles things ouer finely, with an artificiall manner, and different from the vulgar and naturall forme. My Page makes loue, and vnderstands it feelingly; Reade Leon Hebrews or Ficionis vnto him; you speake of him, of his thoughts and of his actions, yet vnderstands he nothing what you meane. I nor acknowledge nor differne in Aritotle, the most part of my ordinary motions. They are cloathed with other roabes, and throued vnto other vesture, for the vse of Academicall Schooles. God send them well to freeede: but were I of the trade, I would naturalize arte, as much as they artize nature. There let vs leaue Beza and Francs and Equest. When I write, I can well ommitt the company, and spare the renembrace of bookes; for faire they interrupt my forme. And in trueth good authors doect me too-roomeuch, and quail my courage. I willingly imitate that painter, who hauing bunglerlike drawe, and fondly reprefented some Cockes, forbad his boyesto suffer any Aue-cocke to come into his hop. And to gue my felle some lusier or grace haue rather neede of some of Antonysdet the Muficions invention; who when he was to play any mufieke, gaue order that before or after him, some other bad muficions shoulde cloy and surfeit his auditory. But I can very hardly be without Plutarch; he is so vnuerfall and so full that vpon all occasions, and whatsoeuer extravagant subiect you haue vndertaken, he intruded himselfe into your worke, and gentry reached you a helpe-affording hand, fraught with rare embellishments, and incautible of precious ritches. It spightes me, that he is so much exposed to the pilage of those which haunt him. He can no sooner come in my sight, or if I call but a glance vpon him, but I pull some legge or wing from him. Forthis my diffignement, it much fitteth my purpose, that I write in mine owne house, in a wilde country, where no man helpeth or releucheth me; where I converse with no bodye that vnderstands the Latine of his Patronasfer, and as little of French. I should no doubt have done it better else where, but then the worke had bene lefe myne: whose princi- pall drift and perfection, is to be exactly myne, I could mend an accidentall error, whereof I abounds in myne vnwary course; but it were a kinde of treason to remoove the imperfections from me, which in me are ordinary and constant. When any bodieels, or my felle haue faide vnto my felle: Thou art to full of figures or allegories; here is a word meetely-bred Gaskoyne; that's a dangerous phrase: (I refute none that are vfed in the frequent freeces of France: those that will combar vfe and cufome by the fintst rules of Grammar doe but left) there's an ignorant discourse; that's a paradoxical relation; or there's a foolish conceit: thou doest often but daily: one will thinke thou speakeft in earnest, what thou haft but spoken in jest. Yea (say I) but I correet vn-ادعدي, not cufome errors. Speake I not so evey where? Doe I not liuely display my felle? that sufficeth; I haue my will; All the world may know me by my booke, and my booke by me: But I am of an Apishe and imitating condition. When I medled with making of verites (and I never made any but in Latine) they evidently accused the Poet I came late from reading: And of my first Effayes, some taffe a little of the stranger. At Paris I speake some-what otherwise then at Montaigne. Whom I behold with attention, doth easly comay and imprint someting of his in me. What I heedly consider, the fame I vforpe: a foolith countenance, a crabbled looke, a ridiculous manner of speach. And vices more: Because they pricke me, they take faft holde vpon me, and leauce me not, vnlesse I shake them-off. I haue more often bee ne heard to sweare by imitation, then by
The third Booke.

complexion. Oh injurious and dead-killing initiation: like that of those huge in greatness and matchless in length Apes, which Alexander met withall in a certaine part of India; which otherwise it had bene hard to vanquish. But by this their inclination to counterfeit whatsoever they saw done, they afforded the meanes. For, thereby the hunters learnt in their right to put-on shoes, and tie them with many stringes and knots; to steelle their heads with dyuers strange attires, full of fiding knots; and dissemblingly to rub their eyes with glew, or bird-lime. So did those silly harameffe beatles indirecitely employ their spifh disposition. They enfinared, glewed, enframeled, halted and shackleth themselues. That other faculty of ex tempore and wittily representing the gestures and words of another, which often causeth sport and breedeth admiring, is no more in me then in a blocke. When I wisse after mine owne fashion, it is onely by God; the direcleft of all oaths. They report that Socrates wore by a Dogge; Zeno by that interciction (now a dayes vfecl amongst the Italians) Caparces; and Pitagoras by water and by ayre. I am so apt at vnawares to entertaine thefe supercilious impressiones, that if but for three dayes togethe, I vie my selfe to speake to any Prince with your Grace or your Highness, for eight dayes after I so forget my selfe, that I shall still vie them for your Honour or your Worship: and what I am wont to speake in sport or left the next day after I shall speake in good serius earnest. Therefore in writing I assume more unwillingly much frequent arguments, for feare I handle them at others charges. All argumentes are alike fertile to me. I take them vppon any tripe, And I pray God this were not vndertaken by the commandement of a minde as fleeting. Let me beginne with that likes me best for all matters are linked one to another. But my conceite displeaseth me, for somuch as it commonly produceth most foolish dotages from deepet studies, & such as contenm me on a fuddaine, and when I leaft looke for them, which as fath fleete away, wanting at that instant some holde fast. On horsebacke, at the table, in my bed, but most on horsebacke, where my amplest meditations and my fairest reaching conceites are. My speach is somewhat lesulous of attention and silence; if I be in any carnet talk, which interrupteth me, cuss me off. In trauell, even the necessitate of wayes breaks-off discourses. Besides that I most commonly trauell without company, which is a great helpe for continued reafonings; whereby I have sufficient leasure to entertaine my selfe. I thereby have that successe I have in dreams; In dreaming I committ them to my memory (for what I vame I doe it willingly) but the next morning, I can well call to minde what colour they were of, whether bluth, fad, or strange; but what in substance, the more I labour to finde out, the more I overwhalme them in obilion. So of casual and vnpremeditated conceites that come into my braine, nought but a vaile image of them remaineth in my memry; so much onely, as sufficeth vnprofitably to make me chafe, fplet, and flet in purfuite of them. Well then, leauing books a fide, and speaking more materially & simplicly; when all is done, I finde that loue is nothing els but an infaute turbe of enjoying a greatly defired fubiect. Nor Venus that good hufrwife, other then a tickling delight of emptying ones fenmary vesvels: as is the pleasure which nature giueth vs to discharge other partes: which becometh faultily by immoderation, & deceitfully by indiscipline. To Socrates, loue is an appraife of generation by the intermission of beauty. Now considering oftentimes the ridiculous tickling, or titillation of this pleasure, the absurd, giddy and harebraind motions wherewith it toffeth Zeno, and agitate Cratippus; that vnaudited rage, that furious and with cruelty enflamed vifage in loues luffful and sweetefl effects: and then a graine, flrene, seuerely, furily countenance in fo fond-fond an action, that one hath pell-mell lodged our ioyes and fishes together: and that the supreme volupitousnesse both rauifheth and plaineeth, as doth forrow: I beleue that which Plato sayes to be true, that man was made by the Gods for them to joie and play withall.

Sentiens?

—quam si a iocandi,
What cruelty is this, so let on iielding is?
And that nature in mokckery least vs the most troubleome of our actions, the most common:thereby to equal vs, & without distinction to fet the foolish and the wise, vs and beasts, all in one ranke: no barrell better hearing. When I imagine the most contemplative & discretely; wife men in these termes in that humour, I hold him for a cozenor, for a chaeater to seeme
Seeme either studiously contemplative, or discreetly wise. It is the foolneffe of the Peacocks fate, which doth abide his pride, and flepe his glazing-eyed tyle;

ridentem decere verum,

Quid vetat?

What should forbid thee sooth to say, yet be as mete as we may,

Those which in plays refuse serious opinions, doe as one reporteth, like unto him, who dreaeth to adore the image of a Saint, if it want a coat, an aptonie or tabernacle. We feede full well, and drink like beautes; but they are not actions that hinder the offices of our minde. In those we hold good our advantage on them; whereas this brings each other thought vnder subduction, and by it's imperious authority makes brutish & dulce all Platees philopofie and diuinity; & yet he complains not of it. In all other things you may obferue decorum, and maintaine some decencies; all other operations admit some rules of honesty: this cannot onely be imagined, but vifious or ridiculous. See whether for example fake, you can but find a wife or discreet proceeding in it. Alexander said, that he knew himselfe mortall chiefly by this action, & by sleeping; sleepe doth flife, & suprefteth the faculties of our soule: and that, both deceueth and disfipates them. Surely it is an argument not onely of our original corruption, but a badge of our vanity & deformity. On the one fide nature virgeth vs vnto it, having thereunto combined, yea fastened, the most noble, the most profitable, and the most fentiually pleafing, of all her inventions; and on the other suffereth vs to accufe, to condemne and to commune it, as infolent, as difhonest and as lowde, to bluh at it, and to low, yea and to commend abfolute. Are not we most brutish, to terme that works brutely which beggar, and which maketh us? Most people have concurred in douer ceremonies of religion, as sacrifices, luminantes, fatlings, incenfions, offrings; and amongst others, in condemning of this action. All opinions agree in that, besides the fo farre-extended vfe of circumcifion. We have peraduenture reaone to blame our felues, for making so foolish a production as man, and to entitle both the deed and parts thereto belonging, shamful (mine are properly fo at this instant). The Effimient, of whom Plume speakeh, main- tained themselfes a long time without nudes, or swathling-clothes, by the artificiall of fengers that came to their thores, who feconding their fond humor, did oftentimes visite them. A whole nation hazarding rather to confume, then engage themfelves to feminine embraces, & rather looke the fuccifion of all men, then forge one. They report that Zeno never dealt with woman but once in all his life, which he did for cuitiute, leafe he should over-obfinatele see me the fex. Each one avoide to fee a man borne, but all女人 haftily to fee him dyse. To destroy him we feethe a spacious field & a full light; but to confume him, we hide our felves in some darke corner, and worke as clofe as we may. It is our dutie to conceale our felves in making him; it is our glory, and the original of many vertues to destroy him, being fame. The one is a manifiite iniurie, the other a great fator: for Artifite faith, that in a certaine phrase where he was borne, to bonifte or benife, was as much to play as to kill one. The Athenians, to equal the disgrace of twoe actions being to cleaft the Ie of Deos, and cofume themfelves vnto Apollo, forbad within that precine all burials & births. Noftris noftris panti e. We ar weary of our felves. There are some nations, that when they are eating, they cover themfelves. I know a Lady (yee one of the greatest,) who is of opinion that to chew is an vnfeeemy thing, which much empaireth their grace and beauty: and therefore by her withe never comes abroad with an aperture. And a man that cannot endure one should fee him eate; and shumeth all company more when he felleth, then when he empieth himfelfe. In the Turkifh Empire there are many, who to excell the ref, will not be feene when they are feeding, & who make but one meal in a weeke: who mangle their face and cut their limmes; and who never speake to any body: who thinke to honour their nature, by difhauering themfelves: oh fanfatical people, that prize themfelves by their contempt, and mend by their empairing. What monftrous beast is this, that makes himfelfe a horror to himfelfe, whom his delightes displeafe, who yees himfelfe vnto misfortune? Some there are that conceale their life.

Exilag. domos et dulcia limina mutant,

They change for banifhment, The places that might beft content.

and fleale it from the flight of other men: That efchew health, and thunne mirth as hate-full qualities and harnefull. Not onely divers Seas, but many people curfe their birth: Y y 2 and
The third Booke.

and bleffe their death. Some there be that abhorre the glorious Sunne, and adore the hidous darkness. We are not ingenious but to our owne vexation: It is the true foode of our spirits force: a dangerous and most vnuly implement.

O miseri quorum gaudia crimen habent.
O miserable they, whose joys in fault we lay.

Alas poor silly man, thou haft but too-too many necessaries and unavoidable commodities, without increasing them by thine owne invention, and art sufficiently wretched of condition without any arte: thou abounds in realle and essentiall deformities, and needest not forge any by imagination. Doest thou finde thy felfe to well at saufe, vnlesse the moity of thine eafe moleft thee? Findest thou to hate supplied or discharged all necessaries offices, whereunto nature engageth thee, and that the isle in thee, if thou binde not thy felfe vnto new offices? Thou fearest not to offend hi vnnerfall & vndoubted laws, and art moosed at thine owne partiall and fantafical ones, And by how much more particular,vcertaine, and contradicted they are, the more endeavours thou bestoweft that way. The politie orders of thy perifh tie thee, those of the world do nothing concerne thee. Runne but a little over the examples of this considerati6on: thy life is full of them. The verses of these two Poets, handling lazioufnes so sparingly and so dieretly, as they do, in my conceite feeme to difcouer, and dilipally it nearer; ladies cover their bosomes with networkes; priefs many facred things with a vaile, & painters shadow their works, to give them the more lutter, and to adde more grace vnto them. And they say that the stairskes of the Sunne, and force of the winde, are much more violent by reflection, then by a direct fue. The Egyptian answered him wifely, that asked him, what he had hidden vnder his cloake? It is (quoth he) hidden vnder my cloake, that thou mayst not know what it is. But there are certaine other things which men conceale to shou them. Here this tellow more open.

Et undan pref cospurus adausque munem.
My body I applide, Euen to her naked side.

Me thinks he baffles me. Let Martial at his pleasure tuck vp Venus, he makes her not by much appear so wholy. He that speakes all he knowes, dobCloby and difft after us, Who feareth to express himfelfe, leadeth our conceite to imagine more then happy it conceiued. There is treasou in this kind of moidefey: and chiefly as these do, in opening vs to faire a path vnto imagnation: Both the action & description should taffe of purlying. The loue of the Spaniards, & of the Italians pleafeth me; by how much more telephtike and fearfull it is, the more nicely cloye & clofely nice is it, I wot not who in ancient times wilhed his throat were as long as a Cranes neck, that so he might the longer & more leauely taffe what he swalowed, That with were more to purpole in this fuddaine and violent pleasure: Namely in such natures as mine, who am faulty in fuddainenes. To flay her fleeting and delay her with pambles; with them all mernet for favour, all is continued to be a recompence, a winkle, a caft of the eye, a bowing, a word, or a signe, a beack is as good as a Dew guard, He that could dine with the feate of raffe-menace, might he not live at a cheape rate? Would be not some be rich? It is a passion that commixeth with female fole of solide effence, great quantitie of doating vanity, and febcrant statening: it must therefore be required and furfed with the like. Let vs teach Ladies, to know how to preuaile; highly to eleeeme themfelves; to amuse, to circumvent & cozen vs. We make our laft charge the first: we shoue our felues right French men; euer rath, euer headlong, wire drawing their favours, and entangling them by retale: each one, euen vnto mirable olde-age, finds some liftles end, according to his worth and merite, He who hath no joviffance but in enjoying; who shooes not but to hit the markes; who loues not hiting but for the praiyie belongs not to him to entermde with our schoole. The more steps and degree there are: the more delight and honour there is there on the top. We should be pleaed to be brought vnto it, as vnto ftraitl Palleces, by diuers porches feverall passages, long and pleafant galleries, and well continued turnings. This dispotation would in the end, reound to our benefit; we should stay on it, & longer loue to lye at rack and mange; for the fnares and away, mar the grace of it. Take away hope and defire, we grow faint in our courles, we come but lagging after: Our maiftery and absolute poffition, is infinitely to be feared of them: After they haue wholly yeelded themfelves to the mercy of our faith and conftance, they have hazarded something: They are rare and difficulvertues: so soon as they are ours, we are no longer theirs.

Postquam
The third Booke.

—postquam cupidiss mutus satiata libido est,

Verba nihili metuere, nihil perierat cura.

The luft of greedy minde once satisfied,

They fear no words, nor reke other falsified,

And Thrasymides a young Grecian, was so religiously amorous of his love, that having after much fute gained his miftis hart and favour, he refused to enjoy his, leaff by that jouissance he might or quench, or satisfy, or languish that burning flame and refleftive heats, wherewith he gloried, and so pleasingly fed himselfe. Things faire fetched and dearly bought are good for Ladies. It is the steere price makes vizards favour the better. See but how the forme of affutations, which is peculiar unto our nation, both by it's facilitee basardless the grace of kisses, which Socrates faith, to be of that conquence, weight and danger, to ravish & ftale our hearts. It is an unpleasing & injurious custody unto Ladies, that they must afford their lips to any man that hath but three. Lackeis following him, how vnhandsome and lothsome foeuer he be;

Cains huidum varius caninis,

Dependerit glacies, viget et barba;

Cenium occurruere male cuttinges.

From whose dog-nothirls black-blew lfe depends,

Whose beard froft-hardned stands on briditlcd ends, &c.

Noe do we our selves gaine much by it: for as the world is diuided into foure partes, so for foure faire ones, we must kiffe fiftie foule: and to a nice or tender stomacke, as are those of mine age, one ill kiffe doth defray one good. In Italy they are passionate and languishing fluters to very common and mercenarie women; and thus they defend and excufe themselves, saying: That even in enjoying there be certaine degrees; and that by humble services, they will endeavour to obtaine that, which is the most absolutely perfect. They sell but their bodies, whose wills cannot be put to sale; that is too free, and too much it's owne. So fay they, that it is the will they attempt, and they have reason: It is the will one must fere and most solici, I abhorre to imagine mine a body void of affection. And me feemeth, this frenzie hath some affinitie with that boyes fond humor, who for pure love would needs wantonize with that faire Image of Venus, which Praxiteles had made: or of that furious Egyptian, who lufted after a dead womens corpes which he was enhauming and flicting vp: which was the occasion of the Lawe that afterwarde was made in Egypte: that the bodies of faire, young and nobly-borne women, should be kept three dayes, before they should be delivered into the hands of those who had the charge to provide for their funerall and burials. Periander did more miraculoullie: who extended his cougall affection (more regular and lawfull) into the enjoying of Melissa his deceade wife. Seemes it not to be a lunatique humor in the Moone, being otherwife able to enjoy Eundimion his favorite darling, to lull him in a fweet slumber for many moneths together; and feed hiselfe with the jouissance of a boye, that firtred not but in a dreame? I fay likewise, that a man kivess a body without a foule, when he kivess a body without his content, and desirr. All enjoyings are not alike. There are some ethicke, fainte and languishing ones. A thousand caues, besides affection and good-will, may obtaine vs this grant of women. It is no sufficientestimanie of true affection: therein may lurke treason, as else where: they sometimces goe but faintlie to worke, and they fay with one butroke;

Tangum suba murmurant parent;

As though they did dispense,

Pure Wine and Frankincense.

Absintum marmoreans puteae.

Of Marble you would think she were,

Or that she were not preferent there.

I knowe some, that would rather lend that, then their Coache; and who imparte not themselves, but that waye: you must alfo make whether your company pleaseth them for some other respect, or for that end onely, as of a lustie-frong grome of a Stable: as also in what ranke, and at what rate you are there lodged or valued;

—tibi si datat umi

Quo lapide dila ditem candiditio note.

If it afforded be to thee alone,

Y y
What? have we not seen some of our dayes,to have made use of this action,for the execution of a most horrid revenge,by that means murthering and empowering (as one did) a very honest woman? such as know Italie will never wonder, if for this subject? I seeke for no examples else-where. For the said nation may in that point be termed Regent of the world. They have commonly more faire women, and fewer foule then we, but in rare and excellent beauties I think we match them. The like I judge of their wits; of the vulgar fort they have evidently many more. Blockishnes is without all comparision more rare amongst them: but for singular wits, and of the highest pitch, we are no whit behinde them. Were I to extend this comparison, I might (me thinkes) say, touching valor, that on the other-side, it is in regard of them, popular and natural amongst vs: but in their hands one may sometimes finde it so compleate & vigorous,that it exceedeth all the most forcible examples we have of it. The mariages of that croue are in this some what defective. Their custome doth generally impo[e] to severe obloervances,and flatish lawes upon wives, that the remotest acquaintance with a stranger, is amongst them as capital as the nearest. Which law cauteth, that all approaches prove necessarilie substantiiall: and feeing all committ to one reckoning with them, they have an easie choize: & have they broken downe their hedges? Believe it, they will have fire: Luxuria ipsis vincit, sicut fera bestia, rritat, et deinde emissa: Luxuria is like a wide beaft, first made fiercer with TYING, and then lets loose. They mu[t have the reynes given them a little. Vide ego super equum contra fuos frena tenacem.

Runne head-long headlong like a thunder-bolt.

One argueth the desire of company by saying, it is some liberties. It is a commendable custome with our nation,that our children are entertained in noble houses, there as in a schoole of nobilitie to be trained and brought vp as Pages. And it is said to be a kinde of discurtesie, to refuse it a gentleman. I have obserued, [for, so many houses, so many generallj forming and ordering] that such Ladies as have gone about to give their waiting women, the most austerl rules, have not had the best successf. There is required more then ordinary moderation: a great part of their government must be left to the conduct of their discretion: For, when all comes to all, no discipline can bridle them in each point. True it is, that she who escapeth safe and unpolluted from the schoole of freedom, giveth more confidence of her selfe, then she who commeth found out of the schoole of jevityce and restraint. Our forefathers framed their daughters countenances vnto flammasnefle and fear, (their inclinations and defires alwaies alike) we vnto affurance. We understand not the matter. That belongeth to the Samnian women, who by their lawes may lye with no man, expect with their owne hands they have before killed another man in warre. To me that have no right but by the eares, it sufficeth, if they retaine me to be of their counsell, following the prituledge of mine age. I then aduise both vs and to embrasse affurance, but if this sealon be too much against it, at least moderate and discretion. For, as Arisipus (speaking to some young men who blushed to see him go into a bawdy house) said, she fault was not in entring but in not coming out againe. She that will not exempt her conscience, let her exempt her name: though the substance be not of worth, yet let the apperance hold full good. I love gradation and prolonging in, the distribution of their favours. Plus this, yet, that in all kinds of love, facilitie and readiness is forbidden to defendants. 'Tis a trick of greediness, which it behoveth them to cloake with their arte, so rathly and fond-hardily to yeild themselves in grosse. In their distributions of favours, holding a regular and moderate course, they much better deceiue our desires, and concrue theirs. Let them ever be flying before vs: I mean even those that intend to be overtaken. As the Scithians are wont, though they seeme to runne away, they beate vs more, and sooner put vs to route. Verily, according to the lawe which nature giveth them, it is not fit for them to will and desire: their part is to beare, to obey and to content. Therefore hath nature bestowed a perpetuall capacity, in vs a field and vncertaine abilitie. They have always
always their house, that they may euer be ready to let vs enter. And whereas the hath willed our appetites should make apparent howe and declaracon, she caused theirs to be concealed and inward: and hath furnished them with parts vnto for ostentation; and onely for defence. Such pranks as this, we must leave to the Amazonian libertie. **Alexander the great marcheth through Hermodis, Talthyrin Queene of the Amazones came to meet him with three hundred lances of her sex, all well mounted & compleatly armed, having left the residue of a great armie, that followed him, beyond the neigbouring mountaines. And thus altho, that all might hear the beipake him: That the faire, refounding fame of his victories, and matchlesse valor, had brought his thither to see him, and to offer him his measures and forces, for the inciting and mutualing of his enterprises. And finding him so faire, so yong and strong, the, who was perfectly accomplished in all his qualities, acquited him to dye with his, that if the might be borne of the most valiant woman in the world, and onely valiant man then living some great and rate creature for pofterite. **Alexander thanked her for the rest; but to take leafer for his last demands accomplisment, he brake thirteeen dayes in that place, during which, he revelled with as much glee, and feasted with as great jollitie as possibly could be deuoted, in honour and sauour of so courageous a Prince. We are we-nigh in all things partiall and corrupted judges of their actions, as no doubt they are of ours. I allowe of truth as well when it hurts me, as when it helps me. It is a foule disorder, that so often vrgeth them from change, and hinders them from sinding their affection on any one subject: as we see in this Goddesse; to whom they impute so many changes and feuerall friends. But withall, it is against the nature of love, not to be violent; and against the condition of violence, to be constant. And those who wonder at it, exclaim against it, and in women search for the causes of this inconstancy, as incredible and unnatural: why see they not how often, without any amazement and exclaming, themelves are possesseed and infected with it? It might happily feeme more strange to finde any constant stay in them. It is not a passion merely corporall. If no end be found in couetousnesse, nor limit in ambition, afferre your selfs there is nor end nor limit in lasciviousnesse. It yet continueth after sauciety: nor can any man prescribe it or end or constant satisfaction: it etern goeth on beyond it's possesion, beyond it's bounds. And if constancy be perdurance in some sorte more pardonable in them then in vs: They may readily allledge against vs, our ready inclination into daylie variety and new ware: And secondly alllege without vs, that they buy a pigge in a poake, **Long Queene of Naples caueth Aranere: her first husband to be strangled, and hang'd out of the barres of his window, with a corde of Silke and gilder, women with owne handes; because in bed-businesse she found neither his members nor endeavours, answerable the hope she had conceived of him, by viewing his stature, beauty, youth, and disposition, by which she had formerly beene surprized and abused. That action hath in it more violence then passion: so that on their part at least necessitie is every provided-for: on our behalfe it may happen otherwise. Therefore Plato by his lawes did very wisely establish, that before marriages, the better to decide it's opportunity, competent judges might be appointed to take view of young men which pretended the fame, all naked: and of maidens but to the waffe: In making triall of vs, they happifie finde vs not worthy their chuse.
I would not importune any one, whom I am to reverence and fear.

The third Booke.

Nature should have beene pleased to have made this age miserable, without making it also ridiculous. I hate to see one for an inch of wretched vigor, which enflames him but thrice a weeke, take-on and twagger as fiercely, as if he had some great & lawfull days-worke in his belly: a right blaff or puffe of wind: And admire his itching, so quick and nimble, all in a moment to be so hurryly squat and bennumed. This aptite should onely belong to the blossome of a prime youth. Truth not vnto it, though you see it second indefatigable, full, constant and dwelling heart, that is in you: for trulye it will leave you at the beft, and when you shall moft fland in neede of it. Send it rather to some tender, irreolute and ignorant guile, which yet trembleth for feare of the rod, and that will blufh at it,

Virg. AEne.
1.11.67.

Indum sanguineo veluti violaeiris ostro,
Si quis eaur, vet et mis ista rubens vbi hiue, multa
Alba rosa.
As if the Indian Yuorie one should taint
With bloudie Scarlet-graine, or Lilies paint,
White entermixt with red, with Roses over-spred.

Who can stay vntill the next morrow, and not dye for shame, the dffaine of those loue-sparkling eyes,privie to his fainteiffe, daftardife and impertinencie:

Ovid.Ami.
l.1.7.21.

Et taciti secre tamen connia vtnus.
The face though silent, yet silent vpbraye de-it.

he never felt the sweet contentment, & the fence-moounting earneftnes, to have beaten and tarified them by the vigorous exerce of an officious & active night. When I have perceived any of them weary of me, I have not preffently accusfed her lightnes: but made question whether I had not more reafon to quarrell with nature, for handling me fo vnlawfully and

Lud. Priap.
pena.3.4.8.4.

Sic non longa fatiss, si non bene mentula cvraea:
Nimirum sapient videntque parum
Matrone quoque mentumam liberenter.

and to my exceeding hurt. Each of my pieces are equall mine, one as another: and no other doth more properly make me a man then this. My whole portraiture I vnmuuerly owe vnto the world. The wisdom and reach of my leson, is all in truth, in libertie, in effence: Difdaining in the catalogue of my true duties, thefe easie, faint, ordinarie and provinciall rules. All natural, conferne and general; whereof sciuitie and cerimonial, are daughters, but baffards.

We shall easily have the vices of apparence, when we shall have had those of effence. When we have done with thefe, we run uppon others, if we finde need of running. For there is danger, that we devise new offices, to excuse our negligence toward natural offices, & to confound the. That it is so, we fee in places where faults are crimes, crimes are but faults. That among nations, where lawes offeemlineffe are more rare and flack, the primitive lawes of common reafon are better obferved: The innumerable multitude of fo manifold duties stifling languishing and disperering our care. The applying of our felues vnto sleight matters, with-draw eth vs from such as be jut. Oh how easie & plausible a coufde do these superifciall men vnderake, in respect of ours: These are but shadowes vnder which we fhroud, & wherein we pay one another. But we pay not, but rather heape debt on debt, vnto that great and dreadful judge, who tucks vp our clouts and raggs from about our privie parts, & is not sfe-

mifh to view all-over, even to our most inward & secret deformities: a beneficiall decencie of our maidenly bafhfulneffe, could it debar him of this taintted discovery. To conclude, he that could recover or vn-befor man, from so scrupulous and verbal a superfition, shoule not much prejudice the world. Our life conftineth partly in folly, and partly in wisdom. He that writes of it but reverently & regularly, omits the better myotie of it. I excuse me not vnto my felfe, and if I did, I would rather excuse my excuses, then any fault else of mine: I excuse my felfe of certaine humors, which in number I hold stronger, then those which are on my fide: In
consideration of which I will say thus much more (for I desire to please all men; though it be a hard matter, Efse canum hominum accommodatum ad tantum mortem, ac serenum et voluptuosum vivantem, that one man should be applicable to so great a variety of manners, speeches and dispositions) that they are not to blame, for what I cause authorities received and approved of many ages, to vter: and that it is not reason, they should for want of rhyme denie me the dispensation, which ever some of our churchmen vvere, and enjoy in this feast: whereas of beholde here two, and of the most pert and cocker amongst them:

Rimula, differenta, ut monogrammatum aest.

Ut vit amy la contentes et bien traiete.

How many others more? I love modestly; nor is it from judgement that I have made choice of this kind of scandalous speech; it's nature hath choosed the same for me. I commend it no more, then all forms contrary vnto received custome: onely I excuse it; and by circumstances aswell generall as particular, would qualifie the imputation. Well, let vs procee. Whence commeth also the vspiration of severaine authoritie, which you assume vnto your selves, over those that fauour you to their cost and prejudice,

Si prudens aedus nigra manufecta nole,

If she have giu'n by night, The floane guift of delight.

that you shoul immediatly instinct withall the interest, the coldnes, & a wedlock autoritie? It is a free bargain, why do you not undertake it on those termes you would have them to keepe? There is no prescription open voluntaris things. It is against forme, yet is it true, that I have in my time managed this match (so farre as the nature of it would allow) with as much conscience as any other whatsoever, & not without some colour of iustice: and have giuen them no further testimony of mine affection, then I sincerelie felt: and have lively dispaide vnto them the declination, vigor and birth of the same; with the fits and deficiencies of it: A man cannot alwayes keepe an even pace, nor ever go to it alike. I have bin so sparing to promisse, that (as I thinke) I have paide more then either I promised or was due. They have found me faithfull, eu'n to the feruice of their inconstance: I say an inconstance avowed, & somtimes multipled. I never broke with them, as long as I had any hold, were it but by a threads-ends & whatsoever occasion they have giuen me by their fickenes, I never fel-of vnto contempt & hatred: for such familiarities, though I attaine them on most shamefull conditions, yet do they binde me vnto some constante good will. I have sometimes giuen them a taste of choller & indiscreet impaciencie, vpon occasions of their wyles, sleights, close-conveyances, controversyes & contetnations betweene vs; for, by complexion, I am subject to hauinge and rash motions, which often empeach my trafeke, and make my bagaines, though but meane and of small worth. Have they desired to effay the libertie of my judgement, I never dissembled to giue them farther counsel & bending aduice, and thewed my selfe ready to ferach them where they itched. If I have given them caufe to complaine of me, it hath bin moost for finding a love in me, in respect of our moderne fashion, foolishly conficientious. I have religiously kept my word, in things that I might easilly haue bin dispensed with. They then yeelded somtimes with reputation, and vnder conditions, which they would easilly suffer to be infringed by the conqueror. I have more then once, made pleasure in his greatest efforts strike faile vnto the interest of their honor: & where reason urged me, armed them against me, so that they guided themselves more safely & feuerly by my precriptions, if they once freely yeelded vnto them, then they could haue done by their owne. I haue as much as I could endeavoured to take on my selfe the charge & hazard of our appointments, therby to discharage them from all imputation: & eu'r contrived our meetings in most hard, strange and unuersed manner, to be the leffe miftrouf, & (in my seeing) the more accessible. They are opened, especially in those parts, where they suppose themselves most concealed. Things least feared, are least defended and observed. You may more securely dare, what no man thinks you would dare, which by difficultie becometh easie. Neuer had men his approaches more impernecile genitale. This way to love, is more according to discipline. But how ridiculous vnto our people, and of how small effect, who better knowes then I? yet will I not repent me of it; I have no more to loose by the matter,
And yet if I were to begin anew, it should be by the very same path and progression, how fruit of life might prove unto me. Insufficiency and fruitfulness are commendable in a discommendable action. As much as I separate my selfe from their humor in that, so much I approach unto mine owne. Moreover, I did never suffer my selfe to be wholly given over to that sport; I therewith pleased, but forgot not my selfe. I ever kept that little understanding and discretion, which nature hath bestowed on me, for their fentice and mine, some motion towards it, but no doage. My confidencie also was engaged therein, even unto incontinence and egregious, but nearer unto ingratitude, treafon, malice or cruelty. I bought not the pleasure of this vice at all rates; & was content with it’s owne and simple cost, Nullum intra fustum est; There is no vice contained in it selfe. I hate almost alike a crouching & dull lafiness, and toake some & thorne working. The one pincheth, the other dulleth me. I lose wounds as much as brutes, & blood-wipes as well as dry-blowes. I had in the practice of this folace, when I was fitter for it, an even moderation betweene these two extremeties. Love is a vigi-

lant, fluey and bittre agitation; I was neither troubled nor tormentied with it, but heated and distempered by it: There we must make a stay; It is onely hurtfull unto foolees. A yong man demanded of the Philosopher Panetius, whether it would be esteemed a wife man to be in love; Let wise men alone (quoth he) but for thee and me that are not so, it were best not to engage our selves into so stirring and violent a humor, which makes us slaves to others & contemptible unto our selves. He said true, for we ought not entruit a matter so dangerous, unto a minde that hath not wherewith to sustain the approaches of it, nor effectually to quail the speech of Ageasius; That wisdom and love cannot live together: It is a vaine occupation (tis true) vnseemly, shameful and lawlefe; But yfing it in this manner, I esteemme it wholesome and fit to rouze a dull spirit and a heauie body: and, as a philosophers expressed, I would presume the same unto a man of my complexion and forme, as soone as any other receipt, to kekke him awake and in streng, when he is well in yeares; and delaye him from the gripings of olde age. As long as we are but in the suberbes of it, and that our pulse yet beath,

We had neede to be sollicited and rickled, by some bintre agitation, as this is. See but what youth, vigor and iollitie it restored unto wife Amoraeum. And Socrates, when he was elder then I am, speaking of an amorous object: leaning (fayes hee) shouder to shouder, and approaching my head vnto his, as we were both together looking upo a booke, I felt, in truth, a fuddaine tingling or pricking in my shouder, like the biting of some beast, which more then five dayes after tickled me, whereby a continual itching glided into my heart. But a casuall touche, and that but in a shouder, to enflame, to diatemeper and to diffraft a minde, encrebled, tam’d and cooled through age; and of all humane minde the most reformed. And why not I pray you? Socrates was but a man, and would neither be nor seeme to be other. Philosophie contends not against natural delights, so that due measure be joyned therewith; & alloweth the moderation not the thunning of them.
The third Booke.

...The eftorts of her refiftance are employed againft strange & bastard or lawliffe ones. She faith, that the bodies apetites ought not to be increafed by the minde. And witilly a dulceh vs, that we should not exercie our hunger by facietie; not to fluffe, in feed of filling our bellies; to auide all jovifllie that may bring vs to want: and fhumne all meate and drinke, which may make vs hungrie or thirfie. As in the fervifce of love, the appoints vs to take an obiect, that onely may fatisfie the bodies needes, without once mouing the minde: which is not there to have any doing, but onely to fowle and fimpfly to affilt the body. But halfe I not reafon to thinke, that these precepts, which (in mine opinion are eelfwhere somewhat rigorous) have reference to a body which doth his office; and that a defejected one, as a weakned stomack may be excufed if he cherifh, and fuffaine the fame by arte; and by the entercourse of fanftie, to refotre it the defires, the delights and blifhnesse, which of it felle it hath loft? May we not fay, that there is nothing in vs, during this earthly prifon, simply corporall, or purely spiritual? and that inutilely we defeme a living man? that there is reafon we fhou'd carry our felues in the vfe of pleafure, at leaft as favourable as we doe in the pangs of griefe? For example, it was vehement, even unto perfection, in the foules of Saints, by repentance. The body had naturally a part therein, by the right of their combination, and yet might have but little share in the caufe: and were not contented that it should simply follow and affilt the affied foules; they have tormented the body in felle with convenient and sharpe punishments; to the end that one with the other, the body and the foule might avie plunge man into forow; fo much the more faving, by how much the more fhattering. In like cafe, an corporall pleafures, is it not infufice to quail & coole the minde, & fay, it muft therevnto be entrained, as unto a forced bond, or fenfle necelfite? fhe should rather hatch & fnerfh them, and offer & enuite it felle vnto them; the charge of fwaying rigbtly belonging to hit. Even as in my conceit, it is her part, in his proper delights, to inflire & infufe into the body all fence or feeling which his condition may bear, and inuer that they may be both sweet & healthy for him. For, as they fay, it is good reafon, that the body follow not his appetites to the mindes prejudice or damage. But why is it not likewise reafon, that the minde fhould not follow hirs to the bodies danger & hurt? I have no other passion that keeps me in breath. What avarice, ambition, quarefts, futes in law, or other contenions worke & efleff in others, who as my felle have no affigned vacacion, or certaine leave, love would perfit more commodiously: It would refotre me the vigilancie, fobrietie, grace & care of my perfon; and affure my countenance againft the wrinckled frownes of age(thoefe deformed and wretched frownties), which els would blench and deface the fame; It would reduce me to ferior to found and wife studies, whereby I might procure more loue, and purchafe more eftimation; It would purge my minde from dispaire of it felle, & of it's vfe, acquainting the fame againe with it felle; It would divert me fró thousands of inftome tedious thoughts, and melancholique earking cares, where with the doting idlenesse and crazed condition of our age both charge and comber vs: It would refotre and heare, though but in a dreame, the blood which nature forfaketh: It would vphold the drooping chime, and somewhat ftrengthen or lengthen the frunkens finnowes, decaye de vigor, and dulled lines-blintheneffe of sily-wretched man, who gallops a pace to his ruine. But I am not ignorant how hard a matter it is to attaine to fuch a commoditie: Through weakeffe and long experience, our talfe is growne more tender, more choife and more exquifite. We chalenge moft, when we bring leaft; we are moft defirous to choose, when we leaft defende to be accepted: And knowing our felues to be fuch, we are leffe hardie and more diftrustful: Nothing can affure vs to be beloued, feeing our condition and their qualitie. I am afhamed to be in the companies of this greene, blooming and boyling youth;

Hor. Epod. 12,19.

Quam non a collibus arbore inharet:

Why should we prent our wretchedneffe amid this their iollitie?

Hor. car. 1,4.

Culis in indomito conflans amor ingenii virums,

Prodint vs intumes vefeferudit

Mulno non superisci,

Dilipsum in cinere facem,

That note young men may goe and see,

Not without spore and merry glees,

Their fire-brands turn'd to ashes be.

They
They have both strength & reason on their side: let us give them place: we have no longer holde faft. This bloome of budding beauty, louses not to be handled by such unwise, and so clonifie hands, nor would it be dealt-with by the means or material or ordinary stufse. For, as that ancient Philosopher answered one that mocked him, because he could not obtaine the fauor of a yongling, whom he feuingly pursified: *My friend (quoth he) the bookes bites not at such fresh bese*. It is a commerce needing relation and mutuell correspondence: other pleasures that we receive, may be required by recompenses of different nature: but this cannot be repaid but with the same kinde of coynce, Verily, the pleasure I doe others in this sport, doth more sweetly tickle my imagination, then that is done vnto me. Now if no generous minde, can receive pleasure where he returneth none; it is a base mind that would have all duties and delights to feed with conference, those vnder whose charge he remaineth. There is no beautie, nor fauour, nor familitarie fo ekequisite, which a gallant minde should define at this rate. Now if women can do vs no good but in pitie, I had much rather not to live at all, then to live by almes. I would I had the priviledge to demande of them,in the same fitle that I have heard some beg in Italy: *Fate bene per nos, Doe some good for your felfe: or after the manner that Cyrus exhorted his fouldiers; Whosoeuer loueth me, let him follow me*. Confort your felfe, will some fay to me, with those of your owne condition, whom the companie of like fortune will yeeld of more eafe access. Oh fortitif and wallowith composition!

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**Barbara velleare mortuo leonis.**

*I will not pull (though not afearde)*

*When he is dead a Lions beard.*

**Xenophon** vieth for an obficted and accution against *Menon*, that in his love he dealt with fading objectes. I take more fenful pleasure by oneley viewing the natural, even proportioned and delicate commixture of two young beauties; or only to confider the fame in mine imagination, then if my felfe should be second in a lumpish, lad and disproportioned conjuction. I refigne fuch diftasted and fantasifall appetites unto the Emperor *Galba*, who medled with none but caft, wome, had-could fleith; And to that poore flave,

*O ego as facetian salen te corone psifum,*

*Charaque mutatis octua ferre comus,*

*Amplequie meis corpus non proque laterinis,*

*Gods grant I may beholde thee in fuch eafe,*

*And ifle thy chang'd locks with my dearest grace,*

*And with mine armes thy lymes not fat embrace.*

And amongst blemifhit-deformities, I deme artificiall and forced beautie to be of the chiefest. *Emontz*, a young lad of *Chius*, supposing by gorgeous attires to purchase the beautie, which nature denied him, came to the Philosopher *Aristipus*, and asked of him, *whether a wife man could be in love, or no? Yes marres* (quoth he) *for it were not with a painted and sophis*icate* beautie, as thine is*. The fowlenesse of an olde knowne woman is in her seeming, not so aged nor so ill-fauoured, as one that's painted and fleked. Shall I boldy speake it, and not have my throate cut for my laboure? *Love is not properlie nor naturallie in fexen, but in the age next unto infants.*

**Quam si pelllarmus inferres choro,**

*Mille fugaces fallet et bospius,*

*Delicenim obscuram solutis,*

*Crimbius, ambiguoque vitus,*

*Whom if you should in clue of wenches place,*

*With hairc loofe-hanging and ambiguous face,*

*Strangely the vndiscern'd diffinition might*  

*Deceuit a thouand strangers of sharpe figh.*

*No more is perfect beautie*. For, whereas *Homer* extends it vntill such time as the chinne begins to bud, *Plato* himselfe hath noted the fame for very rare. And the caufe for which the Sophifter *Dion* termed yowthes budding hayres; *Aristagone* and *Harmocles*, is notoriouslie knowne. In *man-hood* I finde it alreadie to be somewhat out of date, much more in olde age.
And Margaret Queen of Nature lengthens much; like a woman the privilege of women: Ordaining thirty years to be the season, for them to change the cause of fame into good. The shorter passion we allow it our lives, the better for us. Behold it's behaviour. It is a princecock boy, who in his schoole knows not, how far one proceeds against all order: study, exercise, use, and practice, are paths to insufficiency: there novices are all the way: Amor ordinem necit, Lene knowes or keepes no order. Surely it's course hath more gibe; when it is committ with vnaude, enmity and trouble: faults and contrary success, give it edge and grace: so it be eager and hungry, it little importeth whither it be prudent. Observe but how he flatters, stumbleth and fooleth you fatter and fackle him, when you guide him by art and discretion: and you force his sacrèd libertie, when you submit him to those bearded, grim and tough-hard hands. Moreover, I often hear them display this intelligence as absolutely spiritual, disdaining to draw into consideration the interest which all the fences have in the same. All servile to the purpose: But I may say, that I have often feene some of us excuse the weakening of their minds, in favour of their corporall beauties; but I never saw them yet, that in behalfe of the minde-beauties, how found & ripe forever they were, would afforde an helping-hand unto a body, that never so little falleth into declension. Why doth not some one of them long to produce that noble Socraticall brood; or breed that precious gem, between the body and the minde, purchasing with the price of hir thighs a Philosophical and spirittual breed and intelligence? which is the highest rate ofe can possibly value them at. Plato appointeth in his laws, that he who performeth a notable and worthy exploite in warre, during the time of that expedition, should not be demit a kis & refused any other amorous fauour, of whomsoever he shall please to desirre, without respect either of his ill-faouourde, deformity, or age. What he deemeth so just and allowable in commendation of Militarye value, may not the fame be thought as lawfull in commendation of some other worth? and why is not some one of them pollied with the humor to preoccupate on hir companions the glory of this chaffe loue? chaffe I may well say;


The third Booke.

The sixth Chapter.

Of Coaches.

It is ease to verify, that excellent authors, writing of causes, do not onely make vie of thothe which they imagine true, but eftoons of such as themselues believe noe: always prouided they have some intention and beauty. They speake sufficiently, trulie and profitably, if they speake ingeniously. We cannot assure our selues of the chiefe cause: we hundle vp a many together, to see whether by chance it shall be found in that number.

Namque quam diciere canam,
Non facti est, verum placet unde non tamen sit.

Enouge it is not one cause to deuife,
But more, whereof that one may yet arife,

Will you demand of me, wherewith this custome antithet, to baffe and say God helpe to those that feece? We produce three forces of winde; that flirling from belowe is too vndecenc; that from the mouth,implieth some reproach of gourmandie; the third is fnecing: and because it commeth from the head, and is without imputation, we thus kindly entertaine it: Smile not at this subtilitie, it is (as some say) Aristotros. Me feemeeth to have read in Pintareb (who of all the authors I know, hath left committ aux arte with nature, & coupled judgement with learning) where he yeeldeth a reason, why those which trauell by sea, doe sometimes feel such qualmes and rintings of the stomack, saying, that it procedeth of a kinde of feare: having found-out some reaon, by which he proveth, that feare may cause such an effect, My selfe, who am much subiect vnto it, know well, that this cause doth nothing concern me. And I know it, not by argument, but by necessitye experience, without alludding what some haue tolde me, that the like doth often happen vnto beastes, namely vnto swine, when they are farthest from apprehending any danger: and what an acquaintance of mine, hath assured me of himselfe, and who is greatly subiect vnto it, that twice or thrice in a tempertuous forme, being surprized with excelling seare, all manner of desire or inclination to vomit had left him. As to that ancient good fellow; Puss vexabo quid ut periculum mundi succurreret. I was worse vexed then that danger could helpe me, I never apprehended seare vpon the water; nor any where els(yet have I often had ait seare offered me, if death it selfe may give it) which yther might trouble or affonie me. It procedeth sometimes as well from want of judgement, as from lacke of courage. All the dangers I have had, have beene when mine eyes were wide-open, and my sight cleare, found and perfect: For, even seare, courage is required. It hath sometimest fledde me, in respect of others, to direct and kepe my flight in order, that so it might be, if not without seare, at leaft without difmay and astonishment. Indeed it was mooued, but not amazed nor disrailed. Vndanteit mindeth marche further, and represent flight, not onely temperate, settled and found, but also fierce and bolde. Report we that which Alcibiades relateth of Socrates his companion in armes. I found(faith he) after the route and discomforte of our armie, both him and Lachez, in the laft ranke of thothe that ranne away; and with all faterie and leaure considered him, for I was mounted vpon an excellent good horse, and he on foote, and so had we combatted all day. I noted ifift, how in respect of Lachez, he shewed both dircet and judgement and undanted resolution; then I obtayned the vndifmaide brauerie of his march, nothing different from his ordinarie pace; his looke orderly and constane, duly obseruing and heedily judging what euer passeth round about him: sometimes viewing the one, and sometimes looking on the other, both friends and enimies, with fo composeth a manner, that he seemed to encourage the one and menace the other, signifying, that whoneuer should attempt his life, must purchace the fame, or his blood at a high-valued rate; and thus they both saued themselves: for, men do not willingly graue with these; but follow such as shew or feare or difmay. Loce heare the testimoine of that renowned Captaine, who teacheth vs what we daily finde by experience, that there is nothing doth sooner caft into dangers, then an inconsiderate greediness to auido them. Quo timor is minus est, 9o minus in periculo est. The leffe seare there is most com-
The third Book.

mostly, the least danger there is. Our people is to blame, to say, such a one search death, when it would signify, that he thinkes on it, and doth foresee the fame. For fight doth equally belong as well to that which concerneth vs in good, as touchis vs in ill. To confider and judge danger, is in some part not to be doubted at all. I doe not finde my selle sufficiently strong to withstand the blow and violence of this passion of feare, or of any other imputetousity, were I once therewith vanquished and deterred, I could never safely recover my selle. Else that should make my munde forget hir footing, could never bring her into her place againe. She doth ouer likelie found, and ouer deeply search into her selle: And therefore never suffers the wound which pierced the same to be thoroughly cured and consolatit. He hath, I thought, for me, that no infinuity could euer yet displac her. I oppose and present my selle in the belt wande I have, against all charges and affaults that beft her. Thus the first that should beare mee away, would make me vircouerable. I encounter two: which way soever selle should enter my hole, there am I open, and remouedly drowned. Epicourus saith, that a wife man can never refse from one flace to its contrary. I have some oppinions anwering his sentence, that he who hath once bin in a verry sleale, shall at no time prove a verry wife. God send me my colde anwering to my clothes, and passions anwering the means I haue to induce them. Nature having discouered me on one side, hath covered me on the other. Having disarmed me of strenght, the hath armed me with insensibillity, and a regular or soft apprehension. I cannot endure (and selle could in my youth) to ride either in coach or litter, or to go in a boate; and both in the Citie and country I haue all manner of riding, but a horse-back; And can selle endure a litter, than a coach, and by the fame reason, more easily a rough agitations vpon the water, whence commonly proceedeth feare, then the soft fliring a man shall feel in calm weather. By the same easie gentle motion, which the cares glue, conuying the boate vnder vs, I wot not how, I feel both my head intoxicated and my stomache disomptred: as I cannot likewise abide a shaking selle vnder me. When as either the faile, or the gliding course of the water doth equally citry vs away, or that we are buttowed, that gentle gliding and even agitations, doth no whit distemper or hurrse mee. It is an interrupted and broken motion, that offends mee: and more when it is languishing. I am not able to display it's forme. Phisitions have taught me to binde and guerd my selle with a napkin or twain round about the lower part of my body, as a remedy for this accident; which as yet I haue not trie, being accustomd to wresstle and withstand such defects as are in me and tame them by my selle. Were my memory sufficiently informed of them, I would not thinke my time lost, here to set downe the infinite variety, which histories present vno vs, of the use of selle in the service of warre: duers according to the nations, and different according to the ages: to my seeming of great effect and necessity. So that it is wountfully strange, how wee have lost all true knowledge of them; I will onely aladeg this, that even lately in our fathers time, the Hungarians did very wolefully bring them into fashion, and profitable set them a worke against the Turkes: every one of them containing a Targatter and a Musketter, with a certaine number of harquebfes or calibert, ready charged; and so ranged, that they might make good use of them: and all ouer covered with a paufa- do, after the manner of a Galliotte. They made the front of their bataille with three thousand such selle: and after the Cannon had playde, caused them to diſcharge and ſhoote off this volue of male ſhoote vpon their enemies, before they should know or ſeele, what the rest of their forces could doe: which was no finall advancement; or if not this, they mainly drove those selle amide the thickest of their enemies squa- drions, with purpose to breake, diſroute and make waie through them. Besides the bene- nefit and helpe they might make of them, in any fapculous or dangerous place, to flanke their troops marching from place to place: or in haft to encompass, to embar- ricado, to couer or fortifie any lodgement or quarter. In my time, a gentleman of qua- lity, in one of our frontieres, usefully and lo bury of bodye, that he could finde no horſe able to bare his wahte, and hauing a quarrell or deadlyodie in hand, was wont to traueale vp and downe in a coach made after this fashion, and found much eafe and good in it. But leaue wee these warlike selle, as if their nullity were not sufficient- lie knowne by better tokens: the late kings of our first race were wont to traueale in chariots drawn by four oxen. Markes Antioch was the fift, that caufed himselfe, accompanied with
a minстерell harlot to be drawne by Lyons fitted to a coach. So did Heliogabalus after him, naming himselfe Cibele the mother of the Gods; and also by Tigers, counterfitting God Bacchus: who sometimes would also be drawne in a coach by two Staggges: and another time byoure maftiere Dogs: and byoure naked wenchses, causing himselfe to be drawne by them in pompe and ftree, he being all naked. The Emperour Firmus, made his coach to be drawne by Effriges of exceeding greatnesse, so that he rather seemed to flye, then to roule on wheels. The strangeness of theis inuentiones,doth bring this other thing vnto my fantafe: That it is a kinde of pusilanimity in Monarkes, and a testimonie that they doe not sufficiently know what they are, when they labour to shew their worth, and en- deoure to appeare vnto the world, by excesse and intolerable expences. A thing,which in a strange country might somewhat be excused; but amongst his natuire subiectes, where he frywe them all in all, he drawed from his dignity the extremeast degree of honour, that he may poiffible attaine vnto. As for a gentleman, in his owne private house to apparell himself richly & curiously,deeme it a matter vaine & superfluous; his house, his houſhold, his traine and his kichen doe sufficiently anfwere for him. The counsell which Jocater gi- ueth to his King (in his conceite) feemeth to carry some reaſon: when he willeth him to be ritchly-flored & stately adorned with moueables and houſholde-stuffe,for much as it is an expence of continuance, and which descended euon to his pofterity or heirs: And to avoyde all magnificences, which preſently vanifi both from cuſtome and memoiy. I loued when I was a younger brother to fet my felfe forth and be gaye in cloathes, though I wanted other neceſſaries; and it became me well: There are fome on whole backes their ritch Robes wepe, or as wee faye their ritch cloathes are lyned with heanye debrs. Wee haue diuers strange tales of our anciens kineſſe frugallitie about their owne perfons, and in their guiftes; great and faire renowned Kings both in credit, in vallour and in forme, Dematheines mainlye combates the law of his Cittie, who ad- signed their publique money to be employed about the flately fettling ftoth of their playes and feaftes: He willeth that their magnificence shoule be feene in the quantity of talle ships well manned and appointed, and armies well furnifhed. And they haue reaſon to ac- curle Theophrastus, who in his booke of riches estaſtablished a contrarye opinion; and up- houldeth fuch a quality of expences, to be the true fruites of wealth and plenty. They are pleaſures (faie th Arifotele) that orly touch the vulgar and balſeft communallie, which as foone as a man is satisfaed with them, vanifi out of minde; and whereof no man of sound judgement or gravity can make any effeeme. The impoloment of it, as more profitable, just and durable would feeme more royal, worthy & commendable, about pottes, hauens, forti- fications and wa llen; in fumptuous buildings, in churches, hospitales, collages, mending of highwayes and feaftes, and fuch like monuments: in which things Popo Gregory the thirteenth fhall leaue aye-lafting & comendable memory vnto his name: and wherein our Queene Catharine should witnes vnto iucceeding ages her naturall liberaity & exceeding bounty, if her meanes were anfwerable to her affection. Fortune hath much fpighted me to hinder the ftructure and breake-off the finifhing of our new-bridge in our great Citty; and before my death to deprive me of all Hope to fee the great neceſſity of it fet forwa- rde againe. Moreover, it appeareth vnto subiectes, speculators of thefe triumphes, that they haue a fhowe made them of their owne riches, and that they are feafted at their proper charges: For, the people doe eafily premume of their kings, as we doe of our feruants; that they fhould take care plentifully to prouide vs of whatfoever we ftand in need of; but that on their behalfe they should no way lay handes on it. And therefore the Emperor Galba,fitting at supper, hauing taken pleafure to heare a musion play and fong before him, fent for his cal- ket, out of which he tooke a handfull of Crownes and put them into his hand, with these worde, Take this, not as a gift of the publique money, but of mine owne private store. So is it, that it often commeth too paſfe, that the common people haue reaſon to grudge, and that their eyes are fedde, with that which he fhould feaft their belly. Liberality it selfe, in a foueraigne hand is not in her owne lutter: pryuate men haue more right, and may challenge more intereſt in her. For, taking the matter exaſtely as it is, a King hath nothing that is properly his owne; he oweth even himselfe to others. Authority is not girt in favour of the authoris, but rather in favour of the authorifed. A Superior is never created for his owne profit, but rather for the benefit of the inferior: And a Phidion
is instituted for the sake, not for himself. All Magistrates, even as each rate, vindicate her estate out of her selfe. Nulla ars sine naturae. No art is all in it selfe. Wherefore the governors and overseers of Princes childhood or minority, who so casuallly endeavor to imprint this vertue of bounty and liberallity in them; and teach them not to refuse any thing, and eschew nothing so well employed, as what they shall give (an instructi

on which in my days I have seen in great credit) cyther they preferre and respect more their owne profite then their maisters; or else they understand not right to whom they speake. It is too eafe a matter to imprint liberallitie in him, that hath wherewith plentiously to satisfie what he desirith at other mens charges. And his affi

mination being directed not according to the measure of the present, but according to the quality of his meanes, that excerciseth the same, is committ to produc vain in fo painful handes. They are found to be prodigall, before they be liberall. Therefore is i

but of male commendation, in respect of other roayl venues. And the onely, (as faide the tyrant Demosthenes) that agree and squared well with tinanny it selfe. I would rather teach him the vertue of the auncient labourer,

That whoseer will reap any commodity by it, must sowe with his hand, and not powre out of the sache; that come must be distinctly scattered, and not hastyly dispersed: And that being to give, or to say better, to poye and restore to such a multitude of people, according as they have deficiet, he ought to be a loyall, faithfull, and aduized distribu

tor thereof. If the liberallity of a Prince be not with heedly direction and measue, I woulde rather have him courteous and sparing. Princevs permere seemeth to confest most in justice: And of all partes of justice, that dooth bect and most belong to Kings, which accompanyeth liberallity. For, they have it particulary refereed to their charge; whereas all other iuicce, they hastily excercistle the same by the intemission of others. *moderate bountie, is a weakc means to acquire them good-will: for, it triegeth more people, then it obtainth: Quoniam plures ejus fis, minus in multos vitis posse. Quod antest est frumentum, quos, quod liberius facias, carere un id dinitius facere non possit? The more you have of one man, the less may you be to many more: And what is more fond, then what you willingly would doe, to provide you can no longer doe it? And if it be implied without respect of merite, it shameth him that receueth the fame, and is receueth without grace. Some Titans have beene sacrificed to the peoples hatred, by the very handes of thofe, whom they had rafily preferred & wrongfully advanced: such kinde of men, meaning to affile the pooffesse of goods vnlawfullie and indirectly gotten, if they shewe to holde in contempt and hatred, him from whom they held them, and in that combine themselves vnfo the vulgar judgement and common opinion. The fabulists of a Prince, rashly excersis in his gisfis become impudentely excersis in hugging: they adheere, not vnfo reason, but vnfo example. Verily we have often iust cause to blush, for our impudencie. We are over-paide according to justice, when the recompence equalleth our service: for, doe we not owe a kinde of naturall duty to our Princes? if he bear our charge, he doeth our much; it sufficeth if he excellit: the onlus is called a benefit, which cannot be exacted; for the very name of liberallie, implyeth liberallie. After our fashion, we haue never done; what is receueth is no more reaconed of: onely future liberallitie is loved: Wherefore the more a Prince accuseth himselfe in giving, the more friends he emperors. How should he satisfie intemperate desires, which increace according as they are replenished? Who so hath his minde onaking, hath it no more on what he hath taken. Courtenayes hath nothing so proper, as to be engravelfull. The example of Creus shall not ill fit this place, for the behoofe of our kings of these days, as a touch-stone, to know whither their giftes be well or ill employed; and make them perceine, how much more happily that Emperor did wound and oppose them, then they doe. Whereby they are afterward forced to exact and borrow of their vnioue subiects, and rather of such as they have wronged and aggrieved, then of thofe they have enticed and done: good vnvo: and receueth no aydes, where any thing is gratuad, except the name. Creus vnpbraided him with
The third Booke.

his lauish bounty, and calculated what his treasure would amount unto, if he were more sparing and close-handed. A devise surprized him to justify his liberality, and dispatching letters over all partes of his dominions, to such great men of his estate, whom he had particularlye advanced; entreated every one to affit him with as much money as they could, for an urgent necessity of his; and presently to send it him by declaration: when all these count-bookes or notes were brought him, each of his friends supposing that it sufficed not, to offer him no more then they had receiv'd of his bountious liberality, but adding much of their owne vnto it, it was found, that the saide summe amounted vnto much more, then the niggardly sparing of Cyrus. Whereupon Cyrus saide, I am no lefe greedy of riches, then other Princes, but am rather a better husband of them, You see with what small venter I have purchas'd the unvaluable treasure of so many friends, and how much more faithfull treasurers they are to me, then mercenary men would be, without obligation and without affection: and my exchequer or treasury better placed then in pultery coopers; by which I draw upon me the hate, the envy and the contempt of other Princes. The ancient Emperours were wont to draw some excuse, for the superfluity of their sportes and publique showes, for so much as their authority, did in some forte depend (at least in apparence) from the will of the Romane people; which from all ages was accustomed to be flattered by such kindes of spectables and excelle.

But they were particular-ones who had breaed this custome, to gratifie their con-citizens and fellowes: especially with their purfe, by such profuseness and magnificence. It was clean altered, when the Maiisters and chiefe rulers came once to immate the same. Pecuniarium translatio ad insiles dominus ad alienos non debit liberalis visideri. The passing of money from right owners to strangers should be some liberality. Philip, because his sonne endeavored by guiftes, to purchase the good will of the Macedonians, by a letter seemed to be displeased and chide him in this manner: What? Wouldst thou have thy subjects to accompt thee for their purse-bearer, and not repute thee for their King? Who frequent and profite them? then doe it with the benefits of thy vertue, not with those of thy coapers: Yet was it a goodly thing, to cause a great quantite of great trees, all branchie and greene, to bee faire brought and planted in plots yeelding nothing but drye grattell, representing a wilde shady forestt, devided in due seemly proportion: And the first daye, to put into the fame a thouand Estriges, a thouand Stagges, a thouand wilde Boares, and a thouand Buckes, yeelding them ouer to bee hunted and killed by the common people: the next morrow in the presence of all the assembly to caufe a hundred great Lyons, a hundred Leopards, and three hundred huge Beares to bee baited and tug'd in peeces; and for the third day, in bloody manner and good earneft to make three hundred couple of Gladiators or fencers, to combat and mutrher one another; as did the Emperor Probus. It was also a goodly showe, to see those wondrous huge Amphitheatres all enchased with rich marble, on the out side curiously wrought with camed statues, and all the inner side glittering with precious and rare emblazonments,

Balbous en gemmis, amillita portionis auro.
A belte bedaw'd with gemmes beholde,
Beholde a walke bedaw'd with golde.

All the sides rounde about that great voyde, replenished and enuironed from the ground vnto the very toppe, with three or foure score rankes of steps and feates, likewife all of marble couered with faire cusions,

--- excet, inquit,
Si pudor est, et de pulvino forgetaque firi,
Quius res legi non sufficeat.
If shame there be, let him be gone, he cries,
And from his knightly cusion let him rife,
Whose subsance to the law doth not suffice.

Where might conveniently be placed a hundred thousand men, and all sit at ease. And the plaine-ground worke of it, where sportes were to be acted, first by arte to caufe the fame

Cic. off. 1.
fame to open and chap in funder with gaps and cranishes, representing hollow caverns which vomited out the beasts appointed for the spectacle: That ended, immediately to overflouw it all with a maine deepse sea, fraught with flowre of sea-monsters and other strange fishes, all over-lade with goodly tall ships, ready rigd and appointed to represent a Sea-fight; and thirdly, suddenly to make it smoothe and drye againe, for the combat of Gladinores: and fourthlie being forthwith cleansed, to strewe it all over with Vermillion and Storax, instead of gravell, for the erecting of a solemnne banquet, for all that infinite number of people: the last acte of one onely day.

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How oft have we beheld wilde beasts appearre
From broken gulfs of earth, upon some parte
Of fande that did not finke? how often there
And thence did golden buochs or efaffron'd flarte?
Nor onely faue we monsters of the wood,
But I have seene Sea-calues whom Baxes with flood,
And such a kinde of beast as might be named
A hoxe, but in moft foule proportion framed.

They have sometimes caued an high sleepeie mountaine to arise in the midft of the sayde Amphitheaters, all over-spreed with fruitfull and flourishing trees of all sorte, on the top whereof gushed out streams of water, as from out the fource of a purling spring. Other times they have produced there in a great tall Ship floating vp and downe, which of it felle opened and split afunder, and after it had digorged from out it's bulke foure or five hundred wilde beastes to be baited, it clofeth and vanifheth away of it felle, without any visible helpe. Sometimes from out the bottome of it, they caueth freatakes and purlings of sweete water to spoute vp, bubbling to the higheft top of the frame, and gentlely wafting, sprinkling and refreffing that infinite multitude. To keepe and cover themselues from the violence of the wether, they caueth that huge compaff to bee all over-spreed, sometimes with purple failes, all curiuolife wrought with the needle, sometimes of filke, and of some other colour, and in the twinkling of an eye, as they pleased, they diplaide and spred, or drawe and pulled them in againe,

"Quamns non medio caldant spectacula sole
Plag mediam circum ventis Hermogenes.

Though fervent Sunne make't hotte to see a playe,
When linnen-thieves come, failes are kept away.

The nets likewise, which they vied to put before the people, to save them from the harme and violence of the baited beastes, were wouen with golde.

"Am qui quoque tora refilgent
Retia.

Nets with golde enterlaced,
Their showes with glittering graced.

If any thing be excusable in such lavish excelle, it is, where the invention and strange-nesse bredeth admiration, and not the collique charge. Even in those vanities, we may plainly perceive how fertile and happie those former ages were of other manner of wittes, then ours are. It happneth of this kinde of fertilitie, as of all other productions of nature. Wee may not say that nature employed then the vnmoft of hir powre. Wee goe not, but rather creepe and flagger here and there: wee goe our pace. I imagine our knowledge to be weake in all fencies: wees neither difceme nor forward pass much backward.
The third Booke.

It embraceth little, and liveth not long: It is shorthe both in extension of time, and in amplemente of matter or invention.

Vexere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi, sed omnes ilachrymabileus
Vergentur, ignotis, longa
Nolite.

Before great Agamemnon and the rest,
Many liued valiant yet are all suppreft,
Vnmnoan'd, unkowne, in darke oblivions neft.

Et suprema Trojanum et funtura Trois,
Multa alas alij quaque res coecrie poetae.

Befide the Trojan warre, Troyes funnetall night,
Of other things did other Poets write.

And Solos narration, concerning what he had learned of the Egyptian Priests, of their states long-life, and manner how to leerne and preferre strange or foraine histories, in none opinion is not a testimonie to be refuted in this consideration. Si internationes vnum per partes magnitudinem regionum vidierimus, et temporum, in quos fæcum et animus interissimus, ita etiam longeque peregrinatur, ut ullum orar obvim videat, in qua posuisse inficere: In hac immensitate infinita, nos innumerabilibus apparent formarum. If we behold an unlimited greatness on all sides both of regions and times, whereupon the mind doth casting it selfe and intendeth both travell farre and neare, so as it sees no bounds of what is last, whereon it may stop: in this infinite immensity there would appear a multitude of innumerable forms. If whatsoever hath come vnto vs by report of what is past were true, and knowne of any body, it would be lefse then nothing, in respect of that which is unkowne. And even of this image of the world, which whilest we live therein, glideth and pafteth away, how wretched, how weak and how shorte is the knowledge of the most curious? Not onely of the particular events, which fortune oftentimes doth make in example and of consequence: but of the state of mightie commonwealths, large Monarkies and renowned nations, there escapest our knowledge a hundred times more then commeth vnto our notice. We keepe a coyle, and wonder at the miraculous invention of our artillery, and rest amazed at the rare delight of Printing: when as unkowne to vs, other men, and an other end of the worlde named China, knew and had perfectie of both, a thousand years before. If wee sawe as much of this waste worlde, as wee see but a great part of it, it is very like we should receive a perpetual multiplicitie, and ever-sounding multiplied of forms. There is nothings singular, and nothing rare, if we regard be had unto our knowledge: which is a weake foundation of our rules, and which dooth commonly preferre vs a right-false Image of things. How vainely doe wee now-adayes conclude the declination and decrepitude of the worlde, by the fond arguments wee drawe from our owne weakeνeness, drooping and declination:

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And now both age and land,
So sicke affected stand.

And as vaine did another conclude it's birth and youth, by the vigor he perceived in the wits of his time, abounding in novelties and inventions of divers artes;

Verum, quod opinor, habet nontatem, famosae rerum;
Natura est mundi, neque pridem exordia cepit:
Quae est quadam, nunc artes expeditiones,
Nunc sitientes, nunc addita navigiis inauria

But all this world is new, as I suppose:
Worlds nature fresh, not lately it arose:
Whereby some artes refined are in fashion,
And many things new to our navigation
Are added, dayly growne to augmentation.

Our world hath of late discovered another (and who can warrant vs whether it be the last
The third Booke.

lost of his brethren, since both the *Damois*, the Sybilles and all wee have hitherto
been ignorant of this: II) no leffe large, fully-peopled, all-things-yielding and might-

\( \text{I}\) in strength, then ours: nevertheless fo newe and infantinate, that he is yet to learne
his A. B. C. It is not yet full fiftie yeares that he knewe neither letters, nor weight,
nor measures, nor apparel, nor corne, nor Vines. But was all naked, simply-pure, in
Natures lappe, and lived but with such meanes and foode as his mother-nurse afforded
him. If we conclude aight of our ende, and the forefaide Poet of the infancy of his
age, this late-worlde shall but come to light, when ours shall fall into darkeneffe.
The whole Vniuers shall fall, into a paltry or consultation of sinnowes: one member
shalbe maymed or shrunkne, another nibble and in good plight. I feare, that by our
contrage, we shall direcite have furthered his declination, and haftned his ruine;
and that wee shall too dearly have soulde him our opinions, our new-fangles and
our artes. It was an vnpolluted, harmellese infant world; yet have wee not whipped
and submitted the same vnto our discipline, or schooled him by the advantagge of our
valour or natural forces; nor have wee instructed him by our justice and integritie; nor
subdued by our magnanimitie. Most of their answers, and a number of the negotia-
tions we have had with them, witnesse that they were nothing shorte of vs, nor be-
hooling to vs for any excellencie of natural witte or peripiticite, concerning pert-
inentie. The wonderfull, or as I may call it amazement-breeding magnificent
of the never-like seene Cities of *Cefar* and *Mexico*, and amongst infinite such lyke
things, the admirable Garden of that King, where all the Trees, the Fruites, the
Hearbys and Plantses, according to the order and greeneesse they have in a Garden;
were most artificiallye framed in golde: as also in his Cabinet, all the living creatures
that his Countrie or his Seas produced, were cast in golde; and the exquisite beautie
of their workes, in precious Stones, in Feathers, in Cotton and in Painting; shewe
that they ycalde as little vnto vs in cunning and industriu. But concerning vnfayned
devotion, awefell observance of lawes, vsfiperted integritie, bounteous liberalitie,
due loyaltye and free libertie, it hath greatly auayled vs, that wee had not so much
as they: By which advantagge, they have loft, call-away, soulde, vndone and betrayde
themselues.

Touching hardeneffe and undainted courage; and as for matchellese constancie, vn-
mooved affuredneffe, and vndiflayed resolution against paine, smarting, famine and
death it self; I will not feare to oppose the examples which I may easilie finde amongst
them. to the most famous ancient examples, we may with all our industriue discover
in all the ANNales and memories of our knowne olde worlde. For, as for those which
have subduced them, let them laye aside the wyles, the pollicies and stratagemes, which
they have employed to cozen, to currie-catch and to circumvent them; and the ill
affoiment which those nations might juitifie conceiue, by seeing to vnspected an arraial
of bearded men; duture in language, in habite, in religion, in behauiour, in forme, in
contenance; and from a part of the world so distant, and where they never heard any ha-
bitation was; mounted upon great and vnkowne monsters; against those, who had neuer
so much as seene any horie, and leffe any beast whatsoever apte to beare, or taung to carrie
eyther man or burthen; covered with a shining and hard skime, and armed with flic-
kinge weapons and glittering armor: against them, who for the wonder of the glistering
of a looking-glasse or of a plaine knife, would haue changed or giuen ineffimable ritches
in Golde, Precious Stones and Pearles; and who had neyer the skill nor the matter
wherewith at any leasure, they could have pierced their fleche: to which you may
addie the flashing-fire and thundring roare of our flotte and Harguebuses: able to quell
and daunte even Cefar himselfe, had he beene so fuddainlie surprisde and as little experi-
enced as they were: and thus to come vnto, and assault filrie-naked people, savie where the
intention of weaing of Cotton cloath was knowne and vfed: for the most altogetheer vn-
armed, except some bowes, flones, flastes and wodden buckers; vnsuperseding poore peo-
ple, surprisde under coulour of amitye and well-meaning faith, over-taken by the curi-
ositie to see strange and vnkowne things: I say, take this diuersitie from the conque-
rots, and you deprive them of all the occasions and caules of so many vnspected
victories.
victories'. When I consider that fierce-vaunted obstinacie, and undaunted vehemence, wherewith so many thousands of men, of women and of children, doe so infinite times present themselues into inevitable dangers, for the defence of their Gods and libertie: This generous obstinacie to endure all extremeties, all difficulties and death, more easily and willingly, than baselye to yeldle into their domination, of whomse they have so abominably become abvied: some of them choosing rather to starwe with hunger and fasting, being taken, then to accept foode at their enemies handes, so baselye victorius: I perceive, that whosoever had yntaken them man to man, without oddes of armes, of experience or of number, shou'd have had as dangerous a ware, or perhaps more: as we see amongst vs.

Why did not so glorious a conquest happen vnder Alexander, or during the time of the ancient Greekes and Romanes? or why belif not so great a change and alteration of Empires and people, vnder such handes as would gentlye have polished, reformed and incivilized, what in them they deemed to bee barbarous and rude: or would have nourished and fostered those good feeces, which nature had there broucht forth: adding not onely to the manturing of their grounds and ornaments of their cities, such artes as we had; and that no further then had beene necessarie for them, but therewithall joyfulng vnto the originall vertues of the countrie, those of the ancient Greecs and Romanes? What reparation and what reformation would all that farre-spreading worlde have found, if the examples, demeanors and policies, wherewith we first presented them, had called and allured those uncorrupted nations, to the admiration and imitation of vertue, and had eestablished betweene them and vs a brotherly foeicite and mutuall cor-respondencie? How eafe a matter had it bccen, profitabile to reforme, and christianlye to inuinct, minde yet so pure and new, so willing to be taught, beeing for the most parte endowed with so docile, so apte and so ycelinge naturall beginnings? whereas contrarywise, we have made vfe of their ignorance and inexperience, to draw them more easilye vnto treason, fraude, luxurie, avarice and all manner of inhumanitie and crueltie, by the example of our life, and patterne of our customes. Who euer rayled the fertlucse of merchandize and benefite of traffike to so highe a rate? So many goodly Citties ranfacke and razed; so many nations destroyed and made decole: so infinite millions of harmellefe people of all sexes, flates and ages, mustake, ravaged and put to the sword; and the richeft, the sayreft and best parte of the worlde topicutured, ruined and defaced, for the traffike of Pearles and Pepper: Oh mecanall victories, oh base conquest. Never did blinde ambition, never did greedy revenge, publike wrongs or generall enmities, so noodehlye enrage, and so passionately incende men against men, vnto so horrible hostilities, bloodye diffipation, and miserablye calamities.

Certaine Spaniardses coafting alongst the Sea in searche of Mines, fortoond to land in a verye fertile, pleasant and well peopled countrey; vnto the inhabitants where-of they declared their intent, and showed their accustomed persuasions; saying: That they were quiet and well-meaning-men, comming from faire-countreys, beeinge sent from the King of Castile, the greatest King of the habitable earth, vnto whome the Pope, repreffing God on earth, had given the principallitie of all the Indies: That if they would become tributaries to him, they should bee most kindlye vfed and courteoulsy entretained: They required of them victualls for their nutriment, and some golde for the behoofe of certaine Physicall experiments. Moreover, they declared vnto them, the believing in one onely God, and the truth of our religion, which they perswaded them to embrace, adding thereto some minatoise threatenes. Whole answer was this: That happily they might be quiet and well-meaning, but their countenance shew-ed them to bee otherwise: As concerning their King, since bee seemed to begge, bee swore to bee poor and needie: And for the Pope, who had made that distribution, he expressed himselfe a man loveing diffention, in going about to give vnto a thrmdem, sithing which was not his owne, so to make it questionable and litigious amongst the ancients presseffors of it. As for victualls, they should have part of their store: And for golde, they had but little, and that it was a thing they made very small account of, as measurablye improvable for the service of their life, whereas
whereas all their care was but how to passe it happily and plentifully: and therefore, what quantitie sooner they should finde, that onely excepted which was employed about the succisse of their Gods, they might boldly take it. As touching onely God, the discharge of him had very well pleased them; but they would by no meanes change their religion, under which they had for so long time lived so happily: and that they were not accustome to take any counsel, but of their friends and acquaintance. As concerning their meaneas, it was a figure of want of judgement, to threaten those, whose nature, condition; power and meanes was to them unknowen. And therefore they should with all speede hasten to annoyde their dominions, for much as they were wont to admite or take in good part the kindnesse and remonstrances of armed people, namely of strangers: otherweise they would deale with them, as they had done with such others, showing them the heads of certaine men sticking upon stakes about their Cittie, which had lately beene executed. Loe here an example of the hammeringe of this infancy.

But fo it is, that neyther in this, nor in infinite other places, where the Spaniards found not the marchandise they sought for, they neyther made frayre or attempted any violence, whatsoever other commoditye the place yeelded: witness my Caribales. Of two the most mighty and glorious Monarkes of that world, and peraduenture of all our Western partes, Kings over so many Kings: the last they depofed and ouercame: He of Peru, hauing by them beene taken in abattell, and set at to exceede their randome, that it exceedeth all believe, and that truely paide: and by his conversation hauing giuen them apparrant signes of a free, liberall, vndainted and conftant courage, and declared to be of a pure, noble, and well composeth and understanding. a humour possesse the conquerors, after they had most intolentely extracted from him a Million, three hundred five and twenty thoufand, and fute hundred weightes of golde; besides the sluer and other precious things, which amounted to no leffe a summe (to that their horsees were all fhood of mafield golde) to discouer (what disloyalty or treacherously foever it might cost them) what the remainder of this kings treasurie might bee, and without controulment enioy what euer he might have hidden or concealed from them. Which to commasse, they forged a fals accusation and proofe against him; that he practised to raise his provinces, and intended to induce his subiects to some insurreccion, to procure his liberty. Whereupon, by the very judgement of those, who had complotted this forgery and treason against him, he was condemned to, be publicly hanged and strangeled: hauing first made him to redeeme the torment of being burned alive, by the baptism which at the instanc of his execution in charitie they befoowed upon him. A horrible and the like never heard-of accident: which nevertheless the vndismayed endured with an unsommed manner, and tulle-royall grauitie, without ever contradieting himselfe eyther in countenance or speeche. And then, somewhat to mitigeate and circumuent those false vnuspecting people amazed and astonished at to strange a spectable, they counterfettet a great mourning and lamentation for his death, and appointed his funerall to be solemnly and sumptuouslie celebrated.

The other King of Mexico, having a long time manfullie defended his besieged Cittie, and in that tedious sledge, shewed what ever pinching-sufferance and resolute-perseverance can effect, if ever any courageous Prince or warre-like people shewed the same; and his disastrous success having delivered him alive into his enemies hands, upon conditions to be vnd as befeemed a King: who during the time of his imprifonment, did never make the least shewe of any thing unworthye that glorious title. After which victorie, the Spaniards not finding that quantitie of golde, they had promised themselues, when they had ranfacked and ranged all corners, they by meanes of the cruellest torments and horribille torments they could possible deuile, beganne to wret and drawe some more from such prisoners as they had in keeping. But unable to profite any thing that waye, finding stronger hearts then their torments, they in the end fell to such moodie outrages, that contrarie to all-lawe of nations, and against their soleme vows and promisses, they condemned the King himselfe and one of the chiefest Princes of his Coute, to the Racke, one in prefence of another: The Prince, enuioured round with whote burning coales, being
being overcome with the exceeding torment, at last in most pitiful fort turning his dreary eyes toward his Master, as if he asked mercy of him for that he could endure no longer. The king, fixing rigorously and fiercely his looks upon him, seeming to upbraid him with his remissness and pusillanimity, with a fierce and fretted voice, uttered these few words unto him: What? supposeth thou I am in a cold bath? am I at more ease then them are? Whereas the silly wretch immediately fainted under the torture, and yielded vp the ghost. The king haste rosted, was carried away: Not so much for pitty (for what ruth could enter into barbarous minde, who vpon the furnished information of some odde piece or vessell of golde, they intended to get, would broyle a man before their eyes, and not a man only, but a king, so great in fortune and so renowned in defect? ) but for so much as his vnmatcht constancie did more and more make their inhuman cruelty ashamed: They afterward hanged him, because he had courageously attempted by armes to deliver himselfe out of so long captivity and miserable subjection; where he ended his wretched life, worthy an high minded and never danted Prince. At another time, in one same fire, they caufed to be burned all alitie foure hundred common men, and three score principal Lords of a prouince, whome by the fortune of warre they had taken prisoners. These narrations we have out of their owne booke: for they doe not onely atouch, but vauntingly publish them. May it be, they doe it for a testimony of their suffrance or zeal toward their religion? verily they are wayes out-different, and enemies to fo facred an ende. Had they proposed vnto themselves to enlarge and propagate their religion, they would have confidered, that it is not amplifie by posseffion of landes, but of men: and would have beene satisfied with such slaughters, as the necesfitie of warre bringeth, without indifferenty adding thereunto so bloodie a butchezie, as vpon savage beaftes; and so vniverfail as fire or forge could ever attaine vnto; having purpo felle preferred no more then so many miserable bond-slaves, as they deemed might suffice for the digging, working and service of their mines: So that divers of their chiefaines have beene executed to death, even in the places they had conque red, by the appointment of the Kings of Castile, industriously and at the field-feme horror of their barbarous demeanours, and well-nigh all diſfleeme ned, condemmed and hated. God hath meritoriouslie permitted, that many of their great pillages, and all gotten goods, have vther beene swallowed vp by the revenging Seas in transporting them, or consumed by the interrane warres and ciuill broyles, wherewith themselves have devoured one another; and the greatest part of them have beene ouer-whelmed and buried in the bowels of the earth, in the very places they found them, without any fruite of their victorie. Touching the objection which some make, that the receipte, namely in the handes of fo thriftie, warie and wise a Prince, doth so little answere the fore-conceaved hope, which was given vnto his predeceffors, and the fayde former abundance of riches, they mette withall at the first discovezie of this new-found world, (for although they bring home great quantitie of golde and fluer, wee perceive the fame to be nothing, in respect of what might bee expected thence) it may be answere d, that the vfe of monie was there altogether vnknowne; and consequently that all their golde was gathered together, setting to no other purpose, then for showe, plate and ornament, as a moveable referred from father to sonne by many puissant Kings, who exhausted all their mines; to collect fo huge a heape of vessells and frature for the ornament of their Temples, and embellishing of their Pallaces: whereas all our golde is employed in commerce and traffick betweene man and man. We mince and alter it into a thousand formes: we spend, wee fatter and d İşs the fame to severall vues. Suppose our Kings should thus gather and heape vp all the golde, they might for many ages hoarde vp together, and keepe it close and vnchange. Those of the kingdome of Mexico were somewhat more encivilized, and better artifles, then other nations of that worlde. And as wee doe, so judged they, that this Vnitive was neare his end: and tooke the defolation were brought amongst them as an infallible signe of it. They beleue the flate of the worlde, to be devided into five ages, and in the life of five succeeding Sunnes, whereof foure had already ended their course or time; and the fame which nowe flourished vpon them, was the fith and laft. The fith perifhed together with all other creatures, by an vniverfail inundation of waters. The second
second by the fall of the heavens upon us, which filled and overwhelmed every living thing: in which age they affirm the Giants to have beene, and showed the Spaniards certaine bones of them, according to whole proportion the stature of men came to be of the height of twentye handfuls. The third, was consumed by a violent fire, which burned and destroyed all. The fourth by a whirling emmotions of the ayre and windes, which with the violent furie of it selve, remoued and overthrowd divers highmountains: saying, that men dyed not of it, but were transformed into Munkeis. (Oh what impression dost not the meeknesse of mans belief admitt?) After the consummation of this fourth Sunne, the world continued fiue and twentye yeares in perpetuall darkness: In the fifteenth of which one man and one woman were created, who renewed the race of man-kinde. Ten yeares after, upon a certayne day, the Sunne appeared as newly created: from which day begunneth euer since the calculation of their yeares. On the third day of whose creation, dyed their ancient Gods, their newes ones have day by day beene borne since. In what manner this last Sunne shall perish, my auctor could not learn of them. But their number of this fourth change, both impute and meete with that great conjunction of the Starres, which eight hundred and oddye yeares since, according to the Astrologians supposition, produced divers great alterations and strange novelties in the world. Concerning the proud pompe and glorious magnificence, by occasion of which I am fallen into this discourse, nor Greece, nor Rome, nor Egypt, can (be it in profit, or difficultie or nobilitie) equal or compare fundrye and divers of their worke. The cawtie or high-way which is yet to be seene in Peru, erected by the Kings of that countrey, stretching from the citty of Quito, unto that of Cayco (containing three hundred leagues in length) straight, even and fine, and twentye paces in breadth, curiouslie paved, rayled on both sides with goodly, high masonrie-walles, all alongt which, on the inner side there are two continuall running streams, pleasantly betef with beautiful trees, which they call Motly. In framing of which, where they mette any mountains or rockes, they haue cut, raied and levelled them, and filled all hollow places with lime and stone. At the ende of etery dayes journey, as stations, there are built flaggily great pallaces, plentiously stored with all manner of good victuals, apparrell and armes, as well for daylie way-fairing men, as for such armes that might happen to passe that way. In the effimation of which worke I have especiallie considered the difficulty, which in that place is particularly to be remembred. For they built with no stones that were leffe then ten foot square: They had no other meanes to carry or transport them, then by mere strength of armes to draw and dragge the carriage they needed: they had not so much as the arte to make scaffolds; nor knew other device, then to risme so much earth or rubbish, against their building, according as the worke sighted, and afterwards to take it away againe. But returne we to our coaches. In feate of them, and of all other carrying beastes they caufed themselves to be carried by men, and upon their shoulders. This last King of Peru, the same day he was taken, was thus carried upon raisters or beames of mailliue Golde, sitting in a faire chaine of hate, likewise all of golde, in the middle of his bataile. Look how many of his porters as were slaine, to make him fall (for all their endeavoure was to take him alue) fo many others, in order and as it were ayre, tooke and under-went pretently the place of the dead: so that he could never be brought down or made to fall, what slaughter so ever was made of those kinde of people, untill such time as a horseman furiously ranne to take him by some parte of his body, & so pull'd him to the ground.

The seventeenth Chapter.

Of the incommodes of greatnesse.

Since we cannot attaine vnto it, let vs revenge our selues with railing against it; yet it is not absolute railing, to finde faulte with any thing: There are defects found in all things, how faire soever they be. It hath generally this evident advantage, that when euer it pleaseth it will decline, and hath well nigh the choice of one and other.
other condition. For, a man doth not fall from all heights; divers there are, whence a man may descend without falling. Verily, me seemeth, that we value it at too high a rate; and prize over-dear the resolution of th'ole, whome we have either seen or heard, to have condemned, or of their own motion rejected the fame. His effence is not so evidentl commodious, but a man may refuse it without wonder. Indeed I finde the labour very hard in suffering of evils; but in the contentment of a meane measure of fortune, and shunning of greatneffe, therein I see no great difficulty. In my conceite, it is a vertue, whereunto my felfe, who am but a simple ninnie, might easilie attaine, and without great contention. What shall they doe, who would also bring into consideration, the glory, which accompanieth this refuall, wherein may-fall more ambition, then even in the desire and absolute enjoying of greatneffe? For though as ambition is never better directed according to it felfe, then by a straying and unfrequented path, I sharpen my courage toward pacience, and weaken the fame against desire. I have as much to wish for as another, and leave my wiftes as much libertie and indifferency: but yet, it never came into my minde, to wifie for Empire, for royaltie or eminencie of high and commanding fortunes. I amye that not that way: I love my felfe too well. When I thinke to growe, it is but meanly; with a forced and coward aduancement; fit for me: yea in resolution, in wifedom, in health, in beautie and also in riches. But this credite, this aspiring reputation, this overlying authoritie, anf prefleth my imaginati, And cleane opposite to some other, I should perfadventure lose my felfe better, to be the second or third man in Perigot, then the firl in Paris. At leaff, without faining, I had rather be the third man in Paris, then the firl in charge. I wil neither contend with an under of a doore, as a fllie unkowne man; nor with gaping and adornation make a lane through the throng as 1 paufe. I am enured to a meane calling; mediocrity befitteth me, as well by my fortune, as by mine owne humor. And have fwept by the condic of my life and course of my enterprizes, that I have rather fought to avoid, then otherwife to embrace beyond the degree of fortune that at my birth it pleafed God to call me vnto. Each natural constitution, is equally soft and eafe. My minde is fo dull and flowe, that I meafeure not good fortune according to her height, but rather according to her facility. And if my hart be not great enough, it is ratably free and open, and who biddeth me, bouldly to publish my weakenefl, Should any will me, on the one part, to confedere, and confider the life of L. Thorius Balbus, a worthy gallant man, wife, faire, goody, healthie, of good understandinge, and richly-plentuous in all manner of commodities and pleasures, leading a quiet eafefull life, altogether his owne, with a minde armed, and well prepared against death, superflition, griefes, cares and other encombrances of humane neceffity; dying in his olde age, in an honourable battell, with his weapons in his hand, for the defence of his country; and on the other fide the life of M. Regulus, fo heigh and great, as all men know, together with his admirable and glorious ende: the one vnmentioned, and without dignitie, the other exemplaire and wonderfully renowned: truely I would fay what Cicero faith of it, had I the gift of well-speaking as he had. But if I were to fere them vnto mine, I would alfo fay, that the former is almoft agreeing to my quality, and to the desire I endoeued to conforme my quality vnto, as the ferd is faire beyond it. That to this I cannot attaine but by veneracion; and to the other I would willingly attaine by cuftome. But returne we to our temporall greatneffe, whence we have digreaffed. I am disaffafted of all maflify, both active and paffive. Othere one of the feauen that by right might chalenge the crowne, or pretend the kingdom of Peru, refolved upon fuch a resolution as I should eafily have done the like: which was, that he uterly renounced all manner of claime he might in any fort pretend vnto that crowne, to his fellow competitores, were it either by election or chance: alwayes provided that both himfelfe and all his, might lie in that Empire, free from all subfictions, and exempted from all manner of commandemente, except that of the auccent lawes: and might both challenge all liberty, and enjoy all immunities, that should not prejudice them: being as impacient to command, as to be commanded. The fharpeft and moft diftincte profition of the world, is (in mine opinion) worthily to wit and play the king. I excufe more of their faults, then commonly other men doe; and that in consideration of the downe-bearing weight of theirimmence charge, which much altoufeth them. It is a very hard taske, to keepe a due meafeure, in so unmeasurable a power. Yet is it, that even with thole, that are of a leffe excellent
lent nature, it is a singular incitement to vertue, to be feated in such a place, where you shall
do no manner of good; that is not registred and recorded: And where the least well-
doeing; extendeth to so many persons: And where your sufficiency (as that of Pre-
chers) is principally directed to the people; a weake and parcell judge, castlifie to be be-
guiled, and eafe to be pleased. There are but few things, of which wee may give a more care
motion: for there be very fewe, wherein in some sorte or other, we are not particular-
lie interested. Superiority and inferiority, maiestie and subjection, are joyntly yde vnto a
natural kind of enui and contentation; they must perpetually enter: Spoyle one another.
I beleue neither the one nor the other, concerning his companions rights: let vs
suffer reason to speake of it, which is inflexible and impaffeable, when or how wee shall
make an end. I was not long since reading of two Scotish books, setting vppon this
subiect. The populace makes the King to be of worse condition then a Carter: and hee
that extolles Monarchie, placeth him both in powre and forraignetie, many steps aboue
the Gods. Now the incommoditie of greatnesse, which here I have undertaken to note
and speake of, (upon some occasion lately befallane me) is this. There is peraduenture noth-
ing more pleasing to the commerce of men, then the Effayes, which wee through rea-
louie of honoure or valour, make one against another, be it in the exercize of the body
or of the minde: wherein soueraigne greatnesse, hath no true or essentiaL part. Verite, it
hath ofteemen vntryed vnto me, that through over much respect, Princes are therein vied
dislainefully and treated injuriouly: For, the thing whereat (in my youth) I was infinit-
ilie offended, was, that those which were trained and schooled with me, should forbear
to doe it in good earnest, because they found me vnworthy to be withfood or to refit
their endeavours. It is that we daily see to happen vnto them; every man finding himselfe
vnworthy to force himselfe against them. If one percieve them never so little affected
to have the victorie; there is none but will strive to yeeld it them; and that will nor ra-
ther wrong his glory, then offend theirs: No man employeth more diligence then needes
he must to serue their honour. What have Princes in the strong, where all are for
them? Me thinkes I see those Paladins of former ages, prententing themselves in iouettes,
contentions and combates, with bodies and armes enchanted. Brifon running against Alex-
ander, counterfeeted his course: Alexander chid him for it: but he shoulde have caufed
him to be whipt. For this conformation, was Carneades wont to say, that Princes children
learn't nothing right but to manage and ride horses; forsoome as in all other exercises, every
man yeeldeth, and gineth them the victory: but a horse who is neither a flatterer nor a Cou4ier,
will as soon throw the childe ofaking, as the soume of a base porter. Homer hath beene for-
ced to confess that Venus (to sweete a faint and delicate a Goddesse) should be hurt at
the siege of Troy,thereby to atcribe courage and hardynesse vnto her qualities neuer seen
in thole that are exempted from danger. The Gods themselues are famed to be angry, to
fear, to be jealous, to greeue, to fhow passion, and be subiect to mortall fence, ther-
by to honour them with the vertues which Poets deuise and Philosopheres inuent amongst
vs: Naie, they are supposed to runne away, and to have a feeling of all our imperfectioni-
ons. Who doth not participate both hazard and difficulties, cannot safely pretend interest in the
honour, or enlume share in the pleafure, that followeth dangerous actions or hazardous attempts.
It is pitie a man should be fo powerfull, that all things must yeeld and give place vnto
him. Such as are in fo high eminencie of greatnesse, their fortune recluds society and con-
versation too farre from them; the placeth them in outer remote and vnconce places. This
casefull life and plausible facilitie to bring all vnder, and subiect mens minde, is an ene-
mie to all manner of pleafure. It is a kinde of flogging, and not a going: It is to fleee,
and not to lye. Conceau emps accompanied with omnipotencie, you overwelme him:
he must in begging manner crave some empeachment and refistance of you. His being
and his good, is in want and indigence. Their good qualities are dead and loft: for, they
are not heard but by comparison, and they are excluded: they haue little knowledge of
true prafie, beeing beaten with so continual and vnforme an approbation. Have they
to doe with the fimplicity of their subiects? they have no meane to take advantage of them,
if he but say; It is because he is my King, he supposeth to have sufficiently expresed, and
you must understand, that in so saying, he hath lent a helping hand to overthowe him-
selfe. This qualitie suppreffeth and confumeth all other true and essentiaL qualities: they
are even drowned in the Royaltie; which gives them no leave, to make the offices of their charge to preuaile, except in such actions as directly concern and stead the same. To be a King is a matter of that consequence, that one only by it be is so. That strange-glimmering and eye-dazeling light, which round about environeth, overcasteth and hideth him from vs: our weake sight is thereby bleed and dissipate, as being filled and obturated by that greater & further-spreading brightness. The Romane Senate allotted the honor & praise of eloquence unto Tiberius; he refused it, supposing that if it had beene true, he could not renounce himselfe of to limited and partial judgemen. As we yeeld Princes all advantages of honor, so we authorize their defects and smooth up their vices: not onely by approbation, but also by imitation. All Alexanders followers bare their heads fidelitie, as he did. And such as flatted Dionysius in his owne presence did run and illuse one another, and either stumble at, or over-throw what ever stood before their fecte, to inferre; that they were as short-sighted & spur-blinde, as he was. Natural imperfections have sometimes servd for commendation and favou. Nay I have seene deadisse affected. And because the maister hated his wife, Plutarch hath seene couritiers to fuc a divorcse of theirs, whom they loued very well. And which is more, paillardise and all manner of dissolution hath thereby beeene held in credit; as also dioloyalitie, bafhemie, crueltie, herefie, superstition, irreligion, wantonesse & worfe, if worse may be. Yea by an example more dangerous, then that of Musridates his flatterers, who for somewhat as their maister pretended to haue skill in phisick, and aspired to the honour of a good Phisitian, came to him to have their members jucized and cauterised. For, these others suffer to have their foules cauterised; a much more precious and nobler part then the body. But to end where I began: Adrian the Emperor, debating with Faunus the Philosopher about the interpretation of some word; Faunus did soone yeeld the victory vnto him, his friends finding-fault with him for it; you but jeft, my maisters(said he) would you not hate him to be much wiser then I. Who hath the absolute command over thirteenes legions? Augustus writ some verses against Aegimius, which Pollio hearing, he said, I will hould my peace; for, it is no wisdom to contend in writing with him, who may proribbe. And they had reason: For, Dionysius, because he could not equall Philoemen in Poesie, nor match Plato in discourse, condemned the one to the stone-quaries, and lent the other to be selld as a flave in the Ile of Aegina.

The eight Chapter.

Of the Arte of conferring.

It is a custome of our lawe, to condemne some, for the warning of others. To condemn them because they haue middone, were folly, as faith Plato. For what is once done, can never be vndone: but they are condemned to the end they should not offend againe, or that others may afoide the example of their offence. He who is hanged is not corrected, but others by him. Even so doe I. My errors are sometimes natural, incorrigible and remedleffe. But whereas honest men profit the Common-wealth in causing themselves to be imitated. I shall happily benefit the same, in making myselfe to be evitated.

Nonne videis Albi et male visut filus, quoque
Barbus inops? magnum documentum, et patrium rem
Perdere quis velit?

Doce ye not see, how that mans sonne lives badly,
That man's a beggar by his spending mally?
A leson great, that none take joye: His patrimonie to destroy,

By publishing and accusing my imperfections, some man may peraduenture come to feare them. The partes I most esteeme in my selfe, reap more honour by accusing, then by commending my selfe. And that's the cause I more often fall into them againe, & ret lypon them. But when all the cards be told, a man never speaks of himselfe, without lobe. A mans owne condemnation are ever increaied, praises ever decreased. There may be some of my complexion, who am better instructed by contrarietie then by similitude; and more by escaping then by following.
following. Cato junior had a special regard to this kind of discipline, where he said, that wifemen have more to learn of fools, than fools of wifemen. And that ancient player on the Lyra, whom Pausanias reporteth, to have been accustomed to compel his schoolers sometimes to goe heare a bad Player, who dwelt right ouer-against him; where they might learne to hate his discourses and falsfe meafures. The horror of cruelty draws me nearer vnto clemencie, then any patteme of clemencie can possibly win me. A cunning rider or skillfull horse-man doth not so properly teach me, to sit well on horse-back, as doth one of our Lawyers, or a Vencian by seeing him ride. And an ill manner of speak doth better reforme mine, then any well-polished forme of speaking. The fottifh countenance of another, doth daily aduertife and forewarn me. That which pricketh, toucheth and rouzeth better, then that which delighteth. These times are fit to reforme vs backward, more by diffufling, then by confenting; more by difference then by accord. Being but little instructed by good examples, I make vs of bad; the leffon of which is ordinary. I have endeavored, lay I have laboured to yeeld my felfe as pleafing and affable, as if I saw others peeuift and froward; as conftant, as I saw others variable; as gentle & mild, as I perceived others intratable & wilde; and as good and honeft, as I discerned others wicked and difflonfet. But I proposed certaine invariable meafures vnto my felfe. The moft fruitful and naturall exercise of our spirit, is, in my felfe-pleasing conceit, conference. The fce whereof, I finde to be more delightome, then any other action of our life. And that's the reason, why, if I were now forced to choofe, being in the minde I now am in, I would rather yeeld to looke my fight, then forgoe my hearening or my speach. The Athenians and also the Romans did euer holde this exercitie in high honor and reputation, namely in their Academias. And at this day, the Italians do yet keepe a kinde of forme & trace of it, to their great profit, as may apparently be discerned by comparing their wits vnto ours. The fludie and poffedding on bookes, is a langufhing & weake kinde of motion, and which heareth or cameflethe nothing; whereas conference doth both leuene, teach and exercife at once. If I conferre with a stubborn, and encounter a sturdy wretcher, he toucheth me to the quick, hitt me on the flanks, and pricks me both on the left and right side: his imaginations vanquifh & confound mine, Jeloufie, glory and contention, drive, caft and raife me above my felfe. And an vnion or concenf is a qualitie altogether tedious and wearesome in conference. But as our minde is fortiſcide by the communication of regular and vigorous spirits; it cannot well be exprefled, how much it loothen and is batfardized, by the continual commerce & frequention, we haue with base, weake and dull spirits. No contagion fpreds it felle further then that, I know by long experience what an eell of it is worth. I love to conteft and discouer, but not with many, and only for my felle. For, to ferue as a Spectacle vnto great men, and by way of contention, for one to make a glorious show of his ready wit and running tongue; I decerne it a profefion farre vnfitting a man of honor. Sottifhnes is an ill quality, but not to be able to endure it, & to fpeech and vexe at it, as it hapnten to me, is another kinde of imperfection, which in impomptuity is not much behind sottifhnes: and that's it I will now acuete in my felle: I doe with great liberty and facilite, enter into conference and diſputation: for much as opinion findes but a hard faile to enter and take any depe roote in me. No propositions amaze me, no conceit woundeth me, what contrarie focuer they haue to mine. There is no fantazie: no fruollous or humor fo extravagant, that in mine opinion is not fortable to the producſte of humane wit. We others, who debarre our judgement of the right to make conclusions, regard but negligently the diuers opinions: and if we lend it not our judgement, we easly afforde it our eares. Where one leale of the balance is altogether empty, let the other waue too & fro, vnder an old wiuſte dreams. And me feemeth, I may well be excuſed, if I rather accept an odde number, then an euene: Thursday in respect of Friday, if I had rather make a twelfth or fourteenth at a table, the a thirteenth; if when I am traueling I would rather see a Hare cafting, then croffing my way: & rather reach my leſt, then my right foote, to be foid. All fuch fond conceites, now in credite about vs, defcreve at leaſt to be lifened vnto. As for me, they only beare away inanity, & furely they do fo. Vulgar and caluful opinions are yet of some weighe, which in nature are fomthing els then nothing. And who wadeth not fo far into them, to auoide the vice of superfluition, falleth happily into the blame of wilfulneſfe. The contradictions then of judgement, doe neither offend nor moue, but awaken and excuſe me. We commonly fumme correction, whereas we should rather feek and prefent our felines vnto it, chieſſie whe it
commeth by way of conference, and not of regenie. At every opposition, we consider not whether it be just; but be it right or wrong, how we may evade it: In the case of reaching our arms, we stretch forth our claws unto it. I should endure to be rudely handled and checked by my friends, though they should "call me fool, coscombe or say I raved." I love a man that doth stoutlie express himselfe, amongst honest and worthy men and whose words answer his thoughts. We should fortify and harden our hearing, against the tenderness of the ceremonious sound of words. I love a friendly societie and a virile and constant familiaritie: An amitie, which in the earnestnesse or vigor of it's commerce, flattereth it selfe: as love in bitings and bloodie scratchings. It is not sufficientie generous or vigorous, except it be contentious and quarrelous: If the be civilized and a skilful artifice: if it feare a shock or free encounter, and have hir starting hoales or forced byways. *Neque enim diffutari fine reprehensione pariet.* Difputation cannot be held without reprehension. When I am impugned or contraried, then is mine attention and not mine anger, stirred vp; I advance my selfe towards him, that doth gainesay and instruct me. The cause of truth, ought to be the common cause, both to one and other: What can he answer? The passion of choller hath already wounded his judgement: trouble, before reason hath feared upon it. It were both profitable and necessarie, that the determining of our disputation, might be decided by way of wagers; and that there were a materiall mark of our lofes: that we might better remember and make more account of it: and that my boye might say unto me: Sir, if you call to minde; your contemnation, your ignorance and your selfe-willfulnesse, at allver times, cost you a hundred crownes the last yeare: I seaf, I cherrish and I embrace truth, where and in whomsoever I finde it, and willinglie and merilie yield my selfe unto him; as soone as I see but hir approache, though it be a farre-off, I haye downe my weapons and yeeld my selfe vanquished. And always provided, one perfit not or proceade therein, with an over impetuous thife or commanding furlineesse; I am well pleased to be reprooued. And I often accomodate my selfe unto my accusers, more by reason of ciuilitie, then by occasion of amendment: loving by the facilitie of yeelding, to gratifie and foster their liberie, to teach or aduertiseme. It is not withstanding no cafe matter to drawe men of my times unto it. They hate not the courage to correct, because they wante the hart to endure correction: And euer speake with dissimulation in presence one of another, I take so great a pleasure to bee judged and knowne, that it is indifferent to me, in whether of the two formes I be so. Mine owne imagination doth ofte often contradicte and condemn it selfe, that if another doe it, all is one unto me; especially seeing, I give his reprehension no other authoritie, then I lift. But I shall break a strawe or fall at oddes with him, that keepes himselfe so aloofe; as I know sone, that will fret and chafe, if their opinions be not believed, and who take it as an injuriue, yea and fall out with their best friends, if they will not follow it. And that *Socrates* euer smiling, made a collection of such contradictions as were opposed to his discourse, one might say, his force was cause of it; and that the advantage being assuredlie to fall on his side, he took them as a subiect of a new victorie. Neuertheless we see on the contrarie, that nothing do so nicelie yeeld our on selfe vnto it, as the opinion of prehemiunc and disdaigne of the aduersarie. And that by reason, it rather befits the weakest to accept of oppositions in good parte, which reforre and repayre him. Venile I seke more the conueration of fuch as curbe me, then of those that feare me. It is an infauorie and hurtfull pleaure, to have to doe with men, who admire and gue vs place. *Antiphene*es commanded his children, never to be beholding vnto, or thanke any that should commend them. I seye my selfe more lucifie and cranke for the victorie I gaine ouer my selfe, when in the heate or furie of the combate, I perceive to bend and fall under the power of my aduersaries reason, then I am pleased with the victorie, I obtaine of him by his weaknesse. To conclude, I receive all blowes and allow all attaines given directly, how weake soever: but am very impatient at such as are strucken at randan and without order, I care but little for the matter, and with me opinions are all one, and the victorie of the subiect in a manner indifferent, I shall quietly conteft a whole day, if the conduct of the controversy be followed with order and decorum. It is not force or subritie,that I so much require, as forme and order. The forme and order, dayly feene in the alterations of Shepheards, or contentions of shop-prentise-boyes; but never amongst vs: If they parte or gue one
one another over, it is with incivility: and so doe we. But their wrangling, their brawling and impaciency, cannot make them to forgive or forget their theame.

Their diffcure holds on his course. If they prevent one another, if they play not for, at least they understand one another. A man doth ever answere sufficiently well for me, if he answere what I say. But when the disputation is confounded and order leffe, I quit the matter, and betake me to the forme, with spite and indifferenc: and imbace a kinde of debating, resly, headlong, malicious and impierous, whereas I afterward blufh. It is impossible to treat quyettly, and dispute orderly with a fool. My judgement is not oneley corrupud under the hand of so impietuous a master; but my conscience also. Our dilpautions ought to be forbidden and punished, as other verball crimes. What vice raife they not, and heape vp together, bee ing eyer staveyd and commanded by choller? First we enter into enmity with the reason, and then with the men. We leaute not to dispute, except it be to confound, and every man contradicting and being contradicted, it commonly followeth, that the fruit of disputing, is to loose and disaffall the truth. So Plato in his common wealth, forbiddeth foolish; vnapt and base-minded spirits, to undertake that exercitation. To what purpole goe you about to quell or inquire that, which is with him, who hath nother good peace nor proceeding of worth? No man wrongs the subiect, when he quits the name, for want of meanes to treate or manmage it. I mean not a scofical and arnis meane, but I intenda natural meane, and of a sound understanding. What will the end be? one goeth Eastward, and another Westward: They looie the principall, and fray it in the throng of incidents. At the end of an houres wrangling, they wot not what they seeke for: one is high, another low, and another wide. Some take holde of a word, some of a similitude. Some forget what was objected against them, so much are they engaged in the purpuse and thynke to follow them selves, and not you. Some finding them selves weake-baekt, feare all, refuse all, and at the very entrance mingle the subiect, and confound the purpole: or in the heart of the disputation, mutinie to hold their peace altogether: through a sightfull ignorance, affecting a proud kinde of contempt, or a foolish modesty auyding of contention. Provided that one strike at him, he carethe not how open he lie. Another compteth his worde, and wayeth them for reasons; Another employeth no thing but the advantage of his voyce and winde. Here one concludes against himselfe; here another wearie you with idle prefaces, and frivoulous digressions. Another armeth himselfe afore hand with injuries, and seekes after a Dutch quarrell, to rid himJelfe of the society, and shake off the confidence of a spirite, that prefeth and ouerbear eth his.

This last hath no insight at all in reason, but will beleaguer you with the dialecartall or logical clofe of his clause, and ties yoy to the rule of his arte or forme of his skill. Now who doth not enter into duifult of sciences, and is not in doubt, whether in any necessity of life, he may reap any solid fruit of them; if he consider the vie we hauie of them? Nihilismansimbitis uteri. Since learning d0th no care. Who hath learnie any wit or understanding in Logique? Where are her faire promises? Nec ad medius vivendum, nec ad commodius differentium. Nec to live better nor to dispute fitter. Shall a man heare more brabling or confusion in the titile-tattle of fylwvies or scoulding fluts, then in the publicke disputationes of men of this profession? I had rather my childe should leerne to speake in a Tauerne, then in the schooles of well-speaking Arte. Take you a maister of arte, and conferre with him, why doth he not make vs perceite this artificiall excellency, and by the admiration of his reasons-confincifione, or with the beauty of his quaint order, and grace of his method, ravish fyllie women, and blere ignorant men as we are? Why doth he not iwy, winde and periwede vs as he lift? Why shoulde one so advantageous in matter and conduct, enter-mixe injuries, indifferenc and chollerick rage with his fence? Let him pull-of his two-faced hooode, his gowne and his latine, let him not fill our cares with merelie beleued Artefacts, you will discover and take him for one of vs, and worse if worse may be. Me thinkes this implication and entangling of speach, where with they so much importune vs, may fittly be compared unto juglers play of faft and loose: their nimblenesse combates and forseth our fentes, but it nothing shaketh our believe: Take away their jugling, what they doe is but base, common and flight. Though they be more witrie and nimble spirited; they are not the leffe foolish, simple or vnapt. I loue wit, and honoure wisedome, as much as them that hate it. And beeing tightly vied, it is the noblest, the most forcible, yea

The third Booke.
and rich set purchase men can make. But in such (of which kinde the number is infinite) that upon it esablish their fundamentall sufficiency and worth: that from their wit refer themselves to their memory, sub aliena umbra latentes: reposing them under another mans protection; and can doe nothing but by the booke(if I may be bold to say so) I hate the fame, a little more then forthrightnes. In my country, and in my days, learning and bookishness, doth much mend purer, but mindest nothing at all. If it chance to finde them empty light and dry, it faileth, it ouer burneth and swelleth them: a raw and indigeste made: if thone, it doth easily purifie, clarifie, extenuate and subtilize them, even unto exanimition or evaporation. It is a thing of a quality very neare indifferent: as mott profitable accessarie or ornament vnto a well borne minde, but pernicious and hurtfullly damagable vnto any other: Or rather a thing of mott precious vse, that will not baly be gotten, nor vile poftesse: In some handes a royall scepter, in other some a rude marcoke. But lets proceed. What greater or more glorious victorie can you expell, than to make your enimie, than he can with stand you? When you gaine the advantage of your proposition, it is Truth that winneth: when you get the advantage of the order and conduct, it is you that winneth. I am of opinion that both in Plato and in Xenophon, Socrates his purchaseth is in favour of the disputers; then in grace of the disputation: and more to instruct. Ecbdismeny and Protagoras with the knowledge of their imperincenec, then with the imperincenec of their arte. He takes holde of the first matter, as he who hath a more profitable ende, then to cleere it; that is, to cleere the spites he undertaketh to manage and to excuse: Agitation, thirsting and hunting is properly belonging to our subiect or drift: we are not excusable, to conduct the same ill and imperincenec, but to give the game and false in taking, that's another matter. For we are borne to quiefe and seek after mis; to poftesse it belongs to a greater power. It is not as Democritus saide: hidden in the deepes of abisse: but rather elevator in infinite heights of duine knowledge. The world is but a Schoole of Inquisition. The matter is not who shall put in, but who shall rum the fairest courses. As well may he playe the soole that speketh truely, as he that speketh falsely: for we are vpon the manner, and not vpon the matter of speaking. My humour is, to have as great a regard to the forme, as to the substance; as much respect to the Advocate, as to the cause; as Aliciades appointed we should doe. And I daily annime my selfe to reade in authors, without care of their learning: therein seeking their manner, not their subiect. Even as I purifie the communication of some famous wis, not that he should teach me, but that I may know him: and knowing him (if he deterrre) I may imitate him. Every one may speake truely, but to speake orderly, methodically, wisely and sufficiently, few can doe it. So, if the proceeding of ignorance doth not offend me; ineptneffe and trifling doth. I hate broken-off divers bargaines, that would haue bin very commodious vnto me, by the imperincenec of their contestation, with whom I did bargaine. I am not moued once a yeare, with the faults or ouerrightes of those, ouer whom I haue powre: but touching the point of the southeaste and soulfoutheaste of their alegations, excuses, and defences; rude & bruski, we are eyther day ready to goe by the cares. They neyther vnderstand what is said, nor wherefore, and even so they anwer; a thing able to make one dispaire. I feel not my head to shock hard but by being hit with another, And I rather enter into compotitio with my peoples vices, then with their rafield, improtunity and foulfoutheaste. Let them doe leffe, provided they are capable to doe: You live in hope to enflame their will: But of a block there is nothing to be hoped for, nor any thing of worth to be enjoyed. Now, what if I take things otherwise then they are? So it may be: And therefore I accuse my impaciency. And first, I should, that it is equally vicious in him, who is in the right, as in him; that is in the wrong: For, it is euer a kinde of tyrannical sharpeneffe, not to be able to induce a forme different from his and verily, since there is not a greater fondnesse, a more constant gullifhenesse, or more heteroclitie inipiditie then for one to moose or vex himselfe at the fondnesse, at the gullifhenesse, or inipiditie of the world: For it principally formalizeth and moueth vs against our felues and that Philosopher of former ages should never hate wanted occasion to wepe, so long as he had considered himselfe. Misio, one of the featen fages(a man of a Timonian disposition and Demoraturian humour) being demanded, whereat he laught alone; he answered,because I laugh alone? How many follies doe I speake & answer every day, according to my selfe; and then much more frequent according to others? And if I bite
The third Booke.

I bite mine owne lips at them, what ought others to doe? In fire, we must live with the quicke, and let the water runne under the bridge, without any care, or at least without alteration to us. In good sooth, why meere we sometimes with crooked, deformed & in body misshapen men, without falling into rage and discontent, and cannot endure to light upon a favorow, skittifh and ill-ranged spirit, without falling into anger and vexation? This vicious affectation is rather in the judge, then in the fault. Let vs ever have that saying of Plato in our mouths: what I finde unwholsome is it not to be unheal by my selfe? Am not I in fault by my selfe? May not mine owne advertisement be restored against my selfe? Oh wise and dueine restraint, that turbeth the most vnvertifull and common error of men: Not onely these preaches, we doe one to another, but our reasons, our arguments and matters controverted, are ordinarily retortable vnto vs: and were pinche our felies vp in our owne armes. Whereof antiquitie hath left me divers grave examples. It was ingeniously spoken and fit to the purpose, by him that first deputed the same.

Stercus unique sum bene loc.

Evry mans ordure well, To his owne scens doth fluell,
Our eyes see nothing backward. A hundred times a day we mock our selues, vpon our neighbours subect, and dereft some defects in others, that are much more apparent in vs; yea and admire them with a strange impudence & vnheeding ene. Even yelde day, I chanced to see a man of reasonable understanding, who no lesse pleasanfly then suitably troubled at anothers fond fashion, & yet vpon every silly occasion doth nothing but molest al men with the impertinent bedowle & regifier of his pedegrees, genealogies & alliances, more then half evil and writen in,(for it is the maner of such people, commonly to vndertake such foolifh difcourts, whose qualities are more doubtfull & leffe sute) who if he had imparcally considered & looked vpon himselfe, should douteles have found himselfe no leffe intererrepat, indirect & tendious, in publish & extolling the prerogative of his wives pedegrees and defcent. Oh importunate prefumption, where with the wife feeth her selfe armed by the hands of her owne husband. If he vnderstand Latine, a man should say to him,

Ages hic non infantis fas est prompti instiga.

Goe too, if of his owne accord before,
She were not made enough, provoke him more.

I say not, that none should accuse, except he be spotife in himselfe: For then none might accuse: no not spotiflie in the same kinde of fault. But my meaning is, that our judgement charging and bannning another, of whom there is then question, iparieth vs nothing, of an inward and feuer jurisdiction. It is an office of charity, that, he who cannot remove a vice for himselfe, should nevertheless endeavour to remove it from others, where it may have a leffe hurtful and forward seede. Nor do I deeme it a fit answere, for him that warmeth me of my fault, to say, the fame is likewise in him. But what of that? Weli meaning warning is always true and profitable. Had we a good and found nole, our owne ordure should be more vnflauory vnto our felues, forasmuch as it is our owne. And Socrates is of opinion, that he, who should finde himselfe, and his son, and a stranger guilty of any violence or injury, ought first begin by himselfe, and present himselfe to the lenience and condemnation of the Law, and for his owne discharge & acquittal impole the affillace of the executioners hand with conel for his sonne, & laffly for the stranger. If this precept take his tune somewhat too high: it should at least be first preferred to the punishment of others owne conscience. Our fences are our proper & first judges, who differing not thigns, but by external accidents; and no manuell, iff in all parts of the feruice belonging to our society, there is so perpetuell and vnuerfall com-mixture of ceremonies and superficiall appearances: so that the lest and most effectuall part of policies, confists in that. It is man with whom we have alwaies to doe, whose condition is maruellous corporall. Let those, who in these latter dayes haue so earnestly laboured, to fame and establifh vnto vs, an exercice of religion and ieruice of God, so contemplative and immateriall, wonder nothing at all, if some be found, who think, it would have escaped and mouldred away betweene their fingers, if it had not held and continued amongst vs, as a marke, a title and instrument of dinion and faction, more then by it selfe. As in conference: The gravitie, the gowne and the fortune of him that speaketh, deth often adde and wme crede vnto vaine, trifling and abfurde difcourtes. It is not to be presumed, that one of these gowne Clarke or quoised Serants, so followed, and
and so redoubted, haue not some sufficiencie within him, more then popular: and that
a man so fullan, so grim and so disdainfull, to whom so many commissions, charges and
authoritie are giuen, be not more sufficient and worthy, then another, who faileth and
vaileth to him so farre off, and whom no man employeth. Not onely the words, but
the powtings of such people, are considered and registred, every one applying himselle
to give them some notable and solide interpretation. If they floope to common confe-
rence, and that a man afforde or showe them other then reverence and approbation, they
ouerthrow you with the authoritie of their experience: they haue read, they haue
heard, seen & done goodly things, you are cleane over-whelmed with examples. I would
faile tell them, that the fruit of a Chirurgions experience is not the story of his practises, or
the remembrance that he hath cured foure who had the plague, and healed as many that
had the Goute, except he knowe and haue the wit, from his vfe and experience, to drawe
a methode how to frame his judgement and by his skill and practis make vs percease, he
is become wiser in his arte. As in a comfort of instruments, one heares not featurally a Lute, a
Vyol, a Flute or a paitre of Virginalles, but a perfecfull harmonie: the assemblie and fruite
of all those instruments in one. If their trauels and charges haue amended them, it is in the
production of their vnderstanding to make it appeare. If sufficient not to number the ex-
periments; they ought to be well poised and orderly forsd: and to extract the reasons and
conclusions they containe, they should be well digested and throughly ditilled. There
were never so many Historians. It is euery good and profitable to heare them: for out of
the magazin of their memorie, they store vs with diuers good instructions and commen-
dable documents. Verily a chief part, for the assisstance and directing of our life. But
now adayes we seeke not after that; but rather whether the collectors and reporters of
them be praise worthy themselves. I hate all manner of tyrannie, both verbal and ef-
fectual. I willinglie bandie and oppose my selfe against those vain and frivolous cir-
cumstances, which by the fencs delude our judgement; and houlding my selfe aloofe-of
from those extraordinarie greatneisses, haue found, that for the most parte, they are
but men as others be:

They are peraduenture esteemed and discerned lesse then they be, for so much as they un-
dertake more, and do show themselues; they answer not the charge they haue taken. These
must necessarie be more vigoure and strengths in the beare, then in the burthen. He who is not
grown to his full strength, leaues you to guesse, whether he haue any left him beyond
that, or haue beene tride to the vertue of his powre. He who fainteth vnder his bur-
then, bewrayeth his measure and the weakeynesse of his shoulders. That is the reaon, why
amongst the wiser forte, there are so many foolish and vnapt minds seen and more then
of others. They might happilie haue beene made good husbandsmen, thriving marchants
and plodding artificers. Their natural vigoure was cut out to this proportion. Learning is
a matter of great confequence: they faint vnder it. To enfall and diuinbute, to rich and
so powerfull a matter, and availefully to employe the same, their witt hath not suffici-
ent vigour, nor condue enough to manage it. It hath no preualing vertue but in a
strong nature; and they are very rare: And such as are but weake (faith Scroats) corrupt
and spoilinglie deface the dignitie of Philosophie, in handling the same. Shee seemeth
tauitie and vnprofitable, being ill placed and vnorderly diposed. Loe how they spoile
and entangle themselues.

Such counterfeites as Apes are of mans face,
Whom children sporting-at, feely incaile
In costly coates, but leave his backside bare
For men to laugh at, when they feasting are.
To those like wise, who sway and command vs, and have the world in their owne hands; this is not sufficient to have a common understanding, and to be able to doe, what we can effect. They are faine beyond vs, if they be not much aboue vs. As they premise more, so owe they more. And therefore silence is in them, not only a countenance of respect and gravitie, but often of thrift and profit: *Megabius* going to vifite Apelles in his workhouse, lood full a good while without speaking one word, and then began to discourse of his workes. Of whom he receiued this rude and nipping check: *So long as them beholdest the peace, by reason of thy garbious clothes, goodly chains, and flatly pompe, thou feemeft to bee some worthy gallant: but now thou art seen, there is not the simplest boye of my shop, but jeaneth and contemns thee.* That great state of his, those riche habiliments, and goodly traine, did not permit him to be ignorant with a popular ignorance and to speake impertinently of painting. He should haue kept mute, and conceale his exterior and preturning sufficiency. Vnfo how many fond and shallow minds, hath in my dayes, a fullen, cold and silent countenance, feru'd as a title of wisdome and capaticie? Dignities, charges and places, are necessaries alter given, more by fortune, then by merit: and they are often to blame, that for it laye the blame on Kings. Contrariwise it is a wonder, that being fo vn-toward, they should therein have so good lucke: *Principis est virtus maxima, neque fas*. Chiefes or vnto it is knowne, in Kings to know their owne. For Nature hath not given them fo perfect a flight, that it might extend it leafe and overlooke so many people, to discerne their pre-excellence; and enter their brethes, where, lodgeth the knowledge of our will and better worth. It is by coniectures, and as it were groping they miste eye vs: by our race, alliances, dependences, riches, learning, and the peoples voyce: all our weak arguments. *He that could devise a meane, how men might bee judged by law, chosen by reason, and advanced by desarte, should as if with perfect forme, of a Commonwealth.* Yea but he hath brought that great businesse vnfo a good pale. It is to pay something; but not to pay sufficiently. For this sentence is fully receiv'd, That counsels ought not to bee judged by events. The Carthaginians were wonte to punish the ill counsels of their Captaines, although corrected by some fortunate successe. And the Romane people hath often refused triumphes too famous, successefull and most profitable victories, forsoomuch as the Generals conduchte, answered not his good fortune. It is commonly perceaued by the worldes actions, that fortune, to teach vs, how farre his powre extenteth vnfo all things; and who taketh pleasure to abat our presumption, having not beene able to make sillic men wise, he hath made them fortunate, in enuie of vertue: And commonly gives his selfe to sauour executions, when as their complot and device is meerelie hirs. Whence we dayly see, that the simplest amonge vs, compass diuers great and important affairs, both publike and priuate. And as *S바n†rеz*, the Perfian Prince, answered those, who seemed to wonder how his negociations succeeded so ill, his discourses being so wise: That he was only master of his dishonesties, but fortune master of his affayres hence. These may answer the like, but with a contrary byas. Most things of the world are made by themselues.

**Fata viam inuentat.**

Fates finde and know, which way to goe. The issue doth often authorifie a simple conduce. Our interposition is in a manner nothing els but an experience, and more commonly a consideration of vs and example, then of reaon. And as one amased at the greatnesse of some businesse, I have sometymes under-scored by those who had achiev'd them, both their motiues and addresse: wherein I have found but vulgar aduises; and the most vulgar and vfid, are peraduenture the fairest and most commodious for the practice, if not for the showe. And what if the plainest reaons are the best seate; the meanest, baseft and most beaten, are best applyde vnfo affayres? To mainaine the authenotic of our Kings-counfell, it is not requisite, that prophane persones should be partakers of it, and looke further into it, then from the first barre. To yphould it's reputation, it should be reverenced vpon credite, and at full. My consultatio on doth somewhat roughlie hew the matter, and by it's first showe, lightly consider the same; the maine and chiefe point of the worke, I am wonte to referinge to heauen.

**Permitte dius catenas.**

How all the rest shall goe,

Give leave to God to knowe.
Good and bad fortune, are in my conceit two sovereigne powers. This folly to think, that humane wisdome may acte the full part of fortune, And vaine is his enterprise, that pretends to embrace both caues and conseqeuences, and leade the progresse of his fault by the hand. And above all, vaine is in military deliberations. There was never more circumspection and military wisdome, then is sometimes seen amongst vs. May it be that man feareth to loose himselfe by the way, referring himselfe to the catastrophe of that play? I say moreover, that even our wisdome and consultation for the most part followeth the conduct of hazard. My will and my discourse, is sometime moued by one ayre, and sometime by another; and there be many of these motions, that are governed without me. My reason hath daily impulions and casuall agitation.

Let but a man look be who are the mightieft in Civics and who thiue beft in their businesse: he shall commonly finde, they are the filteft and poorest in wit. It hath hapned to simple women, to weake children, and to mad men, to command great states, as well as the most sufficient Princes. And the gullifh or shallow-pated (faith Fucioiides) doe more ordinarily come vnto them, then the wiseft and subtileft. We ascribe their good fortunes effects, vnto their prudence.

Wherefore I say well, that howsoever, events are but weake testimonies of our worthes and capacitie. I was now upon this point, that we need but looke upon a man advanced to dignity; had we but three days before knowne him to be of little or no worth at all: an image of greatness, and an Idea of sufficiency, doth infensible glide and crepe into our opinions; and we perwade ourselues, that increasing in state, in erudition and followers, he is also increas'd in merit. We judge of him, not according to his worth; but after the manner of count-ingers, according to the prerogative of his ranke. But let fortune turne hir wheel, let him againe decline and come downe amongst the vulgar multitude; every one with admiration enquireth of the caufe, and how he was raise'd so high. Good Lord, is that he? will some fay. What? knew he no more? had he no other skill when he was so aloft? Are Princes pleas'd with fo little? Nowe in good sooth wee were in very good hands,will others fay. It is a thing my selfe have often feene in my dayes. Ye the verye maske of greatness, or habite of maiflie, representeth in Tragedies, doth in some forte touch and beguile vs. The thing I adore in Kings, is the throng of their adoratours. All inclination and submifion is due vnto them, except the minde. My reason is not framed to bend or flope; my knees are. Melancholius being demanded, what he thought of Dionysius his tragedy, answered, I have not feene it, so much was it overclouded with language. So should thofe fay, that judge of great mens diffoures: I have not underfoode his discourse, so was it overdarkened with gravity, with greatness and with maiflie. Anticlea, one day perwaded the Athenians, to command, that their Afis shold as well be employed about the manuring of grounds, as were their horses: who anfwered him, that the Asis was not borne for such fervice: that is all one (quoth he) there needs but your allowance for it: for the moft ignorant and incapable men you implore about the directing of your wares, leave not to become out of hand most worthy, only because you employe them. Whereon depends the custome of so many men, who canonize the king, whom they have made amongst them, and are not contented to honour him, vnlesse they also adore him. Thole of Mexico, after the ceremonies of his consecration are finifh'd, dare no more looke him in the face: but as if by his royaltie, they had defyded him, they afterward deeme him to be a God: Amongst the othes, they make him swaere, to maintain their religion, to keep their laws, to defend their libertie, to be valiant, just and debonnaire: he is also sworne, to make
in the face: but as if by his royalty, they had deyed him, they afterward deeme him to be a God: Amongst the oaths, they make him swear to maintaine their religion, to keepe their lawes, to defend their liberties, to be valiant, wise and deponent; he is also sworn, to make the Sunne march in his accustomed light: in time of need to caue the cloudes shoure downe their waters; to enforce rivers to runne in their right wonted channels; and compell the earth to produce all necessitie things for his people, I differ from this common fashion, and more drifhtfull sufficiency, when I see it accompanied with the greatest of fortune, and aplied by popular commendation. We should hereby fully marcde, of what consequence it is, for a man to speake in due time, to choose right opportunity, to breake or change his discourse with a magistrall authority: to defend himselfe from others opposition, by a nod or mouing of the head, by a simile, a shrug or a silence, before an assembly, trembling with reverence and respect. A man of monstrous fortune, chancing to shooe his boul, and give his opinion vpon a frivolous subject, which but jeffingly was todd too and fro at his table, beganne even thus; he cannot choose but be a lyer, or an ignorant afle, that will say otherwise then, &c. I follow this Philosophical point, out commit a daggger, and there is some mischife. Loe here another advertisement: from whence I receive good vfe; Which is, that in disputations and conferences, all good seeming wordes, ought not presently to be allowed and accepted. Mofl men are rich of a strange sufficiency. Some may chance to speake a notable saying, to give a good answere, to vfe a witty sentence, and to propound it, without knowing the force of it. That a man holde not all he borroweth, may peraduenture be verified in my selfe. A man should not alwayes yeeld, what true or goodnes his ever it chanced to containe. A man must eyther combat the fame in good earnest, or drawe back, and colour of not understanding the manner to try on at partes, how it is placed in it. author. It may fortune, that we shut our felues vp, and further the froake, beyond its bearing. I have sometimes in the necessitie and throng of the combat, employed some reuirades or turnings, which beyond my intent, have provoed false offers, I but gave them by tale, and they were receavd by weight. Even as when I contend with a vigorous man; I pleaze my selfe to anticipate his conclusions: I safe him the labour to interpret himselfe: I endeavoure to prevent his imperfect and yet budding imagination: the order and pertinence of his understanding forwarneth and menaceth a forre off: of these others I doe cleane contrary: a man must understand or presuppose nothing but by them. If they judge in generall terms: This is good; that's naught: and that they jump right: see whether it be fortune, that thumpeth for them. Let them a little circumscribe and restrain their sentence; wherefore it is, and which way it is, Thefe vnuestall judgements, I see so ordinarily say nothing at all. They are men, that salue a whole multitude, in throng and troupe. Such as have true knowledge of the fame, salue and marke it by name and particularly. But it is a hazardous enterprize. Whence I have ofteyn then daylie scene, to happen that wits weakly grounded, intending to show themselues ingenious, by obferting in the reading of some worke, the point of beauty: lay their admiration with so bad a choice, that in lieu of teaching vs the authors excellency, they shewe vs their owne ignorance. This manner of exclamation is safe; Loe this is very excellent; Surely this is very good, having had a whole page of Virgile. And that's the shift whereby the subtill faue themselues. But to vnder take to follow him by shrugs and crinches, and with an expresse selected judgement to goe about to marke which way a good author turmoonth himselfe: pondring his wordes, his phrares, his inuention, and his veeral perfect one after another: Away; goe by; It is not for you. Velendum est non modo, quidque loquarum, sed eum, quidque sentiat, atque eum qua de causo quidque sentiat. Man must take heed not only what he speakes, but what he thinkes, and also why he thinkes, I daylie heare fooles, vtre vnoosful words. Speake they any good thing; let vs understand whence they know it, how farre they understand and whereby they holde it. We helpe them to employ this fine word, and this goodly reasone, which they posseste not, & have but in keeping; they have happily produced the fame by chance and at randan, our selues bring it in credit and eftimne with them. You lend them your hand; what to doe? The konne you no thankes, and thereby become more simple, and more foolish. Doe not second them: let them goe on: they will handle this matter as men affraid to be wayem selues, they dare neither change their feare of light, nor enter into it. Shake it never so little, it elueth them.
them; they quit the fame, how strong and goodly bower it be, They are hand-some weapons, but ill hasted. How often have I scene the experience of it? Now if you come to expound and conforme them, they take holde of you, and presently make the advantage of your interpretation from you? It was that which I was about to say: It was in my conscience, if I have not so express it, it is but for want of speech. Handy-dandy, what is this? Malice it selfe must be employed to correct this fierce rudenesse. Herein his position, that a man must neither hate nor accuse, but inflend, hath some reason else where. But here, it is inuitice to affift, and inhumanity to raife him vp againe, that hath nothing to doe with it, and is thereby of leffer worth. I love to have them entangle and beme their selves more then they are, and if it be possible, to wade into deepa, and that in the end they may recall and readuie themselfes. Satisfaite and deftrution of the sene, is no efcape curable by a tricke of aduertizement. And we may fity lay of this separation, as Cyrus ansvered one, who varged him to exhort his army in the nick when the battell should beginne; That men are not to make Warlike and couragious in the field, by an exceffion atation; no more then one be-commeth a ready cunning motion, by hearing a good song. They are prentifges that must be leant aforehand, by long and conftant infituation. This care wee owe to ours, and this affiduie of conftion and infinition: but to preach to him that flift passeth by, and fway the ignorance or fondenes of him we meete next, is a cuftome I cannot well away with. I feldom vfe it, even in fuch discourses as are made to me; and I rather quitt all, then come to these far-fetcht and magiftral infituation. My humour is no more proper to speake, then to write, namely for beginners. But in things commonly spoken, or amongst others, how falfe and absurd fonler I judge them, I never coffe or give them, neither by word nor signe. Further, nothing doth more fpright me in fettuallene the then that pleather it selfe more, then any reason may inuyly be fatidhe. It is ill lucke, that wifedome forbids you to pleafe and truft your felle, and fends you always away discontende and fearfull, whereas whiteflines and falhines, fill their guestes with gratulation and affurance. It is for the simpleft & lefl able, to looke at other men ouer their shoulders, ever returning from the combat of glory and glaundes. And molt of all, this outruccdoance of speache and cheetuallene of countenance, gives them the victory ouer the by-flanders, who are commonly weake, and incapable to judge aright and deeince true advantages. Obstinate and earneftneffe a opinion, is the faireft royall of folly and felfe opinion. Is there any thing so affured, fo resolute, so divinefull, so contemptible, so serious and fo grave, as the Afle? May we not commix with the title of conference & commincation, the harpe and interrupted discourses, which mirth and familiarity introduceth amongst friends, pleasantly dallying and wittily setting one with another? An excercife, to which my natural blithenesse makes me very apt. And if it be not to write downe and serious, as this other excercife I now speake of, yet it is no leffe harpe or ingenious, nor leffe profitable, as it seemed to Lycurgus. For my regard I bring more liberty then wit, and have therein more lecke then invention: but I am perfect in suffurance; for I endure the reuenge, not onely harpe but also indifference, without any alteration. And to any assault given me, if I have not preently or floutely wherewith to woake mine owne amends, I amaine not my felle to follow that ward or point, with a tedious and felle-wild congratulation, encling to pertinacie: I let it passe, and hanging downe mine eares, I mit my felle to a better houre to right my felle. He is not a merchant that owne not. Most men change both voyce and countenance, where that might faile them: And by an inprecturate rage, instead of averting themselfes, they accuse their weakenesse, and thereby betray their impacience. In this joyfull we now and then, harpe upon some fette things of our imperfections; which, lefed or confiderate we cannot touch without offence: and we profibly enter-aduertize our felues of our defects. There are other handysports, indifference, fond, and harpe, juft after the French manner; which I hate mortallie: I have a tender and tenable skinne. I have in my days scene two Princes of our roayll blood brought to their graves for it, it is an ill-doing thing for men, in left to hate, or in port to fleake one another. In other matters, when I will judge of any bode: I demand of him, how farre, or how much he is contented with himself: how farre his speache or his voyce pleauseth him: I will auoyde these goodlye excuxes, I did it but in jest: 
The third Booke.

Ablamn medici opus et incudibus stnd.

This worke away was brought,
Half hammer'd, half wrought.

I was not an hour there; I haste not seene him since. Now I say, let vs the three partes give me one that may represent you whole and entire, by which it may please you to be measured by another. And then; what finde you fairest in your owne worke, is it that on this part? the grace or the matter, the invention, the judgement, or the learning? For I ordinarly perceiue, that a man misseeth as much in judging of his owne worke, as of another's. Not onely by the affection, he therein employeth, but because he hath not sufficiente knowledge, or skill to distinguish it. The worke of its owne power and fortune, may seduce the worke-man, and transport him beyond his invention and knowledge. As for me, I judge not the worth of another's worke, more obscurely then of mine owne: and place my Elysyes sometimes lowe, sometimes high, very unconstantly and doubtfully. There are dyuers books profitable by reason of their subiectes, of which the author respecteth no commendations at all; And good bookes, as also good works, which make the worke-man ashamed. I shall write the manner of our bankets, and the fashion of our garments; and I shall write it with an ill grace: I shall publish the Edicts of my time, and the letters of Princes that publike pass from hand to hand: I shall make an abridgement of a good booke (and every abridgement of a good booke, is a foole abridged) which bookes shall come to bee lost; and such like things. Poffibility shall respe singular profit by such compositions; but I, what honour, except by my owne fortune? Many famous bookes are of this condition.

When I read Philip de Comines, (now dyuers yeare since) a right excellent author, I noted this speach in him, as a sayeing not vulgar: That a man should carefully take becaus, how he doe his maister so great or much service, that he thereby be hindered from finding his due recompence for it. I should have commended the invention, but not him. After that I found it in Tacitus: Beneficia eis usque latina sunt, dum videm turciculi possae, uti Corn. Tacit. multum anteuerere pro gratia odium reeditar. Beneficia are so longe welcome, as were Ann. 4. abike they may be required, but when they much exceede all power of recompence, hause is return'd for thinkes and good will. And Seceda very floridly. Nam qui putat esse turpe non reddat, non culte esse reddat. For be that thinkes it a shame not to requit, would be, he were not whom he should requite. Q. Cicer. with a looser byas: Qui se non putat satisfer, amicus esse nulla modo potest, He that thinkes he doth not satisfie, can by no meanes be a friend. The subiect according as it is, may make a man be judged learned, wife and memorious: but to judge in him the partes most of his owne and best worthy, together with the force and beauty of his minde: it is very requisite, we know first what is his owne, and what not: and in what is not his owne, what we are behouding to him for, in consideration of his choice, disposition, ornament, and language he hath therunto furnished. What if he have borrowed the matter and empair the forme? as many times it commeth to passe. We others that have little practicke with bookes, are troubled with this; that when we meete with any rare or quaint invention in a new Poet, or forcible argument in a preacher, wee dare not yet commend them, vntill wee have taken instruction of some wise man, whether that part be their owne or another bodies. And vntill then I evere Istand vppon mine owne guard. I come lately from reading ouer, (and that without any entemission) the story of Tacitus (a matter not usuall with me; it is now twenty yeares, I never spent one whole houre togethers vpon a booke;) and I have now done it, at the instant request of a gentleman, whom France holdeth in high esteme; as well for his owne worth and valour, as for a constant forme of sufficiencye and goodnes, apparently feene in dyuers brethren of his. I know no author, that in a publique register entemixeth so many consideracons of manneres, and particular inclinations. And I deeme cleane contrary, to what he thinketh; who being effectuall to follow the lives of the Emperours of his time, do dyuers and extreme in all manner of forme, so manie notable and great actions, which, nameleye their crueltie produced in their subiectes: hee had a more powerfull and attractive matter, to discoure and relate, then if hee had beene to speake orreate of battels and vnuerfall agitations. So that I often finde him barren, slighlye running over those glorious deaths, as if hee feared to atediate and moleft vs with their...
multitude and continuance. This forme of hisforye is much more profitable: Publ
like evemations, depend more on the conduct of fortune: private on ours. It is rather a judg-
ment, then a deducion of an hisfory: therein are more precepts, then narrations: it is
not a booke to reade, but a volume to study and to learn: It is so fraught with fenfences,
that right or wrong they are hudled vp: It is a feminary of morall, and a magazine of pol-
litique discourses, for the prouision and ornament of those, that poteffe lome place in
the managing of the world. He ever pleadeth with solide and forcible reasons; after a
sharpe and witty fashion: following the affected and laboured fyle of his age: They fo
much loved to raife and puffle themfelves vp, that where they found neither sharpenes-
nor subtility in things, they would bow low it of words. He draw eth somewhat neare to
Senecas writing. I deeme Tacitus more finnowie, Seneca more harpe. His fentence is more
proper to a crazed troubled flate, as is ours at this præsent: you would often fay, he pour-
trayeth and toucheth vp to the quicke. Such as doubt of his faith, doe maynefelfe acufe
themfelves to hate him for somewhat else. His opinions be found, and enlining to the bet-
ter fide of the Romane affaires. I am neitherfelfe somthing greene, that hee hath
more bitterly judged of Pompey, then honett mens opinions, who lived and conuerfed
with him, doe well allowe-off: to have efteemmed him altogeth er equall to Marius
and Silla, faying that he was more close and fecret. His intention and canuaffing for
the government of affaires, hath not beene exempfed from ambition, nor cleared from
reuenge: and his owne friends have feared, that had he gotten the victorie, it would
have transported him beyond the limits of reafon; but not vnto an unbrided and raging
meafure. There is nothing in his life that hath threatened vnto fo many felt a cruel eye, and
exprefte tiranny. Yet must not the fulfipon be counterpoised to the euidence: So doe not
I beleue him.

That his narrations are natural and right, might happily be argued by this: That they
do not always exactly apply themfelves to the conclusions of his judgment; which he
puifeth according to the course he hath taken, often beyond the matter he showeth
vp; which he hath danyed to ftoope vnto with one onely glance. He needeth no excuse
to have approoved the religion of his times, according to the lawes which commanded
him, and beene ignorant of the true and perfect worhip of God. That's his ill fortune,
not his defect. I have principally considered his judgement, whereof I am not every
where throughly refolved. As namely thefe words contained in the letter, which
Tibetius beeing fickle and aged, fent to the Senate. What fhall I write to you my maifers,
or hwu fhall I write to you, or what fhall I not write to you in these times? May the Gods and
Goddesfes looke me worse, then I daily fee my felfe to perifhe, if I confent. I cannot perceive
why hee fhould fo certainly appoyne them vnto a ftringing remore, tormenting the con-
fidence of Tibetius: As leaft when my felfe was in the fame pright, I faw it not. That
hath likewise femed somewhat demiffe and baue vnto me, that having faide, how hee
had exercifed a certayne honourable magiftracie in Rome, hee goeth about to exprefe
himfelfe, that it is not for oftentation, hee fpake it: This one tricke, namely in a
minde of his quality, fecmeth but bafe and courfe vnto me: For, not to dare fpake
roundly of himfelfe, accufeth fome want of courage: A confiant, refulute and high
judgement, and which judgeth roundly and furely, every hand while with his
owne examples, as well as of any strange thing: and winsmefhe as felfe of him-
felfe, as of a third perfon: A man muft overgoe these popular reafons of cuflom, in
favour of trueth and libertie. I dare not onely fpake of my felfe: but fpake alone
of my felfe. I ftruggle when I write of any other matter, and digrefs from my sub-
ject. I doe not fo indifferently love my felfe, and am not fo tide and commixt to
my felfe, as that I can not diftinguifh and consider my felfe a part: as a neighbour; as
a tree. It is an equall error, eyther not to fee how faire a mans worth ftrecheth,
or to fay more of it then one feeeth good caufe: We owe more love to God, then to our felves,
and know him felfe, and yet we talke our fyll of him. If his writings relate any thing of his
conditions: he was a notable man, vp-right and couraigious; not with a superficiou-
svirtue, but Philosophical and generous: He may be found our hardy in his testimonies:
As where hee houldeth, that a fouldier carrying a burthen of woode, his handes
were fo stiffly benummed with colde, that they fluck to his woode, and remayned fo fast
vnto
In the third Book.

Of Vanity.

T

Here is peradventure no vanitie more manifest, then so vainely to write of it. What Divinitie hath so divinely expressed thereof vnto vs, ought of all men of understanding to be diligently and continually meditated vpon. Who feeth not, that I haue entred so large a field, and vnderstaned so high a pitch, wherein so long, as there is either Inke or Paper in the world, I may vncefantly wander and flie without encombrance? I can keepe no regifter of my life by my actions: fortune placeth them too lowe: I hould them of my fantasies. Yet haue I seene a gentleman, who never comminicated his life, but by the operations of his behalfe, you might haue seene in his house, fet out for a bowle, a row of fainstes for feuen or euyt dayes: It was all his studie; it was all his talke: All other discours were vnfavorable to him. These are somewhat more ciuile, the excrementes of an oulde spirit, sometimes hard, sometimes laxatiae, but euer indigested. And when shall I come vnto the end of representer a continual agitacion, or vnceffant alteration of my thoughts, what subjecte fouer they happen vpon; since Diomedes filled six thousand bookees onely with the subject of Grammar: what is idle babbling like to produce, since the faltering and libertie of the tongue hath fluxt the world with fo horrible a multitude of volumes? So many wordes onely for wordes. Oh Pithagoras, why didst thou not coniure this tempest? One Galba of former ages, being accuset for liuing idle, answered, that all men ought to give an accompt of their actions, but not of their abiding. He was deceived; for justice hath also knowledge and animadversion over such as gather flible (as the common saying is,) or looke about for gape-feed. But there should be some correction appointed by the lovers, against foolish and unprofitable writers, as there is against vagabonds and loafers: so should both my selfe and a hundred others of our people be banished. It is no mockery; Scribbling fenneth
The third Booke.

to be a Symbole or passion of an irregular and licentious age. When writ wee euer to much as we have done since our intestine troubles? or when filled the Romanies so many volumes, as in the times of their mine? Besides that, the refining of vitts in a commonwealth, dote feldome make them the wiser: this idle working proceedeth of this; that all men doe outer-flowly give them felues to the office of their function, and are easly withdrawne from it. The corruption of the times we live in, is wonted by the particular contribution of every one of vs: some conforme treafta vnto it, some inuificie, other some irrelegation, tyrannie, avarice & cruelty; according as they are more or lesse powerfulll: the weaker forte, whereof I am one, imparte foolifhneffe, vanitie and idlenesse vnto it. It seemeth to be the feafon of vaine things; when the domageable preffe vs. In a time, where to do eell is common: to do nothing profitable, is in a manner commendable. One thing comforts me, that I shall be of the laft, that shall be attacched: whilft they shall provide for the worser forte and the moft hurtfull, I shall have leasure to amend my selue: For me thinkes it would be agaynft reason busily to inflfeit and pursuie pettie inconuenienes, when great ones infect vs. And the Phifion *Philatiums*, to one that offered him his finger to drefle, by whose face, looke and breath he apparantly perceaued, that he had an impofume in his loonges; My friend (quoth he) It is now no fit time to buife your selfe above your mayles. Yet concerning this purpose, I fave not many yeares since a friend of mine, whose name and memorie (for duers refpects,) I hould in singular account, who in the midift of our troublous mutilches; when, no more then at this time, neither lawe, nor iuftie, nor magiftrate was executed or did his office, publiifhed certaine fille reformations, concerning the exceffe of apparell, glutonie and diet, and abufes committed among pettie-fogging lawiers. They be amnifings wherewith a people in a desperate taking is fed, that to men may fay they are not cleane forgotten. Euen to doe these others, who mainly applie them felues to forbid certaine manners of speach, dances and vaine spottes, vnto a people wholly guen ouer to all licenciousneffe and execrable vices. It is then no convenient time for a man to waffh and netifie himfelf, when he is affailed by a violent feuer. It onely belongs to Spartans, to tricke, to combe and waffh themfelues at what time they are readie to call themfelues into some extreame hazard of life. As for me, I am subjeft to this ill custome, that if but a pump fit not handfomely vppon my footes, I shall also neglect my shert and my cloak: for I disdain to correct my selue by halves: when I am in bad estate, I felfe my selue on euill and abandon my selue through difpaire, and run to a downefall, and(as the faying is) caft the baft after the hatcher. I grow obfinate in empairing; and excepte my selue no more worthie of my care, eyther all well or all euill. It is a favour to me, that the defolation of our flate doth labilbe meet with the defolatii of my age: I rather endure that my euils shold thereby be forcharge, then if my goods had thereby beene troubled. The words I vter agaynft misfortune, are words of ifpite. My courage infleepe of yeelding, doth grow more obfinate; and contrarie to others, I finde my selue more guen to devotion, in propereous then aduerse fortune: according to *Xenophon* rule, if not accorded to his reafon, And I rather looke on heauen with a chearefull eye, to thanke it, then to begge any thing. I am more carefull to increafe my health when it smilcs vppon me, then to recover it when I haue loft it. Prosperities are to me as discipline and inftitution, as aduersities and croffes are to others. As if good fortune were incompatible with a good confience, men never become honeft but by aduerse and croffe chances. Good fortune is to me a singular motuie vnto moderation, and forcible fpure vnto modifice. Prayers winne me, menaces reiect me, favoures relent me, feare imperneceth me. Amongst humane conditions, this one is verie common, that wee are rather pleafe with strange things then with our owne: we loue changes, affeet alteracions, and like innovations.

\[\text{?sa dies idem novus grato perlibat bausta,}\]
\[\text{Quod permutaquis bora recurris equus.}\]

Times therefore vs require with welcome ayre, 
Because their hours on chamy horse doe repayre.

And my share is therein, Such as follow the other extremitie, onely to be well pleased with and in themselves; and selue-conceitedly to outer-eftecme what they possifie about others
The third Booke.

other; and acknowledge no forme fayer, then that they see; if they be not more aduiled then we,they are indeed more happy. I emue not their wifedome,bur grudge their good fortune: This greedy humor of new and vnquenchable desire of vnknowne things, doth much increafe and nourish in me a desire to trauell: but diuers other circumstancies conferre vnto it. I am well pleased to neglect and shake-off the government of mine owne house-hold. It is some pleasure to command, were it but over a mole-hill, and a delight to be obied. But it is a pleasure ovcr vnforme and languishing. Besides that it is ever neceffarily extermine with troublous cases, and hart-wearing thoughts. Sometimes the indigence and oppreffion of your owne people; sometimes the contentious and quarrels of your neighbours, and otherimes their infulting and vperation over you, doth vex, doth trouble and afflict you.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Ant} & \text{ verberata grandis vinca,} \\
\text{Fundusque mendax, arbore nunc aquas} \\
\text{Culpans, nunc torrentia aetas} \\
\text{Sydera, nunc hyemae ignis.} \\
\text{Or Vineyards beate and wet with halie and raine,} \\
\text{Or grounds defrauding hope, while trees complain;} \\
\text{Sometime of waters, sometime of those starres,} \\
\text{That scorch the fields, sometime of winters warres.}
\end{align*}\]

And that God will hardly once in halfe a yeare fend you a season, that shal throughly please your Bayly, and content your Reecuater: and that if it be good for your vines, it be not hurtfull for your meddowes.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Ant} & \text{ nimijis saturat servorum arboris Sol,} \\
\text{Ant} & \text{ subsit perimunt imbres, gelidaque pruna,} \\
\text{Flabragae ventum orum violento turbine vexant.} \\
\text{Or with exceffivhe heat heautus Sunne doth roast,} \\
\text{Or sodainc stormes do kill, and chilling frost,} \\
\text{Or violent whistle-winde blafthes doe vexeth the coast.}
\end{align*}\]

As that new and well-fhaped fhoe of that man of former ages, which hurts and wrings your foote; and that a stranger knows not what it costes you, and what you contribute to maintaine the bow of that order, which is fene in your houfholde: and which peraduenture you purchase at too high a rate. It was very late before I betooke my felle to houfbandrie. Thofe whofe nature causd to be borne before me, haue long time ridde me of that careful buthen: I had alreadie taken another habite, more fuitable to my complexion. Neuertheleffe by that I haue obierued therein, I finde it to be rather a troublome, then a hard occupation. Whofoever is capable of any other thing, may eafily discharge that. If I would feeke to grow riche; that way would feme ouer-long and tedious to me: I would then have ferued our kings; trade more benefciall then all others: since I pretend but to get the reputation, that as I haue gotten nothing, fo haue I not wafted any thing: fuitable to the rest of my life; as vnfit to effect any good, as improper to worke any cuill of conquence: and that I onely fseeke to weare out my life, I may (God be thanked) doe it without any great attention: if the worft come to paffe, before pouerie affale you, fseeke by prudence to cut of your charges; and by houfbanding your expences keepe afore hand with it; that is it I truft in, and hope to reform my felle before it come neare or enforce me to it. As for other matters, I haue forehalled many degrees and eftablished fundry wayes in my minde, to liue and rubbe out with leffe then I haue, I lay to liue with contentment. Now eftimation confus, evertum vitutique cultus, terminator pecunia modus. The meafure of money is limited not by the eftimate of wealth or place, but by the manner of living and other furniture. My very neede doth not fo precisely poiffe the whole effate, but that without touching to the quick or empairing the maine, fortune fhall finde fomething to play upon, or take hould of. My very preference as ignorant and grim as it is, affordeth much helpe to my houfhold affairs: I apple my felle thereunto but somewhat displeathfully; considering the manner of my houfe, which is, that fleruall to burne my candle at one end, the other is thereby nothing spared. Travels do not much hurt me, were it not for the charges, which are exceeding great & beyond my abilitie having ever bin accustomed to trauell not onely with neceffary, but also with decent equipage: & that's the reafon I make but fhort forreits & trauel.
not to oftent wherein I imploj but the fume and what I can well (pare, temporizing and differing according as it commeth more or lefle. I will not have the pleasure of my wandering to corrupt the delight of my retiriny. Contrary-wise my intent is, that they nourish and favor one another. Fortune hath led me in this; that since my chiefest profession in this life, was to live delicately and quietly, and rather negligently then seriously: it hath deprived me of neede to hoarde vp riches, to provide for the multitude of my heirs. For one, it that bee not sufficient for him, where with I have liued so plentifully, at his owne peril be it. His indiscretion shall not defcrue, that I with him more. And every man (according to the example of Polyion) provideth sufficiently for his children, that provideth they be not unlike to him. I shoulde by no meanes be of Crates his minde, or commend his proceeding. He left his money with a banquer vpon this condition: That if his children were foole, he should deliver it them; but prouing wise and able to shift for themelues, he should distribute the fame amongst the greatest foole. As if foole, being leaft capable to make shift without it, were more capable to vide riches. So it is, that the hurt proceeding from my absence, dooth not (in myne opinion) defcurue, so long as I shall haue meanes to bare it, I shoulde refuse to accept the occasions that offer the mfelues, to deftraete me from this toyle some affiffance. There is euer some pcece out of square. Sometimes the bufineffe of one houfe, and other times the affairs of another, doe hurre you. You pru too neare into all things: herein, as well as els where, your perzipicuity doth harme you. I steale from such occasions as may moue me to anger; and remoue from the knowledge of things, that thrie not; yet can I not so vide the matter, but till I stumble (beeing at home) vpon some inconuenience, which displeaseth me. And sleekt knaverie, that are moft hiddien from me, are thofe I am best acquainted with. Some there are, which to suoyde a further michief, a man muft helpe to conceal himselfe: vaine prickings (vaine sometimies) but yet ever prickings. The leaft and sleekeft hindrances, are the sharpest. And as the smalles holes hurt our eyes most, so the leaft affaires grieuus us most: A multitude of slender euils, offen deste more, then the violence of one alone, how great focuer. Even as ordinary thomes beeingemale and sharpe, prick vs more sharply and fans threatening, if on a fudaine we hit vpon them. I am no Philofophcr: Euils opprefse me according as they weigh; and waigh according to their forme, as well as according to the matter; and ofen more. I haue more inight in them, then the uelgar fort; and to have I more pacience. To conclude, if they hurt me not, they lyke heauty vpon me. Life is a tender thing, and eafe to be diftempered. Since I beganne to grow towards pectul age, and by conuenience toward frowardneffe, vemo enim refiftit subjic cm peripit impellit; For no man ftries himfelfe when he is set on going. What ever fond caute hath brought me to it; I proueke the humour that waye: which afterward by his owne motion is foldred and exasperated, attractive and heaping vp one matter vpon another, to feeke it felfe withall.

Stihicrhydr caius lapidem caust.
By often falling on,
Euen water breaks a stone.

These ordinary distilling drops consume and vlercate me. Ordinary inconueniences are never light. They are continuall and irreperrable, if they continually or imperetarily aryfe from the members of husbandry. When I confider my affaires a farre-off, and in groffe; I finde, be it becaufe I have no exact memory of them, that hetherto they have thrived beyond my reafons and expeftation. Me thinkes I drawe more from them, then there is in them: their good fuccesse betrayeth me. But am I waded into the bufineffe? See I all these parcels march?

Virg.Æn. l.5.710.

Tuo vero in curas animus didicumus owns.
Then we oue minde deuide,
To cares on every side.

A thousand things therein giue me caufe to defire & feare. Wholy to forfake them is very eafe vnto me: without toyling and vexation altogether to apply my felfe vnto them; is moat hard. It is a pettyfull thing, to be in a place, where whatoever you see, doeth fee you a work & concrene you. And me thinkes, I enjoye more blithely and taste more choifesly the pleasures of a stranger house, then of mine owne: and both my minde and taste rume more freely and purely on them. Diogenes answere according to my humor, when beeing
being demanded what kinde of Wine he liked best: Another man, sayde he, My father delighted to build at Montague, where he was borne: and in all this policy of domestick affairs, I love to make vfe of his examples and rules; vnto which I will as much as possible I can yeeld my succeffors. Could I doe better for him, I would performe it. I glory his will is this day praiffed by me, and doth yet worke in me. God forbid I should ever suffer any image of life to perifh vnder my handes, that I may yeeld vnto so good and so kinde a father. If I have vndertaken to finifh any olde peece of wall, or repair any building eother imperfect or decayde: it hath certainly bene, because I had rather a respect to his intention, then a regard to my contentment. And I blame my negligence or litherneffe, that I have not continued to perfect the foundations he had layde, or beginnings he had leafe in his house: by so much the more, because I am in great likelihood to be the last posflfer of it, namely of my race, and yet the laft hand vnto it. For, concerning my particular application, neither the pleasure of building, which is sade to be so bewitching, nor hunting, nor hawking, nor gardines, nor such other delights of a retir'd life, can much embufe or greatly amnifie me. It is a thing for which I hate my selfe, as of all other opinions, that are incommunious to me. I care not so much to have them vigorous and learned, as I labour to have them cafe and commodious vnto life. They are indeed sufficiently true and found, if they be profitable and pleasing. Tho', who hearing me relate mine owne insufficiencie in matters pertaining to husbandry or thrift, are still wifhing in mine earres, that it is but a kinde of difdaife, and that I neglect to knowe the implements or tooles belonging to husbandry or tillage, their fefions and orders; how my wines are made, how they gait, and vnderland or know the names and forme of hearbs, of simples, of frutes, and what belongs to the drefling of meates, where with I live and whereon I feed; the names & prizes of fuch fluffles I clothe my selfe withall, onely because I doe more seriously take to hart, some higher knowledge; bring me in a manner to deaths doore. That is meer forthannes & rather bruftines then glory: I would rather be a cunning horfeman, then a good Logician. Qinim in aliqui desatiens potius quam indigas visus; Diminuas mulier, putis deteere induo? Why rather with soft wings make you not speed? To worke vp something, whereof there is need? We hinder our thoughts from the generall and maine point, and from the caufes and vnverfall conducts; which are very well directed without vs; and omit our owne businesse; and Michael, who concerns vs nearer then man. Now I most commonly flaye at home, but I would please my selfe better there, then any where eies.

Sit mea fcevora inua Semitae, Sit modus laffo maris, evolaturum, -- Mithiaue. Some reperie and rest to mine olde age I crave, Journing, fasting, with a weary warring. O let an end have.

I wrote not whether I shal come to an end of it, I would that in liew of some other part of his succeffion, my father had refigned me that passionate love and deare affection, which in his aged yeares he bare vnto his household husbandrie. He was very fortunate, in conforming his desires vnto his fortunes, and knew how to be pleased with what he had. Politike Philosophie may how it lift accute the bailleneffe and blame the heritie of my occupation, if as he did, I may but once finde the taste of it. I am of this opinion, that the honomable valuations, to serve the Common-welth, and be profitable to many. Fructus omnibus ingenj et virtutis, omniumque profiantiae, sum maximus acceptur, sum in proximum quamque conferatur. For then is most fruile reaped both of our wittte and vertue, and all other excellencies, when it is bestowed upon our neighbours. As for me I departe from it: Patlye for conscience sake; (for whence I discern the weight, concerning such vacancys, I also discerne the slender means I have to supply them withall: And Plato a matter workman in all politike government omitted not to abstaine from them ) patlye for litherneffe. I am well pleased to enjoye the world, without troubling or perfusing my selfe with it, to live a life, onely excusable: and which may neyther bee burthenome to me, nor to any other. Never did man goe more plainelie and careleslie to worke in the
The third Booke.

the care and government of a third man, then I would, had I a ground to worke vpon. One of my wishes at this instant, should be to finde a forme in lawe, that could handomely allure and discreetly beguile my olde years, and hull them a sleepe; into whose hands I might dispose, and in all Fortunuitie resign the conduct and managing of my goods; that he might dispose of them as I doe, and gain vpon them what I gain: always provided he would but care a truly-thankfull and friendly minde. But what? we live in a worlde, where the loyaltie of our owne children is not knowne. Whosoever hath the charge of my purse when I travell, hath it freely and without controul; as well might he deceave me in keeping of reckoninges. And if he be not a Duell, I bind him to deale well and honestly, by my cattelke confidence. Multi fallere docentur, dum simum fallit, et alia inspicandia fugiit aut currit. Many have taught others to deceive, while themselves are to be deceived, and have given them inst cause to offend, by justifying them un/guiely. The most ordinarie assurance I take of my people, is a kinde of disnocknowledge or neglet: I never presume vices, but after I have scene them; and truft more young men, such as I imagine to be least debaughted and corrupted by ill examples. I had rather see at two months end, that I have spent four hundred crownes, then every night when I shoude goe to my quiet bed, have mine cares tyred and my minde vexed with three, four or five. Yet in this kinde of fleaving, have I had as little holne from me as any other: True it is, I lende a helping hand to ignorance; I willingly entertaine a kinde of troubled and vncontormable knowledge of my money: Vnill it come to a certaine measure I am content to doubt of it. It is not amifse if you allowe your boyes or seruant some small scope for his diuolution and indifcretion; If in gross we have sufficientlie least to bring our matter to passe, this exceffe of fortunes-liberalitie, let vs some what more suffer it to fland to his mercie: It is the gainers fee. After all I esteeme not so much my peoples fidellitie, as I disesteeme their injuriue. Oh bale and absurde studie, for a man to slude his money, and pleafe himselfe with handling and compting the same: for that's the waye whereby countoufnes make hit approaches. Since olde-dulhc eighteene yeares, that I haue had the full disposing of my goods in mine owne hands, I could never yet bee brought to over-looke, neverthelie titles nor bookes, no not so much as the principal affaires, that should necessarie passe through my know ledge and care.

It is no Philosophicall contempt, to neglect worldly and transtorie things: my taste is not so exquisitelye nice; for I value them according to their worth at least: but trulye it is an inexcefuly floathfulnesse and childifh negligence. What would I not rather doe, than reade a contract? And more willinglye, as a slave to my businesse, with care to ouer-looke, and care to suruaye a companye of olde-dullie bookes, and plodge vpon mutie writings? and which is worse, otherwise, as so many doe daylye for money? I have no more desire as care and paine: and I onely endure to become carelesse and retchlesse, I had, in mine opinion, beene fitter (if it might be) to live by others fortune, without bounden dutie or bondage. And yet I wrote not (the mat ter being thoroughly fitted) whether according to my humour and fortune, what I must endure with my affaires, and pocket vp at my servants and familiers handes, hath not more abjection, importunite and sharpenesse, then the following of another man should haue, better borne then my felfe, and who should guide mee somewhat at mine eafe.

Cic. parad. 5. Servitus obedientia est, frater animi et abietis, arbiter careri supr. Servitio est obesience of an abiet broken heart, that cannot dispose of itself. Crates did worse, who voluntarilye cast him felfe into the liberties of povertie, only to ridde himfelfe of the inconueniences, indignities and cares of his house. Which I would not doe: I hate povertie as much as griefe; yet could I finde in my hart to change this manner of life, with another leffe glorious and not so troublesome. Being abente, I discharge my felle of all such carefull thoughts, and shoud leffe feele the ruimous downe-fall of a Towne, then being prefernt, the fall of a Tile. Alone my minde is easlie freed, but in companie, it endureth as much as a Ploughmans. My horse vneurb'd, his reynes misplaced, or a thiep or a strap hitting against my legge, will keepe me in checke a whole daye long. I rouze my courage sufficiently against inconuenience; mine eyes, I cannot.

Senius d' super' serfus!
At home I am ever answerable for whatsoever is amiss: Few maisters, (I speake of mean condition, as mine is; whereas if any be, they are the more happy.) Can I fully rely upon a second, but still a good part of the burden shall lie upon them. That doth prejudice take some thing from my passion, in entertainement of guestes; or new comers, and happily I have beene able to stay some, more by my kitchen, then by my behawer or grace: as doe the peevish and fantastical; and I greatly diminish the pleasure I should take in my house, by the visitations and meetings of my friends. No countenance is so foolish, or so ill befitting a gentleman in his owne house, as to see him vexed or troubled about his household or domestike aires; to see him whisper one of his servants in the ear, and threaten another with his looks. It should inoffenfully glide on, and represent an ordinare course. And I utterly dislike, that a man should entertaine his guestes with eyther excusing, or boasting the entertainment he affordeth them. I love order and cleanliness.

— et cantharum et lanx,
Offendiunt me,

My dish, my drinking kynde,
Show me what kinde of man.

Well nigh as much as pleny: in mine owne house I exactly looke vnto necessity, little vnto state, and yeve vnto ornament. If your neighbours servant be fighting with his companion, if a dish be overthrown, you but laugh at it: you fleape quietly whilst Sir Such a one isibus calling vp of accounts, and over seeing his flocks with his steward, and all about your provision for to morrow. I speake according to mine opinion: omitting not in generall to thinke, how pleasing an amument it is to certayne natures, to see a quiet and prosperous household, directed by a formal and guided by a regulare order. But not intending to fasten myne owne errors and inconseuencie to the matter: Not to gainsay Plato, who deemeth that the happiest occupation any man can follow, is, to apply himselfe to his owne private businesse, without injustice. When I journey, I have nothing to care for but my selfe, and how my mony is laid out: which is divided with one ouerly precept. Over many partes are required in boardings and gathering of goods; I have no skil in it. In spending, I have some knowledge, and how to give my expenses days, which indeed is it's principall vse. But I attend it over ambriciously, which makes it both vnquall and deformed; and besides that immoderate in one and other vifage. If it appeare and make a good fhow, if it serue the turne, I indifferently goe after it; and as indifferently restraine my selfe, if it shine or smile not vpon me. Whatsoever it bee, eyther arte or nature, that imprints this condition of life into vs, by relation to others, it doeth vs much more hurt then good. In going about to frame apparences according to the common opinion, we defraud our felues of our owne profits. Wee care not so much, what our state, or how our being is, in vs and in effect, as we doe how and what it is, in the publique knowledge of others. Even the goodes of the mind, and wisedome it selfe, seeme fruitelesse vnto vs, if onely enjoyed by vs: except it be set forth to the open view and approbation of strangers. There are some, whose golden runes by seecmes in places underground, and that imperceptible: others extend the fame in plates and leaves: So that to some, pence are worth crownes, to others the contrary: the worlde judging the employment and value, according to the outward shewe. All other nise care and curious heede about riches, hath a touch of a taste of nature. Even their dispendings and over regulare and artificiall hyberalies are not worth a warye heede-taking, and counterwaile not a payenfull diligence. Who so will make his expense even and iust; makes it fluid and forced. Eyther close-keeping, or employing of mony, are in them selues things indifferent; and admitt no cullour of good or evill, but according to the application of our wil. The othercauses that drawes me to these journyes or vagaries, is the diffent or dispa
titie in the present manners of our state: I could easilie comfort my selfe with this corrup
tion, in regard of the publique interest;

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The third Booke.

Times worse than times of iron, for whose bad frame
And wickedness e'en nature findes no name,
Nor hath from any mettall let the fame.

But not for mine owne; I am in particular ouer-prevyled by it. For round about where I dwell, we are, by the outer-long licentiousnes of our intextine ciuill wars, almoast growne out, so licentious and riotous a forme of state,

Virgil, Georg.
1,1505.

Quippe qui habes versum atque nefas;
As where of good and bad,
There is no difference had.

That in good truth, it were a wonder, if it should continue and maintaine it selfe.

Virgil, AEn.
1,981.

Armati terrae exercit, semperque recentes
Consciam inutat praeda, si quire rapta,
They armed plow the land, and joy to drize,
And draw new bootyes, and on rapine liue.

To conclude, I see by our example, that the societie of men doth hould and is fewed togethe, at what rate soever it be: where euer they be placed, in mowing & cloising, they are ranged and flowed together; as veeneen and rugged bodies, that orderes are hulted in some close place, of them feltes finde the way to be vnitied and ionyed together one with another: and many times better, then are could have displeased them, King Philip assembled a able of the most lewd reproubant and incorrugible men he could finde out, all which he placed in a Citie, which of purpos he had causd to be buildd for them, of whom it bare the name. I imagine, that euene of their vices, they erected a politike contexture amongst themselves, and a commodious and luft societie. I see not one action, or three, or a hundred, but euene duers manners, admitted and commonly vfed: so extraordinates (namely in disloyaltie) and so barbareous in inhumanitie, which in my conceite, are the worst and most execrable kinde of viues, that I have not the hart so much as to conceate them without horror; All which I in a manner admire as much as I deteste. The exerci of these egregious villanyes, beareth a brand of vigere and hardines of minde, as much as of error and irreugular confusion. Necessitie complext, and ofteneth men together. This casual combination is afterward framed into lawes. For, there haue some as barbarously-fauage, as humane opinion could possible produce, which notwithstanding haue kept their bodies in as good health and rate, in long life, as thole of Plato or Aristoteles could doe. And to say true, all these descriptions of policie, fained by arte and supposition, are found ridiculous and foolish, to be put in practice. These great and long-continuing alterations, about the best forme of societie, and most commodious rules to unite vs together, are alterations onely proper for the exercise of our wit: As in artes, duers subjectes are found, that have no effence but agitation and disputing, without which they have no life at all. Such an Idea of policie, or picture of government, were to be establisht in a new world; but we take a world alreadie made and formed to certaine custumes: we engender not the fame as Pyruma, nor beget it as Cadmus. By what means soever we haue the priviledge to re-creat and range the fame anew, we can very hardly wrestle it from the accustomed habit and fold it hath taken, except we brake all. Solomon being demandand, whether he had establisht the best lawes he could for the Athenians: anuniered, yea of thole they would haue receivd: with such a shift doth Duno excuse him selfe; laying, that if he were newly to beginne to write of religion, he would plainly tell what his beleefe were of it: But being alreadie receivd, he will speake more of it according to custome, then to nature. Not to speake by opinion, but consonant to truthe, the moost excellent and best policie, for any nation to obserue, is that vnder which it hath maininabed it selfe. Itts forme and effential commoditie doth much depenc of custome. We are easily displeased with the present condition: yet do I hould that to with the government of few, in a popular estate: or in a Monarchie, another kinde of policie, it is a manifeatt vice and mette folly.

Fiova.c.

Aymes l'est ra tel que tu le vois esire,
S'il est roial yame la royaunte,
S'il est de penser bien communisant,
Aymes l'amis,car Deny s'a fait mansire.

Lowe
The third Book.

Loure thou the state, as thou feest it to be,
If it be Regall, love the royall race,
If of a few, or common-weale, embrace
It as it is; borne there God pointed thee.

So was the good Lorde of Pibrac wou'd to speake of it, whome we have lately loft: a man of so quiet and rare witte, of so sound judgement and of so milde and affable behaithour. The vnitfully lost of whom, with that of the Lorde of Eise, two fatallie happing to vs at one time, arc furelie losses of great conquence vnto our crownes. I wou't not well, whether France, amongst all the men it hath leafts, is able to afford vs two such other Gentleman, as may either in fincereitie and worth, or in sufficiencie and judgement, for the countell of our Kings, matche these two Gaffoynes. They were two mindees duenfle faire, and verilye, if we respect the corrupted age wherein we live, both rare and glorifouf.shining, every one in his forme. But alas, what defenfie had placed them on the Theater of this age, so diffanton and different in proportion from our deplorable corruption, and so faire from agreeing with our tumultuous storms? Nothing dooth so neerelie touche and so much overlay an estate, as innovation; Oneley chane dooth give forme to inuificc, and scope to tyrannie. If some one piece bee out of square, it may be vnderpropt: one may oppose himselfe against that, which the alteration, incident, and corruption, natural to all things, dooth not too-much change and drawe vs from our beginnings and grounded principles: But to vndertake to re-errect and found againe so huge aaffe, and change or remoue the foundations of so vaffe a frame, belongeth onely to them, who in fleed of purging, defece, and in liwe of cleansing, ferape out: that will amend particular faults by an universall confusion, and cure difeales by death: Non tam commutandum quam currundam rerum cupidis. Not so defervs to have things altered, as overthrowne. The worlde is fondly vnap to cure it selfe: So impacient with that which vexeth or grieveth it, that it onely aymeth to ridde it selfe of it, never regarding at what rate. We see by a thousand examples, that it dooth ordinarlye cure it selfe at it's owne charges: To bee freed from a present evil, is no perfect cure, except there be a generall amendment of condition. The ende of a skillfull chirurgion, is not to mortifie the bad flesh, it is but the beginning and adreffing of his cure: he aymeth further, that is, to make the naturall to growe againe, and reduce the party to his due beeing and quality. Whoever proposeth onely to remoue what gnaweth him, shall be to feekte: for good doe not necessarily succede evil: another, yea a worfe evil may succede it. As it hapiued vnto Cefarcs murtherers, who brought the common-wealth to so disreafegull a plunge, that they repented themselves, they ever medled with the same. The like hath since fortuned to dyuers, yea in our dayes. The French that liue in my times, know very well what to speake of such matters. All violent changes and great alterations, disorder, dismantler and shake a state very much. He that should right-ly respect a found recovery or abfolute cure, and before all other things throughly consult about it, might happily grow flacce in the businesse, and beware how he let his hand vnto it. Pacinus Calaus corrected the vice of this manner of proceeding by a notable exaple. His fellow Citizens had mutined against their magistrates: He beeing a man of iminent authority in the City of Capua, found one daye the meanes to shuftp the Senate in the Guildhall or Pallace, then calling the people together in the market place, tolde them; That the day was now come, wherein with full and unreftit liberty, they might take vangenge of the tyrants, that had so long and so many wyes oppreffed them, all which hee had now at his mercye, alone and vnarmed. His oppinion was, that orderly by lots, they should be drawne out one after another; which done, they might particularly dispose of euery one: and whatsoever should bee decreed of them, should immediately be executed vpon the place; provided they should therewithall prudently advertise and resolve to nominate and eftablish some honest and vndecfeft man, to supply the roome of the condemned, leaft their Civitie should remayne voyde of due officers. To which they graveted, and heard no foo-ner the name of a Senator read, but a loudie exclamation of a generall discontent was rayled against him: which Pacinus perceauing, he requested silence, and thus bespake them. My country men, I see verye well, what man must be cut-off, hee is a pertici-
The third Booke.

ous and wicked member; but let vs have an other found-good man in his place; and whome would you name for that purpose? This unexpected speech bred a disaffected silence; each one finding himselfe to seeke and much confounded in the choyse. Yet one, who was the boldest-impatient amongst them, nominated one whom he thought fittest; who was no sooner heard, but a general consent of voyces; louder then the whoe, followed all refusing him: as one taxed with a hundred imperfections, lawfull caufes and just objections, vterly to reject him. These contradictory humours growing more violent and whote, every one following his private grudge or affection, there ensued a farre greater confusion and hurrie-hurrie, burly in drawing of the second and third Senator, and in naming and choosing their successors; about which they could never agree. As much disorder and more confusion about the election, as mutuall consent and agreement about the demifion and displaing. About which tumultuous trouble, when they had long and to no end laboured and wearyed themselves, they began, some heare, some there, to scatter and resale-away from the assemblie: Every one with this resoluition in his minde, that the oldelef and best knowne euill, is ever more tolerable, then a fresh and inexperienced mischief. By seeing our selves pitifully tost in continuall agitation: for what have we not done?

I am not very fuddaine in resoluing or concluding.

Yet are we not peraduenture come vnto our last period. The prefentation of states, is a thing in all likelihood exceeding our understanding. A ciuill policie (as Plato faith) is a mighty and puiffant matter, and of very hard and difficult diilolution; it often indureth against mortall and intelline diseases: yea against the inuite of vnjuift lawes, against tyrannie, against the ignorance and debordement of Magiftrates, and against the licentiofneffe and feditious of the people. In all our fortunes, we compare our felues to that which is above vs, and looke toward those that are better. Let vs meaure our felues by that which is beneath vs, there is no creature fo miserable-wretched, but finds a thousand examples to conforte himselfe withall. It is our faulte, that we more unwillinglie behold what is above vs, then willinglie what is beneath vs. And Solomon faide, that should a man heape vp in one mafs all euils together, there is none, that would not rather choofe to carrie back with him such euils as he already hath, then come to a lawfull division with other men of that chaos of euils, and take his allotted share of them. Our Common-wealth is much crazed, and out of tune. Yet have diuers others beeene more dangeroufie-sick, and have not dydye. The Gods play at hand-ball with vs, and toffe vs vp and downe on all hands, Enumerio Diij nos homines quasi pilas habent. The Gods perdy

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greatly please me, who instructeth Nicocles, not to enuie those Princes, who have large dominations, but such as can well maintaine, and orderly preserve those that have beene herein ancie defeate unto them; that of Rome was never fo found, as when it was most sick and distempred. The wofulle of it's forme, was to it the moost fortunate. A man can hardly distinguishe or knowe the image of any policie under the first Emperors; it was the moost horible and turbulent confusion that could bee conceaved, which notwithstanding it endured and therein continued; presuerting, not a Monarchie bounded in his limites, but so many nations, so different, so distant, so euill affected, so confusedly commanded, and so vnuitily conquered,

-nece genus utris.

Commodet in populum terrae pelagia parentem,
Insidias fortunae iam.
Fortune doth to no other nation lend
Enve, against'that people force to bend,
Which both by land and sea their force extend.

All that shake hath not fall. The contexture of so vast a frame houlds by more than one naile. It houlds by it's antiquitie: as olde buildinges, which age hath robbed of foundation, without loame or mortar, and nevertheless live and subsist by their owne weight,

-nece iam invidius radibus hanc us
Pondere tuta sio eff.

Though now to no strong roote it stickes to fall;
Yet is it safe by selfe-weight, and will last.

Moreover he goes not cunningly to worke, that onely suruayes the flanke and dykes: to judge well of the strength of a place; he must heedily marke how, and view which way it may be approached: and in what parte the affaient flanckes. Few vessels fit for their owne weight, and without some extraordinary violence. Cast we our eyes about, and in a generall suruay consider all the world: all is toppling; all is out of frame. Take a perfect view of all great states both in Christendome, and where ever els we have knowledge of, and in all places you shall finde a most evident threatening of change and ruine;

Et sus sine virus incommoda, parque per omnes
Tempestars.

Their discummoditie they knowe:
One storme alike ore: all doth growe.

Astrlogers may sport themselves, with warning vs, as they doe of imminent alterations and succeeding revolutions: their divinations are present: and palpable, we need not prie into the heavens to finde them out. We are not onely to drawe comfort, from this unverfali aggregation of euils and threatens; but also some hope for the continuance of our state: forso much as naturally, nothing fallis, where all things fall: a generall disease is a particular health: Conformitie is a qualitie adverse to disfluxion. As for me, I nothing dispaire of it, and me thinks I already perceate some flattering hoales to save vs by:

Deus haec fortissi benigna
Reductus in sedem vicis.

It may be, God with gracious enterceule,
Will re-establish those things in their course.

Who knowes, whether God hath determined it shall happen of them, as of bodies that are purged, & by long-grievous sickneses brought to a better & sounder state; which thoughly-purged diseased doe afterward yeeld them a more entire and purely-perfect health, then that they tooke from them? That which grieveth me most, is, that computing the symptomes or affects of our euil, I see as many meerly proceeding of nature, and such as the heauens sends vs, and which may properly be termed theirs, as of those that our owne suffer, or exceffe, or misfray. or humane indirection confer upon us. The very Planets seeme orderly to declare unto vs, that we have continued long enough, yea and beyond our ordinary limites. This also grieues me, that the nearest euill threatening vs is not a dislemper or alteration in the whole and fulde state, but a dispagination and divultion of it: the extremity of our feares. And even in these fantasticall humors or dotings of mine, I feare the treach of my memory, least unwarily I haue made me to register some things twise. I hate to conge
and agnize my selfe, & can never endure but grudgingly to review and repolish what once hath escaped my pen. I here set downe nothing that is new or lately found-out. They are vulgar imaginations, & which peradventure having bin conceavd a hundred times, I scheare to have already enrouled them.Repetition is ever tedious, were it in Homer: But ykesome in things, that have but one superficial and tranitory show. I am nothing pleased with inculation or writting-of in matters, be it in profitable things, as in Seneca. And the manner of his Stokke schoolie displeaft me, which is, about every matter, to repeate at large, & from the beginning to the end, such principles and preu postissions, as serene in general: & every hand-while to re-alede anew the common arguments, and unverfall reasons. My memo-rie doth daily grove worse and worse, and is of late much empaier:

**Pomula leuca or st ducemia fomnor.**

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**Arceu Sancta transierim.**

As though with drye lips I had drunked that vp,
Which drawes oblivions sleepe in drowsie cup.

I shall henceforward be fame (for hitherto thanks be to God, no capittall fault hath hapned) whereas others feele time and occasion, to preremiate what they have to say that I aoid to prepare my selfe; for faire I should trye my selfe to some frient bond, on which I must de-pend. To be bound and tide doth somewhat distraet me: namely when I am wholly to relie and depend on to weake an instrument, as is my memorie. I never read this story, but I feele a certaine proper and naturall offence. Lycurges, being accused of a conspiracie against A-lexander, the very fame day, that according to custome, he was led forth in presence of all the armie, to be heard in his owne defence, had in his minde a preremiated oration, which he had floudoule learn'd by rote, whereas of hammering and falting, having utter'd some words: And wrestling with his memory, and striving to run it over againe, he was suddainly charged by the soldiers that were about him & flaine with pikes; as they who held him to be convicted. His amazement and silence, forbad them as a confection. For they supposed, that having had so long a fattery in prifon to prepare himselfe, it was not (as they thought) his memory failed him, but his guiltie confeience bruted so his tongue and deprived him of his wonted faculties. It was truly, we spake, The very place, the company & expecation afforded a man, when he moff aimeth at an ambition of well-speaking. What can a man doe, when a meere oration shall bring his life into consequence? As for me, if I be tunde vnto a prescript kinde of speaking, what bindes me to it, doch also looke me from it, when I have committed and wholly assigned my selfe vnto my memory; I so strongly depend on the fame, that I overwelme it: the same under her owne burthen. So much as I refere my selfe vnto her, so much am I deuised from my selfe; until I make tryall of my countenance. And I have sometimes beene in paine, in concealing the bondage wherevnto I was enga-ged: whereas my diigine is, in speaking, to reprefent a maine careleinesse of accent and countenance, suddaine and unpreremiated, or casuall motions as rifying of prrefent occa-ions; rather loving to say nothing of any worth, then make shew I came promed to speake well: a thing above all vnfeemely to men of my profefion, and of over frient an obligation, to one that cannot holde much: Preparation gives more to hope, then it brings with it. A man doth oftene flip himfelfe into his dobleet, to leape shorter, then he did in his cowne. Nobil est his qui placet volunt, tam aduerfariuin, quam expetitione. This is none so great an enemy to them, that would pleae, as expetition. It is written of Curio the Orator, that when he proposed the ditribution of the partes of his oration, into three or foure; or the number of his arguments and reasons, it was his ordinary custome, either to forget some one, or add one or two more vnto it, I have ever shunned to fall into such an inconvenience: as one hating these selfe-proumes and prescribing: Not only for the disfrut of my memory, but also because this forme drawes over neare vnto an aritfie. Simpliciora mitiores decent. Plaine words and man-ners become Martialifte. Sufficeth, I have now made a vow vnto my selfe, no more to vnnder-take the charge, to speake in any place of respect: For, to speake in reading what one hath written; besides that it is most foolish & aburrde, it is a matter of great disadvantage to such as by nature were interred with or might do any thing in the action. And wholly to rely or cast my selfe to the mercy of my preuent intention, much leffent it have by nature so dull & trou-bled, that it cannot in any wise supply me in suddaine, and fead me in important necesseties, May it please the gentle reader, to suffer this one part of Effay to runne on, and this third

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**The third Booke.**
The third Book.

strains or addition of the rest of my pictures pieces. I add, but I correct not: First, because he who hath hypothecified or engaged his labour to the world, I finde apparence, that he hath no longer right in the same: let him, if he be able, speake better else where, and not corrupt the worke he hath already made false: Of such people, a man should buy nothing, but after they are dead: let them throughly thinke on it, before they produce the name. Who hathens them? My booke is always one: except that according as the Printer goes about to renew it, that the buyer depart not altogether empty-handed, I give my selfe law to add thereto (as it is but vnoherent cheekie, or ill toyed in-laid-worke) some supernumerall emblems. They are but outer-weights, which disgrace not the first forme, but guie some particular price unto every one of the succeeding, by an ambitious petty speculility. Whence notwithstanding, it may easily happen, that some transposition of chronology is thereto commit: my reports taking place according to their opportunity, and not euer according to their age. Secondly, for somuch as in regard of my selfe, I fear to looke by the exchange: My vnderstanding doth not always goe forward, it sometimes goes alfo backward: I in a manner diftrust mine owne fantasies as much, though second or third, as I doe when they are the first; or present, as past. We many times correct our selves as foolishly, as we take others unwarily. I am growne aged by a number of years since my first publications, which were in a thousand five hundred and foure foares. But I doubt whether I be encreased one inch in wisedome. My selfe now, and my selfe anon, are indeede two; but when better in good foorth I cannot tell. Is there a goodly thing to be oldes? we did only march towards amendment: It is the motion of a drunkard stumbling, reeling, gidie-brain'd, formele; or of seedes, which the ayre dooth casually waue to and fro, what way it bloweth. Antiochus in his youth, had flougly and vehemently written in favor of the Academy; but being olde he changed copy, and writ as violently against it: which of the two I should follow, should I not euer follow Antiochus? Haung once established a doubt, to attempt to confirm the certainty of humane opinions, were it not an establishing of a doubt, and noe of the certainty? & promise, that had he had another age given him with assurance to liue, should euer have bin in terme of new agitations; nor to much better, as other and different? Publicke fators hath given me some more bouldeins, then I hopped for: but the thing I feare most, is to breed a glutting faciety. I would rather spurt then bee weary. As a wife man of my time hath done. Commendation is ever pleasing, to whom from whence, or wherefore euer it come: yet ought a man be informed of the cause, if he will sufficie please and applaud him selfe therewith. Imperfections themselves have their meane to be recommended. Vulgar and common estimation, is little happy if it come to encounter. And I am deceived, if in my dayes, the worst compositions and absurdlest bookees have not gained the credit of popular breath. Verily I am much beholding to divers honest men, and I thanke them, that vouchsafe to take my endevours in good parte. There is no place where the defects of the fashion doe so much appeare, as in a matter, that in it selfe hath nothing to recommend it. Good reader blame not me, for thoole that passe here, eyther by the fantazick or vnwarneffe of others: for every hand, each worke-man, brings his owne vito them. I neither medle with orthographie (and would only have them follow the ancient) nor with curious pointe; I have small experience in either. Where they altogether brake the fence, I little trouble my selfe there with; for at least they discharge me. But where they will well-in and substiute a false fence (as often they doe) and wyre-draw me to their conceits, then they spoile me. Nevethelesse, when the sentence is not strong or finnouie according to my meaning, an honest man may rejeft it to be mine, He that shall know how little laborious I am, & how framed after mine owne fashion, will easily beleue, I would rather endite anew, as many more other. Effayes, then subiect my selfe to trace thefe over againe, for this childish correction. I was saying erewhile, that being plunged in the deepest mine of his new kinde of metall, I am not onely deprived of great familiarity with men of different cuftomes from mine; and other opinions, by which they holde together by a knot, commanding all other knots: but am not also without some hazard, amongst those, with whom all things are equally lawfull: moft of which cannot now a dayes empare their market, towards our justice: whences the extreme dege of licenciousnesse proceedeth. Calling over all the particularice circumstances that concerne me, I finde no one man of ours, to whom the inhibition of our lawes colseth any thing, eyther in gaine ceasing, or
And some there be, that in cholerike heat and humorous furie will cracke and vaunte much, that will performe a great deale lesse then my selfe, if once wee come to an equall balance. As a house at all times freely open, much frequented, of great hauente and efficis in entertayning all fortes of people (for I could never bee induced, to make an impliment of warre thereof: which I perceate much more willinglye to bee fought-out and flocked vnto, where it is further from my neighbours) my house hath merited much popular affection: and it was a harde matter to gourmandize my selfe vpon mine owne dung-hill. And I repute it a wonderfull and exemplaire frageness, that having vndergone so many stormie-wrackes, so divers changes and tumultuous-neighbour agitations, it doth yet to this day continue free, and (as I may say) an vndefiled virgine from shedding of blood, spoile or facking. For, to say true, it was possibile for a man of my disposition to escape from a constant and continuall forme, whatsoever it was. But the contrary inuasions, hostile incursions, alternations and vicissitudes of fortune, round about me, have hetherto more exasperated, then mollified the humour of the country: & recharge me with dangers and invincible difficulties. I have escaped. But itgreeueth me that it is rather by fortune; yea and by my discretion then by justice: And it vexeth me, to be without the protection of the laws and vnder any other safegarde, then theirs. As things now stand, I liue more then halfe by the favour of others; which is a feuerue obligation; I would not be indebted for my faftie, neither to the goodneffe, nor to the goodwill of other great men, which applaudeth themselfes with my libertie and legalitie; nor to the facility of my predeceffors or mine owne manners: for, what if I were other then I am? If my demeanor, the libertie of my conuerfation, or happily alliance, binde my neighbours: it is a crueltie, that they should acquit themselfes of it, in suffering me to liue, and that they may say: wee give him a free and undifurbed continuation of devine seruice, in the chaple of his house, whilft all other Churches round about him, are by vs prophane and deferted: and we freely allowe and pardon him the frution of his goods and vfe of his life, as he maintaineth our wiuers, and in time of neede keepeth our cattell. It is long fince, that in my house, we have a share in Lycenus the Atheniens praiue, who was the generall florier, depofteric and guardian of his fellow-citizens goods and purses. I am now of opinion, that a man must live by lawe and authoritie, and not by recompence or grace. How many gallant men have rather made choise to losse their life, then bee indebted for the same? I thune to submit my selfe to any manner of obligation. But above all, to that which bindes me by dueye or bondes of honour. I finde nothing so deare, as what is given me: and that because my will remaines engaged by a rule of ingratitude: And I more willingly receaue such offices, as are to bee fould. A thing eafe to bee beleaved; for these I giue nothing but money; but for thofe, I giue my selfe. The bonde that haueth mee by the lawe of honeft, feemeath to mee much more virgent and forcible, then that of ciuill compulfion. I am more genlye ride by a Notane, then by my selfe. Is it not reaon, that my confcience bee much more engaged to that, wherein bee hath simplie and onely bee clothed? Els, my faith oweth nothing; for bee hath had nothing lent hire. Let one helpe himselfe with the confcience or affurance he hath taken from me. I would much rather breake the prifon of a wall or of the lawes, then the bonde of my worde. I am nicelie scrupulous in keeping of my promisses, nay almost superficious; and in all subjectes I commonly paffe them vncertaine and conditionall. To such as are of no weightie conquence, I adde force with the zealouffe of my rule; bee rackes and chargeth me with his owne interret. Yea, in such enterprises as are altogather mine owne and free, if I speake the worde, or name the poine, me thinke I prefinne the fame vnto me: and that, to giue it to anothers knowledge, it is to preordaine it vnto himselfe. Me feemes I absolutely promisse, when I speake it. Thus I make but smalll bragge of my propositions. The condemnation I make of my selfe, is more mouing, forcible and severe, then that of the judges, who onely take me by the countenance of common obligation: the constraint of my confcience is more rigoros and more strictly feuture: I faintly followe those duties, to which I should be haled, if I did not goe to them. Hoc si prius est inurn est quadrelle sit, si est voluntaire. This is fo just as it is well done, if it be voluntarie. If the action have no glimpses of libertie, it hath neither grace nor honour.
The third Booke.

Quod meius cogit, vid volunat. impunit.

What law enforceth me to do,
By will they can scare me winne to do.

Where necessity draws me, I love to relent my will. Quia quicquid imperio cogitur, extra vandalis, quam præstantia caveat referitur. For whatsoever is enforced by command, is more imputed to him that executeth then in him that performeth. I know some, that follow this aire, even vnto injustice: They will rather give, then restore: sooner lend, then pay: and more sparingly do good to him, whom they are bound to doe it. I bend not that way, but am mainly against it. I love so much to disoblige and discharge my selfe, that I have sometmes esteemed as profligate, the ingratiates, the offenses, and indignities, I had receiv'd of them, to whom either by nature or accident, I was by way of friendship somewhat beholding: taking the occasion of their fault for a quittance and discharge of my debt. Although I continue to pay them the apparant offices with common reason, I notwithstanding finde some sparing in doing that by justice, which I did by affection, and found what to ease my selfe with the attention and diligence of my inward will. Est prudens laius inre or custum, sic impetum benevolentia. It is a woman's part to keep a band as on the course, so on the career of his good will. Which where ever I apply my selfe, is in me too urgent and oter-prefting: at least for a man that by no means would be enthroned. Which husbandry standes me instread of some comfort, about the imperfections of those that touch me. Indeede I am much displeased, they should thereby be of leefft worth: but so it is, that I also have some thing of my engagement & application towards them. I allow of him, that loses his child so much the leefft, by how much more he is either deformedly crooked, or cald-headed: And not onely when he is knaufit or threwd, but also being vnluckie or ill borne (for God himselfe hath in that abased of his worth and natural estimation) always provided, that in such a colde and sleight affection, he bear his selfe with moderation and exact justice. In me, proximity of blood doth nothing diminith, but rather aggravate defects. After all, according to the skill I have in the knowledge of beneficte and thankfulness, which is a knowledge very subtil and of great vie, Ife no man more free and leefft endeav'ed, then his thorow I am my selfe. What euer I owe, the same I owe simp'y to common and natural obligations. There is no man more absolutely quit and clear of whence.

nec sunt mihi nota potestim

With grifts I am not much acquainted,
Of mighty men, and much leefft tainteed.

Princes give me sufficiently, if they take nothing from me, and doe me much good, if they doe me no hurt; it is all I require of them. Oh how much am I behoulding to God, for somuch as it hath pleased him, that whatsoever I enjoy, I have immediately receiv'd the fame from his grace: that he hath particularly referr'd all my debt vnto him selfe. I oft inefandy beheld his sacr'd mercy, that I may never owe any man so much as one effental God-a-mercy. Oh thre fortunate liberty, that hath brough't me so farre. May it end successfullly. I endeavour to have no manner of neede of any man. Si me omnis jam est mitis. All my hope for all my help is my selfe. It is a thing that every man may effect in him selfe: but they more easly, whom God hath protected and shelter'd from natural and urgent necessities. Indeede it is both lamentable and dangerous, to depend of others. Our felues, which is the safest and most lawful refuge, are not very sure under our felues. I have nothing that is mine owne but my selfe: yet is the poftition thereof partly defective and borrowed, I manage my selfe, both in courage (which is the stronger) and also in fortune, that if all things els should forsake me, I might finde some thing, where with to please and satisfie my selfe. Eleus Hippas did not oonly store him selfe with learning, that in time of neede he might joyfully withdraw him selfe amongst the Muses, and be sequestred from all other company: nor only with the knowledge of Philosophy, to teach his minde to be contented with her, and when his chance should so dispose of him, manfully to passe out such inclemanties, as exteriory might come vnto him. But moreover he was so curious in learning to dresse his minde, to noite his haire, to make his clothes breeches & shooes, that as much as could possiblle he mighte wholly rely & trust to him selfe & be freed from all foraine helps. A man doth more freely and more blithely enjoy borrow'd goods: when it is not a bounden loyallance and constrained
The third Booke.

constrained through neede: and that a man hath in his will the powre, and in his fortune, the means to live without them, I know my felse well. But it is very hard for me to imagine any liberalitie of another body to pure towards me, or suppose any hospitalitie to free, to hartie and genuine, as would not seeme affected, tyrannically, disgraced and attended on by reproche, if fo were that necessitie had forced and tided me vnto it. As to grace is an ambivous qualitie, and of prerogative, is taking a qualitie of submission. Witness the injurious & pick-thanke refuall, that Benzsreh made of the presents which Tiberir had sent him. And thofe, which in the behalfe of Solomon the Emperor were sent to the Emperor of Calvane, did fo, vvere him at the hart, that he did not onely vterly reject and scornfully refuse them, saying, that neither himselfe nor his predecessors before him, were accustomed to take any thing, and that their office was rather to give; but besides he caufed the Ambassadors, to that end sent vnto him, to be cast into a deep dungeon. When Tettis (faith Ariforte) Hatereth Impiety: when the Lacedemonians flatter the Athenians, they doe not thereby intend to put them in mind of the good they have done them, which is ever hatefull, but of the benefits they have receavcd of them. Thofe I see familiarie to employe and make vfe of all men, to begge and bowowe of all men, and engage them selves to all men, would doubtlefe never doe it, knew they as I doe, or tafted they as I have done, the fweete content of a pure and vndependning libertie: and if there withall (as a wife man ought) they did duly ponder what it is for a man to engage himfelfe into fuch an obligation, or libertie-depriving bond. It may happily be paide sometymes, but it can never be vterly difloiled. It is a cruel bondage, to be left, and fometime acquaint with me, knowe, whether euer they fawe any man living, leffe soliciting, leffe craving, leffe importuning or leffe begging, then I am, or that leffe employeth or chargeth others, which if I be, and that beyond all moderne example, it is no great wonder, fithence fo many parts of my humours or manners contribute thereunto. As a naturall kind of fluborneffe: an impaciencie to be tend; a contracction of my defires and deligne: and an insufficientie or vntroulineffe in all manner of affaires: but about all, my most favoured qualities, lethall fraughtunffe, and a genuine libertie. By all which meanes, I have framed an habite, mortally to hate, to be behoulding to any creature els, or to depend of other, then vnto and of my felfe. True it is, that before I employe the beneficence or liberalitie of an other, in any light or weightie occasion, small or vrgent neede foever; I doe to the vnmost powre employe all that ever I am able, to auoide and forbeare it. My friends doe ftrangeffe imporntue and moleft me, when they follicite and urge me to entreate a third man. And I deme ne it a manner of no leffe charge and imputation, to defignage him that is endebted vnto me, by making vfe of him, then to enrage my felfe vnto him that oweth me nothing. Both which conditions being removed, let them not looke for any conberfome, negotious and carefull matter at my hands (for I have denounced open warre vnto all manner of carke and care) I am commodious the eafe and ready in times of any bodie necelfitie. And I have also more auyed to receive, then fough to giue: which (as Ariforte faith) is also more facile. My fortune hath afforded me small meanes to benefice others, and that little the hath befhowed me, the fame hath the also meane and indifferentely placed. Had thee made me to be fo borne, that I might have kept some ranke amongst men, I would then have beene ambitious in procuring to be beloved, but never to be feared or admired. Shall I expresse it more infortentie? I would hate had as much regarde vnto pleasing, as vnto profiting. Cyrus doth most wiselie, and by the mouth of an excellent Captaine and also a better Philosopher, esteeme his bountie and prufe his good deedes, fare beyonde his valour and aboue his warlike conquêtes. And Scipio the elder, wherefore he seeketh to prevalye and fet forth himselfe, rateth his debonairitie and valueth his humanitie about his courage and beyond his victories: and hath ever this glorious saying in his mouth: That be he hath left his enemies as much cause to love him, as his friends. I will therefore say, that if a man must thus owe any thing, it ought to bee vnder a more lawfull title, then that whereof I speake: to which the lawe of this miserable warre dooth engage me; and not of so great a debt, as that of my toall prelueration and whole effate: which dooth vnaparable overwhelme me. I have a thousand times gone to bedde in mine house, imagining I should the verie fame night, eyther have beene betryade or flaine in my bedde: compounding
compounding and conditioning with fortune, that it might be without apprehension of fearfull astonishment and languishment; And after my prayers, have pride out,

Impius haec tua virtutis miles babebat?

Shall these our grounds so deckt and drest
By godlike founders be poost?

What remedie? It is the place where my selfe, and most of my ancestors were bornethere-in have they placed their affection and their name. We hadden our seintes unto whicheuer we affinome our seintes. And to a wretched condition, as ours is, custom hath beene a most fa-

vourable present, given vs by nature, which everyth and lulleth our fence a sleepe, to the sufferinge of divers evils. Civill warres have this one thing worse, then other warres, to cause every one of vs to make a watch-towe of his owne houle.

Quam misera, porta virtutis munus, hieri,

Vixque suar tabi, virtutis esse domini

How harde with gate and wall our life to garde,
And scarce be safe in our owne houfes barde!

It is an yrkesome extreme, for one to be troubled and prested ever in his owne houhold and domesticall rest. The place wherein I dwell, is ever both the first and last to the batte-

rie of our troubles; and where peace is never abolutely distemned,

Turn quaque ciam Pax ex, strepitudis formidinie bellis,

Eu'n when in peace they are,
They quake for fear of warre,
--- quotes pacem fortunam facies litter,

Hac her eff bellis, melius fortuna dedisset

Ora sub Eos fede, genidiique sub Arcto,

Errante, domos.

As oft as fortune troubleth peace,their race
Warres makes this waye: fortune with better grace,

In th'Ezure world thou shouldest have giv'n them place,
Or wandring tents for warre, under the cold North-faire.

I sometime draw the means to strengthen my selfe against these considerations, from care-

lesness & idleness: which also in some fort bring vs unto resolution. It often befalleth me,

with some pleasure, to imagine what mortal dangers are, & to expect them. I do even now,

wintke, with my head in my bolome & with stupiditie, plunge my selfe into death, without

confidering or knowing it, as into a deep, hollow & bottomfull abisse, which at one leap

doeth swallow me vp, and at an instant doeth cast me into an eternall slumber, full of insignifi-

cie & indolence. And in these short, fuddaine or violent deaths, the conquence I fore-see

of them, affoordes me more comfort, then the effect of fear. They say, that when as life is

not the best, because it is long: so death is the best, because it is short. I estrange not my selfe so much by being dead, as I enter into confidence with dying. I enwrap and throwed my selfe in that

storme, which shall blind and confoundie wrap me, with a ready and insensible charge. Ye a

is it hapned (as some gardners say) that thofe Roses and Violets are ever the sweeter & more

dorisferous, that grow near to vnder Garlike and Onions, forsoomuch as they suck and draw

all the ill favours of the ground vnto them: so that the depraved natures, would drave &

fack all the venom of mine ayre, and infection of my climate; and by their neerelle vnto me,

make me so much the better and purer; that I might not loose all. That is not; but of this,

something may be, forsoomuch as goodnesse is the fairer and more attracting when it is

rare, and that contraritie stiffeth, and diuerstie enclotheth well-doing in it selfe, and by the

jealousie of opposition and glory, it doth inflame it. Theseves and feelers (godamercie their

kindneffe) have in particular nothing to say to me: no more have I to them. I should then

have to do with over many fortes of men. A like confidences luke under divers kinds of garments,
Alike crueltie, disloyaltie and stealing. And so much the worse, by how much it is more base,
more fable and more secret vnder the coulour of lawes. I hate lesse an open-professed init-

tie, then a deceiving-traitrous wrong; an hostile and war-like, then a peacefull and lawfull.
Our feaver hath seazed uppon a body, which it hath not much empaire. The fire was in it,

but now the flame hath taken hould of it. The reporte is greater; the hure but little. I

ordinarly aunswrer such as demand reasons for my voyages; That I knowe what I knowe.
The third Booke.

but wot'ter what I seke. If one tell mee, there may bee as little found health amongst strangers, and that their manners are neither better nor purer, then ours: I answere first, that it is very hard:

T. am multa fectorum fades,
The formes fo manifold.
Of wickednesse we holde.

Secondly, that it is ever againe to change a bad estate for an uncertaine. And that others, should not touch vs so nearre as ours. I will not forget this, that I can never mutrine so much against France, but I must needs looke on Paris with a favourabe eye: It hath my hart from my incantancy: whereof it hath befallen me as of excellent things: the more other faire and lately cities I have seene since, the more hir beautie hath powre and doth full vfurpingly gaine vpon my affection. I love that Cittie for hir owne sake, and more in hir onely subfiftence and owne being, then when it is full-fraught and embellished with foraine pompes and borrowed garripons: I love hir so tenderly, that even hir spots, hir blemishes and hir wares are deare unto me. I am no perfect French-man, but by this great-matches Cittie, great in people, great in regard of the felicitie of hir situation, but above all, great and incomparable in variety and diversifie of commoditie: The glory of France, and one of the noblest and chiefest ornamens of the world, God of his mercie free hir, and chaise away all our dissensions from hir: Being entirely vniott to hir selfe, I finde hir defended from all other violence. I forewarne hir, that of all factions, that shall be the worser, which shall breede disorde and sedition in hir. And for hir sake, I onely feare hir felo. And surely, I am in as great feare for hir, as for any other parte of our state. So long as she till continue, so long shall I never want a home or retreate, to retire and throude my selfe at all times: a thing able to make me forget the regret of all other retreates. Not because Socrates hath sayde it, but because such is in thruth my humour, and peraduenture not without some excuse, to esteeme all men as my countrymen; and I as kindely embrace a Polonious as a Frenchman; poltropsing this natural bonde, to the univerall and common. I am not greatlie stricken with the pleasanteffe of natural ayre. Acquaintances altogether new and wholely mine, doe in my conceite counteract the woerthe of all other vulgare and caitiack acquaintances of our neighbours. Friendshiples merely acquired by our felues, doe ordinarily exceede those, to which we are joyned, cyther by communciation of Climate; or affinity of blood. Nature hath plac'd vs in the world, free and iusbound, and wee emprison our felues into certaine fireights: As the kings of Persia, who bound themselves never to drink other water, then of the river Choaspeis; foolishly renouncing all lawfull right of vs in all other waters: and for their regardes dride vp all the rest of the world. What Socrates did in his latter daies, to deeme a sentence of banishment worse, then a doome of death against himselfe, beeing of the minde I am now, I shall neuer be neither to base-minded, nor so strictly habilitated in my country, that I would follow him. These celestiall fluers, have divers images, which I embare more by estimation, then by affection. And some to extraordinarie, and so highly elevat'd, which because I am not able to conceiue, I cannot embrasse by estimacion, This hnedor was very tenderely apprehended by him, who deemed all the world to be his Citty. True it is, he dislaide peregrinations, & had not much set his foote beyond the territory of Arben. What, if he bewailed the mony his frieend offered to lay out, to disingage his life, and refus'd to come out of prifon, by the intercession of others, because he would not dissoybe the lawes, in a time wherin they were otherwise so corrupt? These examples are of the first kind for me. Of the second, there are others, which I could finde in the very same man. Many of these rare examples exceede the power of my action; but some exceede afo the force of my judgment. Besides these reasones, I deeme it to be an advantageous excurcise, The minde hath therein a continuall exercitacion, to marke things unknowne, and note new obiects. And as I have often faide, I know no better school, to fashion a mans life, than sufferantly to propage unto him the diverytie of so many other men's lives, fortunes, humors and famewers, and make him taste or apprehend one so perserual variety of our nature's shapes or forms. These in the body is neither absolutely nil nor wholly troubled, and that moderate agitacion doth put him into breath. My selfe, as crazed with the choliick as I am, can sit eight, yea sometimes ten houres on horse-baccke, without wearinesse or tyring.
The third Booke.

Vives ultra frontemque fenelles.
Beyond strength ordinary,
Which old yeares vie to carry.

No weather is to me fo contrary, as the scorching heat of the parching Sunne. For these Umbrells or riding canopies, which since the ancient Romans, the Italians vse, doe more weary the armes, then cafe the head. I would faine know what industry it was in the Perians, fo anciently, and even in the infancy of luxurious life (as Xenophon reporteth) to frame theirem selves, & at their pleasures to make colde shades. I loe rainy and derty weather, as dutches doe. The change of aire or climate doth nothing distemper me, All heatens are a like to me. I am never vexed or beaten, but with internal alterations; such as I produce my felfe, which surprise and perselle me least in times of way-faing. It is a hard matter to make me reloue of any journey: but if I be once on the way, I should out as long and as fare, as another. I flute as much in small, as I labour in great enterprises; and to prepare my felfe for a short journey or to vistifie a friend, to undertake a faire few voyages. I have learnt to frame my journyes after the Spanifh fashion, all at once and our right: great and reasonable, and in extreme heats, I trauell by night, from Sunne, and to Sunne-rising. The other fashions, confusedly and in hafte to baie by the way babbline, especially in Winter, when the days are fo short, is both troublesome for man, and incommodious for horfe. My tades are the better, and house out longer. No horfe did euer faile me, that held out the first days journey with me, I water them in all wathers; and onely take care of their laft waterin, that before I come to myne I mye they haue way enough to beate their water. My flothfulnesse to rife in the morning, allows them fuch as follow mee sufficient leasure to dyne: before we take horfe. As for me, I never feede ouer late: I commonly get an apttite in eathing, and no otherwise: I am never hungry but at the table. Some complain, that being married, and well foken in yeares I have enured my felfe, and beene pleased to continue this exercitie. They doe me wrong.

The best time for a man to leaque his house, is when he hath fo ordered and fettled the same, that it may continue without him: and when hee hath fo disposed his affaires, that they may anfwer the auncient coufe and wonded forme. It is much more indifcretion, and an argument of want of judgement, to goe from home, and leave no truflye guarde in his house, and which for lacke of care may be flowe or forgetfull in prouyding for such necceffities, as in your abfence it may fland in need of. The most profitable knowledge, and honoureable occupation for a maruer armrther of a familie, is the occupation and knowledge of buieflery. I fee divers careuous, but few buieflers. It is the miftis-quality that all men shoulde ekeke after, and above all other indeuoure to finde: as the onely dowry, that ferueth, eyther to tuine and ouerthrow, or to faine and enrich our houfes. Let no man speake to me of it; according as experience hath taught mee, I require in a married woman the economicall vertue above all others. Wherein I would have her abolutely skilfull, since by my abfence I committ the whole charge, and bequeath the full gowntement of my household to her.

I fee (and that to my griefe) in divers houfes the maifter or goodman come home at noone all weary, derty and duffie, with drudgind and toyling about his buifenee, when the miftis or good-wife, is eyther scarce vp, or if the bee, she is yet in her cloef, dressing, decking, funning or trimmig of her felfe. It is a thing onely fitting Queens or Princes; whereof some doubt might be made. It is ridiculous that the idleness and want that the interweffe of our wifes should be fretted with our waftes and maintenayd by our travell. No man (as near as I can) shall fortune to have a more free and more abolute vfe, or a more quiet and more liquide fruition of his goods, then I hate. If the husband bring matter; nature her felfe would have women to bring forme.

Concerning dutie of wedlocke-friendship, which some happily imagine to be interefed, or prejudiced by the husbands absence, I beleve it not. Contrarwife, it is a kinde of intelligence, that eafily grows colde by an over continual affiance, and decayeth by affiduiiie; for, to find and fill at rocks and onuger breedthes a faciety. Every strange woman feemeath to vs an honeft wofan. And all feele by experience, that a continual seeing one another, can not possible repreffent the plafure, men take by parting and meeting againe. Thofe interuptions fill me with a new kinde of affection, toward mine owne people, & yeild me the vie of
of my house more pleasing: vicissitude dooth now and then en-enamist my minde to-
ward one, and then toward another, I am not ignorant how true amist hath armes
long enough, to embrace, to clasp and hould from one corner of the world unto another: name-
lie in this, where is a continuall communication of offices, that cause the obligation,
and revive the remembrance thereof. The Stoiks say, that there is so great an affinitie
and mutual relation, betweene wife men, that he who dineth in France, feeth his com-
panion in Egypt; and if one of them doe but hould vp his finger, where ever it be, all
the wise men diuerfed vpone the habitable land, feele a kind of ayde thereby. 

Assistence and posseffion, appertaine chieflie uto imagination. It embraceth more earnestly and vicen-
dantly what she goeth to fetch, then what we touche. Summer and countm all your daily
ammusements; and you shall finde, you are then mostheft and most absent from your friend,
when he is present with you. His assistence releaath your attention, and giveth your
thoughts libertie, at all times and upon every occasion, to abstain themselves. If I be
at Rome, or any where els, I hould, I suruaye and governe my house and the commodi-
ities, which I have left about and in it, I even see my wallses, my trees, my graffe
and my rents, to fland, to growe, to decaye and to diminish, within an ince or two of that
I shoulde doe when I am at home,

_ Aute oculos errat domus, errat forma locorum._
My house is still before mine eyes,
There still the forme of places yses.

If we but onely enjoy what we touche, farre well our crownes when they are in our coasers,
and adiew to our children, when they are abreode or a hunting; we would have them neec-
rer. In the garden is it farre-off? within halfe a dayes journee? What, within tenne
leagues, is it farre or neere? If it be neere: what is eleven, twelve, or thirteeene? and so
step by step. Veiile that woman who can prescribe unto hir husband, how many steps
end that which is neere, and which step in number begins the distance the coumpts farre,
I am of opinion, that the flay him betweene both.

Hor. l.2. epifl. 1.38. 

Let the conclusion, exclude confusion.

Vor permifio,sandaque pilos ut equine

Paulatam unis: etdemo unum demo etiam unum

Dam cadat elis:ratione suntis acrus.

Ive the grant, and pluck by one and one

The horfe-taile haires, till when the bath is gone,

I leave the fade a curtail tale or none.

And let them boldly call for Philofophie to helpe them. To whom some might reproche,
since the neither discerneth the one nor other end of the ioynt, betweene the overmuch
and the little, the long and the short; the light and the heauie, the neare and the farre;
since the neither knowes the beginning nor ending thereof, that the doth very uncertainly
judge of the midle. _Retnum natura nullam nobis dedit cognitionem finum._ Nature hath affor-
ded us no knowledge of hir enedes. Are they not yet wives and friends of the deceafed,that are
not at the ende of this, in the other world? we embrac both those that have beene,
and those which are not yet, not onely the absent. We did not condition, when we were
maried, continually to keepe our selues close-hugging one another, as some, I worte not
what little creatures doe, we fee daily; or as those bewitched people of Karenti in a kinde
of dogged manner. And a woman should not have her eyes so greedye or so dotinglye fixed
on hir husbands fore-parte, that if neede shall require, she may not view his hinder-parte. But
might not the saying of that cunning Painter, who could fo excellently set forth their
humours and pourtraye their conditions, fitlye be placed heare, lively to repreffent the
caufe of their complaints?

Ter. Aelop. 

Vxor, si coffes, aut te amare cogi at.

Ant i parte amari, ant potare, ant animo objeguis,

Et bubi bene eft soli sum, sibi sit vel mole.

If you be lowe, your wife thinkes that in love you are,

Or are belou'd, or drinke, or all for pleasure care,

And that you one lyse well, when the ill doth fare.
Or might it be, that opposition and contradiction doe naturally entertaine, and of themselves nourish them: and that they are sufficiently accommodated, provided they disturb and inconvenience you? In truly-perfect friendship, wherein I presume to have some skill and well-grounded experience; I give my selfe more vnto my friend, than I drawe him vnto me. I do not only rather love to doe him good, then he should doe any to me; but also, that he should rather doe good vnto himselfe, then vnto me: For then doth he me most good, when he doth it to himselfe. And if absence be either pleasing or beneficiall vnto him, it is to me much more pleasing, than his presence: and that may not properly be termed absence, where mens and wages may be found to entre-advertise one an other. I have heretofore made good vse, and reaped commoditie by our absence and distance. Wee better replenished the benefite, and extended further the possession of life, by being divided and fare-a-funder: He lived, he rejoiced, and he faue for me, and I for him, as fully, as if he had beene present: Being together, one partie was idle: We confounded one another. The separation of the place, made the conjunction of our mindes and willes, the richer. This inordinate and greedy desire of corporall presence, doth somewhat accuse the weakeinness in the iouissance of fondes. Concerning age, which some alledge against mee, it is cleane contrarie. It is for youth, to subject and bondage it selfe to common opinions, and by force to constrain it selfe for others. It may fitte the tyme of both; the people and it selfe: We have but evermuch to doe with our selves alone. According as natural commoditie faile vs, let vs foullaine our selves by artificiall means. It is in justice, to excuse youth in following her pleasures, and for bid age to devife and seek them. When I was yong, I concealed my wanton & covered my youthfull passions, with wittes; and now being aged, I endeavour to passe the fadde and incident to yeares, with sport and debauches: Yet do Platees lawes forbid men to travell abroade, before they are fortie or fiftie yeares of age, that so their travell may fort more profitable, and prove more instructive. I should more willingly consent to this other second article of the fide lawes, which forbidde both men to wander abroade, after they are once three score. Of which age, few that travell faire-journie returne home againe. What care I for that? I undertake it not, either to returne or to perfit the fame. I onely undertake it to be in motion: So long as the motion pleaseth me, and I wake that I may wake. These rumme not, that rumme after a Benefice or after a Flare; But they rumme, that rumme at barriers and to exercise their running. My deffeigne is every where divisible, it is not grounded on great hopes; each day makes an end of it. Even so is my life: voyage directed. Yet have I ecene diverse far-countries, where I would have beene glad to have beene faile. Why not? If Chrystophs, Diogenes, Ctesibius, Antipater and Zeno, with so many other wise men of that roughly-severe, and severely-strick Secte forsooke their Countries (without just cause to be offended with them) onely to enjoy an other aire? Truely the greatst griefe of my peregrinations, is, that I cannot have a firme resolution, to establish my abiding where I would. And that I must ever resolve with my selfe to returne, for to accommodate my selfe vnto common humours. If I should feare to die in any other place, then where I was borne; if I thought I should die at my cafe, farre from mine owne people: I would hardly goe out of France, nay I should fearfully goe out of mine owne parith, without feeling some dimay: I feel death ever pinching me by the throat, or pulling me by the backe: But I am of an other mouldy to me it is ever one, and at all times the fame. Neverthelesse if I were to chufe; I think it should rather be on horsebacke, then in a bed from my home, and farre from my friends. There is more harts-sorrow, than comfort, in taking ones laft farewell of his friends. I doe easily forgett or neglechte these duties or complements of our common or civil curtesie. For, of Offices appertaining to vnaffected amitie, the fame is the most displeasing and offensive: And I should as willingly forgett to give a body that great adiew, or eternall farewell. If a bodie reapeth any commoditie by this assistance, he also findes infinite inconveniences in it. I have seen diverse die most pitiefully, compassed and befted round with their friends and sertuants: Such multitudes and thronging of people doth slue them. It is against reafon, and a testimonie of small affection, and little care they have you should die at reft. One offendeth your eyes, another molesteeth your eares, the third vexeth your mouth: You have neither sense nor limme, or parte of your body, but is tormented and grieved. Your heart is ready to burst for pittie, to hear your friends moanes and complaints; and to riuie affunder with spite, to heare paradventure some of their wailings and moanes, that are but fained and counterfeit. If a man

D d d have
have ever had a milde or tender nature, being weak and ready to die, he must then necessa-
riely have it more tender and relenting. It is most requisite, that in so urgent a necessitie, one
have a gentle hand and fitley applied to his fences, toscratch him where he sticeth; or else he
ought not to be clawed at all. If we most needs have the helpe of a Midwife, to bring us into this
world, there is reason we should also have the aiding-hand of a wise man, to deliver us out of the
snaic. Such a one, and therewithal a true friend, should a man before-hand purchase vere
clear, only for the service of such an occasion. I am not yet come to that disdaimfull vigor,
which so fortitheth it selfe, that at such times nothing aydeth, nor nothing troubleth: I flie a
lower pitch. I seekc to squat my selfe, and flate from that passagc; not by feare, but by Art.
My intent is not in such an action, to make either trial or fhew of my conftancc. Where-
fore? Because, then shall the right and interest I have in reputation eafe. I am content with
a death vnited in it fellc, quiet and solitary, whole mine, convenient to my retired and pri-
vate life. Clean contrary to the Roman superstition, where he was judged vnhappy, that
died without speaking; and had not his nearest friends to clofe his eyes. I have much
adoe to comfort my selfe, without being troubled to comfort others: cares and vexations
enow in my minde, without needinge circumfances to bring me new; and sufficient matter
to entertaine my selfe, without borrowing any. This share belongs not to the part of societie.
It is the act of one man alone. Let vs live, laugh and be merry among our friends, but die
and yeeld ye the ghost among ft strangers, and such as we knowe not. Her who hath money
in his purse, fhall ever finde some ready to turne his head, make his bedee, rubbe his feete, attend
him, and that will trouble and imporinize him no longer, then he flie: and wil ever threw him an
indifferent and well-composed countenance, and without grumbling or grudging give a
man leave to doe what he pleafe, and complain as he flie. I daily endeavour by discourse
to flake off this children humor and inhumane conceit, which caufeth, that by our griefes
and paines we ever defire to moove our friends to compassion and forrow for vs, and with
a kind of sympathy to condole our miseries and passions. We endeare our inconveniences
beyond measure, to extract tears from them; And the confancie we do much commend in
all others, undavndedly to endure all evil fortunes; we accuse and vpbrade to our nearest a-
lies, when they molest vs: we are not contented they should have a sensible feeling of our
calamities: if they do not also afflit themselves for them. A man should as much as he can
set forth and extend his joys; but to the utmost of his power, suppreffe and abridge his for-
rrowe. He that will caufely be moaned and fanst reason, deferveth not to be pitied when
he fhall have cause and reafon for it. To be ever complaining and always moaning, is the way
never to be moaned and seldom to be pitied: and fo often to see no man feelingly -ruthfull, is the
means to make no man feelingly -ruthfull towards others. He that makes himselfe dead being alive,
is subject to be accepted alive when he is dying. I have seen some take pepper in the nose, for
somuch as they were told that they had a chearfull countenance; that they looked well; that
they had a temperate pulse: to force laughter, because some betraye their recuperie: and
hate their health, because it was not unregrettable. And which is more, they are no women.
I for the most, represent my infinmites such as they are: And shunne such words as are of
evil preage, and avoyde composd exclamations. If not glee and mirth, at leaft an orderly-
setled countenance of the by-flanders and associatcs, is sufficiently -convenient to a wise and
discrete fickle-man, who though he see himselfe in a contrary state, he will not pine a quar-
rell with health. He is pleased to behold the fame, found and strong in others; and at leaft for
company -fake to enjoy his part of it. Though he feele and find himselfe to faint and finkle
downe, he doth not altogether reject the conceits & imaginations of life, nor doth he avoyd
common entertainements. I will finde sickenefe when I am in health: when it comes, it wil
really enough make hit impression, without the help of my imagination. We deliberately pre-
pare our selves before-hand for any voyace we undertake, & therewith are resolved: the houre
is set when we will take horfe, and we give it to our company, in whose favour we extend it.
I finde this vnexpected profit by the publication of my manners, that in some fort it ferveth
me for a rule. I am sometimes surprized with this consideration, not to betray the historie
of my life. This publike declaration, bindes me to keepe my felfe within my course, and not
to contradict the image of my conditions: commonly lefte disfrigured and gaine-fated, then
the malignity and infinitie of moderne judgements doth beare. The uniformtie and fin-
glenffe of my manners, produceth a village of eafe interpretation; but because the fashion of
of them is somewhat new and strange, and out of use, it giveth detraction to faire play. Yet is it true, that to him, who will go about loyally to injure me, me thinkes I do sufficiently afforde him matter, whereby he may detract and snare at my avowed and knonnipeca-
fications, and wherewith he may be satisfied, without vaine contending and idle skirmish-
ing. If my selfe by preoccupating his discouerie and accusation, hee thinkes I bare him of his fnaring, it is good reason hee take his right, towards amplification and extention: Oftence hath her rights beyond justice: And that the vices, whereof I shew him the rootes in me, he shouold applaud them to trees. Let him not onely employ thereunto those that poff-
sesse, but those which but threaten mee. Injurious vices both in qualitie and in number.
Let him beare that me way. I should willingly embrace the example of Dion the Philo-
Arousous goings, about to ioco figure and quip at him touching his birth and of-spring, hee interrupted him and took the word out of his mouth: I am (faide he) the sonne of a bond-
slave, a butcher, branded for a rogue, and of a whore, whom my father by reason of his 
foie fortune, tooke to wife: Both were punished for some mifdeede. Being a child, an O-
rator bought me as a slaye, liking me for my beautie and comelinesse: and dying, left mee 
all his goodes, which having transported into this citie of Athens, I have applied my selfe 
unto Philosophie. Let not Historians buffet themselves in seeking newes of mee. I will at 
large blazon my selfe, and plainly tell them the whole discourse. A generous and free-minded 
confession doth disable a reproch and disarms an injurie. Soit is, that when all Cardes be tolde, 
I am free, that I am asoft recommended as disgraced beyond reason. As also me thinks, that 
even from my infancy, in tannerne and degree of honour, I have had place given me, 
rather above and more, than less and beneath that which appertainned to mee. I shouold 
be like to be in a country, where the orderes might either be reformed or contemned. Amon-
gest men, after that striving or alteration for the prerogative or upper hand in going or fit-
ting, exceedeth three replies, it becommeth innocent. I neither feare to yeeld: and give place, 
not to follow and procede vnjustly, so I may avoyde such strifesome and importunate con-
tentions. And never did man desirre precedence or place before me, but I quitted the same 
without grudging. Besides the profit, I reape by writing of my selfe, I have hoped for this 
other, that if ever it might happen my humours should please or sympathize with some ho-
nest man, he would before my death seek to be acquainted with me, or to overtake mee. I 
have given him much ground: For, whatsoever a long acquaintance or continall familiari-
tie might have gained mee in many warsome yeares, the same hath mee in three dazes 
fully seen in this Register, and that more safely and more exactly. A pleasant fantastie is this 
ofmine: many things I would be loath to tell a particular man, Iriter to the whole world. 
And concerning my most secret thoughts and inward knowledge, I send my dearest friends 
to a Stationers shop.

Exercitans damnum praecordia. 
Our very entrailes wee, 
Lay forth for you to see.

If by fo good markes and tokens, I had ever knowne or heard of any one man, that in this 
humour had beene answerable to me, I would assuredly have warded very farre to finde 
him out: For, the exceeding joy in a vertue and in one consent-agreing company, cannot 
in mine opinion be sufficiently endeared or purchased at too high a rate. Oh God! who 
can express the value or conceive the true worth of a friend? How true is that ancient golden 
aying, that the vise of a friend is more necessary and pleasing, than of the elements, water and fire. 
But to returne to my former discourse: There is then no great inconvenience in dying farre 
from home and abroad. We eftorne it a part of duty and deceite to withdraw our selves 
for naturall actions, leffe hideous and leffe disgracefull then this. But also those that come 
unto that, in languishing maner to draw a long space of life, should not happily win with 
their miserie to trouble a whole family. Therefore did the Indians of a certaine countrie 
deeme it just and lawfull, to kill him that should fall into such necessitie. And in another 
of their Provinces, they thought it meete to forfake him, and as well as hee could leave him 
alone to seeke to save himselfe. To whom at last, prove they not themselves tedious and 
intolerable? Common offices proceede not so farre. Perforce you teach cruelty vnto your 
best friends, obdurating by longlys, both wife and children, not to seele, nor to conceive, 
or to moane your evils any longer. The groanes and outcries of my chollike, caufe no

D d d 2

more
more truth and wailing in any body. And should we conceive pleasure by their conversation (which feldom hapneth, by reason of the disparity of conditions, which easily produce either contempt or envy towards what man ever) is it not too-too much, therewith to abuse a whole age? The more I should fee them with a good heart to strain themselves for me, the more should I bewail their paine. The law of curtesie alloweth us to leave upon others, but not to unmannerly to sit upon them and underpro our selves in their paine. As he who caused little infants to be slaine, that with their innocent blood he might be cured of a malady he had. Or another, who was continually stored with yong tendrels or flasses, to keep his old-frozen limbs warme a nights, and entemix the sweetenesse of their breath with his old-flinking and offensive vapours. Decrepitude is a solitarie quality. I am fociable even unto excelle, yet doe I thinke it reasonable, at last to substraft my importunitie from the sight of the world, and hatch it in my selfe. Let mee throwd and thrugge my selfe into my shell, as a turtife; and learne to fee men, without taking hold of them. I should outrage them in too steepy a passage. It is now high time to turne from the company. But here will some fay, that in their faire journeys you may peradventure fall into some miserable dog-hole or poore cottage, where you shall want all needfull things. To whom I anfwer, that for thinges moft necessary in such cafes, I ever carry most of them with me: And that, where-ever we are, we cannot possibly avoide fortune, if she once take upon her to perfecute us. When I am fick, I want nothing that is extraordinary: what nature cannot worke in me, I will not have a Bulus, or a gliffer to effeét. At the very beginning of my agues or fickenneses that call me downe, whilst I am yet whole in my fenes and neere unto health, I reconcile my felfe to God, by the last duties of a Christian; whereby I finde my felfe free and discharged, and thinke I have done much more reason and authoritie over my fickennesse. I finde felfe want of Notaries and counell, then of Philitians. What I have not disposed of my affaires or settled of my flate when I was in perfect health, let none expect I should doe it being fickle. Whatsoever I doe for the service of death, is alwayes ready done. I dare not delay it one onely day. And if nothing be done, it is as much to fay, that either fome doubt hath delaide the choife: For, sometimes it is a good choife, not to choose at all: Or that absolutely I never intended to doe any thing. I write my booke to few men, and to few yeres. Had it beene a matter of lafting continuance, it should have beene compiled in a better and more polished language: According to the continuall variation, that clitherto hath followed our French tongue. Who may hope, that it's preferent forme shall be in vs fiftie yeres hence? It daily changeth and flips our hands: and since I could speake the fame, it is much altered and well nigh halfe varried. We fay it is now come to a full perfection. There is no age but faith as much of his. It lies not in my power, so long as it glideth and flall dffereth and altereth as it doth, to keepe it at a flaye. It is for excellent and profitable compositions to faffen it vnto them, whose credite shall either diminish or encreafe, according to the fortune of our flate. For all that, I feare not to infert therein divers private articles, whose vfe is confumed amongst men living now adayes: and which concerne the particular knowledge of fome, that shall further fee into it, then with a common understanding. When all is done, I would not (as I often fee the memory of the defeaced toffe too and tro) that men shoulde defect & argue: This and thus be judged; thus be faved; thus be meant: had bee fpoken when his life left him, bee would have given me fomething: There is no man knew him better then myfelfe. Now, as much as modellhe and decorum doth permit me, I here give a taste of my inclination and an effay of my affections: which I do more freely and more willingly by word of mouth, to any that Shall defire to be thoroughlie informed of them. But fo it is, that if any man shall looke into these memorials, he fhall finde, that either I have faide all, or defigned all. What I cannot exprefse, the fame I point at with my finger. 

\[ \text{Uerum animo satia nec usigia parus sagaci} \\
\text{Sunt, per quae posset cognoscere cetera tute.} \\
\text{But this sall default to a quicke-fent minde} \\
\text{May serve, whereby fakely the refl to finde.} \]

I leave nothing to be desired or diuined of me. If one must entertaine himselfe with them, I would have it to be truely and jufly. I would willingly come from the other world, to give him the lie, that should frame me other then I had beene: were it he meant to honoure me. I fee that of the living, men never fpake according to truth; and they are ever made to be,
The third Booke.

be, what they are not. And if with might and maine, I had not upheld a frind of mine whom I have lately lost, he had surely bin mangled and torne in a thousand contrary shapes. But to make an end of my weake humours: I confesse, that in travelling I feldom slighth in any place or cometo any Inne, but first of all I call in my minde whether I may conveniently there, if I should chance to fall sicke; or dying, die at my cafe and take my death quietly. I will, as near as I can, be lodged in some convenient part of the house, and in particular from all noise or finking favours; in no clofe, filthy or smoky chamber. I seek to flatter death by these frivolous circumftances: Or as I may rather fay, to discharge my felfe from all other trouble or encombrances; that if I may wholly apply and attend her, who without that shall happily lie very heavy upon me. I will have her take a full share of all my lives cafes and commoditie: it is a great part of it and of such confequence, and I hope it shall not bele what is past. Death hath some formes more caife then others, and affifteth diuers qualities, according to all mens fantazzies. Among the naturall-ones, that proceeding of weakefse and heavy dunleffe, to me feemeth gentle and pleafant. Among the violent, I imagine a precipice more hardly, then a ruine that overhelms me: and a cutting blow with a fword, then a shot of an harquebuse: and I would rather have choen to drinke the potion of Socrates, then wound my felfe as Cato did. And though it be all one, yet doth my imagination perceive a difference, as much as betweene death and life, to call my felfe into a burning furnace, or in the channel of a shallow river. So foofly doth our fene reffect more the meanes, then the effect. It is but one instant; but of fuch moment, that to paffe the fame according to my defire, I would willingly renounce many of my lives-days. Since all mens fantazies, finde either exceffe or diminution in her sharpeneffe; since every man hath some choe betweene the formes of dying, let vs trie a little further, whether we can finde out some one, free from all sorrow and grieue. Might not one alfo make it feeme voluptuous, as did tho fhe who died with Anthome and Cleopatra? I omit to speake of the Charpe and exemplarre effects, that philosophie and religion produce. But amongft men of no great fame, some have bene found (as one Petronius, and one Tigullius at Rome) engaged to make themselves away, who by the tendernesse of their preparations have in a manner lulled the fame allcepe. They have made it passe and glide away, even in the midift of the fecurity of their accustomed paffimes and wanton recreations: Amongf helters and good felowers; no speach of comfort, no mention of will or testament, no ambigious affection of confistance, no discourse of their future condition, no compunction of fynes committed, no apprehenfion of their foules health, ever troubling them; amid sports, playes, bankefting, fuffeting, chambering, jesting, muficke and finging of amorous verfe: and all fuch popular and common entertainments. Might not we imitate this manner of resolution in more honeft affaires and more commendable attempts? And since there are deaths good unto wife men and good unto foole, let vs finde some one that may be good unto fuch as are betweene both. My imagination preffes me some caife and milde countenance thereof, and (since we muft all die) to be defired. The tyrants of Rome have thought, they gave that criminally offender his life, to whom they gave the free choie of death. But Theophrastus a Philofopher fo delicate, fo fMOD</DOC>
nature honoureth with some grace peculiar unto her selfe. Non amplius sed mundus convivium. Plus salutis quam jumentus. Not a great, but a mean feast. More concreet then cost.

And then, it is for those, who by their urgent affairs are compelled to travel in the midst of deep Winter, and amongst the Grifons, to be surprized by such extremities in their journeys. But I, who for the most part never travel, but for pleasure, will neither be so ill advised, nor so swiftly guided. If the way be foul on the right hand, I take the left: If I find my felf ill at ease or vnfit to ride, I stay at home. Which doing, and observing this course, in very truth I fee no place, and come nowhere, that is not as pleasant, as convenient and as commodious as mine owne house. True it is, that I ever find superflius superflius: and observe a certaine kind of empeachment in delicatenesse and plenty. Have I ommitted or left any thing behind me that was worth the seeing? I returne backe; It is ever my way, I am never out of it. I trace no certaine line, neither right nor crooked. Comming to any strange place, finde I not what was tould mee? As it often fortuneth, that others judgements agree not with mine, and have most times found them false, I grieve not at my labour: I have learned that what was reported to be there, is not. I have my bodies complexion as free, and my taste as common, as any man in the world. The diversitie of fashions betweene one and other nations, concerneth me nothing, but by the varieties-pleasure. Each custome hath his reason. Be the trenchers or dishes of wood, of pewter or of earth; be my meate boyled, roasted or baked; butter or oyle, and that of Olives or of Wall-nuts; hot or cold; I make no differences all is one to me: And as one, that is growing old, I accute this generous facultie, and had neede that delicatenesse and choife, should try the indifferency of my appete, and sometime ease and solace my stomake. When I have beene out of France, and that to do me cuttie, some have asked me, whether I would be served after the French manner, I have jefted at them, and have ever thrust in amongst the thickest tables and fullest of strangers. I am ashamed to see our men befotted with this foolish humor, to fret & chafe, when they see any fashions contrary to theirs. They thinke themselves out of their element, when they are out of their village: Where ever they come, they ever keepe their owne countrey fashions, and hate, yea & abhorre all strange maner. Meeke they a Countriman of theirs in Hungarie, they feaft that good fortune: And what doe they? Marry close: and joine together, to blame, to condemn and to come fo many barbarous fashions as they fee. And why not Barbarous, since not French? Nay happily they are the better part of men, that have noted and so much exclaimed against them. Moft take going out but for comming home. They travel close and covered, with a silent and incommunicable wit, defending themselves from the contagion of some unknowne ayre. What I speake of suits, puts mee in minde in the like matter, of that I have heretofore perceivd in some of our yong Courtiers. They only convene with men of their coate, and with disdain or pitty looke vpon vs, as if we were men of another World. Take away their new-fangled, misterious and affected courtly complements, and they are out of their byafe. As farre to feke and shote of vs, as we of them. That say- ing is true: That An honest man is a man compounded. Clean contrary, I travell fully glutted with our fashions: Not to seke Gaskoines in Sicilie, I have left over manie at home. I rather seke for Grecians and Persian: Tho I acquitt, them I consider, and with such I en- devor to be acquainted: to that prepare and therein I employ my selfe. And which is more, mee feemeth, I have not met with many maners, that are not worthy ours. Indeed: I have not wandred farre, scarliel I lost the fight of our Chimneys. Moreover, most of the current companies you meete withall by the way, have more incomoditi than pleasure: a matter I do not greatly take hold of, and lefte now that age doeth particularize and in some sorte fequester me from common formes. You suffer for others, or others endure for you. The one inconvenience is yrkiome, the other troublesome: yet yet the last is (in my concept) more rude. Its is a rare chance and felde-seene fortune, but of exceeding solace and inestimable worth, to have an honest man, of singular experience, of a found judgement, of resolute understanding and constant resolution, and of manners conformable to yours, to accompany or follow you with a good will. I have found great want of such a one in all my voyages. Which company a man must seek with discretion and with great heed obtaine, before he wandre from home. With me no pleasure is fully delightome without communication; and no delight absolute, except imparted. I do not so much as apprehend one rare concept, or conceive one excellent good thought in my minde, but me thinks I am much grieved and grievously perplexed, to have
have produced the same alone, and that I have no sympathizing companion to impart it unto. Si cum haec exceptione detrus apsiennium, ut illum inclinarem tenere, nec communi, recieam. If wisdom should be offered with this exception, that I should keep it concealed, and not utter it, I would refuse it. The other strain'd it one note higher. Si conigerit ex vita sapientis, ut omnium rerum aequilimbo copiae, quamvis omnia, qua cognitione digna sunt, ipsum ait secum ipse consideres et contemplatam, tamen si solius tum in fuit, ut hominem videre non possem, excusat e vita. If a wise
woman might lead such a life, as in abundance of all things he may in full quiet contemplate and consider all things worthy of knowledge, yet if he must be solitary as he may see no man, he should rather leave such a life. Architueus his opinion is suitable to mine, which was, that it would be a thing unpleasing to the very heavens and dissemble to man, to survey and walk within those immense and divine celestial bodies, without the affluence of a friend or companion: Tet is it better to be alone, than in tedious and foolish company. Arystippus loved to live as an alien or stranger every where.

Me si fata meis patcrernur ducere vitam

Obsequis,

If States would me permit

To live as I think fit,

I should chuse to wear out my life with my bum in the saddle, ever riding.

where greets,

Que parte debeamens igne,

Qua nekeule pluvique vortes.

Delighting much to goe and see

Where fly heats rage furiously,

Where clouds and rainy dews most be.

Have you not more eafe paftimes? What is it you want? Is not your house well seated, and in a good and wholesome ayre? Sufficiently furnished, and more then sufficiently capable? His Royall Majeste hath in great state beene in the same, and more than once taken his repast there. Doth not your family in rule and government leave many more inferior to hir, than above hir in eminence? Is there any local thought or care, that as extraordinary doth vicerate, or as indigetible doth molest you?

Que se micc coguer & vexes sub pellora fixa,

Which now boyles in thy brest.

And let thee take no rest.

Where doe you imagine you may be without empeachment or disturbance? Nuncquam simpliciter foratur indulget. Fortune never favours fully without exception. You see then, there is none but you that trouble and buffet your selfe: and every where you shall follow your self, and in all places you shall complain. For, Here below there is no satisfaction or content, except for brutall or divine minde. He who in so just an occasion hath no content, where doth he imagine to finde it? Vnto how many thousands of men, doth such a condition as yours, bound and stay the limits of their wishes? Reforme but your selfe; by that you may see all: Whereas towards fortune you have no right or interest, but patience. Nulla placata quiet est, nisi quam ratio composita. There is no pleasing settled rest, but such as reason hath made up. I fee the reason of this advertisement, yea I perceive it well. But one should sooner have done and more pertinently, in one bare word to say unto me: Be wise. This resolution is beyond wildome. It is her Works and hir production. So doth the Phisition, that is ever crying to a languishing, heart-broken sickle-man, that he be merry and pull vp a good hart; he should lease foolishly persuade him if he did but bid him, To be healethes: as for me I am but a man of the common flamp. It is a certaine, sound and of easte-vndertimeing precept: Be content with your own; that is to say, with reason: the execution whereof notwithstanding is no more in the wiser sort, than in my self: It is a popular word, but it hath a terrible far-reaching extension. What comprehendis it not? Althings fall within the compass of discretion and modification. Wel I wot, that being taken according to the bare letter, the pleasure of travell brings a testimony of vnquietnesse and irresolution. Which to say truth, are our mistrife and predominant qualities.

Yea, I confess it: I fee nothing, be it in a dreame or by witting, whereon I may take hold. Onely vanety and the possifion of diversitie doth satysfie me: if at least any thing satysfie me. In travell this doth nourishe me, that without interest I may flay my selfe; and that
The third Booke.

that I have means commodiously to divert my selfe from it. I love a private life, because it is by mine owne choyce, that I love it, not by a diffidence or disagreeing from a publick life; which peradventure is as much according to my complexion. I thereby serve my Prince more joyfully and genuinely, because it is by the free election of my judgement and by my reason, without any particular obligation. And that I am not caft or forced thereunto, because I am vouch'd to be received of any other, or am not beloved: so of thereft. I hate those morells that necessitate doth carve me. Every commoditie, of which alone I were to depend, should ever hold me by the throat:

Proper. ii. 3. el. 2.23.

After remuo aquas, alter mibi radat arenas.
Let me cut waters with one oar,
With th'o'ther shave the sande shoare.

One thing alone can never sufficiently hold me. You will say, there is vanity in this ammunific. But where not? And these goodly precepts are vanity, and Meere vanity is all worldly wisdom. Dominus novit cogitationes sapientum, quam unam sanctum. The Lord knows the thoughts of the wise, that they are vaine. Such exquifite subtleties, are only fit for fermen. They are difficulties, that will bend vs into the other World on horse backe. Life is a material and corporall action, an action imperfect and disordered, by it's owne essence: I employ or apply my selfe to serve it according to it selfe.

Vir. Enl. 6. 743.

Quique sua patimur manus:
All of vs for our merit,
Have some attending spirit.

Cic. Offic. lib. 1.

Sic est facienda, ut contra naturem universam nihil contendamus, caetera conservarea, propriam sequamur. We must so worke, as we endeavor nothing against Nature in general, yet so observe it, as we follow our owne in special. To what purpose are these heaven-looking and nice points of Philosophie, on which no humane being can eftablish and ground it selfe? And to what end serve these rules, that exceede our vfe and excell our strength? I often fee, that there are certaine Ideas or forms of life propofed unto vs, which neither the propper nor the Auditors have any hope at all to follow; and which is worfe, no desire to attaine. Of the same paper, whereon a judge writ but even now the condemnation against an adulterer, he will tere a cart. To write some love lines to his fellow-aduis wife. The same woman from whom you came late and with whom you have committed that untimely all-pleading sport, will some after, even in your presence, raile and coldie more bitterly against the same fault in her neighbour, than ever Portia or Lucrece could. And some condemned men to die for crimes, that themselves esteeme no faults. I have in my youth seen a notable man with one hand to present the people most excellent and well-written verses, both for invention and extreme licencieousnesse; and with the other hand, at the same instant, the most sharpe-railing reformation, according to Divinitie, that happilie the World hath seen these manie-manie years. Thus goes the world, and so goe men. We let the lawes and precepts follow their way, but we keep another course: Not onely by disorder of manners, but often by opinion and contrarie judgement. Heare but a discourse of Philosophie read; the invention, the eloquence and the pertinencie, doth pretently tickle thy spintie and move thee. There is nothing tickleth or pricketh your confidence: it is not to her that men speake. Is it not true? Aristotle faide, that Neither Bath nor Lecture are of any worth, except the one wash danger, and the other clean all filthy away. One may buifie himselfe about the barke, when once the pith is gotten out: As when we have drunk off the Wine, wee confider the graving and workeman-flip of the cuppe. In all the parts of ancient Philosophie, this one thing may be noted, that one same workeman publiseth some rules of temperance, and therewithall some compositions of love and licenciousnesse. And Xenophon in Cleonides bosume, write against the Aristippean vertue. It is not a mytraculous conversion, that so doth wave and hull them too and fro. But it is, that Sotol doth sometimes represent himselfe in his owne colours, and sometimedes in form of a Law-giver: now he speake for the multitude, and now for himselfe. And takes the free and natural rules to himselfe; warranting himselfe with a constant and perfect foundnes.

Curae quem dedi medicis minoribus agri.
Let pacients in great doubt,
Seek great Philistines out.

Antithemes alloweth a wife man to love and doe what he lift, without respect of lawes, especially
especially in things; he deemeth needefull and fit: Forasmuch as he hath a better understanding than they, and more knowledge of vertue. His Disciple Diogenes saith: To perturbations we should oppose reason; to fortune, confidences, and to laws, nature: To dainty and tender fomes, constrained and artificiall ordinances. Good fomes are fimple served with the prescriptions of their natural apperture. So doe our Philiftions, who whifflt they tie their pa- cients to a strik diet of a panada or a fiorepe; feede themselves upon a melone, dainty fruits, much good meate, and drinke all manner of good Wine. I wot not what Bookes are, nor what they meant by wisdome and philosophie (quoth the Curtizan Laiz) but sure I am, those kindes of people knocke as often at my gates, as any other men. Because our licenti- oufneffe transports vs commonly beyond what is lawful and allowed, our lives, precepts and laws have often bene wrested or restrained beyond vniverfall reason.

Nemo sanis credit tantum delinquare, quantum
Permittat.

No man think's it enough to farre to offend
As you give lawfull leave (and there to end)

It were to be wished, there were a greater proportion betweene commandment and obe- dience: And vnjust seemeth that ayme or goale whereunto one cannot possibly attain. No man is so exquitely honest, or upright in living, but brings all his actions and thoughts within compass and danger of the lawes, and that some times in his life might not lawfull be hang'd. Ye happily such a man, as it were pitie and dangerously-hurtful to loofe, and most vnjust to punish him.  

---  Ole quid ad se,

De canta quid faciat ille vestulla sua?
Foole, what hast thou to doe, what he or thee
With their owne skinnes for themselves doing bee?

And some might never offend the lawes, that notwithstanding should not desrve the commendations of vertuous men: and whose Philosophy might meritously and justly cause to be whipped. So troubled, dumme, sighted and partiall is this relation. We are farre enough from being honest according to God: For, we cannot be such according to our felues. Hu- mane wisdome could never reach the duties, or attain the devoires it had prescribed vnto it selfe. And had it at any time attained them, then would it doubleffe prerscribe some others be- yond them, to which it might ever aspire and pretend. So great an enemy is our condition vnto confidence. Man dooth necessarily ordaine vnto himselfe to be in fault. Hee is not very craftie, to measure his dutie by the reason of another being, than his owne. To whom prefers he that, which he expects no man will performe? Is he vnjust in not doing that, which he cannot possibly achieve? The lawes which condemne vs, not to be able; con- demne vs that we cannot performe. If the worst happen, this deformed libertie, for one to present himselfe in two places, and the actions after one fashion, the discourse after another is lawfull in them, which report things: But it cannot be in them, that acknowledge themselves as I doe. I must walke with my penne, as I goe with my feete. The common high way must have conference with other ways. Cato's vertue was vigorous, beyond the reason of the age he lived in: and for a man that entermedled with governing other men, designated for the common service; it might be faide to have beene a justice, if not vnjust, at least vaine and out of season. Mine owne manners, which scarce disagree one inch from those now currant, make me not withstanding in some forte, strange, vncouth and vnpossible to my age. I wot not, whether it be without reason, I am so distraffed and out of liking with the world, wherein I live and frequent: but well I know, I should have small reason to com- plainte, the world were distraffed and out of liking with me, since I am so with it. The vertue assign'd to the worlds affaires, is a vertue with sundry byailes, turnings, bendings and el- bowes, to apply and joyne it selfe to humane imbecilities; mixed and artificall: neither right, pure or constant, nor meerly innocent. Our Annales, even to this day, blame some one of our Kings, to have over-simply suffered himselfe to be led or mis-led by the confeitentious perfwasions of his Confeffor. Matters of state have more bold precepts.

---  exact aula,

Qui vult esse pinor, 
He that will godly bee,
From Court let him be free.

I have
I have heretofore essay'd to employ my opinions and rules of life, as new, as rude, as imperfect or as unpolished, as they were naturally borne with me, or as I have attained them by my infitutions and wherewith, if not so commodiously, at least safely in particular. I serve mine owne turne, vnto the service of publike affairs and benefite of my Commonwealth: A scholallfaltall and novice vertue; but I have found them very vnapart and dangeurous for that purpose. He that goeth in a preffe or throng of people, must sometimes step aaside, hold in his elbowes, croffe the way, advance himselfe, start backe, and forfeake the right way, according as it falls out: Live he not so much as he would himselfe, but as others will: not according to that he propofeth to himselfe, but to that which is propofed to him: according to times, to men and to affairs; and as the skillfull Mariner, faile with the windes. Plato faith, that who escapees unainted and cleanse-handed from the managing of the world, escapeth by some wonder. He fayes also, that when he infituteth his Philofopher as chief officer a Commonwealth, he means not a corrupted or law-broken Commonwealth, as that of Athenes; and much leffe, as ours, with which wifdome herfelf should be brought to a non-plus, or put to her shifts. And a good heart, transplanted into a foile very dverfe from her nature, doth much sooner conforme it felfe to the foile, then it reformeth the fame to it felfe. I feelingly perceive that if it were wholy to enure my felfe to fuch occupations, I should require much change and great reparing. Which could I effect in me (and why not with time and diligence?) I would not. Of that little which in this vacation I have made triall of, I have much difhafted my felfe: I sometimes finde certaine temptations arife in my minde, towards ambition; but I fart aaside, bandie and opinionate my felfe to the contrarie:

As in Catulle obfinitas obdura.
Be thou at any rate;
Obdurate, obfinate.
I am not greatly called, and I invite my felfe as little vnto it. Libertic and idlenesse, my chief qualities, are qualities diamettally contrary to that myfterie. We know not how to distinguish mens faculties. They have certaine deviions and limits vnaife and over nice to be chosen. To conclude by the sufficiencie of a private life, any sufficiencie for publike life, it is ill concluded: Some one directes himselfe well, that cannot so well direct others; and compothe Esayes, that could not wooke effects. Some man can dispose and order a siege, that could but ill command and marshall a battell: anddircoufeth well in private, that to a multitude or a Prince would make but a bad Oration. Yet peradventure, tis rather a reftomone to him that can do one, that he cannot doe the other, but otherwise. I finde that high spirits are not much leffe apt for base things, then base spirits are for high matters. Could it be imagined, that Spartan would have given the Athenians caufe to laugh at his owne charges, because he could never juftly compt the suffraige of his tribe, and make report thereof vnto the counfell? Truly the reverence I beeare and reperct I owe vnto that mans perfetions, deserveth that his fortune bring to the excele of my principall imperfectiones, one to notable example. Our sufficiencie is retailed into small parcels. Mine hath no latitude, and is in number very miferable. Saturninus answereth thofe, who had conferred all authoritie upon him, saying, Oh you my fellow-soldiers, you have leaped a good Captaine, by creating him a bad General of an Armie. Who in time of infection vanteth himselfe, for the worlds service, to employ a genuine or sincere vertue, either knowes it not, (opinions being corrupted with manners, in good foth, heare but them paint it forth, marke how most of them magnifie themselves for their demeanours, and how they forme their rules: in liew of poutraying vertue, they only let forth irre principall infinace and vice: and thus false and adulterate they pretent the fame to the infitution of Princes) or if he know it, hee wrong fully boasteth himselfe; and whatsoever he fayes, he doth many things whereof his owne confidence accusateth him. I should eafily believe Seneca, of the experience he made of it in such an occasion, upon condition he would freely speake his minde of it vnto me. The hounourable badge of godinesse in such neceffitie, so ingeniously for a man to acknowledge both his owne and others faults, to feay and with his might, hinder the inclination towards evil: and avie to follow this course, to hope and walke better. In these dimembruns or havockes of France, and divisions whereto we are eserely falne, I perceve every man travell and busfe himselfe to defend his owne cause, and the better fort, with much dissembling and falfehood. Hee that should plainly and roundly write of it, should write rashly and viciously. Take the belt and juftleft part, what is it efe but the member.
member of a crafty, worm-eaten and corrupted body? But of such a body, the member
lefticks, is called found: and good reason why, because our qualities have no title but in
comparison. Civil innocencie is measured according to places and seasons. I would be
glad to see such a commendation of Agesilaus in Xenophon, who being entreated of a neigh-
bour Prince, with whom he had sometimes made warre, to suffer him to passe through his
country, was therewith well pleased; granting him free passage through Peloponnes, and
having him at his mercy, did not only not empion him nor empoison him, but according to the
tenour of his promise, without shew of offence or vnkindness, entertained him with all
curtesie and humanitie. To such humours, it were a matter of no moment: At other times
and elsewhere, the libertie and magnanimity of such an action shall be highly esteemed.
Our gullish Gaberdines would have mockt at it. So little affinitie is there betwene the Spartan
and the French innocencie. We have notwithstanding some honest men amongst us; but it is after our fashion. Hee whose maners are in regularitie established above the age he liveth in, let him either wrest or muffle his rules: or (which I would rather perforce
him) let him withdraw himselfe apart, and not meddle with vs. What shall he gain thereby?

Egregiun sanitatemque omnium senem, bimembr
Hoc monstrum pueres, & mirantisiam sub aratro
Pisicius inventis & seue comparo mula.
See I a man of holiness and vertues rare,
To births bimembred, vnder wonderful low-flow-share,
Fifth found, or moiles with fole, this monster I compare.

One may bewail the better times, but not avoid the present: one may define other magistrates,
but notwithstanding he must obey those he hath: And happily is it more commendable to obey
the wicked, than the good. So long as the image of the received, allowed and antient lawes
of this Monarchie shall be extant and shine in any corner thereof; there will I be: there will
I abide. And if by any dissater they shall chance to have contradiction or empeachment
amongst themselves, and produce two factions, of doubtful or hard choice: my election
shall be to avoid, and if I can escape this storme. In the means while, either nature or the
hazard of warre, shall lend me their helping hand. I should freely have declared my selfe
betwene Caesar and Pompey. But betwene those three theeves which came after, where
either one must have hid himselfe, or followed the winde: which I deeme lawfull, when
reason swayeth no longer.

Quo diversus abis?
Whither have you recours?
So farre out of your courfe?

This mingle-mangle is somewhat beside my text. I straggle out of the path yet is it ra-
ther by licence, then by advice of thefiee: My fantasies follow one another: but sometimes a
farre off, and looke one at another; but with an oblique looke. I have here before cast nine
eyes upon some of Plato's Dialogues; bemused with a fantastical variety: the first part
brought of love, all the latter of Rethorike. They fear not thes variances; and have a won-
derfull grace in suffering themselves to be transported by the winde: or to seeme so. The
titles of my chapters, embrace not alwayes the matter: they often but glance at it by some
marke: as these others, Aetia, Eunuchus; or thefe, Sylla, Cicero, Torquatus. I love a Poeti-
call kind of march, by friskes, skips and jumps. It is an arte (Linth Plato) light, nimble,
fleeting and light-brain'd. There are some treatises in Plutarch, where he forgets his theame,
where the drift of his argument is not found but by incidencie and chance, all stuffed with
strange matter. Mark but his vagaries in his Demon of Socrates. Oh God! what grace
hath the variation, and what beautie these stirrings and nimble escapes; and then most,
when they seem to imply carelesnesse and casualtie: It is the vnheedie and negligent rea-
der, that loseth my subject, and not my selfe. Some word or other shall ever be found in a
corner, that hath relation to it, though closely couched. I am indiscreetly and tumultuously
at a fault; my tale and wit are full gadding alike. A little folly is tolerable in him, that will
not be more fottily fay our maisters precepts, and more their examples. A thousand Poets
labour and languish after the profe-maner, but the best antient profe, which I indifferentely
scatter here and there for verfe, thineth every where, with a poetical vigor and boldnesse,
and reprefenteth some aire or touch of it's fury: Verely the ought to have the maiftre and
preheminence
The third Book.

Preeminence given her in matters of speech. A Poet (faith Plato) feated on the Muses footstool, doth in a sure powre-out whatsoever commeth in his mouth, as the pipe or cooke of a fountaine, without considering or ruminating the fame: and many things ecape him, diverse in colour, contrary in substance, and broken in course. Ancient Divine is altogether Poetic (say the learned) and the first Philoscophie. It is the original language of the Gods. I vnderstand that the matter distinguing in itself. It sufficiently declareth where it changeth, where it concludeth, where it beginneth and where it rejoyneth; without entrelacings of words,joyning ligaments & binding frames, wrestled-in for the service of wicke and vnattentive cares: and without gloosing or expounding my selfe. What is he, that would not rather not be read at all, then read in drewzie and curiosie manner? Nihil est tam vile, quod in transitum profit. There is nothing so profitable, that being lightly past over, will doe good. If to take bookes in hand were to learne them: and if to fee, were to view them; and if to rume them over, were to feele upon them, I should be too blame, to make my selfe altogether so ignornant as I say. Since I cannot flay the Readers attention by the weight: Manco male, if I happen to flay him by my intricate confusion; yea but he will afterward repent, that ever he ammused himselfe about it. You say true, but he shal have ammused himselfe upon it. And there be humours, to whom vnderstanding caufeth disdaime, who becaufe they shall not know what I meane will esteeme me the better, and will conclude the mysterie and depth of my fencie by the obscurite: Which, to speake in good eameft, I hate as death, and would thunme-it, if I could avoide my felfe. Aristote vauneth in some place to affect the fame. A vicious affection. Forsoomuch as the often breaking of my Chapters, I so much vfe in the beginning of my booke, feemed to interrupt attention, before it be conceived: Dismaying for so little a while to collect and there feate it felfe: I have betaken my felfe to frame them longer, as requiring proportion and affigned leasure. In such an occupation, he to whom you will not graunt one houre, you will allow him nothing. And you do nought for him, for whom you doe, but in doing some other thing. Sithence peradventure I am particularly tied and precicely vowe, to speake by halves, to speake confusedly, to speake differently. I therefore hate this trouble-feaft reason: And these extravagant projects, which for so much molest mans life, and these fo futile opinions, if they have any truth, I deeme it over-deere, and finde it too incommodous. On the other fide, I labour to fet forth vanitie and make foultuife to prevale, if it bring me any pleasure. And without so nicely controulung them, I follow mine owne natural inclinations. I have elsewurfe seene some houses ruind, statues overthrownne, both of heaven and of earth: But men be alwayes one. All that is true:and yet I can not so often survey the vaft toomb of that Cleit to great, so populous & so puissant, but I as often admire and reverence the fame. The care and remembrance of evils is recommended unto us. Now have I from my infancie beene breede and brought vp with thefe: I have had knowledge of the affaires of Rome, long time before I had notice of those of my house. I knew the Capitol, and it's plartame, before I knew Louvure, the pallece of our Kings in Paris, and the River Tiber, before Seyne. I have more remembered and thought vppon the fortunes and conditions of Lucullus, Metellus and Sceipio, then of any of our country-men. They are deceased, and fo is my father, as fully as they: and is as distant from me and life in eightene yeares as they were in sixtene hundred: Whose memory, amitie and focttie, I notwithstanding omit not to continue, to embrace and converse withall, with a perfect and most lively union. Ye of mine owne inclanation, I am more officious toward the deceased. They can no longer help themselves: but (as me seemeth) they require so much the more my ayde: There is Gratitute, and there appeareth the in her perfetluftre. A benefit is leffe richly assigned, where retrogradation and reflexion is. Aristotle going to visit Cicero, that was sicke, and finding him in very poore plight, faire and softly thrust some mony vnder his boulfter, which he gave him: And concealing it from him, left and gave him also a quittance for ever being beholding to him. Such as have at any time deferved friendship, or love or thanks at my handes, never left the fame,by being no longer with me. I have better paide and more carefully rewarded them, being absent, and when they least thought of it. I speake more kindly and affectionately of my friends, when there is least means, that ever it shall come to their cares, I have heretofore undergone a hundred quarrels for the defence of Pompey and Brutus his caufe. This acquaintance continueth to this day betweene vs. Even of preuent things wee have no other holde, but by our fantazie. Perceiving my felle
The third Booke.

felle vniue and unprofitable for this age, I call myself to that other: And am so belotted with it, that the state of the said ancient, free just and flourishing Rome, (for I neither love the birth, nor like the old-age of the same) doth interef, concerne and passionate me. And therefore can I not so often looke into the situation of their streeteries and houses, and those wondrous strange ruines, that may be faide to reach downe to the Antipodes, but so often must I ammuse my selfe on them. Is it by Nature or by the errour of fantastie, that the seeing of places, wee know to have bin frequented or inhabited by men, whose memorie is esteemed or mentioned in stories, doeth in some sorte move and stirre vp so much or more, than the hearing of their noble deedes, or reading of their compositions? Tantis vis adominatis inest in locis: Et id quidem in hac urbe infinitum, quacumque enim ingredimur, in aliquam historiam religiosam ponimus. So great a power of adomination is in the very place: And that in this City is most infinite; for which manner wee walke, wee sette our foote upon some Historie. I am much delighted with the consideration of their courseness, port and habiliments: I nominate those glorious names betweene my teeth, and make mine ears to ring with the sound of them. Ego illos veneror, & tantis nominibus semper assurgo. I doe reverence them, and at their names I doe rise and make curtesie. Of things but in some sort great; strange and admirable, I admire their common parts. I could with to see them walke and suppe together, and heare their discourses. It was in grattitude to dispise, and impietie to neglect the reliques or images of so many excellent, honest good men, and therewithal so valiant, which I have scene live and die: And who by their examples, had we the wit or grace to follow them, afforded so many notable instructions. And Rome as it stands now, deserveth to be loved: Confederated so long since, and bearing titles with our Crowne of France: Being the onlie common and vnvanisht Cite: The Soveraigne Magistrate therein commanding, is like: wise knowne abroad in divers other places. It is the chief Metropolitan Cite of all Christian Nations: Both French and Spaniards, and all men else are there at home. To bee a Prince of that state, a man needs but bee of Christendome, where ever he bee rated. There is no place here on earth, that the Heavens have embraced with such influence of favors and graces, and with such contucion: Even his ruines is glorious with renowne, and syllonce with glorie.

Landanis precioso ruinis, 
Ev'n made more honourable 
By ruines memorable.

Low-levelled as the lieth, and even in the tombe of his glory, she yet referveth the lively image and regardfull markes of Empire. Ut palam sit uno in loco gaudemis opus esse nature. So as it is cleere, in one place is set forth the worke of Nature in her solitude. Some one would blame himselfe, yea and mutiny, to feele himselfe tickled with so vaine a pleasure. Our humoris are not over vaine, that be pleasant. Whosoever they bee, that constantly content a man capable of common understanding, I could not finde in my heart to moane or pitty him. I am much beholding to fortune, inasmuch as vntill this day, the hath committed nothing outrageous against me, or imposed anie thing upon mee, that is beyond my strengthe, or that I could not well bare. It is not haply her custome, to suffer such as are not importunate or over busie with her, to live in peace.

Quanto quique sibi plura negaverit, 
A Dique pluriferet nil cupiendum, 
Nudus castra peto, nulta potentibus, 
Defiant nulla. 
The more that men shall to themselves deny, 
The more the Gods will give them: How much I follow the campe of them that ought desire. 
They still want much, that still doe much require. 
If she continue so, I shall depart very well content and satisfied. 

Deo lacesse. —— nihilo supra 
More than will serve, to have 
Of Gods I do not crave.

But beware the nocke: Thou fandest mischance in the haven, and are cast away being neereft 
E c c

home.
The third Booke.

Ovid Metam. 1.
3. 140

Thereof I doe commit
To Fortune (as is fit.)

Besides, I am not tied with that long bond, which some say, bides men to future times, by the children bearing their names, and succeeding them in honors. And being so much to be desired, it may be I shall with for them so much the less. I am by my selfe but overmuch tied into the world, and fastned into life: I am pleased to be in Fortunes hold; by the circumstances properly necessary to my state, without enlarging her jurisdiction upon mee by other ways: And I never thought, that to be without children, were a defect, able to make mans life leffe compleat and leffe contented. A barren state or fertile vocation, have also their peculiar commodities. Children are in the number of things, that need not greatly be desired; especially in these corrupted days, wherein it would be so hard a matter to make them good. Bona sem nasce lices, uta corrupta junt semina. We can not now have good things so much as grose, the feedes are so corrupt. Yet have they just cause to moame them, that having once gotten, loose them vn timely. He who left me my house in charge, considering my humor, which was to stay at home for little, fore-saw I should be the overthowe of it. Hee was deceived: I am now as I came vnto it, if somewhat better. And that, without any Office or Church-living; which are so small helps. As for other matters, if Fortune have offered me no violent or extraordinary offence, so hath she not shewed me any great favour or extraordinary grace. Whatsoever I have belonging to it, that may properly bettered her gifts, was there before I came vnto it; yea and a hundred yeeres before. I particularly enjoy no essentiall good, or possesse no solide benefit, that I owe vnto her liberalitie: Indeede she hath bestowed some winds-puffe favors vpon me, which may rather be termed tithiale and honorable in shew, than in substance, or material: And which, in good truth, he hath not granted, but offered me. God he knowes, to me, who am altogether material; not satisfied but with realtie, which must also be matter and substance: And who, if I durft confesse it, would not thinke avarice, much leffe execuable then ambition: nor griefe leffe eavitable, then shame: nor health leffe defirable, then learning: or riches leffe to be wished, then nobilitie. Amongst her vaine fancies, I have none doth so much pleafe my fond selues-pleasing conceiues, as an authenticke Bull, charter or patent of denizonglippe or borgomshippe of Rome, which at my last being there, was granted me by the whole Senate of that Citie: garish and trimly adorned with goodly Seales, and written in faire golden Letters: bestowed vpon me with all gracious and free liberalitie. And forso much as they are commonly conferred in diverse files, more or leffe favourable: and that before I had ever seene ane, I would have bin glad to have had but a patern or formulare of one; I will for the satisfaction of any, if shee fortune to be possesse with such a curiosity as mine, here set downe the true copie or transcrip of it: and thus it is.

Quod Horatius Maximus, Martius Cecius, Alexander Matrus, almo orbis conserva
vres de Illustriiffimo viro Michaeli Montano, equite sancti Michaelis, & a Cubico
Regis Christianissimi, Romanae criteate donando, ad Senatum retulerum, S.P.Q.R.
de ea re in fieri consilia.

Cui, veteri mere & instituto cuipide illi semper studiose, fascipiti sint, qui virtute ac nobilitate
presantes, magno Respublice nostra vsum atque ornamento suiffent, vestae aliquando posseint:
Nec maiorum nostrorum exemplum atque autolitatem permutati, praebare banc Consequentiam, no-
bis imitandum ac feruandam fueremus. Quamobrem cum Illustriiffimo Michaeli Montano
Eques sancti Michaelis, & a cubiculo Regis Christianissimi, Romanonominis studii.ffimi, & fami-
lia haude atque splendore & proprijs virtutum meritis dignissimi sint, qui summo Senatus Populi
Romani, inuuidio ac studio in Romanae Criteate ad censeatur, placere Senatui P. Q. R. Illustriiffi-
mum Michaeliem Montanum rebus omnibus ornatifissimum, atq, unius incepto Populo chartis, ffimum
pam posseffum in Rom. criteate ad scribiri, ornari, ornatus & prauii & benovius, quius illis
mur, qui Cives Patria, Romani narrante et ore opimo saeunt, in quo censeere Senatus P. Q. R.
se
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fe non tam illa: Civitatis largiri quam debita tribuere, neque magis beneficium dare quam
ab ipso accipere, qui hoc Civitatis munere accipienti, singulari Civitatet: ipsa ornatum autque
honore afferatur. Quam, quidem, S. C. autoritatem: idem Conservatori per Senatus P. O. R.
scribus in alta reserat, atque in Capitoli curia servatis, privilegiis, locum in ordine ac
libris spectatu communim curarent. Anno ab orbe condita CXV CCC XXXI. post Christianum
M. D. LXXXI. III. Idus Martii.

Horatius Episcus sacri S. P. O. R. scriba.
Vincent Martholus sacri S. P. O. R. scriba.

At the motion of Horatius Maximus, Marcus Cicer, Alexander Man, who are
 Conservators of this beautiful City, concerning the endowing and making Citizens of
Rome the noble Gentleman Michael de Montaign, Knight of the Order of St. Michael,
and one of the Chamber of the most Christian King, the Senate & People of Rome thought
good thereof to enact. Whereas by the auncient custome and good order, they have
ever and with good will, beene entertained, who excelling in vertue and nobilitie have bin,
or at any time might be of any great vce or ornament vnto our common-wealth: We, mooed
by example and authority of our Aunclesters, decree: That this notable custome, by vs
should be entered and observed. Wherefore, therefore the right Noble Michael de Montaigne,
Knight of St. Michael's Order, and one of the Chamber of the most Christian King, both
is most affectionate vnto the Roman name, and by the commendations and splendor of his
pedegree, as also by the merites of his proper vertues, most worthy to be adopted and inter-
red into the Romane Cittie with a special judgement and good will of the Senate and peo-
ple of Rome: It pleaseth the Senate & people of Rome, that the right noble Michael de Mon-
taigne, adored in all complements, and well-beloved of this famous Communalie, both
himselfe and his face Flours should be acribbed and enfranchized into this Romane Cittie,
and be graced with all rewardes and honours, which they enjoy, who either have bin borne
or eleeted, either Citizens or Noble men of Rome. Wherein the Senate and people doe
decree, That they do not so much vouchsafe him the right of their Cittie, as give him that
is due vnto him; nor doe they rather give him a benefite, than receive of him, who by ac-
cepting this gift of the Cittie, doth countenance the Cittie with a singular ornament and ho-
nour. Which Act and authentike of the Senates Decree, the saide Concrvarors caused by
the Clearks of the Senate and people to be registred and laide vp in the Capitol Court, and
this Privilege to be made and peigned with the Citties visuall Scale. In the yeare since the
building of the Cittie CXV CCC XXXI. after the birth of Christ a thousand five hun-
dred eighttie and one: the Ides of March.

Horatius Episcus, and Vincent Martholus Clearks of the
sacred Senate and people of Rome.

Being neither Burgeois nor Denizone of any Cittie, I am well pleased to be so, of the
noblest and greatest that ever was heretofore, or ever shall be hereafter. If others did so attent-
ively confider and furvay themselves as I doe, they should as I doe, finde themselfes full of
innatite, fondneffe or vanitie. I cannot be rid of it, except I rid and quit my selfe. We are
all posseffed and overwhelmed therewith, as well the one as the other. But such as have a
feeling of it, have somewhat the better bargaine: And yet I am not fure of it. This com-
mon opinion and vulgar custome, to looke and marke elsewhere then on our selves, hath
well provided for our affaires. It is an object full fraught with discontent, wherein we see
nothing but miserie and vanitie. To the end we should not wholly be discofomtred, Nature
hath so vitly caft the action of our sight outward: We goe forward according to the streams,
but to turne our course backe to our selves, is a painfull motion: the sea likewise is troubled, ra-
ging and disquieted, when it is turned and driven into it selfe. Observe (faith everyone) the
motions and branches of the heavens: take a survey of all: the quarrell of this man, the pul-
se of that man, and anotheres last testament: to conclude, behold and marke ever, high or low,
right or oblique, before or behind you. It was a paraadoxall commandement, which the
God of Delphos laide: heretofore vpon vs Saying: View your selves within, know your selves,
and keepe you to your selves: Your minde and your will, which elsewhere is consumed, bring

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The tenth Chapter.

How one ought to governe his will.

In regard of the common sort of men, few things touch mee, or (to speake properly) detain me: For it is reason they touch, so they postelie-vss not. I have great neede, both by studie and discourse, to encrease this privilege of insensibility, which is naturally crept farre into me. I am not wedded unto many things, and by consequence, not passionat of them. I have my sight cleare, but tied to few objeets: My sense delicate and gentle; but my apprehension and application hard and dull: I engage my selfe with difficulty. As much as I can, I employ my selfe wholly to my selfe. And in this very subject, I would willingly bundle and uphold mine affection, lest it be too far plunged therein: Seeing it is a subject I postelie at the merice of others, and over which fortune hath more interest then my selfe. So as even in my health, which I so much esteeme, it were requisite not to desire, nor so carefully to seeke it, as thereby I might light uppon intolerable diseases. We must moderate our selves; between the hate of paine, and the love of pleasure. Plato sets downe a meane course of life betweene both. But to affections that dostrate me from my selfe, and diverst me elsewhere, surely, to such I oppose my selfe with all my force. Mine opinion is, that one should lend himselfe to others, and not give himselfe but to himselfe. Were my will eate to engage or apply itselfe, I could not continue: I am over tender both by nature and custome,

\[ \text{fugax rerum, fercuque in otia natura.} \]
Avoiding active businesse,
And borne to secure idlenesse.

Contestted and obfinate debates, which in the end would give mine adversarie advantage, the issue which would make my earneste pursuie affhamed, would perchance torment mee cruelly. If I vexed as other men, my soule should never have strengthe to bearre thelators and emotions, that follow such as embrace much. She would presently be displaced by this infinite agitation. If at any time I have been urged to the managing of strange affaires, I have promised to undertake them with my hand, but not with my heart and spleen: to charge, and not to incorporate them into me; to have a care, but nothing at all to be over passionate of them: I looke to them, but I hatch them not. I worke enough to dispouse and direct the domestickal troubles within mine owne entrailes and veines, without harbouring, or importune my selfe with any forraine employments: And am sufficiently interrested with my proper, natural and essentiall affaires, without seeking others busineses. Such as know how much they owe to themselves, and how many offices of their owne they are bound to performe, shall finde that nature hath given them this commision fully ample and nothing idle. Thou hast businesse enough within thy selfe, therefore stray not abroad: Men give themselves to hire. Their faculties are not their owne, but theirs to whom they subject themselves; their inmates, and not themselves, are within them. This common humour doth not please me. We should thriftily husband our minde's liberry, and never engage it but upon just occasions; which if we judge imparcially, are very few in number. Look on such as suffer themselves to be transported and swaide, they doe it every where. In little as well as in great matters;
The third Booke.

matters; to that which concerneth, as easy as to that which toucheth them not. They thrust themselves indifferently into all actions, and are without life, if without tumultuary agitation. In nego[tiis] faut, negotiis caulis. They are busy that they may not be idle, or else in action for actions sake. They seek works but to be working. It is not so much because they will go, as for that they cannot stand still. Much like to a rowling stone, which never stays vntill it come to a lying place. To some men, employment is a mark of sufficiency and a badge of dignity. Their spirits seek rest in action, as infants repose in the cradle. They may be saide, to be as serviceable to their friends, as importunate to themselves. No man distributes but money to others, but every one his life and time. We are not to prodigall of anything, as of those whereof to be covetous was both commendable and profitable for vs. I follow a cleane contrary course, I am of another complexion: I stay at home and looke to my selfe. What I with-for, I commonly define the same but mildly; and define but little: so likewise I seldom employ and quietly embusie my selfe. What ever they intend and affet, they doe it with all their will and vehementie. There are so many dangerous steps, that for the more securitie, we must somewhat slightly and superficially slide through the world, and not force it. Pleasure is selfe is painfull in his height.

incidis per ignem,
Substipos cinera dolos.
Vnder deceitfull as laide.

The towne-councill of Bordeaux chose me Major of their Cittie, being farre from France, but further from any such thought. I excused my selfe and would have avoided it. But they told me I was too blame the more, because the kings commandement was also employd therein. It is a charge, should seeme so much the more goodly, because it hath neither fee nor rewarde, other then the honour in the execution. It lasteth two yeares, but may continue longer by a second election, which seldom happeneth. To me it was, and never had beene but twice before: Some yeares past to the Lord of Lanfois and lately to the Lord of Byron, Marshall of France. In whole place I succeeded; and left mine to the Lord of Ma-tignon, likewise Marshall of France. Glorious by so noble an assistance.

Vterque bonus pacis bellique minifter.
Both, both in peace and warre,
Right serviceable are.

Fortune would have a share in my promotion by this particular circumstance, which the other owne added thereunto; not altogether vaine. For Alexander disdained the Com-thian Ambassadors, who offered him the freedome and Burgeoisie of their Cittie, but when they told him that Baccho and Hercules were likewise in their registres, he kindly thanked them and accepted their offer. At my first arrival, I faithfully deciphered and conscientiously displace my selfe, such as I am indeed: without memorie, without diligence, without experience and without sufficiency; so likewise without hatred, without ambition, without covetousness and without violence: that so they might be dely instructed what service they might, or hope, or expect at my hands. And forsomuch as the knowledge they had of my deceased father, and the honour they bare unto his memorie, had moued them to chuse me to that dignitie, I told them plainly, I should be very forie, that any thing should worke such an opinion in my will, as their affairs and Cittie had done in my fathers, while he held the said government, whereunto they had called mee. I remembered to have seene him being an infant, and he an old man, his minde cruelly turmoyled with this publique toile; forgetting the sweete aire of his owne house, whereunto the weakeenesse of his age had long before tied him neglecting the care of his health and familie, in a manner defpisitg his life, which as one engaged for them, he much endariigered, riding long and painefull journeys for them. Such a one was he; which humor proceeded from the bountie and goodnesse of his nature. Never was minde more charitable or more popular. This course, which I commend in others, I love not to follow: Neither am I without excuse: He had heard, that a man must for-get himselfe for his neighbour: that in respect of the general, the particular was not to be regarded. Most of the worldes rules and precepts hold this traine, to drive vs out of our selves into the wide world, to the vfe of publike societie. They presumed to worke a goodly effect, in dis-tracting and withdrawing vs from our selves: supposing we were by a naturall instinct,
The third Booke.

too-too much tied unto it: and to this end have not spared to say any thing. For to the wife it is no novelie, to preach things as they serve, and not as they are. Truth hath her lets, discommodities and incompatibilities with vs. Wee must often deceive others, lest we beguile our selves. And feele our eyes, and dull our understanding, thereby to repair and amend them. Imperium evam indicat, & quis frequentem in hoc ipsum fallendi juris, ne errant. For unskillful men judge, who must often even therefore be deceived, left they err and be deceived. When they prescribe vs, to love three, four yeare fifty degrees of things before our selves, they present vs with the Art of shooters, who to come nearer the mark, take their aim far above the same. To make a crooked stick straight, we bend it the contrary way. I suppose, that in the Temple of Pallas, as we see in all other religions, they had some apparent mysteries, of which they made shew to all the people; and others more high and secret, to be imparted only to such as were professed. It is likely, that the true point of friendship, which ever man oweth to himselfe, is to be found in these. Nor a false amitie, which makes vs embrace glorie, knowledge, riches and such like, with a principall and immoderate affection, as members of our being: nor an effeminate and indifferenee friendship, Wherin hapneth as to the Ivie, which corrupts and ruins the Walls it claspeth: But a sound and regular amitie, equal ly profitable and pleasant. Who so vnderstandeth all her duties and exerciseth them, hee is rightly endeniased in the Muses cabinet: He hath attained the tipe of humane Wesedom and the perfection of our happinesse. This man knowing exactly what he oweth to himselfe, findenth, that he ought to employ the use of other men and of the World vnto himselfe; which to performe, he must contributhe the duties and offices that concern him vnto publicke socicite. He that lives not somewhat to others, liveth little to himselfe. Qui habet amisum esse, in hoc amicum omnium esse. He that is friend to himselfe, knowe, he is friend to all. The principal charge we have, is every man his particular conduct. And for this onely we live here. As he that should forget to live well and religiously, and by instructing and directing others, should think himselfe acquitted of his duties; would be deemed a fool: Even fo, who forsaketh to live healthie and merily himselfe, therewith to serve another, in mine opinion taketh a badde and vnnaturall course. I will not, that in any charge one shall take in hand, hee refuse or thinke much of his attention, of his labour, of his steps, of his speech, of his sweat, and if need be, of his blood,

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not erring, nor charis amicis,

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Ant patr. timidas perire.

Not fearing life to end

For Country or deare friend.

But it is onely borrowed and accidentally, The mind remaining ever quiet and in health: not without action, but without vexation or passion. Simply to moove or doe being, cost s it s too little, that even sleepeing it is moving and dooing. But it must have it's motion with discretion. For the bodie receiveth the charges imposed him, jutly as they are: But the spirit extendeth them, and often to his hinderance makes them heavy; giving them what measure it pleaseth. Like things are effected by divers efforts and different contentions of will. The one may goe without the other. For, how manie men doe daily hazard themselves in warre where they regard not, and preffe into the dangers of battelies, the losse whereof shall no whit break their next sleep? Wheras some man in his own house, free from this danger, which he durst not so much as have lookt towards it, is for this Wars illue more passionate, and therewith hath his minde more perplexed, than the felder, that therin employth both his blood and life. I know how to deale in publicke charges, without departing from my selfe: the breadth of my naile; and give my selfe to an other, without taking mee from myself. This sharpenesse and violence of defires hindereth more, then steadeth the couetoute of what we undertake, falling vs with impaciency to the events, eyther contrary or flowes and with bitternesse and jealouse toward those with whom we negotiate. We never governe that thing well, wherewith we are possest and directed.

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Hoc eminens ministras

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Impetus.

Fury and haste doe lay all waffe;
Mispalcing all, disgracing all;
He who therein employeth but his judgement and direction, proceeds more cheerfully: he
he faines, he yeeldes, he deferts at his pleasure according to the occasions of necessitie: hee faires of his attempt, without torment or affliction, readie and prepared for a new enterprise. He marcheth always with the reines in his hand. He that is besotted with this violent and tyrannical intention, doth necessarily declare much indifferency and injustice. The violence of his desire transports him. They are raft motions, and if fortune helpe not much, of little fruit. Philosophic wills vs to banish choler in the punishment of offences; not to the end revenge should be more moderate, but contrary, more weighty and fully set on: whereunto this violence seemeth to be a let. Choller doth not onely trouble, but wearie the executioners arms. This passionat heatc dulthet and confumes their force. As in too much speede, feilitata tarda eft; Haste makes waffe, and hinders and slays it selfe: Upe velocietas implicat, Swifitete entangles it selfe. As for example, according as by ordinarie custome I perceive, covetousness hath no greater let, then it selfe. The more violent and extended it is, the selfe effectual and fruitfull. Commonly it gathereth wealth more speedily being masked with a shew of liberalitie. A very honest Gentleman and my good friend, was likely to have endangered his bodie, by an over passionate attention and earnest affaire to the affaires of a Prince, who was his Master. Which Master hath thus declerfed himselfe vnto me: That as another, hee discerneth and hath a feeling of the burthen of accidents: but such as have no remedie, hee prefently resolveth to suffer with patience: For the rest, after he hath appoynted necessarie provisions, which by the vivacitie and nimblenesse of his wit, hee speedily effecttes, hee then attendes the event with quietnesse.

Verily, I have seene in him at one instant a great carelesnesse and liberty, both in his actions and countenance: Even in importane and difficult affaires. I finde him more magistranous and capable, in badde then in good fortune. His lofles are to him more glorious, than his victories; and his mourning than his triumphs. Consider how in meere vaine and frivolous actions, as at chess, tennis and such like sports, this earnest and violent engaging with an ambusious desire to winne, doth prefently call both minde and himes into disorde and indiscretion. Wherein a man doth both dazelle his sight, and dis temper his whole body. He who demeaneth himselfe with most moderation both in winning and loothing, is ever neere st vnto himselfe, and hath his wits bent about him. The leffe hee is madowed or passionate in play, the more safely doeth he govern the fame, and to his greater advantage. We hinder the mindes fesure and holdfast, by giving her fo many things to feize vpon. Some wee should openly present vnto him, others hafte vpon him, and others incorporate into him. Shee may see and fee all things, but must onely feeede on his selfe: And be instructed in that which properly concerneth his, and which meere belongeth to her effence and substanc. The Laves of Nature teach vs what is and fit for us. After the wise-men have told vs, that according to Nature no man is indigent or wanteth, and that each-one is poore but in his owne opinion, they also distinguishe subtly, the defires proceeding from Nature, from such as grow from the disordes of our fantasie. Those whose end may be disconcerfed are meere hers; and such as flie before vs and whose end we cannot attaine, are properly ours. Want of goods may easie be cured, but the poverty of the mind, is incurable.

Nam f, quod satia eft homini, id satia eft potestas,
Quo sat erat, nunc, quam hoc non est, qui cedimus porro
Divinitatibus animum mi expelle potest?
If it might be enough, that is enough for man,
This were enough, since it is not, how think we can
Now any riches fill
My minde and greedy will?

Socrates seing great florde of riches, jewells and pretieus stuffe carried in pompe through his Cittie: Oh how many things (quoth he) doe not I defiere? Metrodorus lived daily with the weight of twelve ounces of foode: Epicurus with leffe: Metrocles in winter lay with sheep, and in summer in the Cloisters of Churches. Sufficit adit natura, quod poscit. Nature is sufficient for that which it requires. Cleanthes lived by his handes, and boasteth, that if Cleanthes would, he could nourish another Cleanthes. If that which Nature dooth exactly and originally require at our handes, for the preservacion of our being, is over little (as in truth what it is, and how good cheape our life may be maintaine, cannot better be knowne or exprest than by this consideration. That it is so little, and for the smallnesse thereof, it is out of
The third Booke.

Fortunes reach, and she can take no hold of it; let vs dispence something els vnto our selves, and call the custome and condition of every one of us by the name of Nature. Let vs take and flunt and feede our selves according to that measure; let vs extend both our appurtenances and reckonings thereto. For to faffe me feme, we have some excele: Custome is a second Nature, and no leffe powerfull. What is wanting to my custome, I hold it a defect: And I had well nigh as leefe one should deprive mee of my life, as reftaine or much abridge me of the flate wherein I have lived so long. I am no more upon terms of any great alteration, nor to threfh my felfe into a new and vn-vifual courfe, no not toward augmentation: it is no longer time to become other or be transformed. And as I should complain if any great adventure should now befall mee, and grieve it came not in time that I might have enjoyed the fame.

Quo mihi fortune, fi non concede tur vit?

Wherefore should I have much,
If I to vieit grutch?

I should likewife be grieved at any inward purchase: It were better in a manner, never, than to late, to become an honett man: and well practised to live, when one hath no longer life. I who am ready to depart this World, could easily be induced, to refringe the share of widome I have learn't, concerning the Worlds commerce, to any other man new-comne into the world. It is even as good as Mulhard after dinner. What needs have I of that good, which I cannot enjoy? Wherefore serveth knowledge, if one have no head? It is an injury and difgrace of Fortune, to offer vs those presents, which, for somuch as they faile vs when we should moft neede them, fill vs with a just fpite. Guide me moore: I can go no longer. Off so many dismembrings that Sufficience hath, patience sufficeth vs. Give the capacitie of an excellent treble to a Singer, that hath his lungs rotten; & of eloquence to an Hermit confined into the Defarts of Arabia. There needs no Arte to further a fall. The end fatisfies it felfe in the finifhing of every works. My world is at an end, my forme is expired. I am wholly of the time past. And am bound to authorize the fame, and thereto conforne my ifufe. I will fay this by way of example; that the edifying or abridging of tenne dayes, which the Pope hath lately caufed, hath taken me fo lowe, that I can hardly recover my felfe. If owowe the yeares, wherein we were wont to compt otherwife. So long and ancient a custome doth chalenge and recall me to it again. I am thereby enforced to be somewhat an heretike: Incapable of innovations, though corrective. My imagination maugre my teeth runnes still tenne dayes before, or tenne behinde; and whispers in mine ears: This rule toucheth fhowe, which are to come. If health it felle fo sweettly-pleasing, comes to me but by fittes, it is rather to give me caufe of griefe, then possifion of it felle. I have no where left me to retire it. Time forfakes me; without which nothing is enjoyed. How small account shoule I make of these great eftive dignities. I fee in the worldes, and which are onely given to men, ready to leave the world; wherein they regard not so much how dutiful they shall discharge them, as how little they fhall exercize them: from the beginning they looke to the end. To conclude, I am ready to finish this man, not to make another. By long custome, this forme is changed into subfance, and Fortune into Nature. I say therefore, that amonge fves feble creatures, each one is execuable to compt that his owne, which is comprehended under this measure. And yet all beyond these limites, is nothing but confusion.

It is the largest extention we can grant our rights. The more wee amplifie our neede and possifion, the more we engage our selves to the croffes of fortune and adversities. The carriere of our deires must be circumfered, and tied to fithct bounds of necerft and contiguous commodities. Moreover, their course shoule be managed, not in a straight line, having another end, but round, whose two points hold together, and end in our felves with a fhort compaffe. The actions governed without this refleffing, I mean a meer and effential refleffion, as thofe of the covetous, of the ambitious and fo many others, that runne direcly point-blanke, the cours of which carrieth them away before them, are erroneous and crazed actions. Moft of our vacations are like plays. Mundus universus exercet historiaem. All the world doth prattife fcape-playing. We must play our parts duly, but as the part of a borrowed perfonage. Of a viand and appearance, wee should not make a real effence, nor proper of that which is anothers. We cannot daffinfi the skine from the fpirit. It isufficient to difguife the face, without deforming the breath. I fee some transforme and tranfublant-
tranfubstantiate themselves, into as many new forms and strange beings, as they undertake charges: and who emplate themselves even to the heart and entrails; and enfringe their offices even fitting on their clofe fool. I cannot teach them to distinguisht the falutations and cappings of fuch as regard them, from thofe that repect either their office, their traine, or their imule. Tantum fo fortune permittit, etiam ut naturam deducat. They give themselves for much over to Fortune, as they forget Nature. They dwell in mind and puff up their natural difcourfe, according to the dignity of their office. The Major of Bourdeaux, and Mitchel Lord of Montagne, have never been two, by an evident separation. To be an advocate or a Treasurer, one should not be ignorant of the craft incident to fuch callings. An honest man is not comptable for the vice and folly of his trade, and therefore ought not to refuse the exercife of it. It is the cuftome of his country; and there is prudence in it. We must live by the world, and fuch as we finde, fo make use of it. But the judgement of an Emperour should be above his Empire; and to fee and confider the fame as a strange accident. He should know how to enjoy himfelfe aparte; and communicate himfelfe as James and Peter; at leaft to himfelfe. I cannot fo absolutely or fo deeply engage my felfe. When my will gives me to any partie, it is not with fo violent a bond, that my understanding is thereby infected. In the prefent intelline troubles of our State, my interett hath not made mee forget neither the commendable qualities of our adversaries, nor the reproachefull of thofe I have followed. They partially extoll what ever is on their fide: I doe not fo much as excuse the greater number of my friends-actions. A good Orator looth not his grace by pleading againft me. The intricatenefs of our debate removed, I have maintained myfelfe in equanimitt and pure indifference. Nemo extra necessefites bellis, praecipuum adiam gero. Nor have I capital hatred, when I am out of the necoftie of warre. Wherein I glory, for that commonly I fee men err in the contrary. Such as extend their choller and hatred, beyond their affairs (as most men doe) fwear that it proceeds elfewhence, and from fome private caufe: Even as one being cured of an ulcer, and his fuer remaineth full, declareth it had another more hidden beginning. It is the reafon they bearre none vnto the caufe, in generall and for foc much as it concerneth the interett of all, and of the State: But they are vexed at it, onely for this, that it toucheth them in private. And therefore are they diftempered with a particular passion, both beyond justice and publike reafon. Non tam omninon universi, quam ea, quae ad quemque pertinent, singulis carpebat. All did not fo much finde fault without, as every one with thofe that appertained to every one. I will have the advantage to be for vs: which though it be not, I enrage not. I stand ffirmly to the partner forts. But I affect not to be noted a private enemy to others, and beyond generall reafon, I greatly accuse this vicious forme of obstinate confenting: He is of the League, because he admireth the grace of the Duke of Gaus: or he is a Hugonote, for fomuch as the King of Navarres activitie amazeth him: He findeth fault in the Kings behaviours, therefore he is jeditious in his heart. I would not give the magnifiye my voice, that he had reafon, to condemne a booke, because an heretike was therein named and extolled to be one of the beft Poets of this age. Dare we not fay that a theefe hath a good leg? if he have fo indeedes; If he be a trumpeter, muft he needes have a flinking breath? In wifer ages, revoked they the powde title of Capitolinus, they had formerly given to Marcus Manlius, as the preferver of religion and publike libertie? Suppofed they the memory of his liberalitie, his deedes of armes and military rewards granted to his vertues, becaufe to the prejudice of his countries lawes, he afterward afpected a Royalty? If they once conceave a hatred againft an Orator or an Advocate, the next day he becometh barbarous and vn eloquent. I have elsewhere discourfed of zeale, which hath driven good men into like errors. For my felfe, I can faie: that he doth wickedly, and this venomoufly. Likewise, in prognolikes or finner events of affaires, they will have every man blinde or dull in his owne caufe: and that our perfwafion and judgement, ferve not the truth, but the project of our defires. I should rather erre in the other extremitie: So much I fearre my defire might corrupt mee. Considering, I somewhat tenderly diftruft my felfe: in things I moft defire. I have in my days feene woonders, in the inducfeete and prodigious fability of people, fuffering their hopes and beliefs, to be leade and governed, as it hath pleased and best fitted their leaders: above a hundred disccontents, one in the neck of another: and beyond their fantasies and dreams. I wonder no more at thofe, whom the apith toys of Apollonius and Nabonet have seduced and blinded. Their fence and understanding is wholly limothed in
in their passion. Their discretion hath no other choice but what pleaseth them and furthereth their cause. Which I had especially observed in the beginning of our distempered passions and factious troubles. This other, which is growne since, by imitation surrendereth the same. Whereby I observe, that it is an inseparable quality of popular errors. The first being gone, opinions entereth one another, following the winde, as waves doe. They are no members of the bodie, if they may renounce it, if they follow not the common course. But truely they wring the just partes, when they feek to help them with fraud and deceit. I have always contradicted the same. This meane is but for sickle brains: The healthy have furer and honester ways to maintain their resolutions and excuse all contrary accidents. The Heavens never saw fo weighty a discord and so harmful a hatred, as that betweene Cæsar and Pompey: nor ever shall hereafter: Mee seemeth notwithstanding, I see in those noble and Heroicall minde, an exemplar and great moderation of the one toward the other. It was a jelousie of honour and emulation of command, which transported them, not to a furious and indiscreete hatred; without malice or detraction. In their sharpest exploits, I discover some reliques of respect and cinders of well-meaning affection. And I imagine, that had it beene possible, eyther of them desired rather to effect his purpose without overthrowing his competitor, than by working his utter ruine. Note how contrary the proceeding was betweene Silus and Marius. We must not runne headlong after our affections and private interests. As in my youth, I ever opposed myselfe to the motions of love, which I felt to surfe upon me; and laboured to diminish it, its delights, left in the end it might vanquish and captivate me: So doe I now in all other occasions, which my will apprehendeth with an over great appetit. I bend to the contrary of my disposition, as I see the same plunged and drank with its owne Wine. I thunke so faire forth to nourish her pleasure, as I may not revokke it without a bloodie losse. Those mindes which through slupiditie see things but by halves, enjoy this happiness, that such as be hurtfull, offend them least: It is a spiritual leprose, that hath some fiew of health; and such a health, as Philosophy doth not altogether content.me. But yet it may not lawfully be termed wife-domes: as we often do. And after this manner did in former times some body mocke Diogenes, who in the dead of Winter, went all naked, embracing an image of snow, to trie his patience: Who meeting him in this order, saide thus vnto him: Art thou now verie cold? Nothing at all, answered Diogenes. What thinkst thou to doe then, that is either hard or examplar by standing in the cold? replied the other: To measure constancie, we must necessarily know sufferance, saide Diogenes. But such mindes as must behold course events, and forruines injuries in their height and sharpeneffe, which must weigh and taste them according to their natural bitterness and charge; let them employ their skill and keepe themselves from embracing the caues, and divert their approaches. What did King Coph? He payed liberallity for that goodly and rich Vessel, which one had presented vnto him, but forsoome as it was exceeding brittle, he presently brake it himselfe, that so betimes hee might remoue so easie an occasion of choller against his servants. I have in like forse thunnde confusion in my affaires, and fought not to have my goods contiguous to my neighbours, and to such as I am to be linked in strict friendship: Whence commonly enue caues of alienation and unkindenesse. I have heretofore loved the hazardous play of Cardes and Dice. I have long since left it, onely for this, that notwithstanding anie faire semblance I made in my loffe, I was inwardly disquieted. Let a man of honour, who is to take a lie or endure an outrageous wrong, and cannot admit a badde excuse for payment or satisfaction, avoyde the progresse of contentious altercationes. I thunne melancholike complixions and froward men, as infected. And in matters, I cannot takle without interest and emotion. I meddle not with them, except duettie contraunte me therevnto. Melius non incipias, quam def Ipsius. They shall better not beginne, than leave off. The furest way, is then to prepare our selves before occasions. I know that some wisemen have taken another course; and have not feared to engage and vehemently to ininfinate themselves into divers objects. Those affuire themselves of their owne strength, under which they throwd themselves against all manner of contrary events, making mouthches to wrestle one against another, by the vigor and vertue of patience:
Much like a rocke, which but's into the Maine,
Meeting with winds and rages, to the Sea late plaine,
It doeth the force of skies and Seas sulphaine,
Endure their threats, yet doth victorie remaine.

Let vs not imitate these examples, we shall not attaine them. They opiositate themselves resolutely to behold, and without perturbation to be spectatours of their Countries ruine, which whilome poigle, and commanded their full will. As for our vulgar minde, therein is more effort and roughness. Cruz quit thereby, the noblest life, that ever was. Wee feely one, must fecke to escape the storme further off. We ought to provide for apprehension and not for patience, and avoyde the blowes we cannot withstond. Zeno seeing Chronomines a young man whom he loved, approach to fithe neere him; soe vp solemnly. Cleanthes asking him the reason? I understand (said he) that Phisicians above all things preferbe rest, and forbidde emotion in all tumors. Socrates faith not, yeld not to the allurements of beaute, maintain it, enforce youre selves to the contrary: Shunne her (faith he) runne out of her sight and companie; as from a violent poiyon, that infecteth and slangeh farre off. And his good Disciple, faining or reciting, but in mine opinion, rather reciting then faining, the matchless perfections of that great Jesus, describeth him disposing his forces to withstond the blastes of all our allurements of the divine beaute of that famous Pantheie his Captive, committing the visitation and guarde of her to an other, that hadde leffe liberty then himselfe. And like wife the Holy. Ghosts sayeth inne nos indis- cans in temptationem, and lade us not into temptation. Wee pray not that our reason be not encountered and vanquished by conciscience: but that it be not so much as assayed there with: That we be not reduced to an estate, where we should but suffer the approaches, soliciitations and temptations of sinne: and we entreat our Lorde, to keepe our conscience quiet, fully and perfectly free from all commotions of evil. Such as say they have reason for their revengeing passion, or any other minde-troubling perturbation: say often truth, as things are, but not as they were. They speake to vs, when the causes of their error are by themselves fosted and advanced. But retire further backward, recall these causes to their beginning: there you surprize and put them to a non plus. Would they have their fault be leffe, because it is more ancient: and that of an unjust beginning, the progress be just? Hethat (as I doe) shall with his countries well fare, without fretting or pinning himselfe, shall be grieved: but not sworne, to see it threatening, either his owne downfall, or a continuance to yeet ruinous. Oh feely-weake barke, whom both waves, winder and Pilore, shall and toffe to fo contrary deffignes!

---in vacuo diversa, magis,
Ventis & vndo turbatis:
Maior the wave and winde
Soe diversweayes doe binde.

Who gapes not after the favour of Princes, as after a thing without which he cannot live; nor is much disquieted at the coldnesse of their entertainment or frowning countenance, nor regardeth the inconstancy of their will. Who hatcheth not his children or hugheth not his honours, with a flavish propension; nor leaves to live commodiously having once lost them. Who doth good, namely for his owne satisfaction, nor is much vexed to see men confute of his actions against his merite. A quarter of an owne of patience provideth for such inconveniences. I finde ease in this receit: redeeming my selfe in the beginning, as good cheape as I can: By which means I perceive my selfe to have escaped much trouble and manifold difficulties. With very little force, I stope these first motions of my perturbations: And I abandon the subject which begins to molest me, and before it transmit me. Hee that flaps not the loafe, shall hardly flay the course. He that cannot flom the dot against them, shall never expell them being entred. He that cannot attain an end in the beginning, shall not come to an end of the conclusion. Nor shall he endure the fall, that could not endure the flares of it. Eternam ipse se impellunt, ubi femet a ratione dycebfism estipseque sibi inbecillitas iudicet, in aliquidque procehaeretur imprudente: nee perit locum confidenti. For they drive themselves headlong, when once they are parted and past reason; and weaknesse foother in selfe, and vaunmes is carried into the deep, nor can it finde a place to turry in. I feele betimes, the low winder; which as fortrummers of
of the storme, buzzè in mine eares and sound and trie me within:

The third Booke.

Cum depressa fremunt stylos, & cæca voluant
Murmur, venturas nauti prodeissent ventos.
As first blasts in the woods perceiv'd to goe
Whiffle, and darkcly speake in murmurs low,
Foretelling Mariners what winde will grow.

How often have I done my selfe an apperent injustice; to avoid the danger I should fall into, by receiving the same, haply worse, from the judges, after a world of troubles, and of soule and vile practises, more enemies to my natural disposition, then fire or torment?

Convïent à libitum quantum fæces, & necio an paulo plus etiam quam fæces; abhorrentem effes, Efi enim non modo liberales, pauidum non munquum de suo ire decedere, sed interdem etiam fructuosum. As much as we may, and it may be more then we may, we should abhorre brabling and lawngs for it is not oney an ingenious part, but sometimes profitable also at sometimes to yeeld a little of our right. If we were wife indeede, wee should rejoice and glory, as I heard once a yong gentleman, borne of a very great house, very wittily and vnfainedly, rejoice with all men that his mother had louf her fute, as if it had beene a cough, an age, or any other yrksome burthen. The favours, which fortune might have given me, as alliances and acquaintances with such as have Sovereigne autherities in those things, I have, in my conience done much, instantly to avoidance imploying them to others prejudice, and not over value my rights above their worth. To conclude, I have so much prevailed by my endeavours (in a good houre I may speake it) that I am yet a virgin for any futes in law, which have notwithstanding not omitted gently to offer me their service, and under pretence of lawfull titles infinuate themselves into my allowance, would I but have given care vnto them. And as a pure maiden from quarrells; I have without important offence, either passive or active, lingered out a long life, and never heard worse then mine owne name: A rare grace of heaven. Our greatest agitations, have strange springs and ridiculous causes. What ruine did our last Duke of Burgundy runne into, for the quarrell of a carte-loade of sheepes-skinnes? And was not the graving of a scule, the chiefe caufe of the most horrible breach and topsie-turvy, that euer this worlds-frame endure? For, Pompey and Caesar are but the new buildinges and continuation of two others. And I have seene in my time, the wisest heads of this realme assembled with great ceremonie and publicke charge, about treaties and agreements, the true deciding whereof depended in the meanes while absolutely and soveraignely of the will and consultations held in some Ladies pate or cabinet, and of the inclination of some feely woman. Poets have most judiciously look't into this, who but for an apple have set all Greece and Asia on fire and sword. See why that man doth hazard both his honour and life on the fortune of his rapiers and daggers? let him tell you whence the cause of that contention ariseth; he cannot without blushing; so vain and so frivolous is the occation. To embarke him, there needes but little adviement, but being once in, all parts do worke; Then are greater provisions required, more difficult and important. How farre more eafe it is not to enter, then to get forth? We must procede contrarie to the brier, which produceth a long and straight thistle at the first springings; but after as tyred and out of breathe, it makes many and thickoe knots, as if they were pawses, shewing to have no more that vigor and confrancie. Wee should rather beginne gently and leasurely; and kepe our strength and breathe for the perfection of the worke. Wee direct affairs in the beginning, and hold them at our mercie, but being once undertaken, they guide and transport vs, and we must follow them. Yet may it not be faide, that this counsell hath freed mee from all difficulties, and that I have not beeene often troubled to controle and bridle my passions: which are not always governed according to the measure of occasions: whose entrances are often sharpe and violent. So is it, that thence may be reaped good fruit and profit. Except for those, who in well doing are not satisfied with any benefit, if their reputation be in question. For in truth, such an effect is not computed of but by every one to himselfe. You are thereby better satisfied, but not more esteemed, having reformed your selfe, before you come into action; the matter was in fight; yet not in this only, but in all other duties of life, their course which aimes at honour, is diverse from that, which they propound vnto themselves, that followe order and reason.

I finde some, that inconsiderately and furiously thrust themselves into the lites, and grove flacke
The third Booke.

flaue in the coure. As Plutarke faith, that Such as by the voice of bafhousnesse are soft and rea

table to grant whatfoever is demanded, are afterward so prone and facile to recount and brake

their worde: In like manner, he that enters lightly into a quarrell, is subject to leave it as lightly.

The same difficultie which keeps me from embracing the same, should encrease me, being

once mooved and therein engaged, to continue refolute. It is a still cuftome. Being once

embarked, one must either goe on or sink. Attempt coldly (fayed 8yae) but pursue hotly.

For want of judgement, our harts faile-vs: Which is also lesse tolerable. Most agreements

of our moderne quarrels, are shamefull and faile: Wee onely feekke to see apparances, and

therewhille betray and difa-vow our true intentions. We faile the deede: We knowe how

we spake it, and in what fentence the by-standers know it: yea and our friends to whom we

would have our advantages knowne. It is to the prejudice of our libertie and intereft of our

resolutions-honour, that we dif-avow our thoughts and feekke for starting holes in fPolitical,

to make our agreements. We beelee our felves, to faile a lice we have given to another. We

muft not looke whether your action and word may admirbe another interpretation, but it is

your owne true and sincere construction, that you must now main taine; whatsoever it cost

you. Its to your verite and to your confidence that men speake parts that ought not to bee

disguised. Leave we these base courtes, wrangling shifts and verball menees, to petty-fog-

ging Lawyers. The excuces and reparations, or satisfactions, which dailly I fee made: pro-

nounced and given to purge indifferencie, seeme to me more foule than indifferencie it self. Bet-

er were it for one to offend his adverarie againe, than in giving him fuch satisfaction, to

wrong himselfe too much. They have bravd him mooved by choller, and now you feekke to

perse and flatter him in your cold and better fence: Thus you abafe your felte more, than

you were before exalted. I find no speech fo vicious in a Gentleman, as I deece any recan-
tation he shall make, dishonorable; especially if it be wrefted from him by authoritie: For-

fromuch as obtinacie is in him more excuable, than cowardize. Passions are to me as ca-

fie to be avooyed, as they are difficult to be moderated. Excitantur facies animo, quam

temperratur. They are more faffie rooted out of the minde, than brought to god temper. Hee

that can not attaine to this noble Stoiccall impaffibilitie, let him throwe himselfe in the bo-

some of this my popular fritidtie. What they did by vertue, I inure my felle to doe by

Nature. The middle region harboueth flormes: the two extremes containe philosophers

and rurall men, they concurre in tranquility and good hap.

Falax qui pondum cognoscere caueas,
A奎que metus omnis & inextorabile fatum
Subiect peiibus, frepitansque Achernis avari.
Fortunatus & ille, Deus qui novit agrestes,
Paraque, Sylviamque fenem, Nymphasque forores.
Happy is he that could of things the caufes finde,
And subject to his ftreece all fearefulness of minde,
Inexorable fate, and noife of greedy Hell.
And happy he, with Countrie Gods acquainted well,
Pan and old Siatan knows not,
And all the flitter throwes.

The beginnings of all things are weak and tender. We muft therefore be cleare-fighted in

beginnings: For in their budding we difcern e no danger, fo in their full growth wee

perceive not the remedie. I should have encountered a thousand croffes, daily more hard to be

disgetted in the coure of ambition, than it hath bin vneyf for me to flay the natural inclina-
tion, that led me vnto them.

in re perhorvss,
Late consficiunm tollere verricem.
I have beene much afraid for caufes right.
To raife my foretop far abroad to fight.

All publike actions are subject to uncertaine and divers interpretations: For, too many heads

judge of them. Some fay of this my Crtic employment (whereof I am content to speake

words; not that it deservs it, but to make a shew of my manners in such things) I have de-

meant my felle like one that is too lowly mooved and with a languishing affection: And

they are not altogether voyde of reaon. I strive to keepe my mind and thoughts quiet. Cum

semper
The third Booke.

Semper Natura, tam etiam stat etiam quietus. Both ever quiet by Nature, and now because of yeare. And if at any time they are debauched to some rude and piercing impression, it is in truth without my consent. From which naturall slacknencesse, one must not therefore inferre any proofe of disabilitie: For, Want of care and lacke of judgement are two things: And telle vnhindenece and ingratitude toward those Citizens, who to gratifie me, employed the vmoft of all the meanes they could pooffibly: both before they knew me and since. And who did much more for me, in appoynting me my charge the second time, then in choosing me the first. I love them with all my heart, and with them all the good that may be. And truly if occasion had beene offered, I would have sparing nothing to have done them service. I have flirred and laboured for them, as doe for my felfe. They are a good people, warlike and generous; yet capable of obedience and discipline, and fit for good employment, if they be well guided. They fay likewise, that I paifed over this charge of mine without any deed of note or great feaw. It is true. Moreover, they accuse my effefion, when as all the world was convicted of too much doing: I have a most nimbile motion, where my will doth carrie me. But this point is an enemie unto perfeverance. Whofover will make vie of mee, according to my felfe, let him employ me in affaires, that require vigor and libertie; that have a short, a ftraight, and therewithall a hazardous courfe: I may peradventure fomewhat prevaile therein. Whereas if it be tedious, crafte, laborious, artificiall and intricate, they fhall doe better to addrefle themselves to some other man. All charges of importance are not difficult. I was prepared to labour fomewhat more earneftly, if there had beene great need. For it lies in my power, to doe fomething more than I make fiew-of, and than I love to doe. To my knowledge, I have not omitted any motion that duty required earneftly at my hands. I have eafefly forgotten fowche, which ambition blendeth with dutie and cloathe with her title. It is they, which moft commonly fill the eyes and cares and fatisfie men. Not the thing it felfe, but the apparence payeth them. If they heare no noife, they imagine we fleepe. My humours are contrary to turbulent humors. I could pacifie an inconvenience or trouble without troubling my felf, and chaflifie a diforder without alteration.

Have I neede of choller and inflammation; I borrow it, and therewith make my felfe: My manners are muffie, rather wallowith then sharpe. I accufe nor a Magiftrate that sleepeath, to they that are vnder it sleepe also. So sleepe the lawes. For my part, I commend a gliding, an obscure and reposed life: Neeque submissam & abiecitam, deque feforcerem. Nei ther too abieci and submisae, nor wateur it fefis too much. But my fortune will have it so. I am defcended of a family, that hath lived without noise and tumult: and of long continuation particularly ambicious of integritie. Our men are fo framed to agitation and offentation: that goodnece, moderation, equite, confiance, and fuch quiet and meane qualities, are no more hard-of. Rough bodies are felt, smoothe ones are handled imperceptibly. Sicenefs is felt, health little or not at all: nor things that amount vs, in regard of fuch as fling vs. It is an action for one reputation and private commoditie, and not for the common good, to refer that to be done in the market place, which a man may do in the counsel-chamber: & at noone day, what might have beene effected the night before: and to be jealous to doe that himfelfe, which his fellow can perofme as well. So did fome Surgeons of Greece fhew the operations of their skill, upon scaffolds, in view of all passengers, thereby to get more prafice and cuftome. They fuppofe, that good orders cannot be vnderstood, but by the found of a trumpet. Ambition is no vice for pettie companions, and for fuch endeavours as ours. One faide to Alexader: your father will leave you a great command, out and peaceful: the boy was envious of his fathers victories, and of the juftice of his government. He would not have enjoyed the worlds Empire securely and quietly. Alcibiades in Plato, lovesth rather to die, yong, faire, rich, noble, learned, and all that in excellence, then to flay in the flate of fuch a condition. This infrinf icte is happily excufable, in fo strong and full a minde. When these pettie wretched foules, are therewith envenged; and thinke to publish their fame, because they have judged a caufe rightly, or continued the order in guarding of a Citytie gates; by how much more they hoped to raise their head, so much more doe they fiew their simplicitie. This pettie well-doing, hath neither body nor life. It vani fhet in the first moneth; and walkes but from one corner of a streete to another. Entertaine therewith your fonne and your fervant, and spare not. As that ancient fellow, who having no other auditor of his praiſes and applauding of his sufficiencie, boasted with his chambermaide,
her maide, exclaming: Oh Perrette, what a gallant and sufficient man thou hast to thy maister! If the worst happen, entertain thy selves in your selves: Ase Counsellor of my acquaintance, having degorged a rable of chapters, with an extreme comtention and like foolishnesse; going out of the counsell-chamber, to a pitting place neceste unto it; was heard very confientiously to utter these words to himselfe: Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriæ. Not unto us O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give the glory. He that cannot otherwise, let him pray himselfe out of his owne purse. Faine doth not so basely prostratise it selfe, nor so cheaply. Rare and exemplar actions, to which it duly belongeth, could not brooke the company of this innumerable multitude of vulture petty actions. Well may a piece of marble raise your titles as high as you list, because you have repaired a piece of an old wall, or cleansed a common ditch; but men of judgment will never doe it. Report followeth not all goodnesse, except difficultie and raritie be joyned thereunto. Ye simplistic effimiation, according to the Stoics, is nor due to everie action proceeding from vertue. Nay and would they have him commended, who through tempore abstaineth from an old blearey'd woman. Such as have knowne the admirable qualities of Scipio the African, renounce the glory which Panatius ascribed unto him, to have abstained from gifts, as a glory, not his own, but peculiar to that age. We have pleasures for our fortune; let vs not value those of greatnesse. Our owne are more natural. They are the more solide and firme, by how much the meaner. Since it is not for confidence, at least for ambition let vs refuse ambition. Let vs disdain this infatuate thirst of honour and renowne, base and beggarly, which makes vs so suppliantly to crave of all fortes of people: Que est us tuque poe? mueat pedi. What praife is this, which may be fetched out of the Shambles? By subject meanes, and at what veler rate forever. To be thus honored, is merely a dumphourne. Learn vs to bee more prideus of glory, then we are capable of it. To be proud of every profitable and innocent action, is fit for men to whom it is extraordinary and rare. They will value it, for the price it selfe them: According as a good effect is more refulding; I abate of its goodnesse: the jeolouse I conceive, is produced more because it is more refulding, than bicause it is good. What is it ento to them so hate solde. Thos actions have more graces, which carelesly and vnder silence, passe from the handes of a Workman; and which forie honest man afterward chusteth and redemeth from darknesse, to thrust them into the Worlds-light; Onely for their worth. Multa quidem laurea multa honoris, quæ sine vindictione, Cæsare populo restitunt. All things in solto seeme to me more commendable that are performed with no ostentation, and without the people to witnesse. Said the most glorious man of the World. I had no care but to preserve and continue, which are deare and inofensive effects. Innovation is of great lustr: But interessed in times, when we are most vrged, and have not to defend our selves but from novelties. Abstinence from doing, is often as generous, as doing: but it is not so apparent. My small worth is in a manner all of this kind. To be short, the occasions in this my charge have incended my compulsion; for which I conne them haire thanks. Is there any man that deareth to be fice, to see his Phisition set a worker? And should not that his Phisition be well whipped, who to put his art in practice, would with the plague to infect us? I was never poffefled with this impious and vulgar passion, to with that the troubled and distempered state of this Citie, might raise and honour my government. I have most willingly lent them my hand to further, and shoulders to aye their cafe and tranquilitie. He that will not thanke me for the good order and for the sweet and vndisturbed rest, which hath accompanieth my charge can not at least deprive mee of that parte, which by the title of my good fortune, belongeth vnto me. This is my humour, that I love as much to be happy as wise: And attribute my successses as much to the meere grace of God, as to the meane or furtherance of my operation. I had sufficiency published to the Worlds my insufficiency in managing of such publique affaires: Nay, there is something in me, worse than insufficiency: Which is; that I am not much displeased therewith: and that I endevoure not greatly to cure it, confiding the couerse of life I have determined to my selfe. Nor have I satisfied my self in this employment. But have almost attained what I had promised vnto my selfe: Yet have I much exceeded, what I had promisetho, with whom I was to negotiate: For I willingly promise somewhat lesse, then I can performe, or hope to accomplish. Of this I am assured, I have never left offence or hatred amongst them: To have left either regret or desire of mee. This know I narrowly, I have not much affected it.
The third Booke.

Two or three years are now past, since the yeere hath bene shortened tenne dayes in France. Oh how manie changes are like to enflue this reformation! It was a right removing of Heaven and Earth together, yet nothing removed from it's owne place: My Neighbours finde the season of their feelds and Harveit time, the opportunitie of their affaires, their lucky and vnucky dayes, to anwier juftlufe feasons to which they had from all ages assigned them. Neither was the error hertefore perceived, nor is the reformation now discerned in our wises. So much uncertainty is there in all things: So gross, so obscure and so dull is our understanding. Some are of opinion, this reformation might have bin redrefted after a leffe incommodious maner; subftrating according to the example of Augustus, for some yeares, the bimonths clearye.daye: Which in some sorte, is but a day of binside and trouble: Untill they might more exactly have satisfied the debt: Which by this late reformation is not done: For we are yet some dayes in arrerages: And is by such a meanes, we might provide for times to come, appoynting that after the revolution of such a number of yeares, that extraordinary day might for ever be eclipsed: So that our misreckoning should not henceforward exceed fowe and twenty houres. We have no other computation of time, but yeares: The World hath vp'd them so many ages: And yet is it a measure, we have not until this day perfectly established. And such, as we daily doubt, what forme other Nations have diversly given the fame, and which was the true wise oft. And what if some say, that the Heavens in growing olde compassed themselves towards vs, and cast vs into an uncertainty of hours and dayes? And as Plutarcheth Gilead of months; that even in his dayes, Astrologie could not yet limmite the motion of the Moon: Are not we then well holp-yd, to keepe a register of things past? I was even now plodding (as often I doe) vpon this, what a free and gadding inlrumen humane reafon is: Ordinaire fee, that men in matters propos'd them, doe more willingly annuize and butt themselves in seeking out the reasons, than in searching out the truth of them. They omit prefuppositions, but curiously examine consequencies. They leave things, and rumne to caues. Oh conceited discouers: The knowledge of caues doth onely concernes him, who hath the conduct of things: Not vs, that have but the suffertance of them: And who according to our needs, without entering into their beginning and essence, have perfectly the full and absolute wse of them. Nor is wine more pleasant vnto him that knowes the first faculties of it. Contrariwise: both the bodie and the minde, interrupt and alter the right, which they have of the Worldes-wse and of themselves, commixing therewith the opinion of learning. The effects concerns vs, but the means, nothing at all: To determine and divine, belongeth to superioritie and regency; as accepting, to subjection and apprenticedhippe. Let vs re-affume our costume. They commonly beginne thus: How is such a thing done? Whereas they should say: Is such a thing done? Our discouer is capable to frame a hundred other Worlds, and finde the beginnings and contexture of them. It needeth nether matter nor ground. Let it but ronne-on: It will as well build vpon eminents, as vpon fulneffe, and with maniere as with matter.
I finde, that we should say moft times: There is no fuch thing. And I would often employ this anfwere; but I dare not: for they cry; It is a defeature produced by ignorance and weakeffe of spirrite. And I must commonly juggle for company fake, to treat of idle subiects and frivolous discourse, which I believe nothing at all. Since truly, it is a rude and quarelovs humour, flatly to deny a proposition: And few mises (especiallv in things hard to be perfuaded) to afftme, that they have feene it: Or to allclude fuch witneffes, as their auithoritie shall lay our contradiction. According to which ye, we know the foundations and meanes of a thousand things that never were. And the World is in a thousand queftions defcanted and bandied too and fro; the pre and contra of which is meerely fake. In fini bona perfit, vi in precipitu. Quid non defeat, fepti committere. Falsehood is so neere Neighbores to truth, that a wifeman fhoold not put himfelfe upon a flapperie dangerous. Truth and falsehood have both alike countenances, their port, their taste and their proceedings; femeable: Wee behold them with one fame eye. I obferue that we are not onely flowe in defending our felves from deceit, but that we fecke and flie to embrace it. We love to meddle and entangle our felves with vanitie, as conformable unto our being. I have feeen the birth of divers miracles in my daies. Although they be fmoothered in their firft growth, we omit not to forec the faire they would have taken, had they lived their full age. The matter is to finde the end of the clue; that one may winde off what he lift: And there is a further distance from nothing to the leaft thing in the World, then betweene that and the greatefe. Now the firft that are embred with the beginning of strangethefe, comming to publish their hiftry, finde by the oppofitions made againft them, where the dificultie of perfuafion lodgeth; and goe about with fome fake patch to botch ypo thofe places. Besides that, Infatu hominibus lubidine adlendi de industria rumorum. Men haveing a natural desire to norih reports. We naturally make it a matter of confefion, to reftore what hath bin lent vs, without focne fuiyr and acceffion of our encreafe. A particular error, doeth firft breed a publike error: And when his turn cometh, A publike error beggeth a particular error. So goeth all this vaft frame, from hand to hand, confounding and composting it felfe; in fuch fort that the firft-avoiding testimonie, is better ftructured of it, then the neareft and the laft informed, better perfuaded then the firft. It is a natural progreffe: For, whofoever beleeveith anie thing, thinkes it a deede of charifie, to perfuade it vnfo another: Which, that he may the better effect, he feareth not to adde somthing of his owne invention thereunto, fo farre as he feeth necessearie in his discourse, to supply the refistence and defeaft, he imagineth to be anothers conception. My felfe, who make an especial matter of confefion to fy, and care not greatly to ad credit or authority to what I fay, perceve neuertheles, by the difcourses I have in hand, that being ernfetted, either by the refistence of anotheer, or by the earneftnes of my narration. I well and amplify my subiect by my voice, motions, vigor and force of words; as also by extenfion and amplification, not without fome prejudice to the naked truth. But yet I doe it vpon condition, that to the firft that brings me home againe, and enquireth for the bare and fimple truth at my hands: I folearily give over my hold, and without exaggeration, emphafs or amplification, I yeeld both my felfe and it vnfo him. A lively, earnest and ready speech as mine, is eafily tranfported vnto hiperboles. There is nothing whereunto men are ordinarily more prone, then to give way to their opinions. Where euer vnall meanes faile vs, we add commandement, force, force and fword. It is not without fome ill fortune, to come to that paffe, that the multitude of believers, in a throng where fofoes doe in number fo farre excede the wife, whofe fhoold be the beft touch-flone of truth. Qua rurd quidquam fit tam valde, quam milia fapere vulgare. Sanitate patrocinium oft, infaminium turba. As though any thing were fo common as to have no vtt. The multitude of them that are mad, is a defense for them that are in their witt. It is a hard matter for a man to revolve his judgement against common opinions. The firft perfuafion taken from the very subiect, feizeth on the simple: whence vnder th' authority of the number and antiquitie of testimonies, it extends it felfe on the wifer fort. As for me, in a matter, which I could not believe being reported by one: I should never credite the fame, though affirmed by a hundred. And I judge not opinions, by yeares. It is not long fince one of our Princes, in whom the gow had spoiled a gentle disposition and a blithe composition; suffered himselfe fo farre to be perfuaded or mis-led, by the reporte made vnto him of the wondrous deeds of a Priet, who by way of charmes, spells and gestures cured all difaffes: that he undertooke a long- tedious journey to finde him.
out: and by the virtue of his apprehension did so perswade, and for certaine houres so lull his legs a sleepe, that for a while he brought them to doe him that service, which for a long time they had forgotten. Had fortune heaped fives or sixe like accidents one in the necke of another, they had doublely beene able to bring this miracle into nature. Whereas afterward there was fo much simplicitie and fof little skill found in the architect of these worke, that he was deemed vnworthy of any punishment: As likewife should be done with most fuch-like things, were they thoroughly knowne in their nature. Miramur ex intervallo fallentis: We wonder at those things that because vs by distance. Our sight doth in such sorte, often re-present us a farre-off with strange images, which vanisht in approaching nearer. Nonnum ad liquidam fama perductur. Fame is never brought to be cleare. It is a wonder, to fee how from many vane beginnings and frivolous caufes, fo famous impressions doe ordinarily arife and enfue. Even that hindereth the information of them: For, whilft a man endeavoureth to finde out caufes, forcible and weightie ends, and worthy to great a name, he lootheth the true and effentiall. They are fo little, that they ecape our sight. And verely a right wife, heedly and habtile inquisitor is required in fuch queftions: imparciall and not preoccupied. All these miracles and strange events, are vntill this day hidden from me: I have feene no fuch monster, or more express wonder in this world, then my felfe. With time and custome a man doth acquaint and enure himselfe to all strangenesse: But the more I frequent and knowe my felfe, the more my deformitie altonieth me: and the leffe I underfiand my felfe. The chiefeft privilege to produce and advance fuch accidents, is referred unto fortune. Travelling ye'pereday thorough a village, within two leagues of my house, I found the place yet warme of a miracle that was but newly failed and discovered, wherewith all the countrey therabout had for many months beene ammused and abuffe'd, and diverse bordering Provinces beganne to liften vnto it, and severall troupes of all qualities ceas'd not thicke and threefold to flocke thither. A young man of that towne, vndertooke one night in his owne house (never drea-ming of any knavery) to counterfeit the voice of a spirit or ghost, but onely for sporte, to make himfelfe merry for that present, which succeeding better then he had imagin'd, to make the jeft extend further, and himfelfe the meruer, he made a country-maiden acquainted with his devife, who because she was both feele and harmelleffe, contented to befecket and to second him: In the end they got another, and were now three, of all one age and like sufficiencie: and from private spirit-talking, they beganne with hoidous voices to criie and roare aloud, and in, and about churches hiding themselves vnder the chiefe Alter, speaking but by night, forbidding any light to be fet vp: From speeches tending to the worlds subversion, and threatening of the day of judgement (which are the subjeets, by whose authoritie and abusive reverence, impoffure and illufion, is more cally lurked) they proceeded to certaine visions and strange gestures, fo foolish and ridiculous, that there is scarce any thing more grofe and absurd vfed among Children, in their childish sports. Suppose I pray you, that fortune would have seconded this harmelleffe devife or jugling tricke; Who knoweth how farre it would have extended, and to what it would have growne? The poore feele three Diuils are now in prifon, and may happily ere long pay deere for their common fortfithness; and I wot not whether some cheverell judge or other, will be avenged of them for his. It is manifeftly feene in this, which now is discovered; as also in divers other things of like qualitie, exceeding our knowledge: I am of opinion that we vphold our judgement, as well to reject, as to receive. Many abuues are engendered in the Worldes; or to speake more boldly, all the abuues of the World are engendered vpon this, that we are taught to feare to make profession of our ignorance; and are bound to accept and allow, all that wee can not refuse. We speake of all things by precepts and resolution. The Stile of Rome did bear, that even the fame, that a witnesse depos'd, because he had feene it with his owne eyes: and that which a Judge ordained of his most assured knowledge, was conceiv'd in this form of speach, It seemeth to me. I am drawne to hate like things, when men goe about to let them downe as infallible. I love these wordes or phrase, which mollifie and moderate the reme-ritie of our propositions: It may be: Peradventure: In some sorte: Some: It is faide: I think: and fuch like: And had I beene to instruct children, I would ofteene have put this manner of anfwering in their mouth: enquiring, and not resolving: What meanes it? Underfiand it not: It may well be: Is it true? that they should rather have kept the forme of learners, vntill three score yeeres of age, than present themselves Doctors at ten; as many doe. Who-
forver will be cured of ignorance, must confesse the same. Iris the daughter of Thanmanis.

Amination is the ground of all Philosophie: Inquisition the progress: Ignorance the end. Yet but there is some kinde of ignorance strong and generous, that for honor and courage is nothing beholding to knowledge: An ignorance, which to conceive rightly, is required no better learning, than to conceive true learning.

Being yong, I saw a law-case, which Corru a Counsellor of Tholoue caused to be printed, of a strange accident of two men, who presented themselves one for another. I remember (and I remember nothing else so well) that me thought, he proved his impofter, whom he condemned as guyltle, to wondrous-strange and to far exceeding both our knowledge and his owne, who was judge, that I found much boldnes in the sentence, which had condemned him to be hanged. Let vs receive some forme of sentence that may say: The Court understands nothing of it; more freely and ingeniously, then did the Areopagites; who finding themselves vrged and entangled in a cafe they could not well clear or determine, appointed the parties to come againe and appear before them a hundred yeares after. The witches about my country, are in hazard of their life, vpon the opinion of every new author, that may come to give their dreams a body. To apply such examples as the holy word of God offereth of such things (asseured and irrefragable examples) and join them to our moderne events; since we neither see the causes nor reasons of them, some other better wit then ours is thereunto required. Peradventure it appertaineth to that only most mightie testimonie, to tell vs: This here, and that there; and not this other of them. God must be believed; and good reason he should be so. Yet is there not one amongst vs, that will be amazed at his owne narration: and he ought necessarily to be astonished at it, if he be not out of his wits) whether he employ it about others matters; or against himselfe. I am plain and homely, and take hold on the maine point, and on that which is most likely, avoiding ancient reproches. Maiorem solum homines adhibent ipsa quae non intelligunt. Cupidine humani ingenti libertius obscura credantur. Men give more credence to things they understand not: Things obscure are more willingly believed through a strange device of man's wis. I see that men will be angry: and am forbid to doubt of it vpon paine of execrable injuries. A new maner of perswading. Mercie for God's sake. My belief is not carried away with blowes. Let them tyrannize over such as accuse their opinion of falsehood; I onely accuse mine of difficulties and boldnesse. And equally to them I condemn the opposite affirmation: if not so imperiously. He that with braverie and by commandement willestablish his discourse, declareth his reason to be weake: For a verbal and scholasticall altercation, that they have as much apparence as their contradictions. Videantur sane, non affirmantur modo. In deeds let them seems, so they be not awouched. But in the effectuall consequency they draw from it, these have great ods. To kil men, there is required a bright-shining and cleare light. And our life is over-reall and effiwestern, to warrant these supernatural and fantatificall accidents. As for drugges and poisons, they are out of my element: they are homicides, and of the worst kinde. In which notwithstanding, it is said, that one must not alwayes rely vpon the meere confession of those people: For, they have sometimes beene seene to accuse themselves, to have made away men which were both found and living. In these other extravagant accusations, I should easily say, that if it sufficeth, that any commendations ever he hath, a man be believed in such things as are humane: but of such as are beyond his conception and of a supernatural effect, he ought then only be believed, when a supernatural approbation hath authorized him. That privilege it hath pleased God to give some of our testimonies, ought not to be vliified or lightly communicated. Mine ears are full of a thousand such tales. Three saw him such a day in the East; three saw him the next day in the West; at such an houre; in such a place: and thus and thus attired; verily in such a cafe I could not believe my selfe. How much more naturall and more likely doe I finde it, that two men should lie, then one in twelve houres, passe with the windes, from East to West? How much more naturall, that our understandinge may by the volubility of our loose-capturing minde be transported from his place? then that one of vs should by a strange spirit, in flesh and bone, be carried vpon a broome through the tunnel of a chimney? Let vs, who are perpetually tostled too and fro with domesticall and our owne illusions, not feele for fontaine and vnknowne illusions. I deeme it a matter pardonable, not to believe a wonder, so farreforth at least as one may divert and exclude the verification by no miraculous way. And I follow Saint Augustine's opinion, that a man were

better
better bend towards doubt, than encline towards certainty, in matters of difficult trial, and dangerous belief. Some yeares are now past, that I travelled through the country of a sovereign Prince: who in favour of me, and to abate my incredulity, did mee the grace, in his owne presence, and in a particular place, to make mee see tenne or twelve prisoners of that kind; and amongst others an oldi batman witch; a true and perfect forcaster, both by her vygiles, and deformitie; and such a one as long before was most famous in that profession. I saw both proffes, witnesses, voluntary confessions, and some other inlenfible marks about this miserable oldi woman; I enquired and talked with her a long time, with the greatest heed and attention I could; yet am I not easilly carried away by preoccupation. In the end, and in my confience, I should rather have appointed them Eleborum, than Hemlocke. Captifes queeres magis mensibus, quam consecuratis sibi ete. The matter seemed liker to minides captiue than guiltie. Lawe hath her owne corrections for such disafes. Touching the opposi- tions and arguments, that honest men have made vnto me, both there, and often else-where, I have found none that tie me; and that admit not allways a more likely solution, than their conclusions. True it is, that proffes and reasons grounded upon the fact and experience, I vntie not: for indeede they have no end: but often cut them, as Alexander did his knotte. When all is done, it is an over-valuing of ones conjectures, by them to cause a man to be bur- ned alive. It is reported by diverse examples (and Præsstantius faith of his father) that being in a flumber much more deeply, then in a full-found sleepe, he dreamed and very thought himselfe to be a Mare, anderved certaine faulders for a fumper-horse, and was indeede what he imagined to be. If forcers dreams thus materially: If dreams may sometymes be thus incorporated into effects: I cannot possibily believe, that our wil shoulde therefore be bound to the lawes and justice: which I say, as one who am neither a Judge, nor a Counsellor vnto Kings, and furthest from any such worthless: but rather a man of the common stamp, and both by my deedes and sayings, borne and vowed to the obedience of publique reason. He that should register my humours, to the prejudice of the simplest lawe, or opinion, or custome of his village, should greatly wrong himselfe, and injure me as much. For in what I say, I sappe for no other certaintie, but that such was then my thought. A tumul- tuous and wavering thought. It is by way of discourse that I speake of all and of nothing by way of aduice. Nec me pudet, ut istor, pati nesere, quod nesiam. Nor am I ashamed, as they are, to confesse I know not that which I do not know.

I would not be so hardy to speake, if of duty I ought to be believed: and so I answered a great man, who blamed the sharpenesse and contention of my exhortations. When I see you bent and prepared on one side; with all the endeavoure I can, I will propofe the con- traire vnto you; to resolve and enlighten your judgement, not to subdue or binde the fames: God hath your hearts in his handes, and he will furnish you with choife. I am not so malapart, as to defiere, that my opinions alone, should give motion to a matter of such impor- tance. My fortune hath not raised them to fo powerfull and deep conclusions. Truely, I have not onely a great number of confections, but an infinite many of opinions, from which, had I a forme of mine owne, I would difwade him, and willingly make him to dis-flate them. What? the trueft are not ever the moft commodious for men; he being of fo strange and vntamed a composition: Whether it be to the purpose, or from the purpose, it is no great matter. It is a common Proverb in Italie, that He knowes not the perfect pleasure of Venus, that hath not layne with a lumping Woman. Either fortune, or some particular accident, have long since brought this by-faying in the peoples mouth: and it is as well spoken of men as of women: For the Queene of the Amazones answered the Scithian, that woode hir to loves embracaments. Άποκρινεται ἧττον, The crooked man doeth his best. In that feminine commonwealth of theirs, to avoyde the domination of men, they were wont in their infancy to maine them, both in their armes and legges and other limes, that might any way advantage their strength over them, and made onely that vfe of them, that we in our World make of Women. I would have faide, that the loose or disjointed motion of a lumping or crooke-back Woman, might add some new kinde of pleasure vnto that buffalo or sweet finne, and some vn-affaid fenfual sweeterneffe, to such as make triall of it: but I have lately learnt, that even ancient Philosophie hath decided the matter: Who faith, that the legs and thighs of the crooked-back or halting-lame, by reason of their imperfection, not receiv- ing the nourishment, due vnto them, it followeth that the Genitall partes, that are above them,
them, are more full, better nourished and more vigorous. Or else, that such a defect having the exercise, such as are that with pestled, d3 leffe waste they strength and consume their virtue, and so much the stronger and fuller, they come to Venus iportes. Which is also the reason why the Gracians described their Women-Weavers, to bee more hotte and earnestly-luxuriant, than other Women? Because of their sitting-trade, without any violent exercise of the body. What cannot we dispute of according to that rate? I might like-wisf say of thefe, that the fame flirring, which their labour, fo sitting doth give them, doth rouze and follicite them, as the jogging and shaking of their Coaches, doth our Ladies. Doe not these examples fit that whereof I spake in the beginning? That our reason do often anticipate the effect, and have the extension of their jurisdiction, so infinite, that they judge and exercise themselves in inanity, and so not being? Besides the flexibility of our invention, to frame reasons unto all manner of dreams; our imagination is likewise found easie, to receive impressions from falsehood, by very frivolous appearances. For, by the only authentic of the ancient and publike vie of his word or phrase, I have herefore perpieaded my-felue, to have received more pleasure of a Woman, in that she was not straight, and, have accompted her crooked ness, in the number of her graces. Torquato Tasso, in the composition he makes between Italy and France, reporteth, he hath had, that we commonly have more slender and pinie legges, than the Italian Gentlemen; and impute the caufe unto our continual riding and sitting on horse-backe. Which is the very fame, from which Suetonius draweth another cleane contrary conclusion: For, he faith, that Germaniaus had by the frequent vie of this exercise, brought his to be very bigge. There is nothing so fapple and wonderling, as our understanding. It is like to Theramene's choice, fit for all feet. It is double and diverse, and so are matters diverse and diverse. Give me a Drachma of silver, said a Cunike Philosopher to a Antiquus: It is not the present of a King, answered he; Give mee then a talent; Its no gift for a Cunike, quoth he.

Sen plueres color ille vise, & cecum relaxas
Spiramenta, novus veniat quae luxus in her bas.
Sen durat magis, & vendo aestimant biamites,
No tenes pluris, rapidius potensia folis.
Aerio, ant borea peneirabilis frigus adiurat.
Wheter the heat lays open holes vnfeenes,
Whereby the fappo may piis to heare fresh-greenes:
Or rather hardens and bindes gaping vaines.
Left sharp powre of hot sunne, or thinning raine,
Of piercing North-cold blaze,
Should scorch, consume and waste.

Ogni m: agatis ha rit riversis. Each outide bath his inside, faith the Italian. Lo why Chro-
machus was wont to say, that Corneades had surfurmed the labours of Hercules; because he had excelled content from men; that is to say opinion and testimontic to judge. This fantasie of Corneades, so vigorous (as I imagine) proceeded anciently, from the impudence of thofe, who make profession to know and from their excesive selfe-overweeing. It was set to faie, together with two other flaves; a Chapman enquired of the first, what he could do to bene felfe, answered he, and demanded of him what he could doe: Nothing (said he) for these two have foretamed all, and know and can doe all things, and have left nothing for me. So, hath it happened in the shoole of philofophie. The raifines of thofe who ascribed the capacite of all things to mans witte, through fpight and emulation produced this opinion in others, that humane witte was not capable of any thing. Some holde the fame extremity in ignorance, that others hold in knowledge. To the end none may deny, that man is not immoderate in all and every where; and hath no other sentence or areft, than that of necessitie, and impuifance to procede further.
The eleventh Chapter.

Of Physiogonomy.

Almost all the opinions we have, are taken by authority, and upon credit: There is no hurt. We cannot chuse worse, than by our selves, in so weake an age. This image of Socrates his discourse, which his friends have left vs, we only approve it, by the reverence of publike approbation. It is not of our owne knowledge: they are not according to our vfe. Might such a man be borne nowadayes, there are but few would now esteem him. Wee difference not graces inso or raiffe; We onely perceive them by a false light set out and pufh vp with arme: Such as paffe vnder their natural puritie and simplicitie, doe easily escape so weake and dimme a light as ours is. They have a secrect, unperceived and delicate beauties: he had neede of a cleare, farre-seeing and true-discerning light, that should rightly discover this secret light. Is not genuitie (according to vs) cofin-germaine vnto sottishnesse, and a quality of reproach? Socrates makeh his soule to move, with a natural and common motion. This faith a plaine Country-man, and thus a feely Woman: Hee never hath other people in his mouth, than Coach-makers, Joyners, Coblers and Masons. They are inductions and similitudes, drawn from the most vulgar and knowne actions of men: every one wonders him. Vnder fo bafe a forme, wee shoulde never have chosen the noble worthinesse and brightnesse of his admirable conceptions: Wee that esteeme all houfe but mee and vife, that learning doth not raiffe: and who have no perceiving of riches, except set out in chew and pompe. Our World is framed but vnto offentation. Men are puffed vp with winde, and moved or handled by bounds, as Baboons. This man propoeph no vaine fantasies vnto himself: His end was, to store vs with things and furnish vs with precepts, which really more substantially and joyntly serve our life.

Lucan, bel. civ. 
6.380.

Naturamque sequi,
To keepe a meane, to hold the end,
And natures conduct to attend.

So was he ever all one alike: And raised himselfe to the highest pitch of vigor, not by fits, but by complection. Or to say better; he raised nothing, but rather brought downe and reduced all difficulties, or sharpnesse, to their originall and natural state, and thereunto subdued vigor. For, in Cato, it is manifestly seene, to be an out-right proceeding, farre-above and beyond the common: By the brave exploits of his life, and in his death, he is ever perceived to be mounted upon his great horses. Whereas this man keepes on the ground, and with a gentle and ordinary pace, treateth of the most profitable discourses, and adreacteth himselfe both vnto death and to the most thornie and crabbed croffes, that may happen vnto the course of humane life. It hath indeede fortuned, that the woorstie man to be known, & for a patterne to be presented to the world, he is the man of whom we have most certaine knowledge. He hath beene declared and enlightened by the most clearse-seeing men, that ever were. The testimonies we have, are in faithfulness, and sufficientie most admirable. It is a great matter, that ever he was able to give such order vnto the pure imaginations of a childe, that without altring or wresting them, he hath thence produced the fairest effects of our minde. He neither represents it rich nor high-raifed; but found and pure: and ever with a blithe and vndefiled health. By these vulgar springs and natural wardesby these ordinary and common fantasies, fans mooving or without vsing himselfe, hee erected not onely the most regular, but the highest and most vigorous opinions, actions and customes, that ever were. Hee it is, that brought humane wisedome from heaven againe, where for a long time it had beene loft, to restore it vnto man: where herm most juft and laborious worke is. See or heare him pleade before his judges: marke with what reasons hee rouzeth his courage to the hazards of warre, what arguments fortifie his patience, against detraction, calumniation, tyranny, death, and against his wives peevish head: therein is no-thing
thing borrowed from art, or from learning. The simplest may there know their meanes
and might: it is impossible to goe further backe or lower. He hath done humane nature
a great kindness, to shew what and how much the can doe of his selfe. We are every one
richer then we imagine, but we are taught to borrow, and instru’d to shift and rather to
make use of others goods and meanes, then of our owne. There is nothing whereon man
can stay or fix himselfe in time of his neede. Of voluptuousnesse, ofriches, of pleasure,
of power, he ever embraceth more, then he can grapple or hold. His greedinesse is incapable
of moderation. The very fame I finde to be in the curiousitie of learning and knowledge: he
cuts out more workes then he can well make an end of: and much more then he neede.
Extending the profit of learning, as farre as his matter. Ut omnium verum, sic literarum
quaque interultipartFile laboramus. We are sick of a surfeit, as of all things, of learning also.
And Tacitus hath reason to commend Agricola’s mother, to have bridled in her sonne an over-burn-
ing and earnest desire of learning. It is a good, being neere looked vnto, that containeth
as other humane goods, much peculiari vanitie and naturall weakenesse: and is very charge-
able. The acquisition and purchase whereof is much more hazardous, then of all other vi-
andes and beverage. For, whatsoever else we have bought, we carry home in some vessell
or other, where we have law to examine it’s worth: how much, and at what time we are to
take it. But Sciences, we cannot sodainely put them into any other vessell, then our minde:
we swallow them in buying them, and goe from the market either already infected or amen-
dered. There are some, which instead of nourishing, doe but hinder and surcharge vs and
other some, which vnder colour of curing, empoyson vs. I have taken pleasure in some
place, to see men, who for devotions faile have made a vow of ignorance, as of chaffitie, po-
vertie and penitence. It is also a kind of guelding of our inordinate appetites, to muzzle this
greedinesse, which provoketh vs to the heede of books, and deprive the mind of that vol-
tuous delight, which by the opinion of learning doth so tickle: vs. And it is richly to ac-
complish the vow of poverty, to joine that of the minde vnto it. We neede not much learning
for to live at ease. And Socrates teacheth vs that we have both it, and the way to finde
and make vse of it, within vs. All our sufficiencie, that is beyond the natural, is wellnigh vaine
and superfluous. Its much, if it charge and trouble vs no more, then it feeuds vs. Paucis
opus est literis ad mentem bonam. We have neede of little learning to have a good minde.
They are fabricitant excesses of our spirit: a turbulent and vnuquet instrument. Rowe vp your
selfe, and you shall finde forcible arguments against death to be in your selfe most true and
very proper to serve and feade you in time of needitie. Tis they which induce a peafant
laws, and whole nations to die as constantly as any Philosopher. Should I have did
leffe merrily before I read the Tenucumnes? I thinke not. And when I finde my selfe in my
belts wits, I perceive, that I have somewhat enriched my tongue; my courage but little. It
is even as nature framed the same at first. And against any conflict, th’idles it selfe, but
with a natural and common march. Bookes have not so much merited me for instruction,
as exericiation. What if learning, aplaying to arme vs with new wardes and fences, against
natural inconveniences, hath more imprinted their greatnesse and weight, in our fantasie,
then her reasons, qualities and subtities, therewith to cover vs? They are subtities indeed;
by which the often awaketh vs very vainely. Observe how many flight and idle arguments
the wvseft and closest authours frame and scatter about one good found: which if you consid-
erneerly, are but vaine and incorporeal. They are but verball wyles, which beguile vs.
But forsoeke I may be profitable, I will not otherwise blanch them. Many of that
condition are scattered here and there, in diverse places of this volume; either borrowed or
imitated. Yet shoulde a man somewhat heede, he call not that force, which is but quaintnes;
or term that which is but quipping-tharpe,folide; or name that good, which is but faire:
qua magis gyllata quam potata deleoctant, which more delight vs being but tast’d, then swill’d
and swallowed downe. All that which pleaseth, feedeth not; obv non ingenii sed animi negatum agi-
tur. Where it is no matter of wit, but of the courage. To see the strugling endeavours which
Secrecy giveth himselfe, to prepare himselfe against death; to see him sweete with panting; to
see him bathe so long vpon this search, thereby to strengthen and assure himselfe: I should
have made question of his reputation, had he not most vindicated maintained the fame in
his death. His so violent and frequent agitation, sheweth that himselfe was fervent and im-
petuous. Magnus animus remissius sequeur, & securus: Non est alius ingenii, alius animo co-
or.
A great courage speaks softly but securely. Without not one colour, and courage another. He must be convicted at his owne charges. And theweth in some forte, that hee was pres-
ted by his adversary. Plutarchus manner, by how much more disdaineful and farre-extending it is (in my opinion) so much more manlike and perswasive is it: I should easily believe, that his soule had her motions more aflured and more regular. The one more sharpe, prcketh
and sodainely starts vs: toucheth the spirit more. The other more solide, doeth constantly
informe, estabilish and comfort vs: toucheth more the vnderstanding. That ravieth our
judgement; this doth gain it. I have likewise scene other compositions and more rever-
ced, which in portraying the combate, they endure against the provocations of the flesh, re-
preffent them so violent, so powerfull and so invincible, that our selves, who are cast in the
common mould of other men, have as much to admire the unknowne strangelenesse and un-
felt vigor of their temptation, as their constant resiflance. To what purpose doe we so arme
and fleee our selves with these labouring-efforts of learning? Let vs diligently furray the
surface of the earth, and there consider so many feele-poor people as wee see toyling, fwell-
ting and drooping about there burdens, which never heard of Aristote, nor of Plato, nor
ever knew what examples or precepts are. From those doe nature dayly draw and afford
vs effects of confiance and patternes of patience, more pure and forcie, then are those,
we so curiously studie-for in chooles. How many do I ordinarily see, that misknowledge
povertie how many that wish for death, or that passe it without any alarum or affliction? A
fellow that dungeth my gardeine, hath happily this morning buried his father or his childe.
The very names whereby they call difeases, doe somewhat mylten and diminish the sharp-
nes of them. With them a Phisicque or consumption of the lungs, is but an ordinary cough:
A diffenterre or bloody flix, but a dilemper of the stomake: A pleurifte, but a cold or murrre:
and as they gently name them, so they easily endure them. Grieuous are they indeed, when
they hinder their ordinary labour or break their vitall reft: They feede but to die. Sim-
plex illa & aperta virtus in obfcuram & folaterrm. Scientiam versa est. That plaine and cleare
verte is turned into obscure and cunning knowledge. I was writing this about a time that a
boiftrous florme of our tumultous broiles and bloody troubles did for many months space,
with all its might and horror, hang full over my head. On the one side, I had the enemies
at my gates; on the other, the Picoreurs or free-booters, farre worse foes. Non armis sed vi-
ris certanti. Wee contend not with armour, but with vices. And at one time felt and endured
all maner of harme-bringing militarie injuries:

**Ho! His ades dextera levique a parte timendi,**

**Vicinique malo terret virtumque latu.**

A fearfull foe on left hand and on right,

**DOTH with his neighbour harms both sides auffight.**

Oh monstrous Warre: Others worke without; this inwardly and against his selfe: And
with her owne venom gnaweth and consumeth her selfe. It is of so ruinous and maligne a
Nature, that together with all things els, she ruineth her selfe: and with spitefull rage, doeth
rent, deface and massacre it selfe. We doe more often see it, by and through his selfe, to
waiste, to defolate and dissolve his selfe, then by or through want of any necessarie thing, or
by enemies force. All manner of discipline doth thunne and fliet it. She commeth to cure
fedition, and his selfe is throughly therewith infected: She goeth about to chauffe disobe-
dience, and theweth the example of it: and being employed for the defence of Lawes, ent-
treth into actual rebellion against his owne ordinances. Aye me, where are we? Our phi-
like bringeth infection.

**Nostra mai s empoysone**

**Da secours qu on lui donne.**

Our evil is empoysond more

**By plaufter they would lay to th' fote.**

**experat magis agresceitur, medendo.**

It rifes higher, quicker,

And grows by curing sicker,

**Omnia super se ne danda male permista furore,**

**Iustis cum nobis menem avertete Deorum.**

Lawfull
The third Booke.

Lawfull unhawfull deeds with furious blended,
Have turn'd from vs the Gods just minde offended.

In these popular diseases, one may in the beginning distinguishing the sound from the ficker, but if they chance to continue any time, as our hath done and doth still, all the body, yea head and heales feele themselves the worse: no parte is exempted from corruption. For, there is no art or man draws so greedily, or seeks so glutonously, as that more fires be selfe, or penetrates more deeply, than doth incentiously. Our Armies have no other bond to tie them, or other cement to fasten them, then what commeth from strangers: This now a hard matter to frame a body of a compleat. constant, well-ordred and coherent Armie of French men: Oh what thamesis! We have no other discipline, then what borrowed or auxiliary. Souldiers shewes. As for vs, we are led-on by our owne discretion and not by the commanders each man followeth his owne humour: and hath more to doe within, then without. It is the commandement should follow, court and yeeld into: he onely ought to obey: all the rest is free and loose. I am pleased to see, what remissness and pusillanimity is in ambition, and by what steps of abjection and fervitude, it must arrive ynto it send. But I am displeased to see some debonnaire and well-meaning minds, yea such as are capable of justice, daily corrupted, about the managing and commanding of this many-headed confusion. Long suffrings begets patience, patience, content and imitation. We had too too many infected and ill-borne mindes, without corrupting the good, the found and the generous. So that, if we continue any time, it will prove a difficult matter to finde out a man vnto whose skill and sufficiency, the health or recovery of this state may be committed in trust, if fortune shall happily be pleased to restore it vs again.

Hunc fallere pro invenirem succurriere feculo,
Ne prohibete.

Forbid not yet this youth at least,
To aide this age more then oppref.

What is become of that ancient precept? That Souldiers ought more to fear their General than their enemy? And of that wonderfull example leffe example: That the Roman armie having upon occasion enclosed within her trenches, and round-beside an apple, or hard, so obedient was flie to her Captaines, that the next morning, it rose and marched away without enteringe the same or touching one apple, although they were full-ripe and very delicious: So that when the owner came, he found the full number of his apples? I should be glad, that our Youths, in feele of the time they employ about leffe profitable peregrinations, and leffe honorable apprenshippes, would bettow one mytis, in seeing and observing the warres that happen on the sea, vnder some good Captaine or excellent Commannder of Malta; the other mytis in learning and surveying the discipline of the Turkifh armies. For, it hath many differences and advantages over ours. This enueth, that here our Souldiers become more licentious in expeditions, there they prove more circumspect and fearfully wary. For, small offences and petty lamenies, which in times of peace, are in the common people punished with whipping or bastonadoes, in times of warre are capitall crimes. For an egg taken by a Turk without paying, hee is by their lawes to have the full number of fiftie Stripes with a cudgel. For every other thing, how flightely over, not necessary for mans feeding, even for very trifles, they are either thrust through with a sharpe stake, which they call Empalage; or presently beheaded. I have been amazed, reading the storie of Selim, the cruellest Conqueror that ever was, to see, at what time he subdued the Country of Egypt, the beauteous goodly gardenes round about the Citie of Damaske, all open and in a conquered Country his maine armiying encamped round about, those gardenes were left untouched and vnspoiled by the handes of his Souldiers, onely because they were commanded to spoyle nothing, and had not the watch-word of pillage. But is there any malady in a Common-weale, that deserveth to be combated by so mortall a druge? No saide Caesarus, not so much as the usurpation of the tyrannical possession of a Common-wealth. Plutarch likewise is not willing one should offer violence to the quiet repose of his Country, no not to reforme or cure the same; and alloweth not that reformation, which disturbeth or hazardeth the whole effate; and which is purchased with the blood and ruine of the Citizens. Establishing the office of an honest man, in these cafes, to leave all there: But onely to pray God, to lend his extraordinary assiilting hand vnto it. And feemeth to be of-
fended with Dion his great friend, to have therein proceeded somewhat otherwise. I was a Platonist on that side before ever I knew there had been a Plato in the world. And if such a man, though abosolutely to banish our commerce, and refute our sectes: (see who for the fincerité of his conference, deserved by meanes of divine favour, athwart the publique darkenesse, and through the generall ignorance of the world wherein he lived, so farre to enter and so deeply to penetrate into christian light) I do not thinke, that it befitteth vs, to be infracted by a Pagan. Oh what impiotie is it, to expect from God no succour simply his, and without our co-operation. I often doubt, whether amongst so many men, that meddle with such a matter, any hath beene found of so weake an understanding, that hath earnestly beene persuaded, he proceeded toward reformation, by the utmost of deformatons; that he drew toward his salvation, by the most expresse causes, that wee have of vndefined damnation: that overthrowing policie, disgracing magistrates, abusing laws, under whose tuition God hath placed him; filling brotherly minds and loving hearts, with malice, hatred and murther; calling the Divels and furies to his helpe; he may bring assistance to the most sacred mildnesse and justice of divine Law. Ambition, avarice, cruelie and revenge, have not sufficient proper and naturall impetuositie; let vs allure and stirre them vppe by the glorious title of justice and devotion. There cannot worse estate of things be imagined, than where wickednesse commeth to be lawful: And with the Magistrates leave, to take the cloathe of vertue: Nihil in specieis flagellis, quam prava religio, ubi doresum numen pretendentur. Beata sua. There is nothing more deceitfull to vs then corrupt religion, when the power of Heaven is made a pretence and cloak for wickednesse. The extreme kinds of injustice (according to Plato) is, that that which is vnjust, should be held for just. The common people suffered therein greatly then; not only present losse,

 unus, adeo turbar turba.

Such revell and tumultuous rout
In all the country round about.

But also succeeding domages. The living were faine to suffer, so did such as then were faine borne. They were robbed and pilled, and by consequence so was I, even of hope spoiling and depriving them of all they had to provide their living for many yeares to come.

Quae nequeant secum, ferre aut abducere, perant;

Et crepat in fpectes turba scelefar casas;

Maris nulla fades, equalant populatibus agris.

They wretch-leffe poyle and spille what draw or drive they may not,

Guitie rogues to set fire on guilt-leffe houses stay not.

In waol no truft, the field

By poyle growes waffle and wilde.

Besides thefe michifles, I endured some others. I incurred the inconveniences, that moderation bringeth in such deastes. I was shaven on all handes: To the Ghibelin I was a Guelf, to the Guefia Ghibelin. Some one of my Poets expresseth as much, but I wot not where itis. The feituation of my house, and the acquaintance of such as dwelt round about me, presented me with one visage; my life and actions with another. No formall accusations were made of it; for there was nothing to take hold of. I never proposeth my felfe against the lawes; and who had called me in question, should have lofte by the bargain. They were mere supicions, that rann under hand, which never want appearance in so confused a hur- lie-burly, no more than lacke of envious or foolish wittes. I commonly afforded ayde unto injurious presumptions, that fortune scattereth against me, by a fashion I ever had, to avoid justifying, excusing or interpreting my felfe; deeming it to be a putting of my confidence to compromise, to please for her. Perspicutia enim, argumentatione elevata: For the clearing of a caufe, is lesioned by the arguing. And as every man faw into me as clear as I do my felfe, in lieu of withdrawing, I advance my felfe to the accusation and rather endure it; by an erroneous and scoffing confession: except I flately hold my peace, as of a thing vnworthy any anfwer. But such as take it for an over-proud confidence, do not much leffe disflect me, and hate me for it, than such as take it for weakeenesse of an indefensible caufe. Namely the great, with whom want of submission, is the extreme fault. Rude to all justice, that is knowne or felt: not demiffe, humble or suppliant. I have often stumbleth against that pil-ler.
But losses that come vnto me by others-injure, be it larceny or violence, pinch mee, in a manner as one sick and tortured with avarice. An offence causeth undoubtly more griefe and sharpenesse, than a loss. A thousand and severall kinds of mischiefs fell vpon mee one in the necke of another. I should more floowly have endured them, had they come all at once. I bereaved my self, amongst my friends, to whom I might commit a needle, a detestable and vnfortunate olde-age: But after I had surfeited them all, and caft mine eyes every where, I found my selfe bare and far to seek. For one to sowse himselfe downe headlong, and from so great a height, hee should hardly forecast that it may be in the arms of a solide, stedfast, vigorous and fortunate affection. They are rare, if there be any. In the end I perceived the belt and safest way, was to trust both my selfe and my necessitie, vnto my selfe. And if it should happen to be but meanely and faintly in Fortunes grace, I might more effectually recommend my selfe vnto mine owne favour, more closely fallen and more nearly looked vnto my selfe. In all things men rely vpon strange props, to spare their owne: onely certaine and onely powerfull, knowe they but how to arm themselves with them. Every man runneth out, and vnto what is to come, because no man is yet come vnto himselfe. And I resolved, that they were profitable inconveniences: forsoome as when reason will not serve, we must first warne vntoward Schollers with the rodde; as with fire and violence of wedges, we bring a crooked piece of wood to be straight. It is long since I called, to keep my selfe vnto my selfe, and live fequestred from alicie and strange things; notwithstonding I daily flare out and caft mine eyes a side. Inclination, a great mans favourable word, a kind looke doth tempt me. God he knowes whether there be penurie of them now-adays, and what sente they beare. I likewise, without frowning, listening to the subordinings, framed to drawe mee to some towne of merchandize or city of traffike; and so coldely defend my selfe, that it staines I should rather endure to be overthrown, than not. Now to a spiritio indiscule, blows are required: and this selfe, that of it selfe is so ready to warpe, to vnhoope, to escape and fall in pieces, must be closed, hooped and strongly knockt with an adze. Secondly, that this accident served me as an excution to prepare my selfe for worste, if worste might happen: if I, who both by the benefite of fortune and condition of my maners, hoped to be of the last, should by this tempest be one of the first surprized. Instructing my selfe betimes, to force my life and frame it for a new statute. True perfect libertie is, for one to be able to do and work all things vpon himselfe. Potestas summi est quin sub altissimo. He that hath power, that keepes himselfe in his owne power. In ordinary and peacefull times, a man prepares himselfe for common and moderate accidents: but in this confusion, wherein we have beene these thirtie yeeres, every French man, best in general or in particular, doth hourly see himselfe vpon the point of his fortunes over-throwe and downe-fall. By so much more ought each one have his courage stored and his minde for-aughted, with more strong and vigorous provisions: Let vs thanke Fortune, that hath not made vs live in an effeminat, idle and languishing age: Some, whom other menes might never bring within, shall make themselves famous by their misfortunes. As I reade not much in Histories, these confusions of other states, without regret, that I could not better them preferct: So doth my curiositie make me form what pleaseth my selfe, with mine eyes to see this notable spectacle of our publike death; her symptoms and forme. And since I could not hinder the same, I am content to be appoynted as an affilliant vnto it, and thereby instruct my selfe. Yet seeke we evidently to know in shadoves, and understand by fabulous representations vpon Theatres, the shew of the tragick revolutions of humaine fortune. It is not without compassion of that wee heare, but we please our selves to rowze vp our displeasure, by the rareness of these pitifull events: Nothing tickles, that pincheth not. And good Historians avoid calm narrations, as a dead water or mort-mere, to retrieve fioditions & finde out waters, where to they know we call them. I doubt whether I may lawfully avow, at how base a rate of my lifes-reft and tranquillite, I have past it more than halfe in the ruine of my Country. In accidents that touch mee not in
my freehold, I purchase patience very cheap; and to complain to my selfe, I respect not so much what is taken from me, as what is left me both within and without. There is comfort, in sometimes chewing one, and sometimes another of the evells, that one in the necke of another surpriseth vs, and else where strike them round about. As in matters of publike interrells, according as my affection is more vniverally scattered, so is the whereby more enchoyled. Since it is halfe true: Tantum ex publicis malis fenstimus, quantum ad prdives rursus perimur. We feel so much of common harms as appertained to our private estate. And that the health whence we fell was such, that her selfe solaceth the regret, we should have for her. It was health, maris, but in comparion of the contagion, which hath followed the same. Wee are not false very high. The corruption and the brigandage, which now is in office and dignitie, seemes to me a leafe tolerable. We are lesse injuriously robbed in the midif of a wood, then in a place of securitie. It was a vniverall coherence of members spoold arice another, and most of them, with old-ranked viles, which neither admitted nor demaunded recoverie. Truly this shaking-fit did therefore more animate then deterre me, onely by the aide of my conscience, which not onely quietly, but fiercely carried it selfe; and I found no cause to complaine, of my selfe. Likwise, as God never sendeth men either evils or goods absolutely pure, my health held out well for that time, yea against her ordinary: And as without it I can do nothing, so with it, there are few things I cannot doe. She gave me means to summone and rouze vp all my provisions, and to beare my hand before my hirft, which happily would have gone further: And proved in my patience, that yet I had some hold against fortune; and that to thrust me out of my saddle, there was required a stronger counterbuss. This I speake not, to provoke her to give me a more vigorous charge. I am her servant, and yeeld my selfe unto her: For Gods fake let her be pleased. Demaund you whether I feele her assaults? I doe indeede. As thone whom sorrow posselfeth and overwearmeth, doe nowstanding at one time or other suffer themselves by intermissions to be touched by some pleasure, and now & then smile. I have sufficient power over my selfe, to make mine ordinary state quiet and free from all tedious and yerldome imaginations; but yet, I sometimes suffer my selfe by starts to be surprisfed with the pinches of these vnpleasent conceits, which whilst I ame my selfe to expell or wrestle against them, affaile and beate me. Loe here another hooorde or tide of mischiefes that on the necke of the former came running vpon me. Both within and round about my house, I was overtaken, in respect of all other, with a most contagious pestilence. For, as soundest bodies are subject to grievous diseases, because they onely can force them: so the aire about me being very healthy, where in no mans memory, infection (although very near) could ever take footing: comming now to be posioned, brought forth strange effects.

Mista femum & invencion demantur funerta, nullum
Seva caput Proserpina fugit.

Of old and yong thicke funeralls are sharde;
By cruel Proserpine no head is spared.

I was faineto endure this strange condition, that the sight of my house was yrkoure vnto me. Whatever was therein, lay all at rando, no man looke thereunto, and was free for any that had a minde vnto it. I who have so long beene a good housekeeper, and vsed to hospitallitie, was much troubled and put to my shifts, how to finde out some retreate for my familie. A dissimade and scattered family, making both her selfe and her friends afraide, and breeding horror where it fought to retire for shelter; being now to shift and change her dwelling, so soon as any of the company beganne to feel his finger ake, all the rest were dissimade. Every ficknesse is then taken for the plague: none hath leisure to consider them. And the mischief is, that according to the rules of arte, what danger forever approcheth, a man must continue fortie dayes in anxietie or fear of that evel; in which time your owne i

magination doth perplex you as the lift and infect your health. All which had much lesse toucht me, had I not beene forced to beare other mens burthens and partake all their grievances, and for fix months space, in miserable maner, to be a woefull guide to go great confused a Caravanc. For I ever carry my prefervatives about me, which are resolution and suffrance. Apprehension doth not greatly preffe me; which is particularly feared in this ficknesse. And if being alone, I should have taken it, it had beene a stronger and further flight: It is a death in mine opinion, not of the worst: It is commonly short and speedy, voide of lingering giddinesse, without paine, comforted by the publike condition without cereumie,
cereonic, without marning, and without thronging. But for the people about vs, the
hundreth parts of soules cannot be saved.


In that place, my beef revenue is manuall: what a hundred men laboured for me, ay fal-
low for a long time. What examples of resolution faw we not then in all this peoples sim-
plicity? Each one generally renounced all care of life. The grapes (which are the counties
chief commoditie) hung still and rotted vpon the vines, & the vines touch'd: all inindifferently prepa-
ring themselves and expecting death, either that night or the next morrow: with coun-
tenance and voice so little daunted, that they seemed to have compromised to this necessitie,
and that it was an universal and inevitable condemnation. It is ever fuch. But what flender
hold hath the resolution of dying? The difference and distance of some few hours: the
only consideration of the company yeelds the apprehension diverse vnto vs. Behold thes:
because they die in one fame month, children, yong, old, they are no more aflonfled, they are
no longer wept-for. I faw some that feared to flye bythine, as if they had bene in some
horrifide solitude: And commonly I knew no other care amongst them, but for graves: it
much grieved them, to fee the dead carcasses scattered over the fields, at the mercy of wilde
beasts; which prefently beganne to flocke thither. Oh how humane fantasies differ and are
easily disjoynd! The Neorite, a nation whilome subdued by Alexander the Great, call-
out their dead mens bodies into the thickeft of their woods, there to be devour'd: the grave
onely eftemed happy amongst them. Some in good health digged already their graves,
others yet living did go into them. And a day-labourer of mine, as he was dying, with his
owne hands and feet pulled earth vpon him, and so covered himselfe. Was not this a
lyng downe in the shade to sleepe at alee? An enterprise in some for as highly noble, as
that of some Romane Souldiers, who after the battell of Canne, were found with their heads
in certaine holes or pits, which themselves had made, and filled vp with their hands, where-
in they were smothered. To conclude, a whole nation was prefently by vs brought to a
march, that in vnduntedneffe yeelds not to any confulted and fore meditated resolution.
The greatest number of learnings instructions, to encourage vs have more shew then force,
and more ornament then fruite. Wee have forsaken nature, and yet wee will teach her her
lesson: Shee, that lead vs so happily, and directed vs so safely: And in the meantime while,
the traces of her instructions and that little, which by the benefit of ignorance, remaineth
of her image, imprinted in the life of this rusticall troupe of unpolished men, learning is
compell'd to goe daily a borrowing, thereby to make her disciples a pattern of confian
cie, of innocencie and of tranquility. It is a goodly matter to see how these men full of so great
knowledge, must imitate this foolish simplicitie; yea in the first and chief actio

And that our wisdome should learn of beasts, the most profitable documents, belonging
unto the chiefest and moft necessary parts of our life. How we should live and die, husband
our goods, love and bring vp our children, and entertaine justice. A singular testimonie of
mans infimitie: and that this reason we fo manage at our pleasure, ever finding some diver-
sitie and novelte, leaveth vnto vs no maner of apparant trake of nature. Wherewith men
have done, as perfumers doe with oyle: they have adulterated her, with so many argumenta-
tions, and sofificated her with so diverse farre-fetcht discours, that she is become variable
and peculiar to every man, and hath loft her proper, constant and universal vifage whereof
we must seekke for a testimonie of beasts, not subject to favor or corruption, nor to diversitie
of opinions. For it is most true, that themselves march not always in natures path,
but if they chance to stray, it is so little, that you may ever perceive the trake. Even as hos-
ies led by hand doe sometimes bound and flart out of the way, but no further then their hal-
ters length, and nevertheless folowe ever his steps that leadeth them: And as a Hawke
takes his flight bunder the vlimes of his cranes or twyne. Exilia, tormenta, bella, morbos,
naufragia meditare, ut nulla sit mala vtro. Bumilimus, tormenta, varres, fchusnes, bipwright, all
these forecast and premeditate, that these mans seeme no noble, no freshwater Souldier to any mis-
adventure. What availeth this curiousitie vnto vs, to occupy all humane natures conven-
siences, and with so much labour and toylng against them, to prepare our selves which per

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adventure
adventure shall nothing concern us? (Parum passis tritium facit, pati posse. It makes men as sad that they may suffer some mischief, as if they had suffered. Not only the blow, but the wind and crackle strikes) Or as the most fabricitant, for surely it is a kind offer, now to cause your selfe to be whipped, because fortune may one day chance to make you endure it: and at Mid-Sommer to put-on your fur'd Gowne, because you shall need it at Christmas? Cast your selves into the experience of all the mischiefs, that may befall you, namely of the extremes: there try your selfe (say they) there assure your selfe. Contrarie-wife, the easieft and most natural, were even to discharge his thought of them. They will not come soone enough, their true being doth not last vs long enough, our spirit must extend and lengthen them, and before hand incorporate them into himselfe, and therewith entertaine himselfe, as if they lay not sufficiently heavy on our senses. They will weigh heavy enough, when they shall be there (faith one of the Maisters, not of a tender, but of the hardest Scot) mean while favour thy selfe: Believe what thou lovest best: What avails it thee to collect and prevent thy ill fortune: and for feare of the future, lose the present; and now to be miserable, because in time thou maist be so? They are his owne words. Learning doth vs willingly one good office, exactly to instruct vs in the demensions of evils.

Curis acens mortalis corda.
Mens cogitationes whetting,
With sharpe cares only fretting.

It were pity, any part of their greatness should escape our feeling and understanding. It is cirtaine, that preparation unto death, hath caused more torment unto most, than the vere suffrance. It was whilome truly saide, and of by a most judicious Author: Aminus affectus senis fatigatio, quam cogitationi. Weariness lese troubleth our senses, then perilusse doth. The apprehension of present death, doeth sometimes of it selfe animate vs, with a ready resolution, no longer to avoyde a thing altogether in evitable. Many Gladiators have in former ages beene seene, having at first fought very cowardily, most Courageously to embrace death; offering their throte to the enemies sword, yea and bidde them make haste. The sight distant from future death, hath neede of a flowre confidence, and by confidence hard to bee found. If you know not how to die, take no care for it; Nature her selfe will fully and sufficiently teach you in the nick, the will exactly discharge that work for you; trouble not your selfe with it.

Uncertam frustra mortales funeris horam.
Quartiis, & quasi mori adiura via:

Pena minor certa, subito perferre ruinam.
Quod timeseq, gravis sullmusse des.
Of death th vnctertaine houre you men in vaine
Enquire, and what way death shall you displace:
A certaine sodaine ruine is lefse paine,
More grievous long what you feare to sustaine.

We trouble death with the care of life, and life with the care of death. The one anoyeth, the other affrights vs. It is not against death, we prepare our selves; it is a thing to momentarie. A quarter of an houre of passion without consequnse and without annoyance, deserves not particular precepts. To say truth, we prepare our selves against the preparations of death. Philosophy teacheth vs, ever to have death before our eyes, to foresee and consider it before it come: Then giveth vs rules and precautions so to provide, that such foresight and thought hurt vs not. So doe Philosophers, who cast vs into defaues, that they may employ their drugges and skill about them. If we have not knowne how to live, it is injustice to teach vs how to dye, and deforme the end from all the rest. Have wee knowne how to live constantly and quietly, we shall know how to die resolutely and reposedly. They may bragge as much as they please. Tom Philosophorum, vita commentatio moris est. The whole life of a Philosopher is the meditation of his death. But me thinks, it is indeede the end, yet not the scope of life. It is her last, it is her extremities yet not her object. Her selfe must be vnto her selfe, her ayne, her drift and her deigne. Hir direct studie is, to order, to direct and to suffer him selfe. In the number of many other offices, which the generall and principal Chapter, to know how to live containeth, is this speciall Article, To know how to dy. And of the easieft, did not our owne feare weight it downe. To judge them by their profit and by the naked truth,
truth, the lessons of simplicity, yeeld not much to those, which Doctrine preacheth to the contrarie unto vs. Men are different in feeling, and divers in force: they must be directed to their good, according to themselves and by divers waies:

Quo me cumque rapiat tempus, desidero hospes.
Where I am whirld by winde and wether,
I guelf-like straight am carried thither.

I never saw meane paitant of my neighbours, enter into cogitation or care, with what assurance or countenance, he should passe this laft hour. Nature teacheth him never to muse on death, but when he dieth. And then hath he a better grace in it, than a Stoics, whom death perplexeth doubly, both by her selfe, and by so long a premeditation. Therefore was it Ciceron opinion, that The least premeditated death, was the happiest and the easest. Plus dolet, quam necesse est, qui ante dolet, quam necesse est. He grieves more than he needeth, That grieves before he needeth. The sharpencesse of this imaginaition, proceedes from our curiositie. Thus we ever hinder our selves: defiering to fore-runne and swey natural prescriptions: It is but for Doctors, being in health, to fare the worst by it, and to frowne and startle at the image of death. The vulgare fort, have neither neede of remeide nor comfort, but when the shocke or stroke commeth. And justly confiders no more of it, than hee feeleth. And is it not as we say, that the vulgares stupiditie and want of apprehension, afforde them this patience in present evils, and this deep carelesstie of finifter future accidents? That their mind be more grofe, dull and blockish, is lesse penetrable and agitatable? In Gods name, if it be so, let vs henceforth keepe a schoole of brutallitie. It is the vilmest fruit that Sciences promiseth unto vs, to which the so gently bringeth her discipiles. We shall not want good teachers, interpreters of natural simplicity. Socrates shalbe one. For, as neare as I remember, he speake keth in this fentence unto the judges, that determine of his life: I feare me my Masters (saith he) that if I were to not to make me die, I shall confirme the evidence of my accusers which is, That I professe to have more understanding than others, as having some knowledge more secrete & hidden of things both above and beneath vs. I know I have never frequented nor knowne death, nor have I seen any body, that hath either felt or tried her qualities, to instruct me in them. Those who feare her, presuppose to know her: As for me, I neither know who or what she is, nor what they doe in the other worlde. Death may peradventure be a thing indifferent, happily a thing despicable. Yet is it to be believed, that if it be a tranmigration from one place to an other, there is some amendment in going to live with so many worthie famous persons, that are deceased, and be exempted from having any more to doe with wicked and corrupted judges. If it be a consummation of one being, it is also an amendment and entrance into a long and quiet night. Wee finde nothing so sweete in life, as a quiet rest and gentle sleepe, and without dreams. The things I know to be wicked, are wrong or offend one neighbour; and to disobey his superiour, be he God or man, I carefully bome them: Such as I know not whether they be good or bad, I can not feare them. If I goe to my death, and leave you alive, the Gods onely see, whether you or I shall prosper beff. And therefore for my regard, you shall disjope of it, as it beff shall pleafe you. But according to my fashion, which is to counsell good and profitable things, this I say, that for your owne conscience you shall doe beff to free and discharg me: except you see further into mine owne cause than my selfe. And judging according to my former actions, both publick and private, according to my intentions, and to the profite, that so many of our Citizens, both young and olde, drave daily from my conversation, and the fruit in all you recepe by me, you cannot more unjustly or dully discharge your selves toward my deffentes, than by appointing (my poverty considered) that I may live, and at the common charge be kept, in the Byzantine: which for much lefe reasons, I have often seen you freely grant unto others. Impute it not to oblofinacie or djalude in me, nor take it in ill parte, that I, according to custome proceed not by way of intreatie, and move you to commination. I have both friends and fuppilories: being not (as Homer fay) begotten of a blocke or forme, no more than other men: capable to present themselves, humbly fying with teares and mourning: and I have three defolate widowe children to move you to pittie. But I should make our little ab몬en, of the age I am in, and in that reputation of widdom, as now I stand in prevention to yeeld unto so brave and desit countenances. What would the world say of other Athenians? I have ever admonished such as have heard me speake, never to purchace or redeem their lives, by any dishonest or unmanlike act. And in my Countrie, whereas, both at Amphipolis, at Potidea, at Delia, and others, in which I have beene, I have shewn by effectes, how sure I was from warranting my safetie by my shame. Moreover, I should interest your dutte, and
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preinduce your calling, and persuade you to soeule unlawful things; for not my prayers, but the pure and sole reason of justice should persuade you. You have swore to the Gods, so to maintain your selves. Not to believe there were any, might seeme I would suspected, reccriminate or retorte the fault upon you. And my selfe should sworne against my selfe, not to believe in them as I ought: doing those their command, and not merely remitting my affaires into their hands. I wholly trust and rely on them, and certainly holds, that in this, they will dispose as I shall be moste for you, and suffice for me. Honest men, that neither live, nor are dead, have no cause at all to fear the Gods. Is not this a childish pleading, of an inimaginable courage; and in what necesse employed? Verely it was reason, he should preferre it before that, which the great Orator Lyias had set downe in writing for him; excellently fashioned in a judicarie Stile but vnworthy of so noble a criminal. Should a man have heard an humbly-fuing voyce out of Socrates his mouth? Would that provoke vertue have failed in the heat of her flour? And would his rich and powerfull nature, have committed her defence unto are, and in her highest Essay, renounced unto truth and sinceritie, true ornaments of his speach, to adorn and decke himselfe with the embellishment of the figures and fictions of a fore-learn’d Oration? Hee did most wisely, and according to himselfe, not to corrupt the tenure of an incorruptible life, and so sacred an image of humaneforme, to prolong his decrepitude for one yeere; and wrong the immortal memory of so glorious an end. He ought his life, not to himselfe, but to the worlds example. Had it not become a publicke loffe, if he had finisht the same in some idle, base and obscure manner? Truely, so carlessely and effeminate a consideration of his death, deserved, postentie should so much more consider the fame for him: which it did. And nothing is so just in justice, as that, which fortune ordained for his commendation. For the Athenians did afterward so detest and abhorre those, which had furthered and caus’d his death, that of all they were loathed and flummed as cursed and excommunicated men: whatsoever they had but touched was held to be polluted: No man would so much as waff with them in baths or hot-houses: no man afford them a salutation, much lesse affect or have to doe with them: so that being in the end no longer able to endure this publick hatred and generall contempt, they all hanged themselves. If any man thinks, that amongst so many examples, I might have chosen for the service of my purpose, in Socrates his sayings, I have chosen or handled this but ill: and deemeth this discourse, to be raised above common opinions: I have done it wittingly: for I judge otherwise. And hold it to be a discourse, in rancke and sinceritie, much shorter and lower, then vulgar opinions. It representeth in an vn-artificiall boldnesse, and infantine sinceritie, the pure impression and full ignorance of of nature. Because it is credible, that we naturally feare paine, but not death, by reason of her. It is a part of our being, no lesse essentiall than life. To what end would Nature have elle engendred the hate and horror of it, feicing it holde therein, and witha ranke of most great profit, to foster the faceffion, and norishe the vicefulness of her works? And that in this vnverfall Common-weale, it isdeadeth and ferveth more for birth and augmentation, then for losse, decay or ruine.

\[\text{Sic erutum summanovatur.} \]
\[\text{So doth the sunne of all,} \]
\[\text{By course riseth and fall.} \]
\[\text{Vile animas non necata deit.} \]
\[\text{We thousand foules shall pay,} \]
\[\text{For one foule made away.} \]

The decay of one life, is the passage to a thousand other lives. Nature hath imprinted in beafts, the care of themselves and of their preservation. They proceede even to the feare of their emparing; to shocke or hurt themselves; and that we should not flackle or beat them, accidents subject to their sense and experience: But that we should kill them, they cannot feare it, nor have they the faculty to imagine or conclude their death. Yet is it reported, that they are not onely feene to embrace and endure the same joyfully (most Horses neigh in dying, and Swannes sing when it feareth them.) But moreover, they feekte it when they neede it; as by divers examples may be prooved in the Elephants. Besides, the manner of arguine, which Socrates vvith here, is it not equally admirable, both in simplicitie and in vehementie? Verely It is much easier, to speake as Aристотε, and live as Cæsar, than speake and live as Socrates. Therein consitts the extreme degree of difficulte and perfec-

\[\text{xxvill. i. 2. 73.} \]
The third Booke.

The third Booke.

Editions are not attainable unto it. Our faculties are not now so addressed. We neither assay, nor know them; we invest ourselves with others, and suffer our own to be idle. As by some might be said of me: that here I have but gathered a nosegay of strange flowers, and have put nothing of mine unto it, but the thread to bind it. Certes, I have given unto public opinion, that these borrowed ornaments accompany me; but I mean, not they should cover or hide me: it is contrary to mine intention, who would make them of nothing that is not mine own, yea and mine own by nature: And had I believed myself, at all adventure I had spoken alone. I daily charge myself the more beyond my proposition and first form, upon the fantastic of time, and through idleness. If it mis-terrme me, as I think it doth, it is no great matter; it may be profitable for some other. Some alreadie Plato, and hence mention Homer, that never saw them, or as they say in English, many a man speaks of Robin Hood, that never saw his bow: And I have taken divers passages from others then in their spring. Without paine or sufficiency, having a thousand volumes of books about me, where now I write, if I please, I may presently borrow from a number of such butchery-patchcoets (men that I plod not much upon) wherewith to enamell this treatie of Physiognomy. I neede but the liminary epistle of a Germanie to store me with allegations: and we goe questing that way for a fading-greedye glorie, to cozen and delude the foolish world. These rapodies of common places, wherewith so many stuffle their studie, serve not greatly but for vulgar subjects, and serve but to shew and not to direct vs: A rediculous fond fruite of learning, that Socrates doth so pleasantly enveigh and exagiate against Euthydemus. I have seen books made of things neither studied nor ever understood; the author committing to divers of his learned and wise friends the search of this and that matter, that so he might compound them into a booke, containing himselfe for his owne part, to have cast the plotte and projected the defigne of it, and by his industriie to have bound vp the fagot of unknowne provisions; at least is the inke and paper his owne. This may be said to be a buying or borrowing, and not a making or compiling of a booke. It is to teach men, not that one can make a booke, but to put them out of doubt, that he cannot make it. A President of the law, in a place where I was, wanted himselfe, to have hudled vp together two hundred and odd strange places in a presidiall lawe-office of his: In publishing of which, he defaced the glory, which others gave him for it. A weak, childifh and abusde boastling in my opinion, for such a subjeet and for such a man. I doe cleane contrarie, and amongst so many borrowings, am indeed glad to flich some one; disguising and altering the same to some new service. On hazard, to let men say, that it is for lacke of understandinge it is naturallye, I give it some particular adrelling of mine owne hand, to the end it may be so much lefse meere strange. Whereas thes put their larcenys to publike view and garish shew. So have they more credite in the lawes, then I. We other naturalists supposse, that there is a great and incomparable preference, betweene the honour of invention, and that of allegation. Would I have spoked according to learning, I had spoked sooner: I had written at such times as I was nearer to my studies, when I had more wit and more memorie; and should more have trusted the vigor of that age, then the imperfection of this, had I beene willing to profess writing of bookes. And what, if this gratious favour, which fortune hath not long since offered me: by the intermission of this worke, could have befalne me in such a season, in lieu of this, where it equally desirablie to poiffe, and readie to looke?

Two of mine acquaintance (both notable men in this facullie) have, in my conceit, loft much, because they refused to publish themselves: at some years of age, to say vntil they were three score. Naturall hath his defects, as well as greenenesse, and worfe. And as insommodious or vnfit is old age vnto this kinde of werkies, as to any other. Whosoever putteth his decrepitude vnder the preffe, committeth folly, if thereby he hopes to wring out humors, that shall not taste of dottage, of popererie, or of drouinnesse. Our spirit becommeth coffive and thickens in growing old. Of ignorance I speakeumptuously and plenteously, and of learning meagerly and pitiously: This accentually and accidentally: That expreely and principally. And purposely I treat of nothing, but of nothing; nor of any one science, but of vnsience. I have chosyn the time, where the life I have to set forth, is all before mee, the rest holdeth more of death. And of my death only should I finde it babling, as others doe, I would willingly, in dislodging, give the World advice. Socrates hath beene a perfect pattern in all great qualities. I am vexed, that ever he met with so villanous and crabbed a body,
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a body, as they say he had, and so dissonant from the beautie of his minde. Himselfe so amorous and so belov'd on beautie. Nature did him wrong. There is nothing more tully-famable, as the conformite or relation between the body and the mind. Ips animi, imagin reper, quat' in corpore locati fo: multa enim & corpore existimn, quae acant mentem: mitut, quae obulant. It is of great import in what body the minde is bestowed: for many things ars of the body to sharpen the minde, and many things to dull and rebate it. This man speaks of an unnaturall ill-favourdneffe, and membrall deformitie: but we call ill-favourdneffe a kindie of vnscemelneffe at the first sight, which chiefly lodgeth in the face; and by the colour worketh a dislike in vs. A freckle, a blemish, a rude countenance, a fower looke, proceeding often of some inexplicable cause, may be in well ordered, comely and compleat limmes. The fouleneffe of face, which invisited a beauteous minde in my deare friend La Beauit, was of this predicament. This superficill ill-favourdneffe, which is notwithstanding the most imperious, is of like prejudice unto the stale of the minde: and hath small certaintie in mens opinion. The other, by a more proper name called a more substantiall deformitie, beareth commonly a deeper inward stroke. Not every blosso of smooth-shining leather, but everie well-fopen and haifome, made blosso, soveth the inward and right shape of the foot. As Socrates said of his, that it justly accused so much in his mind, had he not corrected the fame by infultion. But in so saying, I suppose, that according to his wonted vs, he did but jest: and so excele a mind, did never frame it felse. I cannot often enough repeate, how much I esteeme beauty, so powerfull and advantagious a qualitie is fhe. He named it, a fons tyranny: And Plato the priviledge of Nature. We have none that exceeds it in credit. She poselis the chiefe ranke in the commerce of Societie of men: She prefents it felse forward: the fucceth and preoccupates our judgement, with great authoritie and wonderfull impreffion. Phryne had left her plea, though in the hands of an excellent lawyer, if with opening his garments, by the foudaine flashing of his beautie, she had not corrupted her judges. And I finde, thai Cyrus, Alexander and Cesar those three Maf ters of the World, have not forgoten or neglect-ed the fame in achieving their great affaires. So hath not the first Scipio. One fame word in Greeke importeth faire and good. And even the Holy-Ghost calleth often those good, which he meaneth faire. I shoud willingly maintain the rancke of the goods, as implied the fong, which Plato faith to have beene trivial, taken from some auncient Poets; Health, beautie and riches. Aristotle saith, that the right of commanding, doth of duty belong to such as are faires and if haply any be found, whose beautie approacheth to that of the Gods images, that veneration is equally due vnto them. To one that asked him, why the fairest were both longer time and oftener frequented? This question (quoth he) ought not to be mooed but by a blinde man, Most and the greatest Philosophers, paide for their schooiling and attained vnto Wisedome, by the intermission of their beautie, and favour of their companions. Not onely in men that ferue me, but in beasles alfo, I confider the fame within two inches of goodneffe. Yet me thinks, that the fame feature and manner of the face, and those lineaments,by which fome argue certaine inward complextions, and our future fortunes, is a thing that doth not directly nor simply lodge vnder the Chapter of beauty and ill-favourdneffe; no more than all good favours, or cleareneffe of ayre, doe not alwayes promise health; nor all foggys and finkis, infection, in times of the plague. Such as accuse Ladies to contradict the beauties; by their manners, guife not alwayes at the truth. For, in an ill-favourd and uncompos'd face, may sometimes harbour some ayre of prohitie, and truft. As on the contrary, I have sometimes read betweene two faire eyes, the threats of a maligne & dangerous-ill-boding nature. There are some favourable Physoconomies; For in a throng of victorious enemies, you shall presently amideft a multitude of viknowne faces, make choife of one man more than of others, to yeeld your faire vnto, and truft your life, and not properly by the consideration of beauty. A mans looke or ayre of his face, is but a weake warrant, notwithstanding it is of some consideration. And were I to whippe them, I would more rudely scourge such as maliciously behve and betray the promisef, which Nature had charactred in their front. And more severelly would I punifh malicious craft in a debonare apperance & in a milde-promizing countenance. Ifeemeth there be some luckie and well boding faces, and other some vnluckie and ill-prefaging: And I thinke, there is some Arte to distinguishe gently-milde faces, from nyas and fimple; the severe from the rude and the malicious from the howardthe difdainefull from the melancholike and such other neibouring qualitues. There are some beauties,
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beauties, not only fierce-looking, but also shapely-working, some others pleasing, sweet, and yet wallowithly tattleste. To prophylacte future succelles of them, be matters I leave undecided. I have (as elsewhere I noted) taken for my regard this ancient precept, very rawly and simply: That we cannot, in following Nature, and that the severalligne document is, for a man to conform himselfe to his. I have not (as Socrates) by the power and vertue of reason, corrected my natural compltions, nor by Artes hindered mine inclination. Look how I came into the World, foi I goe: on: I strive with nothing. My tway Misfits partes, live of their own kindelse in peace & good agreement: but my nurses milke, hath (thinks be to God) beene indifferently wholefome and temperate. Shall I fay thus much by the way? That I fee a certaine image of booke-th of scholatical prudence, only which it is in a manner in vs amongetts, he'd and reputed in greater efteme then it deferveth, and which is but a servant unto precepts, brought vnder by hope, and constrained by fear. I love it such as lawes and religions make not, but over-make and authorize; that may bee perceived to have whereewith to uphold her selfe without other aide: sprung vp in vs of her owne proper roots, by and from the feede of vnverfall reason, imprinted in every man that is not vnatural. The fame reason, that reformeth Socrates from his vicious habite, yeelds him obedient both to Gods and men, that rule and command his Civile: courageous in his death, not because his foule is immortall, but because hee is mortal. A ruinous inftitution to all common-weales and muche more harmefull, then ingenious and subtile, is that which perverteth men, that onely a religious beliefe, and without manners, sufficeth to content andBattle dis- vine justice. Cutfome makes vs fee an enormous defitution, betweene devotion and confection. I have a favourable appearance, both in forme and interpretation.

Quid dixi habere me? Imm habui Chromo: 

How and am anvisit corporis offa vides.

I have, what did I say?
I had what's now away.
Alas, you only now behold,
Bones of a bodie worene and old.

And which makes a contrary shew to that of Socrates. It hath ofte beneted me, that by the simple credite of my presence and aspects, some that had no knowledge of me, have greatly trusted vnto it, were it about their owne affairs or mine. And even in foraigne countries, I have thereby reaped singular and rare favours. These two experiments, are happily worthy to be particularly related. A guidam gallant, determined vpon a time to surprize both my house and my selfe. His plot was, to come riding alone to my gate, and instantly to urge entrance. I knew him by name, and had some reason to trust him, being my neighbour and somewhat aside vnto me. I presently caused my gates to be opened, as I do to all men. He comes in all afield, his horse out of breath; both much harassed. He entertaines me with this fable; that within halfe a league of my house he was fomainely set upon by an enemy of his, whom I knew well and had heard of their quarrel: that his foe had wondrously put him to his spurrers, that being surprized vnarmed, and having fewer in his company then the other, he was glad to runne away, and for satisfy had made halfe to come to my house, as to his sanctuary: That he was much perplexed for his men, all which he supposed to be either taken or flaine. I endeavoured friendly to comfort and sincerely to warrant and refresh him. Within a while came gallopping four of five of his Souldiers, amazed, as if they had beene out of their wits, hastening to be let-in: Shortly after came others, and others, all proper then, well mounted, better armed, to the number of thirtie or there abouts, all seeming distracted for fear, as if the enemie that pursuaded them had beene at their heels. This myterie begane to suffon my supper. I was not ignorant of the age wherein I lived, nor how much my house might be envied: and had thundr examples of others of my acquaintance, that had been spoiled, beater and surprized thus and thus. So ists, that perceiving with my selfe, there was nothing to be gotten, though I had begunne to vfe them kindly, if I continued not, and being unable to rid my selfe of them and clear my house without danger and spoiling all as I ever doe, I took the plainest and natural well-meaning way, and commanded they should be let-in and bid welcome. And to saye truth, I am by nature little full-picious or mistrustfull, I am easily drawne to admit excuses and encline to mild interpretation. I take men according to common order, and suppose every one to meane as I doe; and believe
believe these perverse and treacherous inclinations, except I be compelled by some authentical tell-tale, no more than monsters or miracles. Besides, I am a man, that willingly commit my selfe unto fortune, and carelessly cast my selfe into her arms: Whereof herherto I have more just cause to complain my selfe, then to complain. And have found her more circumspect and friendly-carefull of my affairs, then I am my selfe. There are certaine actions in my life, the conduct of which may sufficiently be termed difficult, or if any be so disposed, prudent. And of those, suppose the third part of them to be mine owne; truly the other two are richly hers. We are too blame, and in my conceit we err, that we doe not sufficiently and so much as we ought, trust the heavens with our selves. And pretend more in our owne conduct, then of right appertains vnto vs. Therefore doe our deselines so often miscarry, and our intents so feldome forte to witheld effect. The heavens are angry and I may say envious of the extention and large priviledge, we ascribe vnto the right of humane wisdom, to the prejudice of theirs: and abridge them so much the more vnto vs, by how much more wee endeavour to amplify them. But to come to my former discourse. These gallants kept still on horsebacke in my court, and would not alight: their Capitaine with me in my hall, who would never have his horset vp, still saying that he would not stay, but must necessarie withdrawe himselfe, so soone as he had newes of his followers. He saw himselfe maister of his enterprise, and nothing was wanting but the execution. Hee hath since reported very often, (for he was no whit superuous or afraid to tell this story) that my vndisguised looks, my vndissemble countenance, and my liberty of speech, made him reject all manner of treasonable intents or treacherous deselines. What shall I say more? He bids me farewell, calleth for his horse, gets vp, and offreth to be gone, his people having continually their eyes fixt vpoun him, to observe his looks and fea what signe he should make vnto them: much amazed to fee him be gone and wondring to fee him omit and forsaicke such an advantage. An other time, trusting to a certaine truce or cessation of armes, that latterly had beene published through our campes in France, as one suspecting no harme, I undertooke a journey from home, through a dangerous and very ticklish country; I had not rid far, but I was discovered, and beheld three or foure troupe of horsemens, all severall wayes, made after me, with purpose to entrap me: One of which overtook mee the third day, where I was round befe and charged by fifteene or twenty Gentlemen, who had all vizards and cases, followed aloofe by a band of Argouteirs. I was charged, I yeelded, I was taken and immediately drawne into the boosome of a thick Wood, that was not farre off; there puld from my Horfe, stript with all speede, my trunks and cloke-bags rifled, my boxe taken; my Horfes, my equipage and such things as I had, disperst and shared amongst them. We continued a good while amongst those thornie bushes, contesting and striving about my ranfone, which they raked so high, that it appeared well I was not much knowne of them. They had long confection amongst themselves for my life. And to say truth: there were many circumstances, threatened me of the danger I was in.

Tunc animis opus, Aenea, tunc pellor ferius.
Of course then indeede,
Then of stout brief is neede.

I ever floode vpon the title and priviledge of the truce and proclamations made in the Kings name, but that availed not: I was content to quit them whatever they had taken from me, which was not to be despaired, without promising other ranfone. After wee had debated the matter too and fro, the space of two or three hours, and that no excuses could serve, they let me vpon a lame jade, which they knew could never escape them, and committed the particular keeping of my person to fifteene or twenty harque-buflers, and dispersd my people to others of their crew, commanding we should all divers ways be carried prisoners; and my selfe being gone two or three score paces from them,

Impreces Pollicis, jam Cafloris imploratae.
Pollux and Caflors aside,
When I had humble praise.

behold a fadain & unexpected alteration took them. I saw their Capitaine comming towards me, with a cheerful countenance & much milder speeches then before: carefully trudging vp and downright all the troops, to find out my goods againe, which as he found all starrd he forced every man to restore them vnto me, and even my boxe came to my handes again.

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To conclude, the most precious jewel they presented me, was my libertie; as for my other things, I cared not greatly at that time. What the true cause of so vnlook't for a change and so foidane an alteration was, without any apparant impulsion, and of so wonderful repentance, at such a time, in such an opportunitie and such an enterprize, fore-mediated, consulted and effect'd without contrololement, and which through custome and the impetue of times was now become lawfull, (for at the first brunt I planely confess'd, and genuinely told them what side I was of, where my way lay, and whether I was riding) I verily know not yet, nor can I give any reason for it. The chiefest amongst them vnmasked himselfe, told me his name and repeated diverse verses unto me, that I should acknowledge my deliverance to my countenance, to my boldneffe and constancie of speech, and be beholding to them for it, in somuch as they made me vnworthy of such a misfortune, and demanded assurancce of me for the like curtse. It may be, that the inscrutable goodneffe of God would vie this vaine instrument for my preservation: For, the next morrow it also shielded me from worse mischicke or embrocadoes, whereof themselves gently forewarned me. The left is yet living, able to report the whole successe himselfe; the other was slaine not long since. If my countenance had not answered for me, if the ingenuitie of mine inward intent might not plainly have beene decipher'd in mine eyes and voice, surely I could never have continued so long, without quarrells or offences; with this indifferente libertie, to speake freely (be it right or wrong) what ever commeth to my minde, and rashly to judge of things. This fashion may in some forse, (and that with reason) seeme vnccivil and ill accommodated to our custome maners: but outrageous or malicious, I could never meete with any, would so judge it, or that was ever dissatisfied at my libertie, if he received the fame from my mouth. Words reported againe have, as another found, so another sense. And to say true, I hate no body; And am so remisse to offend or flow to wrong any, that for the service of reason it selfe, I cannot doe it. And if occasions have at any time urged me in criminall condemnations to doe as others, I have rather beene content to be arraigned then to appeare. Ut magic pescariolom, quim fatis animis, ad vindices do peccato baneam. So as I had rather men should not offend, then that I should have courage enough to punish their offences. Some reporte, that Aristotle being vpbraied by some of his friends, that hee had beene over mercifull toward a wicked man: I have indeede (quoth he) beene mercifull toward the man, but not toward his wickedneffe. Ordinary judgements are exasperated into punishment by the horror of the crime. And that emmysldens me. The horror of the first murther, makes me care a second. And the vglisneffe of one crueltie, induceth me to detest all manner of imitation of it. To me, that am but a plaine fellow and see no higher then a cleepe, may that concerne, which was reported of Charillus King of Sparta: He cannot be good, since he is not bad to the wicked. Or thus; for Plutarche pretends it two wyues, as he doth a thousand other things diversly and contrary.  

The thirteenth Chapter.

Of Experience.

Here is no desire more natural, then that of knowledge. We attempt all means that may bring vs vnto it. When reason fails vs, we employ experience.

Per varias vsae artem experientia fecit:  
Exemplo monstrante viam.  
By diverse proofs experience arte hath bred,  
Whilft one by one the way examples led.

Which is a meane by much more, weake and vile. But truth is of so great conuenience, that wee ought not disdaine any induction, that may bring vs vnto it. Reason hath so many shapes,
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sho[wes], that wee know not which to take holde of: Experience hath as many. The consequence we seek to draw from the conference of events, is vnture, because they are ever dissemblable. No quality is so univerall in this surface of things, as variety and diverfitie. The Greekes, the Latines, and we for the most express examples of similitude, that of eggs. Some have nevertheless beene found, especially one in Deiphobus, that knew marks of difference betweene eggs, and never tooke one for another. And having dive[re] Hennes, could rightly judge which had laid the egg. Difsimilitude doth of itselfe infinuate into our worke, no arte can come neere vnto similitude. Neither Perozet nor any other cardes-maker can so industriously smooth or whiten the backside of his cardes, but some cunning gunfler will distinguishe them, onely by seeing some other player handle or fluffle them. Resemblance doth not so much make one, as difference maketh another. Nature hath bound her selfe to make nothing that should not be dissemblable. Yet doth not the opinion of that man greatly please me, that supposeth by the multitude of lawes, to curbe the authoritie of judges, in cutting out their morells. He perceived not, that there is as much libertie and extention in the interpretation of lawes, as in their fashion. And those but mocke themselves, who thinke to diminifh our debates and stay them, by calling vs to the express word of the sacred Bible. Because our spirit findeth not the field lefles spacious, to contrdle and checke the fende of others, then to represent his owne: And as if there were as little corage and sharpnesse to glofe as to invent. We see how farre he was deceived. For wee have in France more lawes then all the world besides yea more then were needful to governe all the worlds imagined by Epicurus: Vt alim flagratis, sic nuce legibus laboramus. As in times past we were fiale of offences, so now are we of lawes. And we have given our judges so large a scope to moote, to opinionate, to suppose and decide, that there was never so powerfull and intolerant a libertie. What have our law-makers gained with chusing a hundred thousand kinds of particular caufes, and adde as many lawes vnto them? That number hath no proportion, with the infinite diverfitie of humaine accidents. The multiplying of our inventions shall never come to the variation of examples. Add a hundred times as many vnto them, yet shall it not followe, that of events to come, there be any one found, that in all this infinite number of selected and enregistered events, shall meete with one, to which he may so exactly joyne and match it, but some circumstance and diverfitie will remaine, that may require a diverfe confideration of judgement. There is but little relation betweene our actions, that are in perpetuall mutation, and the fixed and vnmoveable lawes. The most to be defined, are the tareft, the simpleft and moft general. And yet I believe, it were better to have none at all, then so infinite a number as we have. Nature gives them ever more happy, then those we give ourselves. Winneffe the image of the golden age that Poets faine; and the flate wherein we fee diverfe nations to live, which have no other. Some there are, who to decide any controversy, that may arise amongst them, will chuse for judge the first man that by chance shall travell alongeth their mountains: Others, that upon a market day will name some one amongst themselves, who in the place without more wrangling shall determine all their questions. What danger would ensue, if the wiseft should do decide ours, according to occurrences and at first fight without being tide to examples and consequences? Let every foote bear his owne foote. Ferdinando King of Spaine sending certaine Collonies into the Indies, provided wifely, that no lawyers or Students of the lawes should be carried thither, for feare left controversies, futes or proceedes should people that new-found world. As a Science that of her owne nature engendreth alteration & division, judging with Pla­to, that Lawyers and Philosophers are an ill provision for any countre. Wherefore is it, that our common language so easie to be vnderstood in all other matters, becommeth so obscure, so hard and so hard to be vnderstand in law-cafes, bills, contracts, indentures, citations, wills and testamentes? And that he who so plainly exprefteth himselfe, what ever hee speake or write of any other subject, in law matters findes no manner of way to declare himselfe or his meaning, that admits not some doubt or contradiction? Unleffe it be, that the Princes of this state applying themselves with a particular attention, to invent and chuse strange, choife and folomne words, and frame artificiall cunning clauses, have so plodded and poiznd every fable; canvased and fifted fo exquisitely every feame and quiditie, that they are now fo entangled and fo confounded in the infinitie of figures and fo severall small partitions, that they can no more come within the compasse of any order, or prescription or certaine un­derstanding.
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derstanding. Confusion est quidquid visque in pulverem extum est. Whatsoever is pisced into very powder is confused.

Whoever hath feene Children, labouring to reduce a maffe of quicke-silver to a certaine number, the more they preisse and worke the same, and strive to force it to their will, so much more they provoke the libertine of that generous metal, which scorneth their arte, and stouteringly disperseth it selfe, beyond all imagination. Even so of lawyers, who in subdividing their luttelettes or quiddities, teach men to multiply doubts: and by extending & diversifying difficulties; they lengthen and amplify, they scatter and disperseth them. In lowing and retailing of questions, they make the World to fruitifie and abound in uncertainty, in quarrels, in furies and in controversies. As the ground the more it is crumbled, broken and deeply removed or grubbed vp, becommeth so much more fertile. Difficuletatem, facit dolrina. Learning breedes difficultie. Wee found many doubts in Ulpian, wee finde more in Bartolus and Baldu. The trace of this innumerable diversitie of opinions should never have beene vfed to adornne posteritie, and have it put in her head, but rather have beene vterlie razed out. I know not what to say to it: but this is feene by experience, that so many interpretations, dissipate and confound all truth. Aristote hath written to be vnderfoode: Which if he could not, much lesse shall another not so learned as he was; and a third, than he who treateth his owne imagination. We open the matter, and spill it in dispersing it.

Of one subject we make a thousand: And in multiplying and subdividing we fall againe into the infinitie of Epicurus his Atomes. It was never feene, that two men judged alike of one fame thing, and is impossible to see two opinions exactly semblable: not onely in divers men, but in any one fame man, at severall hours. I commonly find something to doubt-off, where the commentary happily never designed to touch, as deeming it so plaine. I stumble somtimes as much in an even smooth path as some horfes that I know, who ofter trip in a faire plaine way, than in a rough and fonomic. Who would not say, that glofses increase doubts and ignorance, since no booke is to feene, whether divine or profane, commonly read of al men, whose interpretation dimmes or tarnisht not the difficulties? The hundred commentatores fende to him his successor, more thornie and more crabbed, than the first found him. When agreed we amongst our selves, to say, this booke is perfect, there's now nothing to be saide against it. This is best seene in our French-peddling Law. Authority of Law is given to infinite Doctours, to infinite arreets, and to many more interpretations. Find we for all that any ende of neede of interpreters? Is there anie advancement or progress towards tranquility feene therein? Have we now lefse neede of Advocates and Judges, then when this huge maffe of Law was yet in his first infancy? Cleanse contrary, we oblige and bury understanding. We discove it no more, but at the mercie of many Courts, Bares, or Plea-benches. Men mistake the natural infirmite of their minde. She doth but quell and stirre, and unceasantly goeth turning, winding, building and entangling her selfe in her owne worke; as doe our filke-wormes, and therein slisse the hir selfe. Monse in pice. A Monse in pitch. He suppofeth to note a farre-off. I wot not what apparence of cleerteene and imaginarie truth; but whilste he runneth yno to it, so many lets and difficulties croffe his way, so manie empeachments and new questings start vp, that they stray loofe & be for fit. Not much otherwise than it fortuned to Ejob's Dogges, who farre-off discovering some flaw of a dead bodie to flote vpon the Sea, and being vnable to approch the same, vnder-tooke to drinke vp all the Water, thiat fo they might drine vp the pallasse; and were all shelleled. To which anwereth that, which one Crates faide of Heraclitus his compositions, that they needed a Reader, who should be a cunning swimmer, left the depth and weight of his learning shoulde drowne and swallow vp it. It is nothing but a particular weakenesse, that makes vs contented with that which others or wee our selves have found in this purlifie of knowledge. A more sufficient man will not be pleased therewith. There is place for a follower, ye and for our selves, and More waxes to the Wood than one. There is no ende in our inquisitions. Our end is in the other World. It is a signe his wits grow short, when hee is pleased; or a signe of weariness. No generous spirtue shayes and relies vpon himselfe. Hee ever pretender and goeth beyond his strengthe. He hath some vagaries beyond his efects. If he advance not himselfe, preffe, settle, thocke, tume, winde and front himselfe, he is but halfe alioe. His purlifie are termelesse and formelesse. His nourishment is admiration, quefting and ambiguities: Which Apollo declared sufficiently, always speaking ambiguously,
The third Book.

obscurely and obliquely vnto vs; not feeding, but busying and ammusing vs. It is an irregular uncertaine motion, perpetuall, patternelle and without end. His inventions enflame, follow and enterproduce one another.

Amphiain en un ruisseau coulant,
Sans fin, une eau, apres l'autre coulant,
Et tout de seare, d'un eternel conduite,
L'une fait l'autre, & l'une l'autre naît.

Par cette-cy, c'elle-li est pouffée,
Et cette-cy, par l'autre est devancée;
Toujours l'eau va dans l'eau, & toujours est ce
Mesme ruisseau, & toujours eau diversse.

As in a running river we behold
How one Wave after th'other still is cold,
And all along it doeth endless rise,
Th'one th'other followes, th'one from th'other flies.

By this Wave, that is driv'n, and this againe,
By th'other is set forward all amaine.

Water in Water still, one river still,
Yet diverse Waters still that river still.

There's more adoe to interprete interpretations, than to interprete things: and more bookes vpon bookes, then vpon any other subject. We doe but enter-glose our selves. All swarthem with commentaries: Of Authors, their is great penurie. Is not the chiefest and most famous knowledge of our ages, to knowe how to vnderstand the wife? Is it not the common and last scope of our study? Our opinions are grafted one vpon an other. The first severeth as a flocke to the second, the second to the third. Thus we ascend from steppe to steppe. Whence it followeth, that the highest-mounted hath often more honour, than merite. For, he is got-uppe but one inch above the shouluders of the last save one. How often and peradventure foolishly, have I enlarged my Booke to speake of himselfe? Foolish-
lyseit were but for this reason: That I should have remembred, that what I speake of otheres, they doe the like of me. That those so frequent glances on their worke, winne their hart fhivereath with their love they beare them; and that the difdaintfull churthifhne where-with they beate them, are but mignardizes and affections of a motherly favour. Following Ariftotle, in whom, both efteeming and dif-esteeming himselfe, arife often of an equall aire of arroganece. For mine excuse: That in this I sought to have more libertie than otheres, forsomuch as of purpose, I write both of my selfe and of my writings, as of my other actions: that my theame doth turne into it selfe: I wot not whether every man will take it. I have seene in Germanie, that Luther hath left as many divisions and alterations, concerning the doubt of his opinions, yea and more, than himselfe mooveth about the Holy Scriptures. Our contetuation is verball. I demand what Nature, voluptuousiffe, circle and substitution is? The queftion is of words, and with words it is answered. A stone is a bodie but he that should infift and vrgue; And what is a body? A substance: And what a substance? And so goe-on: Should at last bring the respondent to his Calepine or wittes end. One word is changed for another word, and often more vnowne. I know better what Homo, is then I know what Animallis, either mortall or reasonable. To answere one doubt, they give me there: It is Hicrates head. 

Socrates demanded of Memnon what vterue was; There is answered Memnon, the vterue of a Man, of a Woman, of a Magistrate, of a private Man, of a Childe, and of an olde Man: What vterue meanes you? Yea mary, this is very well, quoth Socrates, we were in search of one vterue, and thou bringest mee a whole swarme. We propose one queftion, and we have a whole huddle of them made vnto vs againe. As every vent or forme doth wholly refemble another, so doth it not altogether differ one from another. Of ingenious mixture of Nature. If our faces were not like, we could not diffound one man from a beast: If they were not unlike, we could not distingishe one man from another man. All things hold by some fimilitude: Every example limpheth. And the relation, which is drawnne from experience, is ever defective and imperfect. Comparisones are neverthelesse joyned together by some end. So serve the Lawes, and so are they forset and fitted to all owrs lustes or affaires, by some wire-drawne, forced and colaterall interpretation. Since the morall Lawes, which
which respect the particular duty of every man in himself, are so hard to be taught and observed, as we fee they are: It is no wonder, if those which govern so many particulars, are more hard. Consider the forms of this Lawe, by which we are ruled: It is a lively testimonie of humane imbecilities, so much contradiction and so many errors are therein contained. That which we think favour or rigour in Law (wherein is so much of either, that I know not whether we shall so often find indifferencie in them, are crazed-infected parts & unjust members of the very body and essence of Lawe. Certaine poore Country-men came even now to tell me in great hate, but that now in a forest of mine, they have left a man wounded to death, with a hundred hurts about him, yet breathing, and who for Gods sake hath begg'd a little water and some help to raise himselfe at their hands. But that they durst not come near him and ran all away, for feare some officers belonging to the Law should meete and catch them; and as they doe with such as they find neere unto a murthered body, so they should be compelled to give an account of this mischance, to their verr vnlooking, having neither friends nor money to defend their innocencie. What should I have said unto them? It is most certaine, that this Office of humanitie had brought them to much trouble. How many innocent and guilt-lesse men have wee seen punished? I say without the Judges fault, and how many more that were never discovered? This hath hapned in my time. Certaine men are condemned to death for a murther committed; the sentence, if not pronounced, at least concluded and determined. This done, the Judges are advertised by the Officers of a Sub-alternall Court, not far off, that they have certaine prisoners in hold, that have directly confess'd the foresaid murther, and thereof bring most evident marks and tokens. The question and consultation is now in the former Court, whether for all this, they might interrupt, or should deferre the execution of the sentence pronounced against the first. They consider: the novelty of the example and consequence thereof, and how to reconcile the judgement. They conclude, that the condemnation hath past according vern to Lawe, and therefore the Judges are not subject to repentance. To be short, these miserable Wretches are consecrated to the prescritions of the Law. Philip, or some other, provided for such an inconuenience in this manner. He had by an irrevaluable sentence condemned one to pay an other a round summe of money for a fine. A while after, the truth being discovered, it was found, he had wrongfully condemned him. On one side was the right of the cause, on the other the right of judiciarie forms. Hee in some forr tisfied both parties, sufferinge the sentence to stand in full power: and with his owne purse recompened the intirel of the condemned. But hee was to deal with a reparable accident, my poore slaves were hanged irreparably. How many condemnationes have I seene more criminal, than the crime it selfe? All this putteth me in minde of those ancient opinions: That He who will doe right ingrate, must needs doe wrong by retale; and mensly in small things, will come to doe injustice in great matters. That humane justice is framed according to the model of phisick, according to which, whatsoever is profitable is also just and honest: And of that the Stoicke holds, that Nature her selfe in most of her workes, procedeth against justice: And of that the Cyrenaikes hold, that there is nothing just of it selfe: That custome and lawes frame justice. And the Theoradians, who in a wise man allow as just, all manner of theft, sacrilege and paillardise, so he thinkes it profitable for him. There is no remedy: I am in that case, as Aristobates was, and if I can otherwise chuse, will never put my selfe vnto a man that shall determine of my head; or consent that my honour or life, shall depend on the induftrie or care of mine auntries, more then on mine innocencie. I could willingly adventure my selfe, and stand to that Lawe, that should as well recompence me for a good deed, as punish me for a mis-deed: and where I might have as just cause to hope, as reason to fear. Indemnity is no sufficient come for him, who doeth better than not to trespass. Our Law pretends vs but one of his hands, and that is her left hand. Who except goes to Law, doth in the end but lose by it. In China, the policie, arts and government of which kygdome, having neither knowledge or commerce with ours, exceede our examples in divers partes of excellency, and whose Histories teach me, how much more ample and diverse the World is, than either we or our forefathers, could ever enter into. The Officers appointed by the Prince to visit the state of his Provinces, as they punish such as abuse their charge, so with great liberality they reward such as have uprightly and honestly behaved themselves in them, or have done any thing more then ordinarie, and besides the necessitie of their duty: There, all pre

H h h 3
The third Booke.

Propr. 1. 3. el. 4. 26.

Quod Deus hunc mundi temperet arte domum,
Qua venit exorien, qua deficit, unde contibus
Cornibus in plenum, mens tyrannis umbitis.
Unde sola superant ventum flammis caput
Enrus, et in rubus unde perennis aqua.
Sit ventura dies mundi qua subruat arces,
This worlds great house by what arse God doeth guide.
From whence the mettely Moone doth riding ride,
How wane, how with clos'd horses returne to pride.
How windes on seas beare sway, what the Eastern windes
Would have, how still in clowdes we water finde;
If this worldes Towres to rafe a day be signe.
Querit quos agitas mundi labor:
All this doe you enquire
Whom this worldes travails tyr.

In this unversallitie I suffer my selfe ignorantly and negligently to be managed by the general law of the world. I shall sufficiently know it, when I shall feele it. My learning cannot make her change her couerse: she will not diversifie her selfe for me; it were folly to hope it: And greater folly for a man to trouble himselfe about it; since it is necesseary seemblable, publike and common. The governours-capacitie and goodnes, should throughly discharge vs of the governours care. Philosophical inquisitions and contemplations serve but as a nourishment vnto our curiositie. With great reason doe Philosophers adire vs vnto natures rules: But they have nought to do with so sublime a knowledge: They satisfie them, and present her to vs with a painted face, too-high in colour and overmuch sophified; whence arize to many different pourtraits of so vniforme a subject. As the hath given vs feete to goe withall, so hath she endowed vs with wisedome to direct our life. A wisedome
done not so ingenious, flurrie and pompous, as that of their invention, but yet safe, quiet and salutarie. And that in him who hath the hap to know how to employ it orderly and sincerely, effectueth very well what the other faitheth: that is to say naturally. For a man to commit himselfe most simply vnto nature, is to doe it most wisely. Ob how soft, how gentle, and how sound a plume is ignorance and incertitude to rest a well composed head upon! I had rather understand my selfe well in my selfe, then in Ciceron. Out of the experience I have of my selfe, I finde sufficient ground to make my selfe wise, were I but a good proficient scholler. Whoeuer shall commit to memone the excessive or inconvenience of his rage or anger paff, and how farre that fit transported him, may see the deformitie of that passion, better then in Aristotle, and conceive a more just hatred against it. Whoeuer calleth to minde the dangers he hath escaped, those which have threatened him, and the light occasions that have removed him from one to another state, both thereby the better prepare himselfe to future alterations, and knowledge of his condition. Cefar life hath no more examples for vs, then our owne. Both imperially and popular, it is ever a life that all humane accidents regard. Let us but give care vnto it, we recorde all that to vs, that we principally stand in neede of. He that shall call to minde how often and how severall times hee hath beene deceived, and mis-accomplish his owne judgement is hee not a simple gull; if hee doe not for ever afterward distrust the fame? When by others reason, I finde my selfe convicted of a false opinion, I learn not so much, what new thing he hath told me; and this particular ignorance, which were but a small purchase, as in generall I learn mine owne imbecitude and weakness; and the reason of my undersetling: whence I draw the reformation of all the maffe. The like I doe in all my other errors; by which rule I apprehend and feele great profit for, and vnto my life. I regard not the species or individuum, as a stone whereon I have stumbled. I learne every where to feare my going, and endeavour to order the fame. To learne that another hath either spoken a foolish jest, or committed a foolish act, is a thing of nothing. A man must learne, that he is but a foole: A much more ample and important instruction. The false steps my memory hath so often put upon me, at what time the flood most vpon her selfe, have not idly beene lost: the may sweare and warrant me long enough; I make mine ears at her: the first opposition made in witness of her, makes me suspect. And I durst not trust her in a matter of confection; nor warrant her, touching others affaires. And were it not, that I doe for want of memorie, others more often doe the same for lacke of faith, I would ever in a matter of fact rather take the truth from another mouth, then from mine owne. Would every man trie into the effects and circumstances of the passions that sway him, as I have done of that whereunto I was alloted; hee should fee them comming; and would somewhat hinder their course and abate their impetuositie: They doe not always surprize and take hold of vs at the first brunt, there are certaine foreswearings and degrees as forerunners.

Fluctus uti primi oepis cum abhesere ponto,
Pauitas sese tollit mare, & altius vndas
Errusi, inde smo confugit ad alhrea:ando,
As when at sea, flood is first in whiteneffe rise,
Sea surgeth hastily, and then higher plies
In waves, then from the ground mounts vp to skies.

Judgement holds in me a presidientall feate, at least hee carefully endeavours to hold it: He suffers my appetites to keep their course: both hatred and love, yea & that I bear unto my selfe, without feeling alteration or corruption. If he can not reforme other parts according to himselfe, at least he will not be deformed by them: he keepes his court apart. That warning lesson given to all men, To knowe themselves, must necessarily be of important effect, since that God of wifedome, knowledge and light, caufed the fame to be fixt on the frontispice of his temple: as containing whatsoever he was to counsell vs. Plato faith alle, that wifedome is nothing but the execution of that ordinance: And Socrate doth distinctely vnderstand the fame in Xenophon. Difficulties and obfcuritie are not perceived in every science, but by such as have entrance into them: For, some degree of intelligence is required, to be able to marke that one is ignorant: and wee must knocke at a gate, to knowe whether it be shuttle. Whence enueth this Platonicall subtletie, that neither those which knowe have no further to enquire, forso much as they knowe already: nor they that knowe not, because to enquire, it is necessary.
necessary they know what they enquire after. Even so in this, for a man to know himself: that every man is scene to resolute and satisifed, and thinks himself sufficiently instruted or skillful, doth plainly signifie that no man understandes any thing, as Socrates teacheth Enquiry. My selfe, who profess thee nothing else, finde therein to bottomleffe a deepth, and in- nit a varietie, that my apprentice hath no other fruit, than to make me perceive how much more there remaineth for me to leame. To mine owne weakness goe oft acknowledged, I owe this inclination which I heare into modelles; to the obedience of belifes prescribed into a constant coldenesse and moderation of opinions; and hatred of this importunate and quarellous arrogancy, wholly believing and truffling it selfe, a capitall enemie to discipline and verite. Doe but heare them swayne and talke. The first fopperies they pro- pose, are in the fille, that Religions and Lawes are composed in. Nihilo surripui quam cog- nitionis &- preceptionis, affectiorum approbationem, praecurrere. Nothing is more absurd, than that avouching and allowance should runne before knowledge and precepts. Aristarchus saide, that in ancient times, there were scarce seven wise men found in the world; and in his time, hardly se- ven ignorant. Have not we more reason to lay it in our dayes, than he had? Affirmation or felloe-concert, are manifest signs of foolishnesse. Some one, who a hundred times a day hath had the canvase and beene made a flake coxcombe, shal notwithstanding be seene to stand vp- on his Ergoes, and as presumptuously-resolute as before. You would say, he hath since form minde and vigor of understanding infused into him. And that it besides him, as to that ancient childe of the Earth, who by his falling to the ground and touching his Mother, still gathered new strength and fresh courage.

Eic. Acad. qua. lib. 3 "Cui cum tetigere parentem,
Iam defetla viginti removato robore membra.
Whose falling lumnes with strength renew'd regrow,
When they once touch his mother Earth below,

Doth not this indolce, blocke-headed affe, thinke to reinsame a new spiritue, by under- taking a new disputacion? It is by my experience I accuse humane ignorance, which (in mine opinion) is the first part of the Worldes spoole. Those that will not conclude it in themselves, by so vaine an example as mine, or theires, let them acknowledge it by So- crates, the Master of Maiters. For the Philosopher Antisthenes, was wont to say to his Disciples: Come on my Maiters, let you and me goe to heare Socrates. There shall I be a fellow Disciple with you. And upholding this Doctrine, of the Stoickes Secund, that only every- one sufficeth to make a life absolutely happy; and having no need of any thing, but of Socrates his force & resolution, he added moreover: This long attention, I employe in considering my selfe enableth me also to judge indifferently of others: And there are few things whereof I speake more happily and executably. It oftentimes mee to seee and distinguish more exactly the conditions of my friends, than themselves do. I have attomend some by the pettinente of mine owne description, and have warned him of himselfe. Because I have from mine infancy enured my selfe to view mine owne life in others lives; I have thereby acquired a stidious complexion therein. And when I think on it, I suffer few things to escape about me, that may in any fort fit the same, whether countenances, humour or discourses. I stidiously confider all I am to eschew and all I ought to follow. So by my friends productions I discover their inward inclinations. Not to marshall or range this infinite varietie of so divers and so disfraoted actions to certaine Genders or Chapters, and disfinently to distibute my parcels and divisions into forms and knowne regions.

Sed neque quam multis species, & nomina quae sunt,
Est numeros.
But nor how many kindes, nor what their names:
There is a number of them (and their frames.)

The wiser fort speake and declare their fanies more specially and disfinently: But I, who have no further infight then I get from commonwe vs, without rule or methode, generally present mine owne, but gropingly. As in this: I pronounce my sentence by articles, loose and disjoynted: it is a thing cannot be spoken at once and at full. Relation and conformity are not easily found in such saffe and common minde as ours. Wisedome is a solide and com- plete frame, every severall piece whereof keepeth his due place, and beareth his marke. So- fa septemvis in secunda centuria nisi. Only wisedome is wholly turned into selfe. I leave it to Ar- till,
The third Booke.

gifts, and I wot not whether in a matter so confused, so severall and so casuall, they shall come to an end, to range into sides, this infinite diversitie of vilages, and settle our inconstancie and place it in order. I do not onely finde it difficult to combine our actions one vnto another, but take every one aparte, it is hard, by any princippall qualitie to designe the same properly: so double, so ambiguious and parte-coloured are they to diverse matters. Which in PERSIA the Macedonian King was noted for a rare matter, that his spirit fasting it selfe to no kinde of condition, went wandering through every kinde of life: and representmg so new-fanged and gadding maners, that he was neither knoune of himselfe nor of others, what kinde of man hee was: me thinkes may well-nigh agree and sute with all the world. And above all, I have feene some other of his coate or humour, to whom (as I suppose) this conclusion might also more properly be applie. No state of mediocrity being ever transporttg from one extreme to another, by indivinable occasions: no maner of course without crosse, and strange contrarieties: no facultie simple: so that the likelyest a man may one day conclude of him, shal be, that he affected and laboured to make himselfe knoune, by being not to be knoune. A man had neede of long-sough cares, to heare himselfe freely imag'd. And because there be few that can endure to heare it without weting: those which advenrure to vndertake it with vs, shew vs a singular effect of true friendship. For, that is a true perfectly love, which, to profit and doe good, feareth not to hurt or offend. I deeme it aburde, to censure him, in whom bad qualities exceede good conditions. Plate requireth three parts in him that will examine another: Learning, goodwill, and boldness. I was once demanded, what I would have thought my selfe fit-for, had any beene disposed to make vs of me, when my yeares would have fitted service:

Dum metter aegres sungus damat, emulti seendums
Temporibus geminis maxebat sparsa fenectus,
While better blood gave stregthen, nor envious old yeares
Orelade with wrenckled temples grew to hoarie hairs.

I answered, for nothing. And I willingly excuse my selfe that I can doe nothing which may entertain me to others. But had my fortune made me a servaunt, I would have told my master all truth: and he to willd-it, controled his maners: Not in grose, by ecocallical effons, which I cannot doe, besides, I see no true reformation to ensue in such as know them: but faire and softly and with every opportunitie oberserving them: and simply and naturally judging them distinffy by the eye. Making him directly to percewe, how and in what degree he is in the common opinion; oppressing my selfe against his flatteryers and fycophants. There is none of vs, but would be worse then Kings, if as they are, we were continually corrupted with that raecally kinde of them. But what? if Alexander that mightie King and great Philosopher, could not beware of them? I should have had sufficient fidelitie, judgement and libertie for that. It would be a namelesse office, otherwise it shal loose both effect and graces: And is a part, which cannot indifferentely belong to all. For, trutb it selfe, hath not the privilege to be employed at all times, and in every kinde: Be her vs never so noble, it hath his circumprations and limities. It often commeth to passe, the world flanding as it doth, that trutb is whispered into Princes eares, not onely without fruit, but hurtfull and therewithall vnjustly. And no man shall make me believe, but that an hallowed admonition may be vicuously applied, and abusively employed: and that the interest of the substance shalnot some times yeld to the interest of the forme. For such a purpose and mylerie I would have vnreparing man and one contented with his owne fortune,

Quod sit, effe velit, nihilique maest:
Willing to be as him you see,
Or rather nothing else to bee:

and borne of meane degree: Forsoomuch as on the one side, hee should not have cause to feare, lively and nercely to touch his masters heart, thereby not to loose the couerse of his prefermense And on the other side, being of a low condition, he shoule have more easie communication with all forst of people. Which I would have in one man alone: for, to employ the privilege of such libertie and familiariete vnto many, would beget an hurtful irrevence. Yea, and of that man, I would above all things require trutie and affured silencce. A King is not to be credited, when for his glorie, he boasteth of his constancie, in atteding his enemies enconter: if for his good amendment and profitt, hee cannot endure the libertie of his friends words, which
which have no other working power, then to pinch his learning: the rest of their effect remaining in his own hands. Now, there is not any condition of men, that hath more neede of true, sincerely free and open-hearted alms and entertainments, then Princes. They undergoe a publike life, and must applaud the opinion of many spectators, that if they be once assured, to have that concealed from them, which diverteth them from their course, they at vnawares and insensibly finde themselves deeply engaged in the hatred and detestation of their subject; many times for occasions, which had they been forewarned, and in time gently reform'd, they might no doubt have efchewed, to no interset or prejudice of their private delights. Favoritism commonly resell themselves more then their masters. And surely it toucheth their free-hold, forso much as in good truth, the greatest part of true friendships offices, are towards their sovereign in a crabb'd and dangerous Essay. So that, there is not one only, required much affection and libertie, but also an undaunted courage. To conclude, all this gallant manner which I huddle-up here, is but a register of my lives-Essays: which in regard of the internal health are sufficiently exemplar to take the instruction against the haire. But concerning bodily health, no man is able to bring more profitable experience, than my selfe, who pretent the same pure, sincere, and in no sorte corrupted or altered, either by arte or false will'd opinion. Experience in her owne precinct may justly be compared to Phisick, unto which, reason giveth place. Tiberius was wont to say, that whatsoever had lived twenty years, should be able to answer himselfe of all such things as were either wholesome or hurtful for him, and knew how to live and order his body without Phisick. Which her peradventure had learned of Socrates, who industriously advising his discipes (as a studie of chief e consequence), to study their health, told them moreover, that it was very hard, if a man of understandings, heedfully observing his exercises, his eating and drinking, should not better then any Phisition discourse and distinguish such things as were either good or bad or indifferent for him. Yet doth Phisicke make open profession always to have experience for the touch-stone of her operation. And Plato had reason to say, that to be a good Phisition, it were requisite, that he should undertake that profession, had past through all such diseases as he will adventure to cure, and knowe or feate all the accidents and circumstances he is to judge of. It is reason, themselves should first have the pox, if they will know how to cure them in others. I should surely truft such a one better then any elfe. Others but guide vs, as one who sitting in his chaire paints seas, rocks, shelves and havens upon a boarde, and makes the modell of a tale ship to fail in all safetie: But put him to it in earnest, he knowes not what to doe, nor where to beginne. They make even such a description of our infirmities as doth a townie-crier, who crieth a loft horse or dog, and describeth his haire, his stature, his cares, with other marks and tokens, but bring either vs to him, he knowes him not. Oh God, that phisicke would one day affoord me some good and perceptible help, how earnestly would I exclaime.

*Tandem efficaci* 

*De manus scientia.*

I yeeld, I yeeld at length,
To knowledge of chief e strength.

The Artes that promise to keepe our body and minde in good health, promise much vnty to vs; but therewithall there is none perfect or leste what they promise. And in our dayes, such as make profession of these Artes amongst vs, doe leste them all others shew their effects. The most be faide of them, is, that they sell medicinable drugs; but that they are Phisitions, no man can truly say it. I have lived long enough, to yeeld an account of the vantage that hath bringt me to this day. If any be disposed to taste of it, as his taster I have given him an allay. Looke here some articles, digested, as memorie thall fore me with them. I have no fashion, but hath varied according to accidents: I only register those I have most beene acquainted with; and heereto poufle me moft. My forme of life is everalike, both in sickenesse and in health: one same bed, the same hours, the same mates, the same drinkes doe serve me. I adde nothing to them but the moderation of more or leffe, according to my strength or appetite. My health is to keepe my accustomed estate free from care and trouble. I see that sickenesse doth on the one side in some sort divert me from it, and if I believe Phisitions, they on the other side wilt turne me from it. So that both by fortune and by arte I am cleane out of my right bias. I believe nothing more certainly then this; that I cannot be offended by the vfe of things, which I have so long accustomed. It is in the hands of custom to give our life what forme it pleaseth: in that it can doe all in all. It is the drinke
drinke of Circe, diversifieth our nature as she thinkes good. How many nations neere-bodering vpon vs imagine the feare of the serene or night-calm to be but a jell, which to apparently doth blight and hurt vs, and whereof our Mariners our watermen, and our countriemen make but a laughing-flocke? You make a Germane sicke, if you lay him vpon a matteras, as you distemper an Italian vpon a fatherbed, and a Frenchman to lay him in a bed without curtained, or lodge him in a chamber without a fire. A Spaniard can not well brooke to feeds after our fashion, nor we endure to drinke as the Swizzers. A Germane pleased me well at Augusta to raile on the incommodeitie of our chimneys, vying the fame reasons or arguments, that we ordinarily impoy in condemning their stoves. For, to say truth, the fame clofe-smothered heat, and the finell of that oft-heated matter, whereof they are compos'd, fumeth in the heads of such as are not accustomt unto them, nor so with me. But on the other fide, that heat being equally dispersd, constant and univerall, without flame or blazing, without smoake, and without that winde which the tollens of our chimneys bring vs, may many ways be compared vnto ours. Why doe we not imitate the Romanes architecture?

It is reported that in auncient times they made no fire in their houses, but without and at the fooe of them: Whence by tollens, which were convoide through their thickeft walls, and contrived neere and about all fuch places as they would have warmt; So that the heat was convoyed into every part of the house. Which I have feene manifeftly described in fome place of Seneca, though I can not well remember where. This Germane, hearing mee commend the beauties and commodities of his City (which truely deserfeth great commendation) beganne to pitty mee, because I was shortly to goe from it. And the fift in-convenience he urged mee withall, was the heaundine in the head, which Chimneys in other places would caufe mee. Hee had heard fome other bodie complaine of it, and therefore alledged the fame againft mee, beeing wont by custome to perceive it in such as came to him. All heate comming from fire dooth weaken and dull mee: Yet saide E•vens, that fire was the bell office of life. I rather allow and embrace any other manner or way to escape cold. We feare our Winters when they are lowe; whereas in Portugal, the fume ofit is counted delicious, and is the drinke of Princes. To conclude, each feveral Nation hath divers customes, fathions and viages; which, to fome others, are not onlue vnknowne and strange, but Savage, barbarous and wondrous. What shall we doe vnto that people, that will admit no winder, except printed; that will not believe men, if not printed in Booke, nor crediue truth, vnlesse it be of competent age? Wee dignifie our fopperies, when we put them to the preffe. It is another manner of weight for him, to lay, I have feene it; then if you say, I have heard it reported. But I, who mil-believe no more the mouth, than the hand of men; and know that men write as indifferently, as they speake vnadvisedly, and efleeme of this present age, as of another paft; alledge as willingly a friend of mine, as Antis Gellius or Macrobins, and what my felfe have feene, as that they have written. And as they accumpt vertue to be nothing greater by being longer, so deeme I truth to be nothing wiuer by being more aged. I often say it is mere folly that makes vs runne after strange and scholafical examples. The fertileit of them is now equall vnto that of Homer and Platonis times. But is it not, that we rather feke the honour of allegations, than the truth of discourses? As if it were more to borrow our prooves from out the shoppe of Utofane or Plantin, than from that, we daily fee in our village. Or verry, that we have not the witte to blanch, to fift-out or make that to preval, which puffeth before vs, and forcibly judge ofit, to draw the fame into example. For, if we say, that authority faileth vs; to add credit unto our testimonie, we speake from the purpose. For so much as in my conceit, could we but find out their true light, Natures greatest myracles and the most wonderfull examples, namely on the subject of humane actions, may be drawne and formed from most ordinarie, most common and most knowne things. Now concerning my subjeft, omitting the examples I know by booke; And that which Aristotle speakeith of Andron of Argos, that hee would travell all over the forching fands of Lybya, without drinking: A Gentleman, who hath worthily acquitted himselfe of many honourable charges, reported where I was, that in the parching heat of Summer, he had travelled from Madril to Lifbone, without ever drinking. His age repcctt, he is in very good and healthie plught, and hath nothing extraordinarie in the course or custome of his life, saving (as himselfe hath told me,) that hee can verie
The third Booke.

well continue two or three months; yea a whole yeere, without any manner of beverage. He sometymes finds himselfe thinly, but let's it passe; and holds, that it is an appetite, which will easily and of itself languish away: and if he drink at any time, it is more for a caprice or humor, than for any need or pleasure. Loc here one of another key. It is not long since, that I found one of the wifeft men of France, (among those oftyme meaned fortune) studying hard in the corner of a great Hall, which for that purpose was hang about with tapstrife, and round about him a disordered rable of his servaunts, grooms and lackeys: prating, playing and hooting: who told me (as Seneca in a manner faith of himselfe) that hee learn'd and profited much by that hurly-burly or tintimare: as if beaten with that confused noise, he did so much the better recall and clofe himselfe into himselfe, for serious contemplation; and that the said tempestuous rumours did strike and repercusse his thoughts inward. Whilft he was a scholler in Padoon, his study was ever placed to neere the jangling of bells, the rating of coaches and rumbling tumults of the market place, that for the service of his studie, he was faine, not onely to frame and enure himselfe to contemne, but to make good vfe of that turbulent noife. Socrates toldwer Alcibiades, who wondered how he could endure the continual tittle-tattle and vveeffant foulding of his Wife: even as those who are accustomed to heare the ordinary creaking of the squeaking wheels of whees. My felle am clean contrary, for I have a tender braine, and eafe to take triuife in the noife, or to bee transported. If my minde be buife alone, the leaf flirring, ye the buzzing of a flie doth trouble and dittemper the fame. Seneca in his youth, having ernestly vnertaken to follow the example of Sextus, to feeke on nothing, that were taken dead: could with pleasure (as himselfe avertereth) live fo a whole yeere. And left it, onely because hee would not be suspected to borrow this rule from some new religions, that institutted the fame. He therswithal followed some preceptes of Attalus, not to lie upon any kinde of carpets or beddies that would yeeld vnder one; and vnill he grew very aged, he never vfed but such as were very hard and vn-yielding to the body. What the cultome of his dyes maketh his accoumpt rudennesse, ours makes vs efteeme wantonnesse. Behold the difference betweene my varlets life and mine: The Indians have nothing further from my forme and strength. Well I wot, that I have heretofore taken boyes from begging, and that went roaunging vp and downe, to ferue me; hoping to doe some good vpon them, who have within a little while after left me, my fare and my livery, onely that they might without controule or checke follow their former idle bytting life. One of which I found not long since gathering of muskies in a common fincke, for his dinner; whom (doe what I could) I was never able, neither with entreatie to reclame, nor by threatening to withdrawe, from the sweetennesse he found in want, and delight he felt in roaunging lazinesse. Even vagabonding roagues, as well as rich men, have their magnificences and voluptuousness, and (as some lay) their dignities, preheminences and politike orders. They are effects of cultome and vfe; and what is bred in the bone, will never out of the fele. Both which have power to enuere and fashion vs, not onely to what forme they please (therefore, say the wife, ought we to be addressed to the bed, and it will immediately seeme eafie vnto vs) but alfo to change and variation: Which is the nobleft and most profitable of their apprentizes. The bed of my corporall complexions, is, that I am fleefe and little opiniative. I have certaine inclinations, more proper and ordinarie, and more pleasing than others. But with small adoe and without compulsion, I can eafie leave them and embrace the contrarie. A yong man should trouble his rules, to ftirre-vp his vigour, and take heed he suffer not the same to grow faint, fluggish or reafie: For, there is no course of life so weake and fortith, as that which is manag'd by Order, Methode and Discipline.

If he beleue me, he shall often give himselfe vnto all manner of excesse: otherwise the leafl disorder will vitally overthrowe him, and make him vnfit and vnwelcome in all con

verations.
The third Booke.

vations. The most contrary quality in an honest man, is nice-delicatenesse, and to be tied to one certaine particular fashion. It is particular, if it be not fipple and pliable. It is a kind of reproch, through impudence not to doe or not to dare, what one feeth his other companions doe or dare. Let such men keepe their kitchen. It is indecent in all other men, but vicious and intolerable in one professing Armes: who (as Philopamen saide) fould fashion himselfe to all manner of inequality and diversitie of life. Although I have (as much as might be) beene enured to libertie and fashioned to indifferency yet in growing aged, I have through carelesnesse relaid more upon certaine forms, (my age is now exempted from institution, & hath not anie thing else to looke vnto, but to maintain it selfe) which cuftome hath already, without thinking on it, in certaine things so well imprinted her character in me, that I demean it a kind of exceffe to leavethem. And without long practife, I can neither sleepe by day; nor eate betwixt meales nor breake my fast; nor goe to bed without some entertainment (as of three hours after supper) nor get children, but before I fall asleep, and that never standing; nor beare mine owne sweate; nor quench my thirst, either with cleere water or wine alone; nor continue long bare-headed; nor have mine haire cut after dinner. And I could as hardly (pare my gloves as my firt: or forbear washing of my hands, both in the morning and rining from the table; or lie in bed without a fettene and curtaines about it, as of most necessarie things: I could dine without a table-cloth, but hardly without a cleane napkin, as Germans commonly doe. I foule and fully them more than either they or the Italians: and I seldom eate either spoone or forke. I am forie we follow not a cuftome, which according to the example of Kings: I have scene beginne by some; that upon every course or change of diete, as we have shift of cleane trenchers, so we might have change of cleane napkins. We reade that that laborious fouldier Marius, growing olde, grew more nicely-delicat in his drinking, and would taffe no drinke, except in a peculliar cuppe of his. As for me, I observe a kinde oflike method in glaflses, and of one certaine forme, and drinke not willingly in a common-glaflse: no more than of one ordinary hand: I mislike all manner of mctall in regard of a bright transparent matter: let mine eyes also have a taste of what I drinke according to their capacitie. I am beholding to cuftome for many fuch nicenesse and singularities. Nature hath alfo on the other side bestowed this vpon me, that I can not well breake two fowr meales in one day, without furcharging my stomacke; nor the meere abfencenc of one, without filling my felfe with winde, drying my mouth and dulling my appetite: And to find great offence by a long serene or night-calme. For some yeeres linke, in the out-roads or night-services that happen in the times of warres, which many times continue all night, five or fixe hours after my stomacke begins to qualme, my head feeleth a violent aking, fo that I can hardly hold out till morning without vomitinge. When others goe to sleepe, I goe to sleepe: and within a while after I shall be as fresh and jolly as before. I ever thought that the serene never fell, but in the futtering in of night, but having in these latter yeeres long time frequented very familiarily the converfation of a Gentleman, posfified with this opinion, that it is more harpe and dangerous about the declination of the Sunne, an hour or two before it fett, which he carefully echeweth, and desipeth that which falleth at night; he hath gone about to perfwade and imprint into me, not onely his discourse but alfo his conceit. What if the very doubt and inquietude, woundeth our imagination and changeth us? Such as alfogether yealde to these bendings, drawe the whole mine upon thelves. And I beware of the Gentlemen, who being joong and in perfect health, have by the ignora founfines of their Phifionys brought themselves into conumptions and other lingering diseafls; and as it were into Physike fetters. Were it not much better to be troubled with a rheume, than for ever through disfute with it, in an action of fo great fervice and conquence, loose the commerce and converfation of common life? Oh yekefome learning! Oh Science full of molestation! that waffeth vs the sweeteft hours of the day. Let vs extend our posifion vnto the vmoft means. A man fhall at lafte, in oppinionting himfelf, harden and ensure himfelfe for it, and to correct his complexion: as did Cafar the falling ficknesse,with containing and corrupting the fame. A man should apply himfelfe to the belt rules, but not subiect himfelfe vnto them: except to such (if any there be) that dute and charitable vnto them, be profitable. Both Kings and Philosophers obey nature, and go to the floole, and fo doe Ladies: Publike lives are due unto ceremone; mine which is obscure and priate, enjoyeth all natural dispensations. To be a Souledier and a Gauyne,are qualities one...
what subject to indirection. And I am both. Therefore will I say thus much of this action; that it is requisite we should renit the same unto certaine preferred night-hours; and by custome (as I have done) force and subject our selves unto: But not (as I have done) growing in yeeres, strictly tie him selfe, to the care of a particular convenient place, and of a commodious Axov or easie close-roole for that purpose: & make it troublesome with long sitting and nice observation. Nevertheless in house keep matters and fowle offices, is it not in some forte excutable, to require more care and deanliness? Naturâ hominum & eorum animal est. By nature man is a cleanly and neat creature.

Of all natural actions, there is none wherein I am more loath to be troubled or interrupted, when I am at it. I have seen divers great men and fouldiers, much troubled and vexed with their bellies vnstate and disorder, when at vnseasonable hours it calleth upon them; whilst mine and my selfe never mislike to call one upon another at our appointment: which is, as soone as I get out of my bed, except some virgin buffines or violent sickness trouble mee. Therefore (as I said) I judge no place where sick men may better beate themselves in security, then quietly and whilist to holde themselves in that course of life, wherein they have beene bringed vp and habituated. Any change or variation for ever, affright and disturbeth. Will any believe, that Cheesmenes can hurt a Perigratian or a Laguion, or that millke or whit-meates are hurtfull vnno a mountaine-dwelling people? whome if one seek to divert from their natural diet, he shall not onely prescribe them a new, but a contrarie forme of life: A change, which a healthy man can hardly endure. Appoynt a Berrie of three score yeeres of age to drinke water; put a Sea-man or Mariner into a Stove; forbid a lacyke of Baske to walke: you bring them out of their element, you deprive them of all motion, and in the end, of aire, of light and life:

—an vivere tanti est?

Doe we reckon it fo deare,
Onely living to be here?
Cognizur a fortis animum suspendere rebus.
Agge quæ vivimus, vivere desinimus:
From things est vsd we must suspend our minde,
We leave to live that we may live by kinde.
Hor supereffe reor quibus & spirabilis aer,
Et lux qua regimur, redimmus ipse gravis.
Doe I thinke they live longer, whom doth grieve
Both aires they breathe, and light whereby they live.

If they doe no other good, at least they doe this, that betimes they prepare their patients vnno death, by little underminging and cutting-off the vfe of life. Both in health and in sickeneffe, I have willingly seconded and given my selfe over to those appetites that pleas'd me. I allow great authoritie to my desires and propensities. I love not to cure one evil by another mischief. I hate those remedies, that importone more then thickenesse. To be subject to the cholieke, and to be tide to abstaine from the pleasure I have in eating of oysters, are two mischifes for one. The disease pincheth vs on the one side, the rule on the other. Since we are ever in danger to midloe, let vs rather hazard our selves to follow pleasure. Most men doe contrary and thinke nothing profitable, that is not painfull: Facilitie is by them suspic'd. Mine appetite hath in diverse things very happily accommodated and ranged it selfe to the health of my stomake. Being yong, acromie and tartnesse in fawces did greatly delight me, but my stomake being since glutted therewith, my taste hath likewise seconded the same. Wine hurts the sickie, it is the first thing, that with an invincible distaste, brings my mouth out of taste. Whatsoever I receive unwillingly or disfaste full hurts me, whereas nothing doth it whereon I feed with hunger and rellish. I never receaved harme by any action that was very pleasing vnno me. And yet, I have made al medicinall conclusions, largely to yeeld to my pleasures. And when I was yong,
The third Booke.

Et militae un non sine gloria.
A Soldier of loves haoft, 
I was not without boath.

More notwithstanding in continuation and holding out, then by snatchis or by health.

Sex mecum memini suillum esse 
I scarce remember past
Six courses I could list.

It is fully a wonder accompanied with unhappinesse, to confesse how young and weak I was brought vnder its subjection. Nay, shall I not blush to tell it? It was long before the age of choice or years of discretion: I was so young, as I remember nothing before. And firly may my fortune be compared to that of Quaemulla, who remembred not her maidenhead.

Inde tragus celere sine pilis, mirandaeque matri
Barbara.

Thence goatishine, haires over-foone, a beard
to make my mother wonder, and asfar de.

Phisitians commonly enfold and joyn their rules vnto profit, according to the violence of sharp desire or earnest longings, that incidently follow the sickne. No longest-desire can be imagined to strange and vicious, but nature will apply herselfe vnto it. And then how easilie is it to content our fantasies? In mine opinion, this part importeth all in all, at least more and beyond all other. The most grievous and ordinary evils are those, which fancie chargeth vs withall. That Spanish saying doth every way please me: Deffende me Dios devy, God defend me from my selfe. Being sickne I am forcy I have not some desire may give me the contentment to fastate and eoye the fame: Scarcely would a medicine divert me from it. So doe I when I am in health: I hardly see any thing left to be hoped or wished-for. Is pitie a man should be so weakened and enlaunguished, that he hath nothing left him but wishing. The arte of Phisicke is not so refolute, that whatsoever we doe, we shall be voide of all authority to doe it. She changeth and the varietie according to climates, according to the Moones, according to Fernelius; and according to Scala. If your Phisitien thinketh not good that you sleepe, that you drinke wine, or care such and such matters: Care not you for that; I will finde you another that shall not be of his opinion. The diversitie of phisicall arguments and medieall opinions, embracheth all manner of forms. I saw a miserable sickne.

A man, for the infinite desire he had to recover, ready to biff, yea and to die with thirst: whom not long since another Phisitien mocked, vitally condemning the others counsell, as hurtfull for him. Had he not beflowed his labour well? A man of that coate is lately dead of the stone, who during the time of his sickenesse vnder extreme abstinence to withstood his pains; his fellows affirme that contrary, his long falling had withered and dried him vp, and so concocted the gravel in his kidneyes. I have found, that in my hurts and other sickeneses, earnest talking distempereth and hurts me as much as any disorder I commit. My voice costs me deare, and wearie me; for I have it lowd, shrill and forced: So that when I have had occasion to entertain the cares of great men, about weightie affaires, I have often troubled them with care how to moderate my voice. This storie deserveth to be remembred and to divert me. A certaine man, in one of the Greekke schooles spake very lowde, as I doe; the master of the ceremonies sent him word, he should speake lower: he let him (quoth he) send me the tune or key in which he would have me speake. The other replied, that he should take his tune from his cares to whom he spake. It was well faide, so he vnderstand himselfe: Speake according as you have to do with your auditorie. For if one say, let it suffice that he heareth you; or, governe your selfe by him: I do not think he had reason to say so. The tone or motion of the voice, hath some expression or signification of my meaning: It is in me to direct the same, that so I may the better reprent myselfe. There is a voice to instruct, one to flatter, and another to chide. I will not onely have my voice come to him, but peradventure to wound and pierce him. When I brawle and raise my lackey, with a sharpe and piercing tone; were it fletcher should come to me and say, Master speake softly, I understand and heare you very well! Eft quodam voce ad auditum accommodata, non magnus est proprietate. There is a kinde of voice well applied to the hearing, not by the greatnesse of it, but by the practic. The word is halfe his that speaketh, and halfe his that harkeneth vnto it. The hea-
The third Booke.

It is not folly, this condition will not bear it. The gowt, the stone, the gravel and indigestion are symptoms or affects of long-continued yeares; as heates, raines and windes, are incident to long voyages. Plato can not believe, that Aesopimus troubled himselfe with good rules and diet to provide for the preservation of life, in a weak, wasted and corrupted body: being unprofitable for his country, inconvenient for his vocation, \\n\\nSo he that would an infant ruine lay, \\
With divers props drives it to vnderlay, \\
Till all the frame diuilly, a certaine day, \\
The props with th'edifice doth overwey.

A man must learne to endure that patiently, which he cannot avoide conveniently. Our life is composed, as is the harmonie of the World, of contrary things so of divers tunes, some pleasant, \\

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[Raw text with visible corruption and annotation]
fant, some harsh, some sharpe, some flat, some low and some high: What would that Mufi-
tation fay, that should love but fome one of them? He ought to know how to vfe them feve-
really and how to enter mingle them. So should we both of goods and evils, which are con-
substantial to our life. Our being cannot subsift without this commixture, whereof one
side is no leffe necessarie than the other. To go about to kicke against naturall necessity, were
to reprefent the folly of Cefiphon, who vndertooke to ftrike or wince with his mule, I consult
but little about the alterations which I feeke: For thefe kinds of men are advantageous, when
they hold you at their mercy. They glitt your eares with their Prognofitations, and fur-
prizing me heretofore, when by my fickeneffe I was brought very lowe and weake, they
have injuriously handled me with their Doctrine, positions, preffcriptions, magiftrall fo-
neries and profopopeyal gravities, sometimes threatening me with great paine and fmart, and
othersimes menacing me with neere and vnvoydable death: All which did indeede move,
flirre and touch me neere, but could not difmay, or remove mee from my place or resolu-
tion: If my judgement be thereby neither changed nor troubled; it was at leaft hundred: It is
ever in agitation and combating. Now I entreate my imagination as gently as I can, and
were it in my power I would cleanse discharge it of all paine and contaffation. A man muft
further, help, flatter and (if he can) cozen and deceave it. My spirit is fit for that office. There
is no want of appearances every where. Did he perfwe, as he preacheth, he should success-
fully awake me. Shall I give you an example? He tells me, it is for my good, that I am trou-
bled with the gravell: That the compositions of my age, muft naturally suffer fome leake or
flaw: It is time they beginne to relent and gainsay themfelves: It is a common neceffitie:
And it had beene no new wonder for me. That way I pay the reward due vnto age, and I
could have no better reckoning of it. That fuch company ought to comfort me, being fallen
into the moft ordinary accident incident to men of my dayes. I every where fee fome
affifted with the fame kinde of evil; whose focietie is honourable vnto me, forthough as
it commonly poiffeft the better fort of men: and whose offence hath a certaine nobilitie
and dignite connected vnto it: That of men tormented therewith, fewe are better cheape
quit of it: and yet, it costs them the paine of a troublesome dycr, tedious regiment and daily
loathfome taking of medicinall drugges and phisicall potions: Whereas I meere owe it to
my good fortune. For, fome ordinarie brothes made of Eringos or Sea-Holme, and Burft-
wort, which twice or thrice I have swallowed downe, at the requeft of fome Ladies, who
more kindly then my disease was vnderfeate, offered me the moietie of theirs, have equally feeme
vnto me as eafe to take, as vnprofitable in operation. They muft pay a thousand vows vnto
Aemfapbus, and as many crownes to their Phyfion, for an eafe profuion or aboun-
dant running of gravell, which I often receive by the benefit of Nature. Let me be in anie
company, the decenie of my countenance is thereby nothing troubled; and I can hold my
water full tenne hores, and if neede be, as long as any man that is in perfect health. The
fear of this evil (faith hee) did heeretofore affright thee, when yet it was unknowne to
thee. The cries and defpare of thefe, who through their impatience exafperate the fame;
bred a horror of it in thee. It is an evil that comes and falls into thofe limmes, by, and with
which thou halt moft offended: Thou art a man of confience:

Que venit indigne pana, dolenda venit, 4
The paine that comes without defert,
Comes to vs with more griefe and fmart.

Consider but how vile this punishment is, in refpect of others, and how favourable. Con-
fer his floweneffe in comming: he only incommodeth that flate and encumbreth that
faench of thy life, which (all things confidered) is now become barren and loft, having as it
were by way of composition given place vnto the fenfual licenciousneffe and wanton plea-
sures of thy youth. The fear and pitty, men have of this evil, may ferve thee as a caufe of
glory. A quallite, whereof, if thy judgement be purified and thy discourse perfectly found,
thy friends doe notwithftanding discover fome sparkes in thy complexion. It is fome plea-
sure for a man to heare others fay of him: Loe there a patterne of true forfitude: for there a mir-
reuer of matchlesse patience. Thou art feeene to sweate with labour, to grow pale and warme,
to wax red, to quake and tremble, to caft and vomite blood, to endure strange confractons,
to brooke convulsions, to trill downe backfick and great tears, to make thicke, muddie,
blacke, bloody and fearefull vning, or to have it flout by fome sharpe or rugged fone, which

picketh
pricketh and cruelly wringeth the necke of the yarde: entertaining in the meane while the by-standers with an ordinarie and vnanted countenance, by pawes jeasting and by entre-
misUions dallying with thy fervants: keeping a parte in a continued discourse: with wordes now and then exciting thy griefe, and abating thy painefull sufferance. Doft thou remem-
ber those men of former ages, who to keep their vertue in breath and discourse, did with such greedinesse secke after evils? Suppose Nature driveth and brings thee vnto that glorious Schoole, into which thou hadst never come of thine owne accord and free will. If thou tell me, it is a dangerous and mortall evil: what others are not so? For, it is a kinde of phifical
coulenage, to except any, and so they goe not directly vnto death: what matter is it, whether they goe by accident vnto it, and easily slide on either hand, toward the way that leadeth vs
to death? But thou diest not because thou art sick: thou diest because thou art living. Death is able to kill thee without the helpe of any sickenesse. Sickenesse hath to some pro-
longed their death; who have lived the longer, inasmuch as they imagined they were still
dying. Seeing it is of wounds, as of diseases, that some are medicinall and wholecom. The
diollis is often no leffe long-lived thant thou. Many are seene, in whom it hath continued
even from their infancy vnto their extremeft age, who had they not forfaken his company,
she was like to have affifted them further. You offerer kill her, than the doth you. And if she
did present thee with the image of neere-imminent death, were it not a kinde office for a man
of that age, to reduce it vnto the cogitations of his end? And which is worse, thou haft no
longer caufe to be cured: Thus and howsoever, common necouched calleth thee against
the first day. Consider but how artificially and how mildely the brings thee in danger
of life, and out of dicing with the world: not forcing thee with a tyrannicall subjection, as in-
finite other diseases doe, wherewith thou feest olde men posseified, which continually holde
them fettered and enframed, and without releafs of weaknesses or eutemission of pains;
but by advertisements and instructions, reprofes by intervalles: entemixing certaine paw-
hes of rett, as if it were, to give thee means, at thy ease, to meditate and repaire her lefson.
To give thee leasure and ability to judge soundly, and like a man of courage to take a resolu-
tion, free presents thee with the state of thy condition perfect, both in good and evil, and
in one fame day, sometimes a moft pleasing, sornetimes a moft intolerable life. If thou em-
brace not death, at least thou shalke her by the hand once a moneth. Whereby thou haft more
caufe to hope, that she will one day surprie thee without threatening. And that being so
often brought into the haven: supposing to be still in thy accustomed state, one morning at
vnawares, both thy felle and thy confidence shall be transported over. A man hath no rea-
ton to complain against those diseases, which goe equally divide time with health. I am
holding to Fortune, that she so often affails mee with one fame kinde of weapon: thee by
long vie doth fathion and enure mee vnto it, harden and habituate me thereunto: I nowe
knoweth within alittle which way and how I shall be quit. For want of natural memorie I
frame fome of paper. And when some new symptome or accident commeth to my evil, I
set it downe in writing: whence it proceedeth, that having now (in a manner) passd over
and through all fortes of examples, if any affonishment threaten mee; running and turning
over thefe my loose memoralies (as Sybillae leaves) I misse no more to find to comfort me
with some favourable prognostication, in my former-paff experience. Custome dooth also
serve mee, to hope the better hereafter. For, the conduct of this distribution, having so
long beene constituted, it is to be supposes that Nature will not change this course, and no
other worse accident shall follow, then that I feele. Moreover, the condition of this disease
is not ill-seeing to my ready and fodaine complexion. When it but faintly affails mee,
it makes me affraid, because it is like to continue long: But naturally it hath certaine vigo-
rous and violent exceffes. It doth violently shake me for one or two dayes. My reynes have
continued a whole age without alteration, an other is now well-nigh come, that they have
changed state. Evilnes as well as goods have their periods: this accident is happily come to
his laft. Age weakeneth the heate of my stomacke: his digestion being thereby leffe per-
fefl, hee sendeth this crude matter to my reynes. Why may not, at a certaine revolution,
the heat of my reynes be likewise inflamed: so that they may no longer pertrifie my fleigme;
and Nature addresseth her felte to finde some other course of purgation? Years have evident-
ly made me dry vp certaine rheumes: And why not these excrümens, that minister matter
to the stone or gravell? But is there any thing so pleafant, in respct of this fodaine change, when
when by an extreme paine, I come by the voyding of my stone, to recover, as from a lightning, the faire Sunne of health; so free and full, as it happeneth in our fatherly and most violent cholliks. Is there any thing in this paine suffered, that may be counterpoised, to the sweete pleasure of for ready an amendment? By how much more health: seemeth faireer vnto me after sickenes, so neere and so contiguous, that I may know them in presence one of another, in their richest ornaments; wherein they attire themselves avv, as it were to confront and counterchecke one another: Even as the Stoickes say, that Vices were profitable brought in, to give effecte and make head vnto vertue: So may we with better reason and bold conjeture, affirm, that Nature hath lent vs grievce and paine, for the honour of pleasure and service of indulgence. When Soareses (after he had his yrons or fetters taken from him) felt the pleasure or tickling of that itching, which their weight and rubbing had cau'd in his legges; he rejoyned, to consider the neere affinitie that was betwene paine and pleasure: how they are combined together by a necessarie bond; so that at turnes they enter-engender and succede one an other: And cryed out to good Etope, that he shold from that consideration have taken a proper body vnto a quantable. The worst I see in other defaies, is, that they are not so grievous in their effect, as in their issue. A man is a whole yeare to recover himself, ever full of weakness, always full of care.

There is so much hazard and so many degrees before one can be brought to safety, that he is never at an end. Before you can leave off your cover-chef and then your nightcappe, before you can take the ayre againe, or have leave to drinkke Wine, or lye with your Wife, or eate melons, it is much, if you fall not into some relapse or new miserie. The gravel hath this privilege, that it is cleane carried away. Whereas other maladies, leave ever some impression and alteration, which leaveth the bodie susceptible or vndertaking of some new infirmities and they lend one an other their hands. Such are to be excused, as are contented with the possession they have over vs, without extending the fame, and without introducing their sequell: But courteous, kind and gracious are those, whose passage brings vs some profitable consequence. Since I have had the stone-chollike, I finde my selfe discharged of other accidents: more (as me thinks) then I was before, and never had ague since. I argue, that the extreme and frequent vomites I endure, purge me, and on the other side, the distafts and strange abstinence I tolerate, disgeft my offending humours: and Nature voydeeth in these stones and gravel, whatsoever is superfluous and hurtful in her. Let no man telle me, that it is a medicine too deere sold. For, what availe so many loathesome pills, flinking pocions, catherizings, incisions, sweatings, fotonys, dyets and so divers fathions of curing, which, because we are not able to vndergoe their violence and brooke their importunity, doe often bring vs to our graves? And therefore, when I am surprized, I take it as physick: and when I am free, I take it as a confuntant and full deliverance. Lo here an other particular favour of my disease, which is, that he in a manner, keepes his play a-part, and let me keep mine own: or else I want but courage to doe it: In his greatest emotion, I have held out tenne hours on Horse-backe with him. Doe but endure, you neede no other rule or regiment: Play, daily, dyne, runne, be game, doe this, and if you can, doe the other thing, your disorder and debauching will rather availe than hurt it. Say thus much to one that hath the pox, or to one that hath the gout, or to one that is belly-broken or cod-burft. Other infirmities have more univerall bonds, torment farre otherwise our actions, pervert all our order, and engage all the state of mans life vnto their consideration: Whereas this doth only twitch and pinch the skinne, it neither medleth with your understanding, nor with your will, tongue, fette nor hands, but leaves them all in your disposition: it rather rouzeth & awaketh you, then deterre and drowziewe you. The mind is wounded by the burning of a feaver, supprest by an Epilepse, confounded by a migrane, and in conclusion, aitonised and defmayed by all the defaies that touch or wound the whole maffe of this body, and it's noblet parts: This never medleth with it. If therefore it go ill with it, his be the blame: the bewrayeth, the forfarakeh and the displaceth his selfe. None but fools will be perfwaded, that this hard, gretty and maffie body, which is concocted and petrified in our kidneyes, may be dissolvd by drinks. And therefore after it is flurred, there is no way, but to give it pastages: For if you doe not, he will take it himeselfe. This other peculiar commodity I observe, that it is an infirmite, wherein we haue but little to divine. We are dispensed from the trouble, whereinto other maladies cast vs, by the vncertainitie of their causes, conditions and pro-

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greftes. A trouble infinitely painful. We have no neede of doctorall confirmations, or colligiall interpretations. Our fences tell us where it is, and what it is. By, and with such arguments, forcible or weake (as Cicerio doth the infirmity of his old-age) I endeavouer to lull sleepe, and fruide to ammuie my imagination, and to supple or annoynt her forces. If they growe worse to morrow, to morrow we shall provide for new remedies or escapers. That this is true: boc afterward againe, happily the lightest motion wrings pure blood out of my veins. And what of that? I omitte not to frisse as before: and, with a youthful and insolent heart, ride after my hounds. And finde that I have great reason of to important an accident, which costeth me but a deafe heavinge and dolme alteration in that parte. It is some great stone that walseth and consumeth the substance of my kidneys and my life, which I voyde by little and little: not without some natural pleasure, as an excrement now superfluous and trouble-some. And feele I somthing to make? Expect not that I amuse my selfe to feele my pule or looke into my vine: thereby to finde or take some tedious prevention. I shall some time enough to feele the smart, without lengthening the fame with the paine of leare. Who feareth to suffer, suffereth alreadie, because he feareth.

Seeing the doubt and ignorance of thosse, who wil and do meddle with expounding the drifts and drifts of nature, with her internall progresse: and so many false prophecations of their arte should make us vnderstand, her meanes are infinitely unknowne. There is great uncertainty, variety and obscurite, in that the promiseth and menaceth. Except old-age, which is an undoubted signe of deaths approaching: of all other accidents, I see few signes of future things, whereon we may ground our divination. I onely judge my selfe by true-feeling-sense and not by difcourage: To what end? since I will add nothing thereunto except attention and patience. Will you know what I amise by ite? Behold thosse who doe otherwise, and who depend on so many divers perfections and counselle: how of imagina-tion prefseth them without the bode. I have divers etimes being in safetie and free from all dangerous accidents, taken pleasure to communicate them vnto Phisitians, as but then comming vpon me. I endured the arrett or doome of their horrible conclusions, and remained so much the more bounden vnto God for his grace, and better instructd of the vanite of this arte. Nothing ought so much be recommended vnto youth, as afficvite and vigilantie. Our life is nothing but motion, I am hardly shaken, and am floue in all things, be it to rise, to go to bed, or to my meales. Seaven of the clocke in the morrow is to me an early houre: And where I may command, I neither dine before eleven, nor sup till after fix. I have heretofore imputed the caufe of ages or maladies, whereinto I have false, to the lumpish heavinge or drowzy dulness, which my long sleepeing had caused me. And ever repented me to fall a-sleepe againe in the morning. Plato condemneth more the exceffe of sleepeing, than the surfeit of drinking. I love to lie hard and alone, yea and without a woman by me; after the kingl-y maner: some what well and warme covered. I never have my bed warmed; but since I came to be an old man, if neede require, I have clothes given me to warme my feate and floe make. Great Scipio was taxed to be a sluggard or heavy sleeper (in my conceit) for nother caufe, but that men were offended, hee onely should be the man, in whom no faulte might justly be found. If there be any curiositie in my behaviour or maner of life, it is rather about my going to bed, then any thing els; but if needes be, I generally yeeld and accommodate my selve vnto necessitie, as well and as quietly, as any other whatsoever. Sleepeing hath poifessed a great parte of my life: and as old as I am, I can sleepe eight or nine houres togethre. I do with profit withdraw my selve from this sluggisht propension, and evi-dently finde my selve better by it. Indeed I somewhat feele the stroke of alteration, but in three dayes it is past. And I fee fewe that live with lefe (when needes is) and that more conftantly exercise themselves, nor whom toying and labour offend lefte. My body is capable of a firme agitation, so it be not vehement and sodaine. I avoide violent exercises, and which induce me to sweate: my limbs will soone be weared, then heated. I can stand a whole day long, and am seldom weary with walking. Since my firt age, I ever loved rather to ride then walke vpon paved streets. Going a foote, I thall durrie my selfe vp to the wafts: and little men, going alongst our fetes, are subjeft (for want of presentall aparance) to be jujcted or elowed. I love to take my ref, be it fisting or lying, along, with my legs as high or higher then my feate. No profession or occupation is more pleasing then the militarie; A profession or exercise, both noble in execution (or, the strongest, most generous and prom
def of all vertues, is true valour) and noble in it's cause. No vitutie, is either more just or
univerfall then the protection of the repose, or defence of the greatnesse of ones country.
The company and daily conversation of so many noble, yong and active men, cannot but
be well-pleasing to you: the daily and ordinary light of so diverse tragical spectacles: the
libertie and uncontroled freedom of that artefle and unaffected conversation, masculine
and ceremonious manner of life: the hourey variety of a thousand ever-changing and differe-
ing actions: the courageous and minde-stirring harmony of warlike musike, which at once
entertaineth with delight and enflameth with longing, both your cares and your minde: the
iminent and matchlesse honour of that exercices yea the very sharpnesse and difficultie of it,
which Plato aftereth fo little, that in his imaginary Commonwealth, he imparteth the fame
both to women and to children. As a voluntary Souldier, or adventurous knight you enter
the lifts, the bands or particular hazards, according as your selue judge of their succeffes or
importance: and if you see when your life may thereby be excusably employed,

pulchriusque mori succurrus in armis.

And nobly it doth come to minde,

to die in armes may honor finde.

Bafely to feare common dangers, that concernce no numberlesse a multitude, and not to
dare, what so many forces of men dare, yea whole nations together, is onely incident to base,
craven and milke-top-hearts. Company and good fellowship doth baren and encourage children.
If some chance to exceede and outgoe you in knowledge, in experience, in grace, in strength,
in fortune, you have third and coliterall caufes to blame, and take hold-off but yeeld to
them in conftancie of minde, and resolution of courage, you have none but your selue to find
fault with Death is much more obiect, langaing, grafty and painfull in a downe-bed, then in a
field-combate; and agues, catarres or apoplexies, as painfull and mortall, as an harquebusado: He
that should be made vndantedly to bear the accidents of common life, should not neede to
bumbaft his courage, to become a man at armes. Vivere, mi Lucilli, militare est. Friend mine,
to live is to goe on warre-fare. I can not remember that ever I was scabbed: yeit is itching
one of nature's sweeft gratifications, and as readie at hand. But repentance doth over-im-
portunately attend on it. I exercis the same in mine cares (and by fits) which within doe of-
ten itch. I was borne with all my fences found, almoft in perfection. My stomake is com-
modiously good; and so is my head: both which, together with my wind, maintaine them-
thes athwart my agues. I have outlived that age, to which some nations have not without
some reafon preferred for a just end unto life, that they allowed not a man to exceede the
same. I have notwithstanding some remyfes or intermissions yet: though vnoftant and short,
fo found and neat, that there is little difference betweene them and the health and in-
dolence of my youth. I speake not of youtheu vigorous and chearfull blithenesse; there is no
reaon they should follow me beyond their limits:

Non hae amplius est liminis, aut aque

Celesitis, patiens latus.

These fides cannot full sussaine,

Lying without dores, howring raine.

My visage and eyes doe prefently difcover me. Thence beginne all my changes, and some-
what sharper then they are in effect. I often moove my friends to pitty, ere I felle the cause
of it. My looking glaffe doth not amaze me: for even in my youth it hath diverse times be-
falne me, fo to put-on a dusky looke, a wanne colour, a troubled behaviour and of ill pre-
fage, without any great accident; fo that Phifitions receiving no inward caufe to anfeer this
outward alteration, afcribed the fame to the secret minde or some concealed passion, which
inwardly gnawed and consumed me. They were deceived, were my body directed by me,
as is my minde, we should march a little more at our ease. I had it then, not onely exempted
from all trouble, but also full of satisfaction and blithenesse, as it is most commonly, partly
by it's owne complection, and partly by it's owne def terge:

Nec vitianum artus egrae contagia mentis,

Nor doth sick mindes infection,

Pollute strong joynets complection.

I am of opinion, that this her temperature hath often raised my body from his falling:
he is often suppressed, whereas she, if not lasciviously wanton, at leaff in quiet and repofed
cellate.
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I had a quartan ague which held me four or five months, and had altogether disvisited and altered my countenance, yet my minde held out, not only peaceably but pleasantly. So I fee no paine or smarts, weaknesse and languishing do not greatly perplex me. I fee divers corporall defailances, the only naming of which breede a kind of horror, and which I would feare least then a thousand passions and agitations of the mind, which I see in vfe. I resolve to runne no more: it sufficeth me to goe on faire and softly: nor do I complaine of the naturall decadence or empairing that possieth me,

"Quis tamidum guttur mirror in Alphibus?
Who wonders a twofome throat to see,
In those about the Alpes that bee?"

No more, then I grieve that my continuance is not as long and found, as that of an oake. I have no caufe to finde fault with my imagination. I have in my life had very few thoughts or cares, that have so much as interrupted the course of my sleepe, except of desire, to awake without dismay or afflicting me. I feldome dreame, and when I doe, it is of extravagant things and chimeras; commonly produced of pleasaunt conceits, rather ridiculous then forrowfull. And think it true, that dreames are the true interpreters of our inclinations: but great skill is required to forte and vnderstand them.

"Res qua in vita vfram part hamines, cogitans, curans, vident,
Quae, agent, cogitantes, agiunt, et hunc in somno accident"

"Minus mirandum est.
It is no wonder: if the things, which we Care-for, vfe, thinke, doe-oft, or waking fee,
Vnto vs sleeping represented be."

Plate faith moreover, that it is the office of wifedome to draw divining instructions from them, against future times. Wherein I fee nothing but the wonderfull experience, that So-crates, Xenophon and Aristotle relate of them: men of unexproofable authority. Histories report, that the inhabitants of the Atlantique Isles never dreame: who feede on nothing that hath beene flaine. Which I addde, because it is peradventure the occasion they dreame not. Pythagoras ordained therefore a certaine method of feeding, that dreames might be forsoeke for some purpose. Mine are tender, and caufe no agitation of body or expression of voice in me. I have in my daies seene many strangely stirr'd with them. Theon the Philo-sophiwr walked in dreaming: and Pericles his boy went vpon the tiles and top of houres. I stand not much on nice choice of meates at the table: and commonly beginne with the first and nextest dish: and leape not willingly from one taste to another. Multitude of dines, and varietie of services displeasse me as much as any other throng. I am easily pleased with few meales, and hate the opinion of Taciturnus, that a banquet you must have that dish whereon you feeede hungrily taken from you, and ever have a new-one set in the place. And that it is a niggardly suppper, if all the guests be not gladded with pinions and rumps of divers kinde of owle: and that only the daintye birc becauscs or snipfig deseryth to be eaten whole at one morsell. I feeede much vpon false cates, and love to have my bread somewhat fresh: And mine owne Baker makes none other for my bord aginst the fashions of my countrie. In my youth, my overleares had much ado to reforme the refuell I made of such meates as youth doth commonly love beft, as sweete-meates, confects and marchpans. My tutor was wont to find great fault with such dainties, as a kinde of queeffanish delica-
cie. And toAdded, it is nothing but a difficultie of taste, where it once is applied. Who-ever removeth from a childe a certaine particular or obstinate affection to browne bread, to bakon, or to gallike, taketh friandize from him. There are some, that make it a labour, and thinke it a patience to regret a good piece of powdered beefe, or a good gammon of bacon, amongst partridges. Are not they wive men in the meanee time? It is the chiefe daintie of all dainties: It is the taste of nice effeminate fortune, that will be dislafted with ordinary and vulgar things. Per quae luxuriae divitiarum tedia ludit. Whereby the lasciviousness of plenty gladly

"Si modica comae times plus omne patella.
If in a hot dish to sup
You brooke not all th' hearbe pottage vp."
Indeed there is this difference, that it is better for one to dye his desires vnto things easieft to be gotten, yet is it a vice to tie himselfe to any strickeffe. I was herefore wont to name a kinisme of mine over delicate, because, whilst he lived in our Gallies, hee had unlerned, and left to be upon a bedde, and to trippe himselfe to goe to bed}. Had I any male-childen, I should willingly with them my fortune. That good Father, it pleased God to allot me (who hath nothing of mee but thankfulness for his goodnesse, which indeed, is as great as great may be) even from my cradle fent mee to be brought vp in a poore village of his, where he kept me so long as I feake, and somewhat longer: breeding mee after the meanelft and simplest common fashion: Magna pars libertatis est here moratus uenter. A meaner belly is a great part of a mans libertie. Never take vnto your selfe, and much leffe never give your wives the charge of your childrens breeding or education. Let fortune frame them under the popular and natural Lawes: Let custome enure them to frugality, and breed them to hardnesse: That they may rather defend from sharpenesse, than affend vnto it. His concept aymed also at another end: To acquaint and re-aly me, with that people and condition of men that have most neede of vs, And thought I was rather bound to respect those which extend their armes vnto me, than such as turne their backe toward me. And that was the reason he chose no other goffips to hold me at the font, than men of a better and base fortune, that so I might the more be bound and tied vnto them. His purpose hath not altogether succeeded ill. I willingly give and accoet my selfe vnto the meaner sort; whether it be because there is more glory gotten by them, or through some natural compasion, which in me is infinitely powerfull. The action which I condemne in our cuill warres, I shall more sharply condemne when it prosperes and flourisbeth. I shall in some forte be reconciled vnto it, when I fee it miserably depressed and overwhelmed. Oh how willingly doe I remember that worthy humour of Chelonis, daughter and wife to Kings of Sparta! Whiles Cleonymus his husband, in the tumultuous disorder of his City, had the upper hand of Leonidas her father, theee played the part of a good daughter: altering her selfe with her father, in his exile and in his misery, mainly opposing her selfe against the Conqueror: Did fortune turne? So changed she her minde, courageously taking her husbands part:Whom she never forsooke, whether-for ever his ruine or diffrese carried him. Having (in my seeming) no other choice, than to follow that fide, where she might doe most good, where shee was most wanted, and where she might threw her selfe most truly pitifull. I doe more naturally encline toward the example of Flaminius, who more and rather yeelded to such as had neede of him, than to those who might doe him good: than I bend vnto that of Pyrrhus, who was ever wont, demisely to stoope and yeeld to the mighty, and inflently to grow proud over the weake. Long sitting at meales doth much weary and dilteemer mee: for, be it for want of better countenance and entertainment, or that I vsed my selfe vnto it when I was a child, I feeede as long as I fitt at the table. And therefore, being in mine owne house, though my board be but short, and that we vse not to fit long, I doe not commonly sit downe with the firft, but a pretty while after others; According to the forme of Augustus: yet I imitate him not in his rising before others. Contrary, I love to fit a great while after, and to heare some discours or table-talke. Always provided I heare not a part my selfe: for, if my belly be full, I shall soone be weary, and hurt my selfe with talking; and I finde the exercit of lowde-speaking and contesting before meate very pleasant and wholesome. The ancienet Gracians and Romanes had better reason than wee, adoting vnto feeding, which is a principall action of mans life (if any other extraordinary businesse did not let or divert them from it) divers hours, and the best part of the night: eating and drinking more leisurely than we doe, who paffe and runne over-all our actions in post-haste: and extending this natural pleasure vnto more leisure and vfe: entermixing therewith divers profitable and mind-pleasing offices of civil conversacion. Such as have care of me, may easily feale from me whatsoever they imagine may be hurtful for me inasmuch as about my feeding, I never desire or find fault with that I fee not: That Proverb is verified in me, What the eye feeth not, the heartI trust not. But if a diet or any thing else be once fet before me, they loose their labour, that go about to tell me of abstinencc:so that, when I am disposed to fast, I must be sequested from eaters, and have no more diet before me, than may serve for a fasted and regular colation:for if I but fitt downe at a fett table, I forget my resolution. If I chance to bidde my cooke change the dreefilling of some kinde of meete or diet, all my men know, I inferre my appetite
is wallowish and my flomacke out of order, and I shall hardly touch it. I love all manner of flesh or fowle but greene rosted and rawe foden, namely, such as may beare it without danger; and love to have them throughly mortificed; and in divers of them the very alteration of their fmall. One hurtlesse or toughnesse of meates doth generally molest me (of all other qualities. I am as carcelesse, and can as well brooke them, as any man that ever I knew) so that (contrary to received opinion) even amongst fishes, I shall finde some, both too new and over-hard and firtme. It is not the fault or want of my teeth, which I ever had as perfectly-found and compleat as any other man: and which but now, being so old, begiune to threaten me. I have from my infancy learned to rubbe them with my nabkin, both in the morning when I rate, & fitting downe and rising from the table. God doth them a grace, from whom by little and little he doth subtirfaft their life. It is the onely benefite of old age. There last death shall be so much the leffe full, languishing and painfull: it shall then kill but one half or quarter of a man. Even now I lost one of my teeth, which of it selfe fell out, without ftringing or paine: it was the natural terme of it continuance. That part of my being, with diverse others, are already dead and mortified in mee, others of the most active, halfe dead, and which, during the vigor of my age held the first ranke. Thus I finde and fcape from my felfe. What follyshnes will it be in my understanding, to feele the start of that fall, already so advanced, as if it were perfectly whole? I hope it not; verely I receive a speciall comfort in thinking on my death, and that it shall be of the most juft and natural: & cannot now require or hope other favor of defline, concerning that, then unlawfull. Men perfwade themselves, that as here tofore they have had a higher nature, fo their lives were longer; But they are deceitful for Selon, of thefe ancient times, though he were of an exceffing high stature, his life continued but 70 yeeres. Shal I, that have so much & so universally adored, that Apostolis pon, a meane is atleff, of former times; and have ever taken a meane mearence for the most perfect, therefore pretend a most prodigious and vnmeasurable life? whatsoever commeth contrary to Natures course, may be considerable, but what comes according to her, should ever please. Omnis quae sequiur naturam fini, just habenda est bonis. All things are to be accompted good, that are done according to nature. And therefore (faith Plato) is that death violent, which is caused either by wounds or fickenesses; but that of all others the easiest and in some fорт delicious, which surprizeth vs by meanes of age. Vitam adolefcensbus, vis asuer, senibus maturitas. A forcible violence takes their life from the young, but a ripe maturitie from the olde. Death entersmedith, and every where confoundes it felfe with our life: declination doth proccupate her houre, and insinuate it felfe into the very course of our advancement; I have pictures of mine owne, that were drawn when I was five and twenty, and others being thirtie yeeres of age, which I often compare with fuch as were made by me, as I am now at this infall. How many times do I say, I am no more my felfe; how much is my prefent image further from thofe, then from that of my deceafe? It is an over great abuse into Nature to drage and hurry her fo farre, that thence must be forced to give vs over; and abandon our conduct, our eyes, our teeth, our legges and the reft, to the mercy of a foraine help and begged assistance: and to put our felves into the hands of arte, wearie to followe vs. I am not overmuch or greedily defirous of fallets or of fruits, except melons. My father hated all manner of fawces. I love them all. Overmuch eating dooth hurt and diftemper me: but for the qualite I have yet no certaine knowledge that any meate offends me: I never obferve either a full or wained Moone, nor make a difference betweene the Springe time or Autumne. There are certaine inconfiant and unkowne motions in vs. For (by way of example) I have heeretofore found redifh-reotes to be very good for mee, then very hurtfull, and now againe very well agreeing with my flomacke. In diverse other things, I feele my appetite to change, and my flomacke to diversifie from time to time. I have alterd my course of drinking, sometimes from white to claret wine, and then from claret to white againe.

I am very friand and gluttonous of fift: and kepe my throwing dayes vpon fift dayes: and my feasts vpon fating dayes. I believe as fome others doe, that fift is of lighter digeftion than flesh. As I make it a conuenience to eate flehs vpon a fift daye, to doth my taste to eate fift and flesh together. The diversifie between them, seemes to me over-distant. Even from my youth I was wont now and then to steale fome repaft, either that I might shaderen my flomacke againft the next day for, (as Epicurus was wont to faie,) and made but sparing meals,
meales, thereby to accustome his voluptuousnesse, to neglect plentie: I, contrarie to himeto enuie my (fensualitie to (peepe the better, and more meritly to make we of plentie) or else I failed, the better to maintaine my vigor for the service or performance of some bodly or mentall action: for both are strangely dulled and ideled in me, through over-much fullnesse and replaetenesse. (And above all. I hate that foolish combination, offo found and bucktome a Goddefe, with that indigusted and belching God all puffed with the fume of his liquor) or to recover my crazed flomake, or because I wanted some good company. And I say as Epicurus faid, that A man should not fo much refeffe what he eateth, as whome he eateth. And commend Cloton, that he would not profime to come to? Periander's feaft, before he knew certainly who were the other hidden geuels. *No viands are so sweetly-pleasing, nor no sauce so tastyfull, as that which is drawn from converfable and mutual societie. I think it wholesome to eate more lefifuly, and leffe in quantity, and to seeede oftener: But I will have appetite and hunger to be endeared: I should finde no pleafure, after a phisicall maner, to swallow three or foure forced and spare meales a day. Who can affure me, if I have a good table or flomake in the morning, that I shall have it againe at supper? Let vs old men let vs, I say, the firft convenient time that commeth: Let vs leave hopes and profenficles vnto Almanacke-makers. The extreme fruit of my health, is pleafure: Let vs holde falt on the prefent, and to vs knowne. I eachev confiancie in thefe Lawes offafting. Who so will have a forme to ferue him, let him avoyde continuance of it: but we harden our felves vnto it, and therevnto wholly apply our forces: fixe moneths after, you shall finde your flomake fo enured vnto it, that you shall have gotten nothing but this, to have loft the liberty to vfe it otherwise without damage. I vfe to goe with my legges and thighs no more covered in Sommer than in Winter; for I never weare but one pair of single filke-flockins. For the caging of my rheume and helpe of my chollike, I have of late vfed to kepe my head and belly warme. My infirmities did in fewe dayes habituate themselves thereunto, and dissaued my ordinary provisions. From a fingle night-cappe, I came to a double covercheft, and from a bonnet, to a lined and quilted hat. The bumbling of my doublet, serves me now for no more vfe then a flomacher; it is a thing of nothing, vnlesse I ade a bare or a vultures skin to it; and some warme wraping about my head. Follow this gradation and you shall goe a faire pace. I wil do no fuch thing, If I durft I could find in my hart to revoke the beginning, I have given vnto it. Fall you into any new inconuenience? This reformation will no longer avale you. You are so accustomed vnto it, that you are driven to seeke some new one. So are they overthrown, that fuffer themelves with forced formalitie or strict rules, to be in-tangled, and do superficiously conftraine themselves vnto them: they have neede of more, and of more after that: they never come to an end. It is much more commodious both for our bunnifnesse and for our pleafure (as did our fore-fathers) to loose our dinner, and defere making of good cheere, vnto the houre of withdrawing and of reft, without interrupting the day: So was I wont to doe heretofore. I have for my health found out since by experience, that on the contrary, it is better to dine, and that one shall digest better being awake. Whether I be in health or in sickenesse, I am not much subject to be thirsty: indeede my mouth is somewhat dry, but without thirst. And commonly I vfe not to drinke, but when with eating I am forced to desire it, and that is when I have eaten well. For a man of an ordinary nature I drinke indifferent much. In Sommer, and at an hungry meale, I not onely exceede the limites of Augustus, who drunke but precilyly three times: but, not to offend the rule of Democritus, who forbade vs to flaye at foure, as an unlucky number, it need be, I came to five: Three demifectors, or thereabouts. I like little glaffes beft; and I love to empie my glaffe: which some others dislike, as a thing vnseemely. Sometimes, and that very often, I temper my wine one halfe, and many times three partes with water. And when I am in mine owne house, from an ancient custome, which my fathers phifion ordained both for him and himselfe, looke what quantitie of Wine is thought will serve mee a meale, the fame is commonly tempered two or three houres before it be ferved in, and so kept in the feller. It is reported, that Grammus King of the Athenians, was the firft, that invented the mingling of Wine with Water. Whether it were profitble or no, I wil not now dispute of stand vpon. I thinke it more decent and more wholesome, that children should drinke no Wine, vntill they be past the age of sixteene or eightene yeares. The most vsual and common forme of life, is the boat: Each particularite, doth in mine opinion impugne it. And I shoulde as much dete the Germane, that should put Water in his Wine, as a French-man, that should drinke it pure.
pure. Publike custome giveth Law vnto such things: I fear a foggie and thicke ayre,and shumme smoke more than death; (the first thing I began to reparer when I came to be master of mine owne house, was the chimneys and privies, which, in most of our buildings, is a general and intolerable fault) and among mischiefs and difficulties attending on Warre, there is none I hate more, than in hot-fluttering weather, to ride vp and downe all the day-long in smoke dust, as many times our Souldiers are faine to doe. I have a free and easie respirat i on, and doe most commonly passe over my murrnes and colds without offence to my lungs, or without coughing. The foultie heatye of Sommer is more offensive to me, than the sharpnesse of Winter: for besides the incommody of heate, which is lest to bee remedied, than the inconvenience of cold; and besides the force of the Sunnes beams, which (strike in to the head, mine eyes are much offended with any kind of glittering or sparkelighting; so that I cannot well sit at dinner over against a clearl-burning fire. To allay or dim the white-nesse of paper, when I was most given to reading, I was wont to lay a piece of greene glasse vpon my booke, and was thereby much eased. Hitherto I never vfed spectacles, nor knew not what they meant; and can yet see as faire as ever I could, and as any other man: true it is, that when night comes, I begin to perceive a durnes and weakness in reading the continually exercise whereof, and specially by night, was ever somewhat troublesome vnto mine eyes. Loe heere a stope-bouck, and that very sensible. I shall recoyde one more, from a second to a third, and from a third to a fourth, so gently, that before I feel the declination and age of my fight, I must be starkke blinde. So artificially doe the Fates vntwist our lives threed. Yet am I in doubt, that my hearing is about to become thicke: and you shall see, that I shall have lost it halfe, when yet I shall finde fault with their yoake that speake vnto mee. The minde must be strained to a high pitch, to make it perceive howe it declineth. My going is yet were nimble, quicke and florid; and I wot not which of the two I can more hardly flaine at one instant, eitheer my minde or my body. I flue like that preacher wel, that can tie mine attention to a whole sermon. In places of ceremonies, where every man doth so nicely stand upon countenance, where I have seene Ladies hold their eyes so fastly, I could never so hold out, but some part of mine would ever be gadding: although I be sitting there, I am not well fed. As Chryfoppe the Phylophers chamber-maide, finde of hit Master, that he was never dranke but in his legges; for whosoever he fater, he was ever acustomed to be wagging with them: and this the faide at what time store of Wine had made his companions cuppe-botten, and yet he felt no alteration but continued sober in minde. It might like wise have bene faide of mee; that even from mine infancy, I had either folly or quicke, sileuer in my feete, so much flurrying and naturall inconftancy have I in them, where ever I place them. It is unwannerlineffe, and prejudiciall vnto health, yea and to pleasurealso, to recee grofely and greedily, as I doe. I shall sometimes through halfe bite my tongue and fingers ends. Diogenes meeting with a child, that did eate so, gave his tutor a whiret on the earre. There were men in Rome,that as others teache youth to go with a good grace, so they taught men to chew, with decency. I doe sometimes loose the licence to speake, which is so pleasing an entertainment at the table, provided they be discourses short, witty and pleasant. There is a kinde of jolellie and envy betweene our pleasures, and they often tholle and hinder one an other. Alcibiades, a man very exquisitely skilfull in making good cheere, inhibited all manner of muficke at tables, because it should not hinder the delight of the discourses, for the reason which Plato affords him: that it is a custome of popularie or base men to call for miniftrels or singers at fealls, and an argument, they want witty or good discourses, and pleasing entertainment, wheres with men of conceit and understanding knowe howe to enter-fealt and entertaine themselves. Warre requireth this at a bancket: an assemblie of persons faire, goodly and handsome of presence, affable and delightfull in conversation; which must not be dumbe nor dull, fullaine nor flowenly: cleanlinesse and neatlineffe in meates: and faire wether. A good minde-pleasing table-entertainment, is not a little volupions feast, nor a meanly artificiall banquet. Neither great or felrne commanders in Warres, nor famous or strict Philosophers have disdained the vfe or knowledge of it. My imagination hath bequesth three of them to the keeping of my memore, onely which, fortune did at several times, yeeld exceedingly delightfully vnto me. My present state doth now exclude me from them. For, every one, according to the good temper of body or mind, wherein he finds himselfe, addeth either principall grace or tarte vnto them. My selfe, who but grovell on the ground, hate that kinde of inhumane Wifedome, which would make vs disdaine full and enemies of
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the bodies reformation. I deeme it an equall injustice, either to take natural sensuality against the hart, or to take them too neere the hart. Xerxes was a nimmy-hammer, who enwrapped and given to all humane voluptuositie, proposed rewards for thefe, that should devote such as he had never heard-of. And he is not much behind him in voluptuositie, that goes about to abridge thefe, which nature hath devised for him. One should neither follow nor avoyde them: but receive them. I receive them somewhat more amply and graciously, and rather am contented to follow natural inclination. We need not exaggerate their inanitie it will sufficiently be felt, and doth sufficiently produce it selfe. Godamercy our weake, crazed and joy-diminishing spirit, which makes vs distraite both them and hiselfe. Hee treareth both himself and whatsoever he receiveth, fortnime forward and othertimes backward, according as himselfe is either infaite, vagabond, newfangled or variable.

Sincerely, et nisus, quodcumque, infandi, accessit.
In no sweet vessel all you pour,
In such a vessel none will flowe.

Myselfe, who brag so curiously to embrace and so particularly to allow the commodities of life; whenever I looke precisely into it, finde nothing therein but winde. But what we are nothing but winde. And the very winde also, more widely then we, loveth to blister and to be inagination: And is pleased with his owne offices: without desiring flabilitie or soliditie; qualities that be not his owne. The more pleasures of imagination, as well as dileASURE (laysome) are the greatest: as the balance of Cruelitie did express. It is no wonder, the composeth them at his pleasure, and cuts them out of the whole cloth. I see daylie some notable presidents of it, and peradventure to be defir'd. But I, that am of a commixt condition, homely and plaine, cannot so thoroughly bite on that only and so simple object: but shall grave and carefullly give my selfe over to the present delights, of the generall & humane law. Intellectually sensible, and sensibly-intellectual. The Cyreneaque Philosophers are of opinion, that as griefes, fo corporall pleasures are more powerful; and as double, so more jult. There are fome (as Aristotle faith) who with a savage kinde of stupiditie, will seeme dillafefulfull or squmish of them. Some others I knowe, that doe it out of ambition. Why renounce they not also breathing? why live they not of their owne, and refuse light, because it cometh of gratuities, and costs them neither invention nor vigor? That Mars, or Pallas, or Mercurie, should nourish them to fee, infeade of Ceres, Venus, or Bacchus. Will they not fecke for the quadrature of the circle, even upon their wives? I hate that we should be commanded to have our minde in the clouds, whilst our bodies are sitting at the table: yet would I not have the minde to be fatned therunto, nor swallow upon it, nor live along theron, but to appicite it selfe and sit at it. Arifippus defended but the body, as if wee had no soule: Zeno embraced but the soule, as if we had no minde. Both vigorously. Pythagoras (say they) had followed a Philosophie, all in contemplation: Socrates altogether in maners and in action: Plato hath found a mediocrity betweene both. But they say so by way of discourse.

For the true temperatere is found in Socrates; & Plato is more Socratisall then Pythagoriscall; and it becomes him best. When I dance, I dance; and when I sleep, I sleep. And when I am solitarie walking in a faire orchard, if my thoughts have a while entertained themselfes with strange occurrences, I doe another while bringing them to walke with me in the orchard, and to be partakers of the pleasure of that solitarienesse, and of my selfe. Nature hath like a kinde mother observed this, that such actions as thee for our necessitie hath enjoyed vnto vs, should also be voluptuous vsnco vs. And doth not onely by reason, but also by appetite evince vs vnto them: it were injustice to corrupt her rules. When I behold Caesar and Alexander in the thickest of their wondrous-great labours, so absolutely to enjoy humane and corporall pleasures, I say not, that they releafe thereby their minde, but rather strengthen the same, submitting by vigor of courage their violent occupation, and laborious thoughts to the customeable vie of ordinarie life. Wise had they beene, had they believed, that that was their ordinarie vocation, and this their extraordinary. What egregious fooles are we! Hee hath past his life in idlenesse, say we, alas I have done nothing this day. What have you not lived? It is not onely the fundamentall, but the nobest of your occupations. Had I bene placed, or thought fit for the managing of great affaires, I would have thowed what I could have performed. Have you knowne how to meditate and manage your life? you have accomplished the greatest worke of all. For a man to shew and expolte himselfe, nature hath no neede of fortune, she equally shews her selfe upon all grounds, in all futes, before and behinde, as it

K k 2 were
were without curtines, wels, or garde. Have you knowledge how to compose your manner, you have done more then he who hath composed books. Have you knowledge how to take rest, you have done more then he, who hath taken Empires and Citiees. The glorious maister-piece of man, is, to love to the purpose. All other things, as to raigne, to govern, to hoarde vp treasure, to thrive and to build, are for the most part but appendixes and supporterers thereunto. It is to me a great pleasure, to see a General of an armie at the foote of a breach, which he ere long intercepteth, to charge or enter, all whole, vndistracted and carelessly to prepare himself, whilst he sits at dinner with his friends about him, to talke of any matter. And I am delightted to see Brutus, having both heaven and earth conspiried against him and the liberties of Rome, by stealth to take some houres of the night from his other cares and walking of the round, in all securite to read, to note and to abbreviate Polibius. It is for base and petite mindes, dulled and overwelmed with the weight of affaires, to be ignorant how to leaue them, and not to know how to free themselves from them; nor how to leave and take them again.

O fortes periora saepe passi,
Mecum hae viri, nunc vino pestile curas,
Craingens iterabimus aequor.

Valiant compareres, who oft have worse endured,
With me, let now with wine your cares be cured:
To morrow we againe,
Will launch into the maine.

Whether it be in jest or earnest, that the Sorbonicall or theologicall wine, and their feasts or gaudy dayes are now come to be proverbially jefted at : I think there is some reason, that by how much more profitably and seriously they have bestowed the morning in the exercise of their schooles, so much more commodiously and pleasantly shou'd they daine at noone. A cleare confidence to have well employed and industriously spent the other houres, is a perfect feaoning and favorite condiment of tables. So have wife men lived. And that inimitable contention vnto vertue, which so amazeth vs, in both Caesar, their so stricte-severe humour, even vnto iniquitie, hath thus mildey submitted it selfe, and taken pleasure in the lawes of humane condition, and in Venus and Bacchus. According to their Sefts-precepts, which require a perfectly wise man, to be as fully-expect and skillfull in the true vie of senitualities, as in all other duties or devoires belonging to life. Let sor sapat, et sapat palat. Let this palat be favorite, whose heart is favorite. Easie-yielding and facilitie both in my conceit, greatly honour, and is best befitting a magnanime and noble mind. Epaminondas thought it no scoeme, to thrust himself amongst the boyes of his citie, and dance with them, yea and to sing and play, and with attention buffet himselfe, were it in things that might degrease from the honor and reputation of his glorious victories, and from the perfect reformation of manners, that was in him. And amongst so infinite admirable actions of Scipio the grandfather, a man worthy to be esteemed of heavenly race, nothing addeth to so much grace vnto him, as to see him carelessly to daily and childishly to trifie, in gathering and chusing of cockle-shells, and play at cob-castle alongeth the sea-shore with his friend Laus. And if it were fowle wether, amninging and folacing himselfe, to represent in writing and commodities the most popular and base actions of men. And having his head continually busied with that wonderfull enterpise against Hannabal and Affrike, yet he still visited the schooles in Cicle, and frequented the lectures of Philosophsi, arming his enemies teeth at Rome with enwie and spight. Nor any thing more remarkeable in Secraters, then, when being old and crazed, he would spare so much times as to be instructe in the arte of dancing and playing upon instruments and thought the time well bestowed. Who notwithstanding hath beene scene to continue a whole day and night in an extasie or trance, yea ever standing on his feetes; in presence of all the Grecke armie, as it were surprised and ravished by some deep and minde-distracting thought. He hath beene noted to be the first, amongst so infinite valiant men in the armie, headlong to rush out, to help and bring-off Alcibades, engaged and enthroned by his enemies to cover him with his body, and by maine force of armes and courage, bring him off from the rout : And in the Delmen battell, to save and disingage Xenophon, who was beaten from his horse. And in the midst of all the Athenian people, wounded, as it were with so unworthy a spectacle, headlong present himself the first man, to recover Theramenes, from the honds of the officers and satelites, of the thirte tentroons of Athens, who were leading him to his death, and never desist from his bold attempts, until he
The third Booke.

he met with The ramen:es himselfe, though he were followed and afflicted with two more. He hath bene scene (provoked thereunto by a matchlesse beautie, where with he was richly endowed by nature) at any time of neede to maintain a severe continencie. He hath continually beene noted to march to the warres on foot; to brake the yee with his bare fette; to wear one same garment in summer and winter; to exceede all his companions in patience of any labour or travaill to eate no more, or otherwife at any banquet, then at his ordinary: He hath bene seene feaven and twenty yeares together with one same vindisaise countenance, patiently to bear and endure hunger, poverty, the indolitie and flubberneffe of his children, the frowardnes and scrathings of his wife:and in the end malicious detraction, tyrannyc, imprisonment, shakles and poifon. But was that man envied to drinke to him by duty of civilitie, he was also the man of the armie, to whom the advaunge thereof remained. And yet he refued not, nor disdained to play for nuts with children, nor to run with them upon a hobby-horfe, where in he had a very good grace: For, all actions (whit Philofophie) doe equally befit them well, and honour a wife man. We have good ground and reason, and should never be weare to preffent the image of this incomparable man, vnto all patterns and forme of perfec:ions. There are very few examples of life, absolutely ful & pure. And our instruction is greatly wronged, in that it hath certaine weak, defective and vnperfeft forms proposed vnto it, scarcely good for any good vfe, which diverte and drawe vs backe; and may rather be termed Corrupters then Correctors. Man is easily deceived. One may more easily goe by the fides, where extremitie serveth as a bound, as a stay and as a guide, then by the mid-way, which is open and wide; and more according vnto arte, then according vnto nature: but therewithall Iffe noblie and with Iffe commendation. The greatneffe of the minde is not so much, to drawe up and hale forward, as to knowe how to range, dwell and circumecribe it selfe. It holdeth for great whatver is sufficient. And the more with her height, in loving meane things better then eminent. There is nothing so goodly, so faire and so lawfull as to play the man well and duely: Nor Science is hard and difficult, as to knowe how to live this life well. And of all the infirmities we have, the moft Savage, is to delude our being. Whofo will feguerfer or disfract his minde, let him hardly doe it, if he can, at what time his body is not well at eafe, thereby to discharge it from that contagion: And elsewhere contraine; that thee may offend and favour him, and not refufe to be partaker of his natural pleasures, and conjugally be pleased with them: adding thereunto, if thee be the wiser, moderation, left through indifcretion, they might be confounded with displeasure. Intemperance is the plague of sensualitie, and temperance is not foroure, but rather her feafonne. Endoxus, who thereon eftablihed his chiefef felicitie; and his companions, that raised the same to fohigh a pitch, by means of temperance; which in them was very singular and exemplar, favoured the fame in her most gratious sweetenes. I enjouyned mine minde, with a looke equally regulare, to beholde both forrow and voluptuosnes: Endoxus enim, vittis off effusio animam leuitis, quon indoloris contraftet. As falktie is the enlarging of the minde in mirth, as the contrating it in griefe; and equally conftime: But the one merely, and the other severely: And according to that thee may bring into it, to be as careful to extinguih the one, as diligent to quench the other. To have a perfect insight into good, draws with it an absolute insight into evil. And forrow hath in her tender beginning something that is unavoydeable: and voluptuosnes in her excessive ende, something that is evitable. Plato coupleth them together, and would have it to be the equal office of fortitude, to combat against forrowes, and fight against the immediate, and charming blandishments of sensualitie. They are two fountaines, at which whole draweth, whence, when and as much as hee needeth; be it a citie, be it a man, be it a beast, he is very happy. The first must be taken for phisieke and necessitie, and more sparcingly: The second for thirth, but not unto drunkenneffe. Paleine, voluptuosnes, love and hate, are the first passions a childe feeth: if reason approch, and they apply themselves vnto it; that isover. I have a Dictionarie severally and wholly to my selfe: I paffe the time when it is faire and good. I will not paffe it: I runne it over againe, and take holde of it. A man should runne the baddle, and selle himselfe in the good. This vulgar phrase of paffe time, and, to paffe the time, represents the custome of those wise men, who thinke to have no better account of their life, then to passe it over and escape it: to passe it over and bawke it, and so much as in them lieth, to ignore and avoyde it, as a thing of an yrkesome, tedious and to be disdained qualitie. But I knowe it to be otherwise; and finde it to be both prifable and commodious, yea in her last declination; where I holde it. And
Nature hath put the fame into our handes, furnished with suct and so favourable circumstances, that it may either or molet or, or if not profitably escape vs, wee must blame owne selves. **Sunt visus ingratae, spesuda est, tota in futuro fortunat.** A fool's life is all pleasant, all fearfull, all fond of the future. I therefore prepare and compose my self, to forgoe and lose it without grudging; but as a thing that is lossable and tranitorie by it's owne conditions not as troublesome and importunate. Nor befeeme it a man not to be grieved when he diseth, except they be such as please themselues to live still. There is a kind of husbandman knowing how to enioy it: *Enjoys it double to others*. For, *The measure of contentment dependeth more or lesse on the application we lend it.* Especially at this instant, that I perceive mine to be so short in time, I will extend it in weight: I will fly the readie sentence of her flight, by the promptitude of my holde-faft by it: and by the vigor of custome recumence the haste of her fleeting. According as the possession of life is more short, I must endeavor to make it more profound and full. Other men feele the sweetness of a contentment and prosperity. I feel it as well as they; but it is not in passing and gliding: yet should it be studied, tasted and ruminated, thereby to yeeld me comfort and thankes, that is pleased to grant me the fame when. They enjoy other pleasures, as that of sleepe, without knowing them. To the end that sleepe should not dully and unfeelingly escape mee, and that I might better taste and be acquainted with it, *I have hereunto found it good, to be troubled and interrupted in the same.* I have a kind of contentment, to confult with my selfe: *Which consideration I do not superficially runne over, but confiderately found the same,* and appley my reason to entertaine and receive it, which is now become froward, peevish and disliked. 

_Doe I finde my selfe in some quiet mood; is there any fenfulness that tickles me?_ I do not suffer the same to busie it selfe or daily about my senses, but acquainte my minde unto it: Not to engage or plunge it selfe therein, but therein to take delight: not to loose, but therein to finde it selfe. And for her parte I employ her, to view her selfe in that prosperous estate, to ponder and eftimate the good fortune the hath, and to amplify the same. Shee measureth how much she is beholding vnto God, for that she is att rest with her confidence, and free from other intemperate passions, and hath her body in her natural disposition: orderly and competently enjoying certaine flattering and elegant functions, with which it pleaseth him of his grace to recompense the griefes, wherewith his justice at his pleasure smitteth vs. Oh how availfull is it vnto her, to be so feated, that wheresoeuer shee calleth her eyes, the heavens are calme round about her; and no desire, no fear or doubt troubleth the ayre before her: there is no difficulty, either past, or present, or to come, over which her imagination paffeth not without offence. This consideration takes a great lufter from the companions of different conditions. Thus doe I in a thousand shapes propose vnto my selfe, whoe whom either fortune, or their owne error doth transport, and torment. And these nearer, whoo so slackely and incuriously receive their good fortune. They are men which indeed paffe their time: they overpasse the present, and that which they poffeffe, thereby to serve their hopes with shadowes and vaine images, which fancie sets before them,

*Morte obiit quaeis fama est voluisse figurar.*
*Aut qua sopitis deistent, bonus sensus.*

Such walking shapes we say, when men are dead,

_Dreames, whereby sleepeing senses are mislead._

Which haften and prolong their flight, according as they are followed. The fruit and scope of their puruite, is to pursue: *As Alexander said, that the end of his labour, was to travel. Nihil animus credat simil quam supererit agendum.*

_Who thought that ought was done, When aught remain'd undone._

*As for mee then, I love my life and cherish it, such as it hath pleased God to grant it vs. I desire not he should speake of the necessitie of eating and drinking.* And I would thinke to offend no lesse exculably, in defining it should have it double. *Sapiens devittarium, naturalium, quae sit acerba.* A wise man is a most sedge and earnest searcher of those things which are natural. Nor that we should sustaine our selves by only putting aside of that drugg into our mouth, wherewith Epimenides was wont to alay hunger, and yet maintaine himselfe. Nor that we should insensibly produce children at our fingers ends or at our heeles, but rather (speaking with reverence) that wee might with pleasure and voluptuousness produce them both at our heeles and fingers ends. Nor that the bodie should
should be voyde of desire, and without ticking-delight. They are vngratefull and impious complaines. I cheerfully and thankfully, and with a good heart, accept what nature hath created forme; and am the ewith well pleased, and am proude of it. Great wrong is offered unto that great and all-puissant Giver, to refuse his gift, which is so absolutely good, and diuannell or disfigure the same, since hee made it perfectly good. Omnia que secundum {naturam sunt, solumque dignam sunt. All things that are according to nature, are worthy to be esteemed. Of Philosophies opinions, I more willingly embrace thole, which are the most fohde: that is to say, they are the most humane and most ours: My discourses are futable to my manners, low and humble. Sheere then brings forth a child well-pleasing me, when she betakes her selfe to her Quiddities and E-goese, to perfwade vs, that it is a barbarous alliance, to marrie what is divine with that which is tertifiall; wedde reasonable with unreasonable; convene severe with indulgent, and couple honeft with vn honett: that voluptuousnes is a brutal quality, vnworthie the taffe of a wiseman. The onely pleasure he draws from the enjoying of a faire yong bride, is the delight of his conscience, by performing an action according unto order: As to put on his bootes for a profitable riding. Oh his followers had no more right, or finnewes, or pithe, or juice, at the dismaydening of their wives, than they have in his Lessons. It is not that, which Socrates, both his and our Maflfer, faith: He valueth rightly as he ought corporall yelpe: mouffe: he theprefareth that of the minde, as having more force, more confianc, facultie, varietie and dignite. This, according to him, goeth nothing alone, he is not fo fantastical; but one y first. For him, temperament is a modernst, and not an adverfarie of fenfullies. Nature is a gentle guide: Yet not more gentle, then prudent and just. Intrandum est in regnum naturam. Our praetent quid e putatulf, vulnus. Wee must enter into the nature of things, and thoughtly vs, what fo ever we require. I quest after her tracke; wee have confounded her with artificiall traces. And that Academical and Peripateticall summum bonum, or sovereigne felicitie, which is, to live according to her rules: by this reafon becommeth difficult to be limited, and hard to be expounded. And that of the Stoickes, couzin german to the other, which is, to yeelde vnto nature. Is it not an error, to efefume some actions left: woorth the, forsoxe as they are necessarie? Yet alll they never remoue out of my head, that it is not a most convenient marriage, to wedde Pleasure vnto Neceffitie. With which (faith an ancient Writer) the Gods doe ever complot and content.

To what end doe we by a divorce, dismember a frame contexted with fo mutuall coherence and brotherly correspondency? Contrariwise, leis vs re pare and reume the fame by enterechangable offices: that the spirit may awake and quicken the dul heaviness of the body, and the body flay the lightnesse of the spirit, and fettle and fixe the fame. Que vult summum bonum, et anima naturam, et angsum malum, naturam carnis accusat, prole & summum carnis appetit, corne incommenat fugis, quoniam viduntius sunt humana, non errante divina, He that prays the nature of the soule, as his principally good, & accurset the nature of the fleshe as evil, if allways be both carnally affetch to the soule, and carnally efe cheated the fleshe, vs if of this minde not by divine vritie, but humane vanitie. There is no part or parcell vnworthily of our care in that present, which God hath bestowed vpon vs: We are accountable given for the lease haires off. And it is no commiion for fathan-false for any man, to direct him according to his condition: it is exerccit, naturall and prindpall: And the Creator hath severely and severely given the same vnto vs. Onely authority is of force with men of common reach and understanding; and is of more weight in a strange principall. But here it vs charge againe. Stultitia proprius qua non diversit, exerce & communis fuerat a pecus fund: & alto corpus impellere, alto animum, distrablque inter diversitatem usu. Who will not call it a property of folly to doe shatfully and frowardly what is to be done, and one way to drive the body and another way the minde, and his wife to be dratled into most divers motions? Which, the better to fee, let such a man one day tell you the amumentes and imaginations, which he puts into his owne head, and for which he diverteth his thoughts from a good repaft, and bewailith the houre, he employeth in feeding himselfe: you shall finde there is nothing so wallowith in all the messes of your table, as is that goodly entertainment of his minde (If were often better for us to be found asleep, than awake entro that we doe) and you shall finde, that his discourses and intentions are not worth your meanest dith. Suppose they were the entrancings of Archimedes himselfe: and what of that? There touch not, nor doe I blend with that rabble or raskalitie of men, as we are, nor with that vanitie of defires and cogitations, which
which divert vs, onely those venerable mindes, which through a fervencie of devotion and earnestnesse of religion, elevated to a constant and conscientious meditation of heavenly-divine things, and which by the violence of a lively, and vertue of a vehement hope, preoccupating the vfe of eternall foule-saving nourishment, the finall end, only stay and last scope of Christian desires; the onely constant delight and incorruptible pleasure; disfranec to relie on our necessitous, fleeting and ambiguous commodities: and easily resigne, the care and vfe of lentiall and temporall feeding unto the body. It is a privileged fluidy, Super-celestiall opinions, and under-terrestriall manners, are things, that amongst vs, I have ever seen to be of singular accord. 

Do as that famous man, saw his Maiftre pife as he was walking: What (saide he) must wee not &c. when we are running? Let vs husband time as well as we can. Yet, (saie) we employ much of it, both wisely and ill. As if our minde had not other hours enouhg to doe his businesse, without disassociating his self from the body in that little space which the needeth for his necessitie. They will bee exempted from them and escape man.

It is more folly: in strade of transforming themselves into Angels, they tranfchange themselves into beasts in lieu of advancing, they abase themselves. Such transcending humours affright me as much, as steepy, high and inaccessible places. And I finde nothing so hard to be digested in Socrates life, as his extasies, and communication with Democtr. Nothing, so humane in Plato, as that for which they fay, he is called divine. And of our sciences those which are raised and extolded for the highest, seeme to me, the most baseft and terrestriall. I finde nothing fo humble and mortall in Alexanders life, as his concepts about his immortalization. Philostr. by his anfwere quipped at him very pleasanfly and wittily. Hee had by a letter congratulated with him, and rejoyned that the Oracle of Jupiter Hammon had placed him amongst the Gods: to whom he answere, that in respect and consideration of him, he was very glad; but yet there was some cause those men should be pitied, that were to live with a man and obay him, who went out others, and would not be contented with the fate and condition of a mortall man.

---Dixte minorem quem geris, imperas. Since thou lefle then the Gods, Bear it thee, thou rul it with ods.

The quintainferption, wherewith the Athenians honored the comming of Pompey into their Citie, agreeeth well, and is conformable to my meaning.

Peter. vs. Pompey

D'suant estus Deus, comme
Tu te recqnois homne.

So farre a God thou maiff accustomed be
As thou a man dooff re-acknowledge thee.

It is an absolute perfection, and as it were dvine for a man to know how to enjoy his being loyally. We feeke for other conditions, because we understand not the vfe of ours: and goe out of our selves, foras much as we know not what abiding there is. We may long enough get upon skies, for, hee upon them, yet must we goe with our owne legs. And sit we upon the highest throne of the Worlde, yet sit we upon our owne tale: The best and most commendable lives, and best pleasing me are (in my conceit) those which with order are fittted, and with decorum are rangd to the common mould and humane model: but without wonder or extravagancy. Now hath old age neede to be handled more tenderly. Let vs recomend it vnto that God, who is the protector of health, and fountaine of all wisedome: but blithe and social:

--- Frui paratis et valde mibi
Laert donee, & precor integra
Cum mente, nec turpeti factura,
Degere, nec Cithara carentem.
Apollo grant, enjoy in health Imay

That I have got, and with found minde, I pray:

Nor that I may with shame spend my old years,
Nor wanting mustike to delight mine ears.

The end of the third and last Booke.